

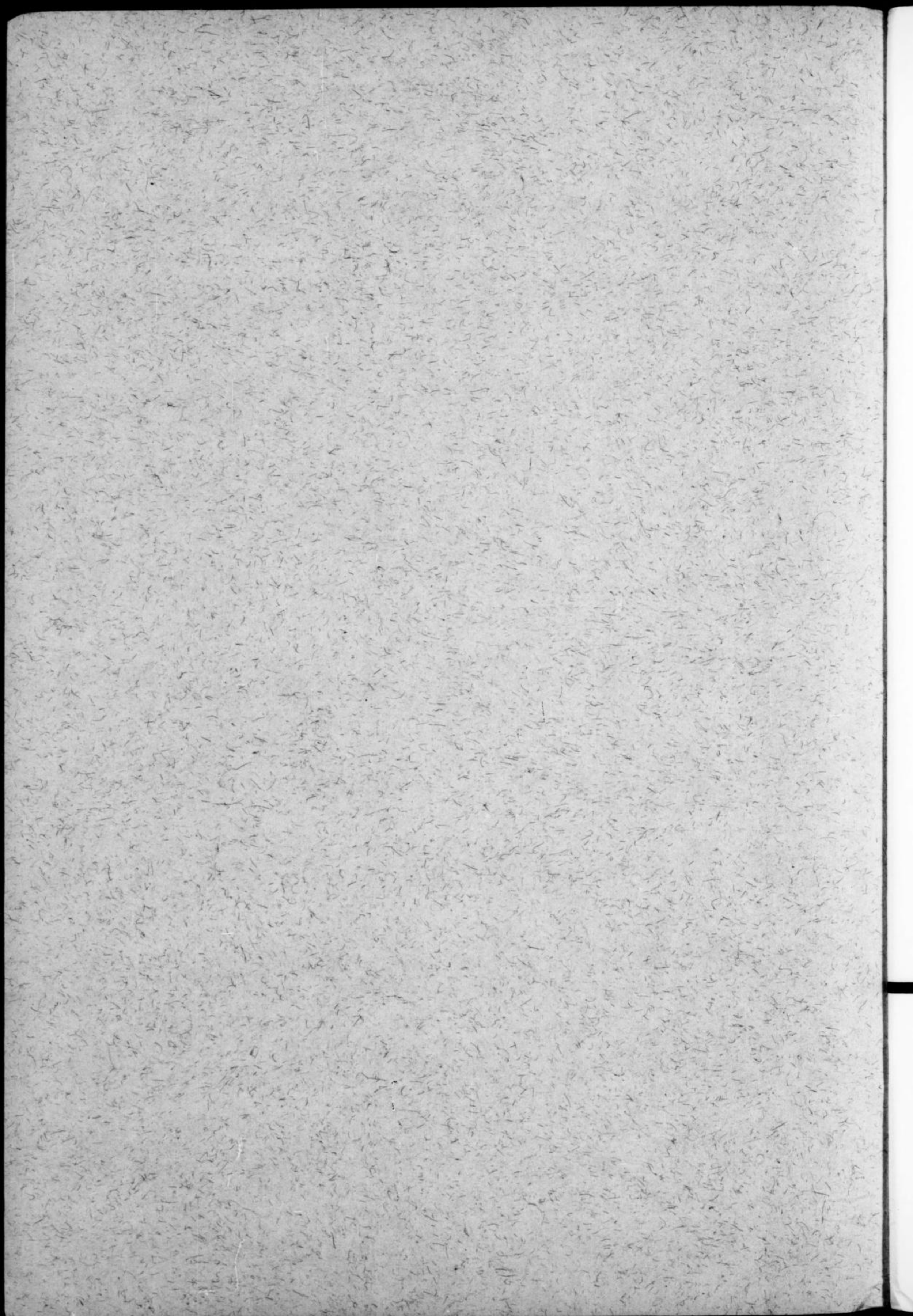
Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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Victorious March to Communism

THE attention of millions of working people and progressives throughout the whole world is centered on the great achievements of the socialist countries. The hearts and minds of all who cherish peace and progress are turned to the leading socialist power—the Soviet Union—and its Communist Party, which at its Twenty-First Congress discussed the national economic plan for 1959-65.

None of the previous plans of the socialist countries has evoked such a wide international response as the Soviet Seven-Year Plan. This is understandable. Even the previous Soviet five-year plans, although they never failed to fire the imagination, could not put forward such really majestic tasks as those set now.

This time the bourgeois press is more cautious and, in the main, has no illusions about the plan being fulfilled. Experience has taught quite a considerable part of the bourgeoisie that the socialist plans are realistic. "Theses that have changed the world," "breath-taking tasks," "phenomenal progress"—such are the typical expressions used in relation to the new Soviet plan by those who only a short time ago were predicting collapse for the economic plans of the socialist countries. As to the Soviet people and their friends all over the world, they have not the slightest doubt that this plan, like the previous ones, will be fulfilled.

The significance of the new plan is not only its striking targets. Its fulfilment will mean a decisive step in the evolution of socialism toward communism, the realization of the ultimate revolutionary aspirations of the working class. The Soviet people have made such remarkable progress that it is now possible for them to begin the systematic building of communist society.

The Seven-Year Plan targets and the main indices of the long-term plan covering the next 15 years envisage the rise in the level of the productive forces, of public well-being and culture needed for the higher phase of communism. The present generation will perform the historic task of building communist society and, largely, during the next seven years.

* * *

As was the case with socialism, the building of communism is a unified, three-fold process. It signifies, firstly, steady material and technological progress; secondly, a constantly rising level of well-being and thirdly, all-round mental development—the shaping of the new man and new, communist ethics.

When the Soviet people began to build socialism they had at their disposal an economic and technological base inherited from backward Russian capitalism. But even this base, poor as it was, had been destroyed by the protracted Civil War and foreign intervention. The pioneers of socialist construction had to overcome not only the enormous difficulties aggravated by the hostile actions of the capitalist countries, but also the onerous burden of bourgeois ways of thinking and habits. However, the starting point for the transition to the higher phase of communism is the powerful material base created in the process of socialist economic development and the considerably higher cultural level of the masses. This speeds the advance towards communism.

In the next seven years the volume of state investment will amount to roughly 1,940 - 1,970 billion rubles — a figure nearly equal to the sum invested in the national economy during all the years of Soviet power. Given the present level of industry, the rapid rates of development which are envisaged provide for a sharp increase in absolute growth of production. Whereas in 1952 one per cent of the growth of gross industrial output (without small and auxiliary industry) accounted for five billion rubles, in 1965 it will amount to 19 billion. Compared with last year, gross industrial output in 1965 will have risen by approximately 80 per cent. Output of the means of production, which, as heretofore, qualify for priority, will have risen by 85-88 per cent.

The swift rate of overall industrial development can be seen from the targets for the different regions. By 1965 the Ukrainian Republic will have surpassed by far the combined pig iron output of Britain and France for 1957. When the power stations now being built in Siberia are put into commission, this area will generate more electricity than any capitalist country in Europe. In the Urals, the 1965 pig iron output of the Chelyabinsk Region alone is scheduled to exceed the present level of France. The Sokolovsk-Sarbai ore-enrichment plant now under construction in Kazakhstan will have an annual output of 19 million tons, i.e., more than the present output of the Federal Republic of Germany or Britain.

The branches of industry forming the basis for technological progress and largely responsible for the rate of growth of the economy as a whole will be developed with the

utmost intensity. These include ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical, gas, power, machine-tool building and radio-electronic industries, as well as atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Within a brief space of time the Soviet people have made the leap from handicraft methods to automation, from the pick and shovel to walking excavators. The advances made by science and technology are such that in the next seven years technological progress will be extended to all branches—complex mechanization and automation will raise industry to a new level. This will be decisive for the material and technical base of communism.

On this solid basis light industry, too, will be expanded; using new materials, including synthetics, and perfecting technological methods, it will approach the level needed to satisfy all the needs of the people in communist society. It will be aided in this task by the development of agriculture which will have an output in 1965 roughly 1.7 times the 1958 figure. The plan also provides for a considerable rise in the standard of living.

In bourgeois society, as everyone knows, the aim of capitalist production is profit. The capitalists endeavor to confine consumption to the level needed for reproduction of labor power. Consequently the standard of living under capitalism is determined by the value of labor power, but in fact it is always lower. The worker there is never secure.

In contrast to this, socialist production aims at the fullest satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of all members of society. Socialism creates real possibilities for all-round development of the individual. With the completion of the Seven-Year Plan these possibilities will be greatly increased. There will be a 62-65 per cent growth in the national income. And it should be mentioned that the bulk of it is allocated to meet the immediate demands of the working people. Hence the real incomes of factory and office workers and collective farmers will rise roughly by 40 per cent. Provision is made for further improving labor conditions, reducing hours and achieving gradual transition to a five-day working week. This will be done without reducing wages! The Soviet Union will then have the shortest working day and week in the world; there will be a big increase in the number of factory and office workers and, of course, there will be no unemployment—an evil which has become a thing of the distant past in the Soviet Union. Communal and trade services will be substantially improved; some 15 million apartments will be built in

towns and about seven million dwellings in the countryside. Each year will see a growth of budgetary allocations for nursery schools, kindergartens and boarding schools, for general education, professional training and public health which is free of charge; for sanatoria, holiday homes and houses for the aged, and also for pensions, social insurance, etc.

The rapid growth of all branches of the national economy will make it possible, within the next 15 years, to solve the basic economic task of the USSR, i.e., to outstrip the more developed capitalist countries in output per head of population. Since in the Soviet Union there is neither parasitic consumption nor sharp contrasts in the level of consumption by the different strata of the population, such as are inherent in bourgeois society, the level of mass consumption will be incomparably higher than can be expressed by average figures. By about 1970, perhaps even earlier, the Soviet Union will have the highest standard of living in the world.

The Seven-Year Plan provides for harmonious and planned development of all branches of the economy, for the growth of production and consumption, which condition and influence each other. The targets reveal the essence of socialist economy—steady growth of production for the purpose of constantly improving well-being. At the higher phase of communism the productive forces will have reached the level when “all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly” (*K. Marx*), when the transition will take place from the socialist principle of distribution according to the amount of work done to the communist principle of distribution according to needs.

“In the last analysis,” Lenin said, “productivity of labor is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system.” The socialist system, then, stimulates greater social and personal interest in higher labor productivity, and clears the way for the operation of powerful incentives.

With the advance to communism the factor of consciousness will acquire an ever-increasing significance, manifesting itself particularly in selfless work, in the concern of all for higher productivity, for producing more goods “which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their ‘close’ kith and kin, but to their ‘distant’ kith and kin, i.e., to society as a whole” (*V.I. Lenin*). The growing importance of communist consciousness, however, is not counterposed to such a vital incentive to higher labor productivity as the personal interest of each worker in the fruits

of his labor. It derives from the socialist principle of distribution in accordance with work done and fully corresponds to the level of productivity attained by society in the first phase of communism.

The ideological and material stimuli are organically combined in the process of communist construction and, in the conditions of the more and more rapid advance towards communism, find clear expression in the communist work teams which represent a new, higher stage of socialist emulation. These teams, the response of the Soviet working people to the Seven-Year Plan, are every hour increasing in number. Their aim is not merely to reach and surpass production targets, but also to see that their members improve skills and culture, enrich their knowledge and observe communist standards of behavior. The people as a whole are vitally interested in the plan for building communism, it is the fulfillment of their aspirations.

Along with the changes in material production in the process of building communism, the spiritual life of society, and man himself, undergo change; the communist outlook takes shape. Questions of communist upbringing, molding the new man in the spirit of collectivism, of awareness of social duty, in the spirit of socialist internationalism, patriotism and communist ethics, are coming more and more to the fore in the life of Soviet society, becoming key problems for government bodies, the Communist Party, trade unions, the Communist Youth League and other organizations. The purpose of the Plan is to ensure conditions for genuinely creative labor for man on the basis of higher production, to give him more time for all-round physical and intellectual development. The new Soviet education law opens up splendid prospects for the blossoming of culture. Science, that powerful means of curbing elemental forces, will advance with seven-league strides. It has already surpassed the level of science in the capitalist countries—proof of which is vividly attested by the Sputniks and the space rocket, the first man-made planet in the solar system.

An important feature of the advance towards communism is the steady development of democracy, the increased activity and initiative of the working people and their organizations both in town and country. Growing, too, is the role of the trade unions—the biggest working-class organizations; the unions now perform many of the functions previously the prerogative of governmental bodies. Production meetings in the enterprises are now permanent features and enjoy wider powers.

The Communist Youth League is taking a more active part in educational matters, in training the young generation and in all other spheres of state and economic life.

Soviet society is a highly organized unit. The socialist state is one of the vital forms of this organization.

In the process of gradual evolution from socialism to communism the role of the state does not and cannot weaken, although the functions performed by its bodies undergo certain changes. The claims of the revisionists who try to belittle the significance of the socialist state, and in particular to substitute public organizations for governmental bodies, are absurd theoretically and harmful in practice. Marxism-Leninism has proved, and time has confirmed, that after the victory of the socialist revolution the state remains not only throughout the entire transition period from capitalism to socialism but also “throughout the evolution of victorious socialism into full communism” (*V.I. Lenin*). Consequently, there can be no talk of weakening the state bodies. On the contrary, their role in public life, in building communism, is growing; some of their functions become more important, others less so.

State power in the USSR is exercised by the Soviets, which became the state form of the proletarian dictatorship as a result of the October Revolution. An exceptionally important but by far not the only function of the Soviets during the building of socialism was that of suppressing the class enemy; after the victory of socialism, however, when the exploiting classes had been abolished, the situation changed. The Soviet state is the state of the workers and peasants. The differences between these two classes will disappear in the process of communist construction. Organizational and educational functions come more to the fore in the work of the Soviets, while the elements of compulsion increasingly yield ground. In this sense, the differences between the Soviets, as state bodies, and the other organizations of the working people are becoming less and less distinguishable. Lenin foresaw that in the process of the natural withering away of the state as an organ of class suppression, of all the state bodies only those like the Supreme Council of National Economy would “grow, develop and gain strength, and carry out all the main functions of organized society,” that in the future the economic functions of the state would change “from political to simply administrative” ones.

The all-round development of socialist democracy and the broad participation of the masses in communist construction make ever greater demands on the Communist Party, the leading and organizing force of society. In the period of the systematic building of communism the influence exerted by the Party on all aspects of social life will steadily increase, because apart from the Marxist-Leninist party there is no other social force capable of combining the efforts of the people and their organizations, of rallying them ideologically and guiding them to their great goal.

In guiding communist construction the Party bases itself not on cut-and-dried schemes, it takes fully into account the requirements of the objective economic laws and the real possibilities and needs of society. The Party holds that its duty is to support all that is advanced and new in social life and in the practical experience of the masses, to help the progressive forces and tendencies to break through and overcome the old, the obsolete and the conservative.

The Communist Party is the genuine vanguard of the people, a militant union of like-minded people. Any weakening of this union would endanger the cause of communism. That is why the Party so vigilantly guards its unity and crushingly rebuffs any attempt to encroach on it.

Class antagonisms have long since disappeared in the Soviet Union with the result that there is no longer any social base for factions or groupings in the Party. But socialist society, too, has its contradictions. These are contradictions between the old and backward and the new and advanced. The Party wages a struggle against those in its ranks who do not feel the pulse of life, who cling to the old, outmoded forms and methods of work, those infected with conservatism and who are unable correctly to assess the new in life.

The strength and prestige of the Party, the successful exercise of its leading role depend on strict adherence to the Leninist principles of collective leadership from top to bottom. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union provides a striking example of how consistent development of inner-Party democracy enhances the role of the Party organizations in solving local questions, makes for greater initiative and heightens responsibility, and involves all its members in discussing and solving Party and government tasks.

In the socialist countries Party work is inseparable from economic activity—it is called upon to promote economic and cultural con-

struction. Only those floundering in the quagmire of revisionism can sneer and say that the Communist parties in the socialist countries occupy themselves too much with economic questions to the detriment of theory and politics. Politics is not an abstraction suspended in mid-air. It affects the interests of the millions. If the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal parties of the other socialist countries are concentrating on practical measures for developing their economy and culture and raising living standards, this is politics that means much to the people. Planning and carrying out the plans, in addition to being economic matters, contribute to the solution of the theoretical problems of building communism. But idle talk about socialism not based on daily experience will not advance theory or practice a single inch, all it does is to disarm the Party and the people ideologically.

The experience of communist construction, pioneered in the USSR under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, is of immense international significance. This experience furthers the creative development of scientific communism.

* * *

The progress made by socialism signifies that a new phase is beginning in the economic competition of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the United States and the industrially developed capitalist states. Gone are the days when the United States could impress the Western world by its volume of production. And the day is coming when the United States will have to yield and cede superiority to the Soviet Union not only in overall production but also in output per capita. This will be a genuine triumph for socialism, a triumph that will determine the outcome of its peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

The new phase in the competition between the two systems is opening in conditions favorable for socialism and unfavorable for its opponents. It is a fact that the world balance of forces has changed very much in favor of socialism. We have already entered the era when socialism will completely gain the upper hand over capitalism.

The capitalist world system retains within its confines, by means of compulsion, the most antagonistic national and social forces, forces which at times have diametrically opposed aims and interests. It includes the highly developed capitalist powers which plunder their own people and the people of other countries, the capitalist countries with

a lower economic level, and the underdeveloped countries exploited by imperialism in one way or another.

The countries that have cast off the colonial yoke, semi-colonies and colonies, account for 28 per cent of the territory and 30 per cent of the population of the world. These countries possess vast natural wealth. But the opportunities at the disposal of imperialism for exploiting the resources and manpower of these countries are dwindling. Under the impact of the national-liberation movement the colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating. And this disintegration of the colonial hinterland of imperialism adds to the general instability of the capitalist world, and weakens it in the competition between the two systems.

An important feature of present-day capitalism is permanent imbalance in economic life—temporary, unstable booms give way to frequent profound crises. The uneven, jerky and sporadic movement of the capitalist economy becomes more pronounced. The capitalist world system is weakened by desperate imperialist rivalry for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of investment.

Seeking to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the working class and the middle sections, the imperialist bourgeoisie have launched an offensive against the democratic rights won by the people in the course of long and persistent struggle. This tendency is seen not only in France, but in a number of other countries, where the reactionary bourgeoisie are at pains to deprive parliamentary and democratic institutions of their content, retaining the semblance while tightening their grip on society. The antagonisms between the imperialist rulers and the vast majority of the people are becoming exceedingly acute; the vital interests of the working class and the people as a whole are directly imperilled by a new variety of fascism.

But the working class, rallying around itself ever wider sections of the people interested in the abolition of imperialism, the main enemy of progress, can avert the danger now threatening society. The working class has its tried and tested communist vanguard which is confidently coping with this task. The idea that socialism alone can ensure genuine democracy is gripping the minds of millions.

Thus the crumbling of the political and economic pillars of capitalism is gaining momentum.

An entirely different situation prevails in the socialist world system. In contrast to the capitalist world it is distinguished by monolithic unity and by internal stability and firmness, deriving from the dominance of the socialist production relations.

The socialist division of labor based on fraternal mutual aid and co-operation reinforces the economic independence of each socialist country and enables the formerly backward countries to catch up economically with the others, to equalize levels of economic development, and add to the economic might of the socialist system as a whole. Through combined efforts and planned utilization of their resources the socialist countries are consolidating the socialist system, ensuring its success in the competition with capitalism.

An analysis of the development of the two systems over the past 20 years shows that in the socialist countries the volume of production has increased 9.5 times, whereas in the capitalist countries the increase has been less than two-fold. Data for the more recent period when the capitalist economy has been suffering from a crisis are even more striking. Thus, in the USSR industrial output for ten months of last year rose ten per cent compared with the corresponding period for the previous year, whereas in the USA it decreased by 9.2 per cent.

A high rate of economic development is typical of all the socialist countries; their share in world output is growing steadily, while that of the capitalist countries is constantly declining. This is the fundamental law of development of our time. If we bear in mind the rate of growth for all the socialist countries, it will not be difficult to see that in 1965 these countries will be producing more than half the world's industrial output. This will be a historic victory of socialism over capitalism. Lenin's statement that socialism contains within itself gigantic forces and that "mankind has now entered into a new stage of development which has extraordinarily brilliant prospects" is confirmed again and again.

The aggressive imperialist forces, alarmed by the success of socialism and in particular by the new Soviet economic plan, are trying to deceive the public by screaming about a "Soviet challenge." Yes, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are really challenging the capitalist world. But this is a challenge to peaceful economic competition. The Seven-Year Plan is the concrete proposal of the Soviet Union to the capitalist

countries to measure strength in economic competition. What has this in common with the aggressive imperialist policy of the arms drive and preparation for an atomic war of extermination? Were the Western powers to accept the peaceful Soviet challenge they would get the approval of the people. The truth is that the imperialist rulers, fearing peaceful economic competition, are putting their hopes on war.

The Seven-Year Plan is further proof of the profoundly peace-loving nature of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries. It is precisely because progressives all over the world see in the new plan a powerful means for preserving and consolidating world peace that they greet and welcome it. Fulfilment of the Soviet plan will add still more to the economic and defensive might of the socialist camp, cement its unity and cohesion and strengthen the peace-loving forces everywhere. It will reaffirm the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist concept concerning the possibility of averting wars in the present epoch—the concept put forward at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The millions of working people in all countries now reading about the grand creative plans of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cannot but compare the breath-taking prospects opening up before the Soviet people and those of the other socialist countries with the decline and degradation typical of the imperialist camp. This comparison signifies a moral and political defeat not only for the capitalists, whom millions and millions of working people no longer trust. The re-

formists and revisionists, too, meet with fiasco when they try to embellish capitalism, and slur over its glaring ulcers and irreconcilable contradictions. The Soviet Seven-Year Plan is another crushing blow to bourgeois ideology, to international reformism and revisionism.

* * *

Socialism will be victorious on a world scale not because of any meddling in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries, but because the peoples of these countries, convinced of the decisive superiority of the socialist system, will themselves achieve their victory. Success in building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries accelerates to a large extent humanity's advance along the highway of peace and progress. The great army of Communists is successfully rallying the working class and all toiling masses for active struggle against imperialist reaction, for bread and work, peace and freedom, democracy and socialism.

Millions of Communists, together with the masses of working people in the West and East, wholeheartedly greeted the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Congress of the builders of communism, pioneering the path to a happy future for all nations.

Despite the numberless difficulties and frenzied resistance of all its enemies, communism is irresistibly marching forward, rallying under its red banner more and more courageous fighters. *The future belongs to communism and to communism alone!*

On the Experience of the Class Struggle in Hungary

J. Kadar

EVEN the stranger with only superficial knowledge of the situation in Hungary would not question the fact that in 1948 the working class led by its revolutionary party and in alliance with the peasantry won a decisive victory over the reactionary bourgeoisie. The laying of the economic foundations of socialist society and the creation of socialist culture were initiated with immense enthusiasm.

It is a fact that in the autumn of 1956 the proletarian dictatorship was weakened, the program of socialist construction was overstrained, and the counter-revolutionary putsch instigated and fanned by the imperialists threatened the very existence of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Those even slightly acquainted with our conditions also know that by the end of 1958 the proletarian dictatorship and our Republic had regained their strength and are now stronger than they were before the counter-revolution. This is reflected concretely in all spheres of socialist construction and also in the convincing results of the elections to the National Assembly and local councils on November 16, 1958.

Of course, it would be wishful thinking to imagine that all those who cast their votes (98 per cent of the electorate, of whom 99 per cent voted for the candidates of the Fatherland People's Front) were firm Marxist-Leninists and Communists. But it is a fact that the working class and peasantry and the vast majority of the intellectuals, having weighed up everything, voted decisively for the policy of our Party. This overwhelming majority impelled the vacillating minority to follow suit and thereby isolated the enemies of our system.

Of course, the Party cannot be satisfied with merely stating that the country is making sound progress and that socialism is on the upgrade. Our Party, as is natural for any Marxist-Leninist party, knows that its duty is to analyze the motive forces of the events, to analyze the lessons of the zig-zag development—from the peak of 1948 to the low level of 1956 and the new high of November 1958—and the reasons for the successes and

setbacks. The working masses know that the Party, in addition to taking cognizance of experience, in the past two years has consolidated the gains of its practical work and has abolished or largely overcome the negative aspects. One can well realize that without a Marxist-Leninist analysis, without a decisive improvement in the Party's practical work and without the support of the masses it would have been well-nigh impossible in two years to pull the country out of the morass and redirect it along the highroad to socialism.

The political line now pursued by the Party is not new. It is true that there were errors and distortions in the course of the socialist construction prior to 1956, but this in itself does not alter the fact that in that period, too, socialism was being built in Hungary under the leadership of the Working People's Party. Our Party is now *continuing* the policy of building socialism. Hence, its general line has remained unchanged since 1956. Naturally, Party work has acquired new and healthy features, too, which are by no means unessential. These accrue above all from the fact that the Party has learnt from the lessons and errors of the past and is now more consistently applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism in Hungarian conditions.

Now briefly about our experience and the new features of the class struggle in Hungary.

I

The class struggle in Hungary, particularly the 1956 counter-revolution, has proved the general validity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on proletarian dictatorship and class struggle. "The abolition of classes," writes Lenin, "requires a long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which, *after the overthrow of the power of capital, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear . . .*, but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes more fierce."

The abolition of the economic power of the bourgeoisie, after the conquest of political power, is a relatively simpler task. But expropriation of the bourgeoisie does not yet ensure final victory. As compared with this objective, the task of *freeing the overwhelming majority of the working people from the ideological and political influence of the bourgeoisie and winning them over to Marxist-Leninist ideas* is much more complicated and requires more time. Only when this has been done can our victory be considered final.

The counter-revolutionary experience of 1919 and 1956 shows that the exploiters never become reconciled to the loss of power. A few months before the putsch the revisionists preached the false and harmful view that class struggle dies out already in the period of socialist construction. It was the spread of these ideas that largely accounted for the fact that when the counter-revolution broke out the Party was unprepared. In the autumn of 1956, the class struggle in Hungary became more acute than at any time under the people's democratic regime.

During the transition period the class struggle is characterized by various opposing trends. The growth of the socialist forces restricts the resistance and the offensive capacity of the bourgeoisie and frees the petty-bourgeois masses from its influence. All this tends to mitigate the class struggle. At the same time any weakening of the socialist forces, any shock to which the proletarian dictatorship is subjected, tends to encourage and strengthen the bourgeoisie, thereby aggravating the class struggle. International developments likewise affect the class struggle in varying degree in each country. If the forces of peace and socialism win victories, reaction is rendered helpless and gives way; if international tension is exacerbated and the imperialists launch provocations in some quarter, the internal reactionary forces raise their heads.

It is not in the interests of the working class and the Communist Party to sharpen the class struggle—their primary concern is peaceful construction of socialism. In 1919 and in the period after 1945 the Hungarian proletariat came to power without a single gun being fired. And what was the reaction of the bourgeoisie? In 1919, as in 1956, it joined hands with the forces of world reaction and imposed a civil war on us. We do not want to sharpen the class struggle, but if an armed attack is thrust upon us,

we are obliged to take up arms in self-defense.

When the socialist forces in Hungary struck a retaliatory blow at the counter-revolutionaries, reactionaries all over the world raised a hullabaloo about "terror;" the revisionists and bourgeois "humanists" were shocked. But what did the proletarian dictatorship do? It answered the heinous atrocities of the counter-revolution with retaliatory blows. We can use the words of Lenin, who said in 1919: "The accusation of terrorism, since it is just, does not concern us, it concerns the bourgeoisie."

However, the class battles in Hungary reflect not only these general laws but also the specific features inherent in our country's development, which explain the extreme sharpening of class struggle in certain periods.

The revolution and the national-liberation war of 1848-49, which aimed at winning independence and clearing the way for capitalist development in Hungary, suffered defeat. This development was complicated by the heavy burden of feudal survivals.

In 1918 all the essential social contradictions were present in Hungary: the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the working class, between the feudal landlords and the peasants, and also the national contradictions. They were complicated also by contradictions between our people and the alien Hapsburg monarchy and the country's dependence on Austria. It was not fortuitous that Hungary happened to feel early and with the greatest force the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In 1918 the Communist Party in a short period of time won over the majority of the working class and the masses who under its leadership established the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

In 1919 the counter-revolutionaries aided by imperialist intervention drowned the Soviet Republic in blood. But the proletarian dictatorship left its imprint on the class battles during the inter-war period of counter-revolutionary rule. The exploiting classes were haunted by the fear of another proletarian revolution, while the revolutionary movement gained strength and confidence from the experience of the Soviet Republic.

In the history of Hungary two sharply opposed traditions stand out with particular force — the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary. After Russia, Hungary was the first country to establish proletarian dictatorship; but Hungary, too, was the country

in which the first and longest lasting fascist dictatorship came to power as a result of the victorious counter-revolution aided by foreign intervention. But even the most brutal persecution failed to obliterate from the minds of the Hungarian Communists—the best sons of the working class—the memory of the Soviet Republic and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Still, the victory of the reactionary ruling classes and their more than twenty-five years' counter-revolutionary nationalist propaganda deeply affected the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. The working class, the revolutionary vanguard of the working people, has rich traditions, valuable experience and it has been tempered in battle. But the Hungarian bourgeoisie, too, had fighting and terrorist experience and was well versed in the art of deceiving the people.

Nationalism was one of the main ideological weapons of the counter-revolution used both under the Horthy regime and in 1956. The penetration of nationalist ideas was facilitated by the fact that the struggle against the centuries-old foreign yoke (Turkish and German) had made the people susceptible to nationalism. In 1848 when the reconstruction of Hungary on bourgeois lines and the winning of national independence were on the agenda, bourgeois nationalism played a progressive role. But beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century it became increasingly reactionary. The ruling classes used nationalism to promote their reactionary aims. They sacrificed the country's independence to the Hapsburgs, to the Austrian ruling class and later to Hitler imperialism in exchange for the right to oppress the national minorities in Hungary. In home policy nationalism was used to cover up the bitter class antagonisms and in foreign policy — to justify ideologically Hungary's participation in the two world wars. This background reveals why the counter-revolution in 1956 was decked out in nationalist feathers. The so-called "national communism" inflamed the bourgeois-nationalist, chauvinist views that had been cultivated for decades, and turned them into the principal ideological weapon during the process of hatching the counter-revolution.

The class struggle in Hungary was strongly affected by the fact that the working class had come to power under relatively peaceful conditions. Although socialization of the means of production had deprived the bourgeoisie of its economic power, it managed to preserve its political forces, due

to the relatively peaceful development of the revolution. In the process of building people's democracy only a part of the old state machine, namely, the armed organs of coercion, was destroyed. The other part was undergoing a process of gradual transformation. Thus, the bourgeoisie had not completely lost its political influence on state, economic and cultural life. This specific feature of the class struggle emphasizes the need to suppress still more vigorously the resistance of the bourgeoisie, to enhance the vigilance and the militant preparedness of the working class and all working people.

II

In the period between the liberation in 1945 and the counter-revolutionary coup in October 1956, considerable progress had been made in the socialist reconstruction of the country. The forces of socialism had gained the upper hand. How, then, was it possible for a situation to arise in which, for a time, the fate of the proletarian dictatorship was threatened?

According to the champions of the bourgeoisie, the counter-revolutionary putsch testified to the "disillusionment" of the working people with socialism, to "the crisis of communism." In essence the revisionists drew the selfsame conclusion when they spoke about a "spontaneous popular uprising" against the existing system.

But the theory of "the crisis of communism" proved to be false. During the counter-revolution, too, the forces of socialism were decisively superior to those of reaction. But the condition of the contending forces was not identical.

As to the forces loyal to socialism the following can be said:

For years the Hungarian working class, responding to the call of the Party, had put its heart and soul into socialist construction. The mistakes made in that period caused a certain confusion in its ranks, and its links with the Party were weakened. The confusion was compounded by revisionist demoralizing influence and treachery which, at the critical moment, paralyzed even the Party and government leaders.

Despite this, large masses of workers and above all the seasoned guard of the working class — the veteran workers — remained loyal to socialism even in the hour of trial. Some of them resisted the counter-revolution with arms in hand, and it was they who were the first to recover the moment the counter-revolution was defeated.

The more conscious part of the peasantry — members of the co-operatives and the masses of poor peasants — remained faithful to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Vacillations among the middle peasants increased during the crisis because on some issues they were at variance with the proletarian dictatorship. Contradictions arose, for instance, during the socialist reconstruction in the countryside because the voluntary principle was violated and also because of the system of prices for farm products. In the process of suppressing the counter-revolution, particularly during the rearguard actions, the middle peasants resolutely allied themselves with the working class.

The intellectuals, depending on their political views, split up into a number of groups. A small section remained loyal throughout to the people's system. Another section, also small, participated actively in preparing, organizing and leading the putsch. Still another section, a considerable one, vacillated. This is explained by the social status of the intellectuals. After the liberation their status changed: they, together with the rest of the working people, gained freedom. But for a long time the change did not find reflection in their political thinking. A large number of them retained, in one way or another, the old bourgeois concepts: nationalist views and illusions about "above-class" democracy. This explains why a fairly big section got caught up in the revisionist and nationalist wave and, as a result of the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, fell prey to counter-revolutionary influence and formed a base for the counter-revolution. After the military, political and ideological defeat of the counter-revolution the wait-and-see section gradually turned to us. They did so because the vital interests of the large majority of the intellectuals link them to the working class.

The base of the counter-revolutionary forces widened as a result of the vacillations of the urban petty bourgeoisie. This section is an ally of the working class when working-class rule is stable. But the moment it undergoes strain and suffers temporary setbacks the urban petty bourgeoisie withdraws. Lenin wrote: "... Decades of experience in all countries testify that it vacillates and hesitates; one day it marches with the proletariat and the next day, taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution, panics at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, becomes nervous, darts to and fro, snivels, and rushes from one camp to

the other." Our own experience fully confirms this thesis.

The forces of the counter-revolution were well organized and exceedingly active. They knew what they wanted. Their stooges occupied key positions in important sectors of the People's Republic. The general staff of the reactionaries was made up of spies and saboteurs enlisted by world imperialism, counter-revolutionary emigres and their accomplices at home, and also the Imre Nagy clique which deserted to their side. The armed gangs were recruited from the remnants of the former ruling classes, reactionary Horthy officers, gendarmes, police, criminals, lumpen-proletarians and young people who had been led astray, from vacillating petty bourgeois elements and intellectuals.

The leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat — the Communist Party — was paralyzed by treachery. In the hour of crisis the defenders of socialism were left without leadership. They were dispersed and for this reason, though they were in the majority, could not fight with due resolve. And so it was that, because the counter-revolution was well organized and our forces were disorganized, a situation arose in which a superior force temporarily found itself at a disadvantage as compared with an inferior one.

III

The preparation and launching of the bitter rearguard action of the counter-revolutionary putsch in 1956 shed light on the tactics employed by the international and Hungarian reactionaries in their fight against socialism. The counter-revolutionaries knew that they could not count on success if they openly called for restoration of capitalism. That is why they cloaked their real aims. In the initial stages at least they proclaimed "democratic socialism," not capitalism, as their aim. "Socialism without dictatorship" — this was their first tactical slogan. In proclaiming it the counter-revolutionaries calculated that it would create favorable ground for the accomplishment of further aims. This slogan suited them because it could be used to mislead the politically immature masses.

Their second tactical step was the proclamation of "pure democracy," void of class content. At the height of the putsch the reactionaries discarded the mask. True, for the purpose of deluding the masses, they continued to shout about "democracy," but in reality there was not the slightest indication

of democracy — counter-revolutionary terror reigned in the streets.

The 1919 counter-revolution, too, had invoked democratic slogans. Early in August 1919, the six-day "trade union" government headed by Gyula Peidl* paved the way to counter-revolutionary terror, and the "national communist" Imre Nagy government did exactly the same in October 1956.

In foreign policy, too, the counter-revolutionaries resorted to the same step-by-step tactics. At first, they demanded that Soviet-Hungarian friendship be "based on equality." This, of course, was a thrust at the Soviet Union, the purpose being to implant the idea that Hungarian-Soviet relations were not based on equality. The next step was overt anti-Soviet incitement, renunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the proclamation of "neutrality." For Hungary this "neutrality" could only signify a complete break with her friends and her subordination to the NATO imperialists.

Imperialism, which prepared and organized the putsch on the basis of the tactical principle of gradualness, selected the main assault forces for particular stages of the offensive. First, they relied on support from the opposition inside the Party. This is what Ferenc Nagy, one of the leaders of the bourgeois emigres, wrote only a few months before the putsch in *Latohatar* (Horizon)—organ of Hungarian emigres—having in mind the revisionist Imre Nagy clique: "We are not at all upset by the fact that today this struggle is still led by members of the Communist Party."

In foreign policy in the initial stage, Yugoslavia—a country which had broken with the socialist camp and was now opposed to it — was cited as an example. As a first step, in the opinion of some American politicians, it would be sufficient if there were changes along the lines of those witnessed in Yugoslavia, which gave a clear expose of the aims and intentions of the imperialists. The imperialist counter-revolutionary forces were aware that they could count on success only if they were able to wrest Hungary from the socialist camp. That would have been the first step toward the restoration of capitalism in Hungary and her subordination to imperialist oppression.

In preparing the counter-revolution, both the internal and foreign reactionaries adop-

ted the principle of gradualness in choosing the field of action, in changing the direction of the attack, and in selecting the forms and means of struggle.

It was not accidental that the counter-revolutionary offensive began on the ideological front among the intellectuals many of whom were vacillating elements who could be used to influence broader sections of the public. The enemies calculated that if they could paralyze the socialist forces ideologically, revive and support the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois way of thinking among the people, it would be easier to conduct a political offensive and, later, an armed attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

This aim was furthered in 1955 and early in 1956 by a group formed within the Union of writers (Deri, Tamas Aczel, Gyula Hay and others), and by the counter-revolutionary propaganda conducted in the Petofi circle. At first the outward impression was that these groups were discussing questions of culture in the narrower sense, such as problems of poetry, literature, the historical sciences, philosophy and pedagogy. However, it soon became evident that the discussion of cultural questions was only a cover for a general attack by bourgeois ideology in preparation for the counter-revolutionary putsch.

The propagation of hostile ideology was also facilitated by the fact that for a number of years the former leadership of the Party had not fought consistently against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. Open ideological struggle had often been replaced by unilateral administrative measures; bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views were simply suppressed without exposing their reactionary character before the masses. The result was that these ideas disappeared only from the surface, but continued to survive in the minds of many, and when the opportunity came, broke out into the open. This "second flowering" of reactionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas in 1956 warns us that in the struggle against bourgeois ideology no administrative measures can possibly take the place of open ideological struggle, exposure and eradication of hostile ideology.

Whereas during the preparatory period the counter-revolutionaries conducted their ideological offensive without going beyond the "socialist" framework, at a later stage, during the uprising, anti-Party slogans prevailed. For instance, one of the chief slogans during the rising wave of the counter-revolution was the

*In August 1919, after the fall of the Soviet Hungarian Republic, Gyula Peidl formed a provisional so-called trade union government, consisting of Right Social Democrats, which later gave way to an overt counter-revolutionary government.

demand to restore the multi-party bourgeois system.

At one time in Hungary, between 1945 and 1948, other parties existed side-by-side with the Communist Party. But most of the bourgeois parties had suffered defeat in the open political struggle. The Smallholders and the National Peasant Party, having ousted the Right bourgeois elements, had acknowledged the leading role of the working class, endorsed socialist construction and joined the reorganized Fatherland People's Front. From that moment on their independent activity as parties gradually withered away. By 1956 this problem had become a thing of the past.

Re-establishment of the multi-party system in conditions of a counter-revolutionary offensive could only favor the reactionary forces. Construction of socialism and struggle against reaction were ruled out by the parties that had been re-established. Their membership included feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reactionaries of all hues. It was not easy for the masses to identify their true countenance and to see the counter-revolutionary role of parties which at certain periods had progressive features (Social-Democratic Party, Smallholders' Party, and National Peasant Party). These parties were re-established as anti-socialist parties, and were led by rabid enemies of proletarian dictatorship. The Right elements seized the leadership, ousting those who in the past few years had taken part in building socialism.

During the putsch it was clear that the attempts to restore the multi-party system were aimed at splitting working-class unity, undermining the links between the working class and its allies and abolishing the proletarian dictatorship.

The leading role of a revolutionary working-class party in state and public life is a fundamental question, a general law of the people's democratic system as a form of proletarian dictatorship. Without this condition, people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the worker-peasant state cannot survive and socialist society cannot be built. This is absolutely clear. At the same time the fact that some People's Democracies have only one political party (the revolutionary party of the working class), while others have several parties, proves that a "one-party system" or "multi-party system" is not a principle deriving from the general law. This is a practical political question which is solved on the basis of the political and social relations obtaining in the particular country. We had to face this question too.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution the openly Right bourgeois parties disintegrated. The so-called "coalition" parties continued to exist for a month or two, conducting activity in the localities. (In one of the provincial committees there was a group of the Smallholders' Party, in Budapest—a group of the National Peasant Party, in Csepel—a branch of the Social-Democratic Party, etc.). They persisted in their opposition to any consolidation of the People's Republic. In November and December 1956, the former "coalition" parties demonstrated once and for all that in the Hungary of today they can no longer play a progressive role.

That is why in December 1956 our Party resolutely (and rightly so) opposed the idea of restoring the multi-party system, and in the course of the political and ideological struggle laid bare the counter-revolutionary nature of the slogan of a multi-party system. We are now seeking to recruit through the Fatherland Front those leaders and members of the former coalition parties who are loyal to people's democracy, for constructive work in the various spheres of political, economic and cultural life. The growth of the Fatherland Front during the past two years shows that here, too, we have succeeded in eliminating the confusion caused by the counter-revolution.

IV

The counter-revolution had thoroughly prepared the attack, had worked out elaborate tactics and achieved temporary success; yet, it was unable to win. In the West there was, and still is, bitter wrangling as to what was the chief tactical mistake. But the main cause of the defeat suffered by the counter-revolution should be sought not in its tactics, but in the fact that it underestimated the pull of socialist ideas, the strength of the working class, of the people, and of socialism, both in Hungary and on the international plane. The counter-revolution based its calculations on a "crisis" of communism, on breaking the unity of the socialist camp. That is why its plans ended in failure.

The Socialist Workers' Party and the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government possessed the key to success in the counter-offensive: they believed in the masses, in the strength of the socialist camp, and they relied on these firm pillars.

In October and November 1956, in Hungary there was a clash not only between the home forces of socialism and counter-revolution; there took place one of the class battles on

an international scale between socialism and capitalism. The counter-revolutionary onslaught which aimed at overthrowing the People's Republic, had been organized by international imperialism. In saving the Hungarian socialist revolution a decisive role was played by the aid, rendered in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

After defeating the counter-revolution, we in the past two years have consolidated our people's democratic system and created conditions for the steady advance of socialist construction. Our achievements in economy and culture, in strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and rallying the working people under the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party, show that the vast majority of our people have adopted socialism for all time.

These successes also prove that our Party has learnt from both the good and the bad experience, from the tragic lessons of the counter-revolutionary putsch; that it has during the past two years solved, not unfruitfully, the complex questions of class struggle.

The Party has acquired useful experience also in the sense of how necessary it is, from the standpoint of the operation of the basic laws of class struggle, to take into account the specific features of our situation and by so doing ensure the functioning of the proletarian dictatorship without any distortions. In this connection it was vitally important to *grasp the main link* in the chain of interconnections of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship—the link determining the course of development in the given period so as to concentrate our efforts in this direction.

Depending on the concrete situation and the character of the tasks of the day, one or another of the functions of the proletarian dictatorship—coercion, organization or education—comes to the fore. For instance, it is absolutely clear that in the stage immediately following November 4, 1956, the first and inevitable step for the purpose of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship was to *smash the armed counter-revolutionary groups*. All other tasks were subordinated to this principal one.

The accomplishment of this task enabled the Party to concentrate on stabilizing the economic situation. Lastly, political and economic consolidation paved the way to the solution of ideological and cultural questions. These questions, together with the further political consolidation of people's power and the carrying out of economic tasks, comprised a major part of our work. True, different tasks

are always interwoven, but it is equally true that concentration on the main task was a vital and indispensable condition for our advance.

An important factor in the past two years was that our Party waged a consistent struggle on two fronts: against sectarian, dogmatic deviations and against Right deviations. This was decisive for our success in the class struggle. The degree of acuteness of the class struggle is determined above all by the attitude of the class enemy. But it is also affected by the policy of the Party—a factor which should not be overlooked. For instance, the left deviations, sectarian mistakes and distortions committed prior to the counter-revolutionary putsch undoubtedly aggravated the class struggle. At the same time the spread of revisionist ideas and the weakening of the struggle against the enemy provided the reactionaries with the opportunity to strike harder.

Although Communists endeavor to prevent the class struggle as far as possible from assuming acute forms, they do not idealize this question; they do not hold that milder forms of class struggle mean strengthening the Party's contact with the masses, or that more acute forms weaken such contact.

Everything depends on the reasons for the sharper or milder form of class struggle—whether it is the inevitable result of the actual situation or the consequence of the Party's incorrect policy. For instance, the nine months following the defeat of the counter-revolution were characterized by acute class struggle. The proletarian dictatorship led by the Party was forced to take severe measures. But since the latter were dictated by the actual situation, and since the Party did not take a single step more than was necessary, yielding neither to Right views nor to Left exaggerations, *this acute class struggle strengthened the Party's contact with the masses* because the latter understood and approved these steps. And on the other hand, prior to the putsch there were periods when the Party, because of opportunist mistakes, failed to pay due attention to suppressing enemy forces, yet its contact with the masses was not extended.

Guided by its political line our Party has endeavored to ensure the functions of the proletarian dictatorship without any deviations or distortions. It has been demonstrated that if revolutionary compulsion is required, it should be applied without hesitation to anyone who encroaches on the power of the people. When it is a question of the existence

of the socialist system, petty-bourgeois concessions are out of the question. The trial and punishment of the enemy and of those guilty of excesses were justified both theoretically and practically as a necessary and correct step which corresponded to the sense of justice of the Hungarian people.

At the same time we have strengthened and will continue to strengthen the democratic foundations of our system. During the past two years, thanks to a series of measures, the role of the working people in solving public matters has grown. The activity of the organs of people's power—the National Assembly and local councils—has developed considerably. The intermediate and local bodies have become more independent. The rights of the trade unions, co-operatives and self-governing bodies have been extended.

Good results have likewise accrued from better relations, now placed on a firm foundation, between Party members and non-Party people. Only a few months after the defeat of the counter-revolution and repeatedly since then the Party proclaimed and implemented the principle that Party members and non-members enjoy equal rights of citizenship. For example, before the Central Committee discussed such an important matter as the position of the working class, we ascertained and considered the views of Party and non-Party people alike. The Party asked for the views of non-Party people even when it criticized them: for instance, in connection with their attitude to the so-called people's writers. In the aggregate, and only in the aggregate, this led to the isolation of the enemy, to the growth of the ranks of those who rallied round the Party.

The Party, waging the class struggle from this correct standpoint, has devoted special attention in the last two years to the allies of the working class. In solving this question it proceeded from the fact that the alliance with the peasantry and petty-bourgeois elements has, in addition to general features, a concrete content. It is essential always to have a correct and timely understanding of this concrete content. Take, for instance, the question of the worker-peasant alliance.

This alliance, both in the period of struggle for power and during the building of socialism, is based on community of fundamental interests. During the putsch most of the peasants felt that the noisy phrasemongering was designed to cloak the demand for the return of the former estates to the landowners. In this concrete case the essence of the worker-peasant alliance was realized in the

defense of the land. That is why *all the working peasants* fought together with the Party on this issue. This was not the time for the Party in its political work to put emphasis on the co-operatives and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. As things were, this would not have rallied the peasants for the struggle against the counter-revolution. Defense of the land wrested from the landlords and handed over to the peasants was, in point of fact, defense not of a socialist but of a bourgeois-democratic achievement. In this sense, the fact that at the end of 1956 this slogan became the basic element of the worker-peasant alliance, signified, to a degree, a return to a stage that had already been passed. It was, however, linked with the defense of the socialist revolution, because the peasants were well aware that it was the working class and not the bourgeoisie that had expropriated the landlords' estates and turned the land over to the peasants. Moreover, they knew that only a working-class government could defend this achievement.

Gradually, as working-class power gained strength after defeating the putsch, the socialist elements in the worker-peasant alliance—particularly defense of the producer co-operatives—began to come to the fore.

It goes without saying that the slogan of defending the producer co-operatives did not meet with the approval of all peasants, for it expressed the interests of the more advanced peasants. Then, too, the immediate aim and the inner content of the worker-peasant alliance changed still more when the Party, in addition to upholding the producer co-operatives, put the emphasis on strengthening them and on the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The Party says forthrightly that the aim of the worker-peasant alliance today is to defend and strengthen the people's democratic rule, that this alliance is the foundation for the building of socialism, including the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Conditions are ripe for a more rapid development of the producer co-operative movement, though not for a *development by leaps and bounds*. The Party adheres to the voluntary principle in organizing producer co-operatives and ensures conditions for individual farming. This will be its policy in the future as well. What is noteworthy, however, is that the peasants, fully aware of this, voted unanimously for the Party's policy at the last elections. This shows that they accept our peasant policy, have confidence in it and are not against the socialist perspective. Thanks to this, the

worker-peasant alliance now embraces practically all the peasants, with the exception of a negligible number of rural bourgeoisie—the rural rich.

All this shows that at definite stages of the struggle against the counter-revolution the Party correctly, from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, defined the decisive elements of the worker-peasant alliance and by doing so was able to draw the correct conclusions.

The Party's approach to the urban petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals was much the same. Experience has confirmed the Party's estimate according to which our attitude towards these sections depends not on "specific" questions affecting them but chiefly on that of power. An essential factor in winning over these sections was the consolidation of our system. This convinced many that their basic views were unsound. But we cannot be satisfied with that. Together with sharp principled criticism of their erroneous views, we display more confidence in them; show greater appreciation of their services and put before them a clearer and more inspiring perspective. The result is that today these sections have a better understanding of the importance of their work, and of their role and place in society.

Our practical results and arguments have transformed the vacillating urban petty-bourgeois sections and intellectuals from a reserve of the counter-revolution (which they were during the crisis) to a reserve of socialism. As the atmosphere of hysteria fomented by the counter-revolutionaries subsided, and as a result of convincing words, words backed by deeds, the process of ideological and political purification gained ground. We could see changes for the better taking place among all sections of the intellectuals and, what was most gratifying, among the teachers. Although the majority of the intellectuals cannot yet claim that they have adopted the ideological stand of Marxism-Leninism, their interest in it has definitely grown. Correct methods of combating the enemy and of winning allies, as well as a constant search for these methods, and improving them in the course of struggle—these are the basic features of the class struggle in Hungary today.

V

The struggle waged by our Party during the past two years centered around two questions in which all the urgent problems were focussed and which, moreover, formed the basic issue of the clash with the class enemy. These were, first, the further strength-

ening of the Party by re-establishing it, ensuring its unity and leading role and, second, adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism in Party policy and inculcating these principles in the minds of the people.

During the life-and-death struggle against the counter-revolution the battle on these issues was joined not only with the class enemy and the imperialists, but also with the revisionists. At the beginning of November 1956, when armed fascist counter-revolutionaries were still killing our comrades who were working to re-create the Party, both our own and the Yugoslav revisionists "recommended" that we give up the "futile" straining of our forces to re-establish the Party. They urged us to "change the political system" and to build up our power by relying on the "workers' councils" which at the time, as was plain to all, were controlled by the counter-revolutionaries. We, however, stood by the indisputable propositions of Marxism-Leninism concerning the Party and proletarian dictatorship and strengthened our revolutionary working-class party, ensured its unity and leading role. In our work, and in the struggle on two fronts, we sought to apply the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism in all their purity, free from dogmatic and revisionist distortions.

The experience of the class struggle in Hungary has reaffirmed that proletarian dictatorship under Communist Party leadership is an indispensable condition, a vital prerequisite, for building socialism; it has shown also that the working people are vitally interested in preserving and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Proletarian internationalism is a decisive element of the correct Marxist-Leninist principles on which the revolutionary working-class party is based. The Party fulfils its international duty when it uncompromisingly fights for the complete abolition of the political power of its "own" bourgeoisie, for the complete emancipation of the working people and the building of socialist society.

For the past forty-one years the test for the internationalism of the working-class party has been its attitude to the Soviet Union. For nearly fifteen years the test of internationalism has been the attitude to the unity of the socialist camp. One of the features of our struggle against the counter-revolution was the unshakable friendship with the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist camp, open and consistent proclamation of proletarian internationalism. We can affirm that in winning the support of the masses,

in our advance over the past two years, the firm internationalist policy of our Party has played a decisive role.

In the present conditions it is particularly true that in fighting against its "own" reactionary bourgeoisie the working class and the working people are simultaneously fighting against international imperialism. The ruling circles of the United States are now fulfilling the role of "world gendarme." They have taken it into their heads to "free" or "liberate" our peoples from communism. This, of course, is wishful thinking, a dream that will never come true. But the counter-revolutionary putsch of 1956 supplied further proof that their heart's desire is to realize this dream. This obliges the Communist parties

of the People's Democracies to make sure that neither internal reaction, international imperialism, nor revisionism are allowed to undermine and sap the unity of the socialist countries. This is the lesson that we, the members of the Socialist Workers' Party, have drawn from the experience of the battle against the counter-revolution.

Our Party and all its members are boundlessly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, and this is so because our Party is eager to serve the working class and our people. What is more, we know that our Party, our working class and our people will be invincible as long as they remain faithful to these principles.

Building Socialism in the Korean People's Democratic Republic

Kim Chan Man

LITTLE more than five years have passed since the Korean people emerged victorious from three years of bitter war and resumed their peaceful construction. Five years ago our country was in dire plight: industry and transport had been destroyed and agriculture was in a bad way. Most people had lost their homes and belongings, and food and clothing were scarce.

From the standpoint of social development five years is a short time, but in this period changes of tremendous importance have taken place in our political, economic and cultural life. Not only has the national economy been rehabilitated, it has registered a further advance. New towns and villages are rising from the rubble. We have reconstructed and expanded heavy industry and laid a durable foundation for the rapid development of the whole national economy. Light industry has been rebuilt and agriculture's material and technical base strengthened.

Led by the Korean Party of Labor, our people are confidently marching forward along the path of socialist construction which opened up after liberation from the colonial yoke of the Japanese imperialists, and as a result of the democratic transformations in the northern part of the Republic. *Socialist production relations have already triumphed in all spheres of the national economy.* Whereas in

1949 the socialist sector's share in the total volume of industrial output amounted to 90.7 per cent, in agricultural production to only 3.2 per cent and to 56.5 per cent in retail trade, industry and trade have now been completely reconstructed along socialist lines; all peasant households have united into socialist producer co-operatives.

Our people have got rid of exploitation and poverty for all time and their material and cultural levels have risen. The triumph of socialism in town and countryside is cementing the Korean people's unity, which is firmly based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The revolutionary spirit is today stronger than ever in the masses who have been tempered in fierce battles and who, firmly believing in the soundness of the Party's policy, have rallied closely around it. Revealing inexhaustible creative energy and ability in all spheres of socialist construction, the working people of North Korea are striding ahead. For, as Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, our people whose lot had always been a hard one and who because of the devastation brought by the war were short of everything, lived worse than others and lagged behind them, are now, in order to live well and as well as others, rapidly forging ahead. Moreover, not satisfied with this, they are advancing ever more swiftly!

II

After the war we were faced with the task of rapidly rehabilitating our ruined industry and agriculture, with further expanding them and laying the foundations for an independent economy and improving living standards in the shortest time.

In order to carry out this task, we had to concentrate on *heavy industry*.

Although it had been gravely damaged by the war, the base was there, and considerable natural resources were available for its development. Hence, at the VIth Central Committee meeting in August 1953, immediately after the truce, the Party charted the main line of the post-war economic construction—*priority development of heavy industry with simultaneous growth of light industry and agriculture*. It goes without saying that it was far from easy to do this in a country with a shattered economy and a ruined people. But this was the only correct way; the work of restoring the economy could not be delayed, nor could we allow the privations to continue.

In determining postwar economic policy, the Party of Labor relied, firstly, on the staunchness and creative enthusiasm of our working people, steeled and tested in the war and united around the Party, and secondly, on the tremendous economic and technical aid rendered by the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other fraternal countries.

Taking advantage of the postwar hardships and difficulties, anti-Party elements who had ensconced themselves in the Party rose in opposition. They insisted that aid from the fraternal countries should, in the main, be in the form of consumer goods and used exclusively for personal consumption. They demanded that the Party abandon its general line. Firmly rejecting these demands and overcoming opposition, the Party resolutely proceeded along its chosen path.

Thanks to this sound policy and to the indefatigable labor of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, the Republic fulfilled the postwar Three-Year National Economic Plan. And three or four years later industrial and agricultural production had substantially surpassed prewar output, and the standard of living had risen. Industrial output in 1956, the last year of the Plan, rose more than 1.8 times compared with 1949 and 2.8 times as against 1953.

In order to lay the foundations for an independent national economy, it was necessary to secure a high rate of growth in indus-

trial output and to eliminate the colonial one-sidedness and the technical backwardness of our industry—our legacy from Japanese imperialism. It was for this reason that our Party, while concentrating on restoring the damaged factories, simultaneously made every effort to carry out large-scale technological reconstruction and build a number of new industries. This reinforced the technical base and radically changed the structure of industry: basic industries such as iron and steel, electric power, coal, chemical and building materials have been reconstructed, expanded and equipped with the latest machinery. We have created our own machine-building industry and we have created a light industry base. Machine-building's share in gross output rose from 1.6 per cent in 1944, to 8.1 per cent in 1949, and to 17.3 per cent in 1956; that of the textile industry increased respectively from 6 per cent to 11.4 per cent and to 18.4 per cent.

The Party attracted private employers and merchants to the work of building socialism. It should be borne in mind that because of the long colonial rule of Japanese imperialists, national capital was but slightly developed in Korea. Land reform, nationalization of industry and other democratic transformations, as well as the growth of the socialist sector, further restricted the expansion of private trade and industry. Many private enterprises were destroyed during the war, whilst the few factory owners and merchants who remained were reduced to the status of artisans and petty traders. In these conditions the Party, while permitting them to carry on private enterprise, adopted a policy of gradually drawing them into co-operatives. This opened up new vistas for the private employers and merchants with the result that the majority of them took this course. By the time the Three-Year Plan neared completion the socialist transformation of private trade and industry had, in the main, been completed.

In 1957 we embarked upon the First Five-Year Plan which is aimed at *strengthening the economic base of socialism in the northern part of the Republic and, in the main, solving the food, clothing and housing problem*.

Developments in Korea and the backwardness of the national economy call for a high rate of industrial growth. True, we experienced an acute shortage of rolled metal, coal, electric power and fuel and were also hard pressed financially. But our Party held that all the difficulties could be overcome and rapid expansion of the productive forces assured provided we, with the achievements

of the postwar Three-Year Plan behind us, made proper use of the talents and the creative enthusiasm of the masses. To meet this objective the Party, at the December 1956 C.C. meeting, outlined measures for better management and called upon the Party members and the people to work for maximum output and to participate in the economy drive. To implement these decisions leading Party and Government officials went to the provinces where they discussed the plans with the working people, told them about the difficulties that would have to be overcome and called on them to do their bit.

The people responded warmly to the Party's call. A new advance in the economy began in 1957. Gross industrial output in 1957 compared with the previous year rose by 44 per cent and in 1958 increased by a further 37 per cent. In the two years since the beginning of the Five-Year Plan dozens of large and medium-sized factories equipped with the latest machinery have been put into commission, and considerable technical reconstruction is under way in others.

In 1958 industry accounted for over 65 per cent of the overall industrial and agricultural output and its leading role in the national economy became still more pronounced. Our country has been converted from a backward, agrarian one, into an industrial-agrarian country.

The technical reconstruction of all spheres of the national economy calls for accelerated industrialization, the firm foundation for a socialist economy. At the same time the Party of Labor continues to adhere to the policy which the experience of the past five years has justified, the policy of priority expansion of heavy industry with simultaneous growth of light industry and agriculture.

The Party has set the task of increasing output of basic industrial goods within the next 6-7 years as compared with 1958 as follows: electric power—2.6 times, coal—3.6 times, pig iron—9 times, steel—8-10 times, cement—4-fold, chemical fertilizers—3.3-4.3 times, fabrics—4.6 times. When these targets are reached the annual per capita consumption of electric power will be 2,000 kwh., coal—2,500 kg., pig iron—400 kg., steel—300-350 kg., cement—500 kg., chemical fertilizers—150-200 kg., fabrics—50 meters.

This grand undertaking has enthused the people. The workers are making pledges to fulfil the Five-Year Plan two years ahead of schedule, and to reach the long-term goals in four or five years instead of the planned six or seven.

Electric power, metal and machinery are of cardinal importance for achieving an upsurge in the national economy. Hence the Party is directing its main efforts to expanding the power base, the iron and steel and machine-building industries. We have immense water-power resources so that alongside the major hydro-electric stations on the main rivers and the powerful thermal power plants in the towns and cities, a nationwide movement is under way for building smaller power stations in the villages.

We have a solid raw-material base for our iron and steel industry. This industry was rapidly restored after the war and modernized but, as yet, does not satisfy requirements in ferrous metals in view of the large-scale construction and expansion of machine-building. Hence the meeting of the Central Committee in September decided to step up production of pig-iron, steel and rolled metal. This decision is being successfully carried out.

The Party's main line in machine-building is to see that the growing needs of all industries are supplied with home-produced machinery and equipment. Before the war, Korea was obliged to import nearly all the machinery she needed, whereas we are now producing large numbers of metal-cutting lathes, electric machines, mining equipment, building and agricultural machinery, ships, light-industry equipment and so on. While making every effort to utilize available equipment and production areas to the utmost, we are also building new machine-building plants and increasing output of new types of machinery. Large quantities of small and medium-sized products of the machine-building industry will be manufactured as well as all the heavy machine-building items we require. We have everything needed for rapidly expanding machine-building. Only if this is done can we modernize the national economy and accelerate socialist construction.

We know from experience how important it is to mobilize local initiative and resources. In the production of consumer goods and building materials our Party pursues a policy of expanding small and medium-sized local factories parallel with major enterprises of utilizing both handicraft methods and modern technology. Having discussed this question at one of its meetings, the Central Committee decided to set up local-industry enterprises in all towns and districts.

The people have responded enthusiastically to this decision. By September 1958, more than 900 small factories had been built without being subsidized by the government. Pre-

liminary data show that their gross output manufactured from local raw materials will this year be 1.5 times greater than that of all the factories of the Ministry of Light Industry.

These newly tapped reserves are the outcome of the Party's correct policy and the activity displayed by the working people. By using these reserves we shall be able not only to meet the needs of the people more fully, but also to increase capital investment in heavy industry. We plan to expand and mechanize local industry. If it continues to expand in this direction we shall, in a few years, have over 1,000 new modern enterprises of the light and building materials industries without having made any major capital investment.

III

Agriculture has made good progress in the past five years.

In the past North Korea always suffered from a food shortage. The land reform carried out after the liberation, in the spring of 1946, put an end to the colonial-feudal system of landownership and paved the way for a rapid increase in agricultural output. The three-year war, however, greatly damaged our agriculture.

In these conditions it was hopeless to think in terms of rapidly rehabilitating agriculture and expanding its productive forces without the peasant households organizing producer co-operatives. Only in this way could the sharp disparity between rapidly expanding industry and slowly reviving agriculture be eliminated, and their balanced development ensured.

The VIth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party advanced the historic task of accomplishing the socialist transformation of agriculture through producer co-operatives. The Party adhered strictly to the Leninist voluntary principle, and strove to achieve the growth of the co-operative movement by convincing the peasants of the advantages of co-operative farming. Strictly observed, too, was the principle of the gradual evolution of the co-operatives, although the Party pointed out that, given a high sense of revolutionary consciousness among the peasants and adequately trained leading personnel, co-operatives of the highest type could be established from the outset.* The

interests of the poor and middle peasants were taken into consideration. There was no compulsion in pooling draught animals, machines and implements. If the peasants desired, these remained their personal property, being allocated for co-operative use solely on the principle of mutual benefit. Where the means of production were socialized, their owners received compensation.

The peasants warmly supported the Party's policy of reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines. The success of the movement is illustrated by the fact that co-operation embracing peasant households was completed by August, 1958. Moreover, all the co-operatives are of the highest type.

A major factor in the success of co-operation was the rapid and steady growth of the peasants' political awareness at the time of the democratic transformations and during the Patriotic War.

The useful experience of sharing draft animals and the various forms of mutual help in wartime conditions helped the peasants to get a better understanding of the advantages accruing from collective labor, and strengthened their desire to unite in producer co-operatives. A similar role was played by the consumer co-operatives and by the peasant co-operative banks established immediately after the liberation.

An important part was played by the land reform law which abolished the tenancy system, restricted the amount of land that could be owned, and strictly limited or prohibited its sale or mortgage; this ruled out the possibility of land being concentrated in the hands of landowners and from being converted into an instrument of exploitation.

It became obvious to the working peasants that the small strips of the individual farmers could not improve their living standards, with the result that after the war many of them favored setting up producer co-operatives. The land, it should be noted, was equally distributed among the peasant households according to the number of able-bodied members of their families. In view of this, distribution of income according to the contribution of land was not of great importance, and this was a significant factor in the rapid growth of the highest type co-operative.

Our experience has proved and the Korean peasants are now convinced, that co-operative farming, even if inadequately equipped with

*The following three types of agricultural producer co-operatives have been set up: permanent mutual help teams in which only labor is socialized; co-operatives in which land is socialized and the work done collectively with not less than 80 per cent of the income being distributed according

to work-day units and not more than 20 per cent according to the land contributed to the co-operative; the highest type of co-operative in which the income is distributed solely according to the number of work-day units.

machinery, is incontestably superior to individual farming. At the same time the co-operative movement has created possibilities for accelerating the technical reconstruction of agriculture and the rapid growth of its productive forces. Lenin taught that every social system arises only with the financial support of a definite class and that the co-operative system is the system the socialist state should support above all. In five postwar years the Government has increased capital investment in agriculture and granted loans to peasants and to co-operatives with a poor economic base, loans amounting to more than 300,000 tons of food and seed grain, of which 164,000 tons are gratis, and money to the value of 24.3 billion wons. It has also substantially increased procurement prices for farm produce and has reduced the tax in kind for co-operatives. The support rendered by our working class to the state has ensured the organizational and economic consolidation of the co-operatives and an increase in agricultural output. Despite unparalleled droughts, farm production in the Republic has shown a high rate of growth in the past two years. The grain harvest in 1957 amounted to 3,200,000 tons which enabled us in the main to solve the food problem; 3,700,000 tons were harvested in 1958. This means that the gross grain harvest surpassed the highest prewar one by 40 per cent and increased 1.5 times compared with the time of Japanese domination.

One of the major tasks of socialist construction now is to complete the technical transformation of agriculture in the shortest possible time. With this objective in view the Party is rallying the working people to irrigate new lands, mechanize and electrify agriculture. We have a limited amount of cultivable land; moreover, severe droughts occur almost every year. To increase yields, of grain particularly, and to attain a rapid increase in output, we must beat the drought by means of irrigation. For us irrigation will mean a technical revolution in the countryside.

Irrigation systems covering 91 per cent of the rice-fields requiring irrigation were installed in the postwar years. We have as yet no system for irrigating the dry valleys. The Party has set the task of building in the near future an irrigation system in all rice-fields and waterless valleys where it is feasible.

Irrigation, a great turning point in farming, of which our forefathers could only dream, has become a reality in our times.

With a view to completing the mechanization of agriculture we propose to send a vast quantity of machinery to the countryside in the next 4-5 years. This will include from 30,000 to 35,000 tractors and 25,000 to 30,000 lorries.

To supply the power needed for the irrigation and mechanization and to ensure a cultured life for the peasants, the Party has set electrification as the primary task, and a countrywide movement has been launched to complete it in the space of two years.

By accelerating the technical revolution in the countryside and introducing advanced agronomy and cattle-breeding on a large scale we shall harvest more than seven million tons of grain annually and achieve a marked increase in livestock and other branches. To realize this, however, we must first and foremost strengthen the co-operatives.

The rapid advance in agriculture since the war has proved that small co-operatives are an obstacle to the growth of the productive forces. They hinder the rational utilization of the land, all-round development of farming and irrigation of waterless valleys and fields, and particularly, mechanization and rational organization of labor. The large-scale co-operatives have demonstrated their superiority.

Co-operative leaders are now much more expert and the socialist consciousness of the peasants has grown; they themselves admit that small co-operatives do not pay their way and express the wish to enlarge their farms. Thus the peasants have already placed this question on the agenda of the day.

Proceeding from this, the Party undertook to support the initiative displayed by co-operative members to enlarge the farms. By the end of November 1958, the enlargement of the co-operatives had been completed, the voluntary principle having been strictly observed. All the co-operatives in each village have been amalgamated. The chairman of the village people's committee is at the same time chairman of the co-operative board of management.

In the past the average co-operative consisted of about 80 households with approximately 130 tenbos (a tenbo equals 0.99 of a hectare) of arable land; now each enlarged co-operative embraces on the average some 300 households and 500 tenbos of land. The co-operative shops, credit co-operatives and local clinics have also passed over to co-operative management.

There can be no doubt that this measure will accelerate the technical transformation of agriculture and the growth of its productive

forces. The fact that each village has one co-operative and that the chairman of the village committee also holds the post of chairman of the co-operative board, means that the local government bodies will be brought still closer to the peasants, and that their role and functions in guiding agriculture will be further enhanced.

IV

In the northern part of the Republic the socialist revolution has won a decisive victory. Our people are confidently marching forward to complete the building of socialism.

"At the present stage of socialist construction," said Kim Il Sung, "our main task, relying on socialist production relations, is to carry out the technical reconstruction of the national economy and further strengthen the material and production base of socialism and carry out the cultural revolution."

A vital condition for the further rapid development of our national economy is higher productivity of labor. Marxism-Leninism teaches that labor productivity is the main and most important requisite for the triumph of the new social system.

With a view to achieving a new upsurge in socialist construction, our Party has called upon the working people to raise productivity substantially in all branches of the national economy. New output rates are replacing the old ones at all enterprises; a mass innovation movement has been launched with the object of increasing labor productivity. By mechanizing production processes and introducing automation, by improved organization and advanced labor methods and by perfecting technical skills, the working class is tapping reserves which will make it possible to increase labor productivity several-fold. The workers aim to double industrial output this year, without additional manpower, and by 1961 to surpass 1.5 times the production level envisaged by the Five-Year Plan.

This attests to rapid technical strides, to the fact that the creative initiative of the working people is backed by new technology. It also testifies to the fact that the *building of socialism in our country has reached a higher stage.*

Such a leap in labor productivity is possible only when socialist production relations prevail in all branches, when the material and technological base has been strengthened, skills improved, and working-class conditions bettered. It is possible only when revolutionary spirit is high.

The innovation movement has spread from factories to offices and educational establishments. Executives and office workers, teachers and scientists are all responding. The outmoded administrative system is being thoroughly overhauled, methods of management that no longer conform to the requirements of the day are changed and staffs drastically cut. Many ministries and departments have done away with superfluous subdivisions, staffs have been reduced by more than half, and large numbers of office workers have volunteered for work in the factories. Our scientists are working in closer contact with industry and agriculture, and are conducting their research while living and working together with the factory personnel and peasants. Students are showing an increasing desire to combine study with work.

The development of our society is accompanied by fundamental changes in the outlook of the people. To reach the summits of socialism as quickly as possible, the Party has advanced the urgent task of educating the people along communist lines. In the sharp ideological struggle the survivals of bourgeois ideology in the masses are being abolished; and a communist attitude to labor and new moral standards are taking shape.

Marxism-Leninism is now the prevailing ideology in our country.

It is especially important to improve general and technical education. This is the most important task of the cultural revolution, which is continually gaining in momentum and yielding significant results. There is now no village, no remote locality in the mountains or coastal district without its elementary school. Many secondary and technical schools and at least 20 higher educational establishments are functioning.

Compulsory elementary education was introduced in 1956, and in November 1958 a law on universal, compulsory seven-year education came into effect. The IVth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly which enacted this law, called for the introduction of compulsory universal technical education within the next four or five years; the idea is to give pupils completing the seven-year school a two-year course in technical subjects. Thanks to this measure the rising generation will get a secondary education and then pass on to master the new technology in the technical schools.

By organizing classes for adults we are endeavoring to improve their general knowledge, bringing it to the level of pupils leaving primary and seven-year schools.

Such are the program tasks of socialist construction in the northern part of Korea. Their implementation will convert it into *an advanced state with a developed socialist industry and agriculture and will radically raise the material and cultural standards of the people*. Thanks to the achievements in socialist construction, the conditions of our people have vastly improved. In the five postwar years the national income has risen 3.8 times. In 1958 it was more than 2.6 times the prewar level. This means that real wages of factory, office and professional workers are now higher than they were in 1949; in January 1959, the nominal wage again rose on an average of 40 per cent. Peasant incomes, in cash and in kind, have risen rapidly; their standard of living is now equal to that of the middle peasants. Many blocks of dwellings, schools and hospitals have also been restored or built anew in the towns and villages. The people now no longer feel the brutal effects of the war.

The successes of socialist construction in the northern part of the Republic are the sure guarantee of the peaceful unification of our country. They encourage the people of South Korea who are struggling against the American imperialists and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, to work for the peaceful unification of Korea along democratic lines, to strengthen the material base for a speedy rehabilitation of the shattered economy of South Korea after reunification, for a better life for the entire population.

We realize that it is extremely difficult to build socialism at such a rapid rate, but it is fully within our power.

The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries are actively helping us. The Korean people's solidarity with all the peoples of the socialist camp and the fraternal help of these nations guarantee the independence of our Democratic Republic, they are also a powerful factor in accelerating socialist construction in our country.

* * *

The Korean people have traversed a difficult path since their liberation, but they have withstood the trials and difficulties and have made good progress in building socialism.

Our achievements are the result of the Party's creative application of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions obtaining in our country, of the fact that it has always had faith in the masses and rallied them to creative activity.

And if the Party, regardless of circumstances or difficulties, without hesitation, and holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, rouses the masses to revolutionary activity, mobilizes their forces and ability, it will without doubt win complete victory. Experience has brought home the truth of this to our people.

Traversing this path under the leadership of their Party, the Korean people will win new victories in the fight for the peaceful unification of our country, for socialism.

Revisionism on the State and Its Role in Building Socialism

V. Koucky

IN the socialist countries the people, led by their Communist and Workers' parties, are successfully building socialism and communism. Their home and foreign policies are winning the sympathies of ever-increasing numbers of the working people all over the world. The economic might and political influence of the socialist world system, headed by the Soviet Union, are growing.

The imperialist camp, on the contrary, is faced with growing complications, caused by the operation of the inner laws of capitalism and by the rapid advance of the socialist countries. This is the background to the activation of various opportunist, reformist and revisionist groupings in the international labor movement.

The last few years have demonstrated that revisionism is a particularly crafty and dangerous enemy which, using Marxist phraseology, seeks to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and of the Communist and Workers' parties, dampen the enthusiasm of the working class and sap the revolutionary labor movement throughout the world. The Moscow Declaration, which pointed to revisionism as the main danger in the communist movement, flowed from the collective experience of the Communist and Workers' parties. The soundness and the significance of the Declaration have been fully corroborated with the passage of time.

The revisionist attack is spearheaded against the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, against the teaching on the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Substituting sophistry and eclecticism for Marxist dialectics, the revisionists counterpose an anti-historical, abstract concept of democracy and freedom to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the proletarian dictatorship.

They draw their theoretical arguments from the arsenal of Bernstein, Kautsky, Bauer, Adler, etc. — in fact from all who argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a purely Russian phenomenon. Only in an extreme case did these people admit the possibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat

as a halfway house on the road to "pure" democracy; they rejected it out of hand in respect to the industrially developed Western countries where the proletariat, in their view, should exercise power in the shape of some kind of "industrial democracy" or "industrial autonomy" (O. Bauer).

In line with Kautsky, the latter-day revisionists reiterate that dictatorship means literally the destruction of democracy. Kautsky used to say that generally speaking there was no such thing as "formal" or "bourgeois" democracy just as there was no bourgeois chemistry or astronomy. From this angle he also argued the impossibility of proletarian democracy, claiming that there could be only non-class, absolute democracy, the attributes of which he saw in the formal principles of bourgeois democracy.

And so it is in our day: the revisionists attack proletarian democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and call for "integral" and "pure" democracy or some kind of "liberal communism" which, in essence, means abandoning the Marxist class stand in relation to democracy. They say they want to "restore" the Marxist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat which, allegedly, is violated in the socialist countries. But in point of fact they reduce the teaching on the proletarian dictatorship to the bourgeois-cosmopolitan "general principles of humanism"; from this they go on to denounce the socialist state and laud bourgeois democracy and also the Yugoslav "socialism without the state."

That is how the French revisionist Lefebvre counterposes democracy to dictatorship; in the guise of criticism of shortcomings in the socialist countries he, in fact, criticizes the socialist state and socialist society and extols the Yugoslav system as "an example of socialism." Lefebvre arrives at the same conclusion as Lucien Laurat, ideologist of the French Right Socialists, who denounced the dictatorship of the proletariat as "the enemy of human progress" and then went further in asserting that communism is "the No. 1 enemy of human civilization."

The revisionist interpretation of Marxism as some kind of non-political academic doctrine leads to the defense of formal and restricted bourgeois democracy. The latter-day revisionists, like the anarchists and opportunists of the past, advance the pseudo-theory of two types of socialism — one ensuring freedom of the individual, the other denying it. Denouncing what he terms "administrative socialism," Lefebvre extols the revisionist concept of the withering away of the state as formulated in the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This program claims that consolidation of the socialist state is an obstacle to the development of democracy, the source of distortions and even degeneration of socialism. Benedikt Kautsky, the theorist of the Austrian Social Democrats, following in his father's footsteps, declares that "the aim and essence of socialism is to further the freedom of the individual. This aim can be attained only through democracy, which is unconditionally supported by socialism. Dictatorship in any form and under any name must be rejected."

All these reformist and revisionist sallies against the dictatorship of the proletariat signify a direct distortion of Marxism. As to "pure" democracy, it will not be amiss to recall how Engels characterized this concept in a letter to Bebel. When proletarian revolution becomes the order of the day, he wrote, the whole reactionary mass will rally around the slogan of "pure democracy" in the fight against the proletariat. "In any case our sole adversary on the day of the crisis and on the day after the crisis," Engels continued, "will be the *whole collective reaction which will group itself around pure democracy*, and this, I think, should not be lost sight of."* Lenin wrote in his day that only the Philistine who denies the theory of the class struggle understands dictatorship as violation of all democratic freedoms and guarantees, as lawlessness of every kind and misuse of power. And it is exactly in this Philistine way that the reformist and revisionist theoreticians interpret the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With every justification we can speak of the spiritual kinship of reformism and contemporary revisionism on the basic question of the socialist state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the Moscow Declaration says, quite correctly, that revisionism is Right opportunism and a manifestation of bourgeois ideology.

*Marx and Engels, *Correspondence*, 1846-1895. London, p. 434.—Ed.

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The contemporary opportunists and revisionists display the same "non-class" anti-historical approach in the matter of the nature of the bourgeois state. They allege that as a result of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in a number of countries, the functions of the capitalists have changed—they are no longer exploiters but "organizers" of production. From this they go on to say that the bourgeois state has ceased to be an instrument for oppressing the workers, that it stands above classes and has become the "welfare state."

These utterly false theories, though refuted by daily practice in the modern capitalist countries, are variously reiterated by reformists and revisionists everywhere—Strachey, Sternberg, Lowenthal and others. Currency is given to the bourgeois-reformist theory of "etatism," which boils down to the claim that the enhanced role of the state in the economy has turned it into a force standing above classes and independent of the producers.

It is worth noting that the basic conclusions of these pseudo-theories have been incorporated into the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists. This program also follows another opportunist theory—the so-called "diffusion of power" — according to which political power in the capitalist countries, despite the ever-increasing economic power of the monopolies, is divided among all strata of society thanks to the various "democratic" institutions of present-day capitalism; hence the bourgeoisie, like the other classes, is subordinated to the non-class state playing the role of neutral mediator and arbiter of the inter-class antagonisms. These theories are a refurbished version of the old reformist figment about the gradual evolution of capitalism into socialism, the piecemeal transformation of capitalism primarily through parliament and partial reforms which, however, leave the structure of capitalism unchanged.

In his *Critique of the Gotha Program* Marx poured ridicule on the anti-historical theories of the non-class state then in vogue. He criticized German Social Democracy, saying that "instead of treating existing society . . . as the basis of the existing state . . . it treats the state rather as an independent entity that possesses its own *intellectual, ethical and libertarian bases*."*

*Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1955, p. 32.—Ed.

The revisionists of our day skate over the facts testifying to the growing subordination of the capitalist state apparatus to the monopolies, and try to prove that the capitalists are losing their leading role in the economy to the state which stands above classes. There is no ruling class in society nowadays, they claim, because the bourgeoisie has lost the capacity to rule, and the proletariat as yet is incapable of taking power into its own hands. Proceeding from this purely imaginary situation they infer the independent, above-class role of the bourgeois state.

This inference is widely propagated in the aforementioned Yugoslav program and by various Yugoslav writers. For example, in an article in *Nasa stvarnost* Joze Goricar suggests that in examining modern capitalism due attention should be paid to the basic classes — “the class of managers” and “the class of immediate producers.” (It is worth noting that these authors actually ignore ownership as the determining attribute of a class.)

At the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Kardelj tried to explain why in the program the Leninist concept of “state-monopoly capitalism” had been altered to “state capitalism.” This was a revisionist attempt to gloss over the basic contradictions between utterly different things. His real aim was to demonstrate that the features characterizing the state “in general” — precisely the allegedly “independent,” above-class social role of the state and the state machine — are common to all forms of state capitalism including those in the imperialist countries, in the underdeveloped countries fighting for liberation, and in the socialist (!!) countries. The Yugoslav program says that “by assuming considerable economic functions the state and the state machine acquire an independent economic basis of their own, which also serves to consolidate the social role of the state machine. Anxious to acquire independent functions and place themselves above society, the bourgeois state and its apparatus endeavor to restrict still more not only the independent role of the working class but also the role of private capital, without touching the foundations of the capitalist system.” The revisionists attribute these alleged characteristics of the bourgeois state to the socialist state. Hence, they draw the conclusion that the socialist state, like the bourgeois state, stands above the working class.

It goes without saying that the revisionists cannot cite a single example to corroborate their concept that the economic functions of the capitalist state “restrict” the capitalist class. As heretofore the bourgeois state is the representative of the bourgeoisie as the ruling class, both economically and politically, an instrument for exploiting the working people in order to ensure higher monopoly profits. To justify their speculations they love to quote the founders of Marxism whose idea they distort all the time. Apropos of the class nature of the bourgeois state, the revisionists should be reminded of the telling point made by Engels in connection with the concentration of capital: “But neither the conversion into joint-stock companies nor into state property deprives the productive forces of their character as capital . . . The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine; it is the state of the capitalists, the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more productive forces it takes over as its property, the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists, the more citizens it exploits.”*

Thus, state ownership of the means of production in conditions of the capitalist state does not signify socialism. But this form of ownership contains the possibility of resolving the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the event of the working class, on behalf of society, assuming state power in a revolutionary way and turning the basic means of production into the property of the socialist state, using for this certain elements of the economic apparatus of the old state in the interests of socialist construction. This, of course, would signify the transition to socialism. To achieve this transition the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential. The forms of the proletarian revolution will no doubt vary, depending on the international situation and the specific conditions in the particular country; but one thing is certain — only from the standpoint of the Marxist teaching on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can one speak of socialism without distorting the sense of the word, without distorting Marxism.

The compilers of the Yugoslav program, contrary to the facts, have advanced the theory of a “balance of forces” between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the modern capitalist state. They aver that the more

*Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duehring*, London, p. 306.

stable this balance, the more independent will be the functions of the state machine in relation to the social classes, and the higher the bourgeois state will rise above the classes.

Seeking to justify this theory, Kardelj quotes Engels who said that in exceptional cases there may be periods when the opposed classes are almost in equilibrium so that the state power as a seeming mediator becomes for a time relatively independent in relation to these contending classes. But Kardelj and the Yugoslav program omit one "detail," namely, that Engels had in mind only exceptional cases. And where these are concerned the revisionists cannot add a single convincing example. They ignore the fact that the balance cannot be stable and, consequently, cannot be of long duration, and that if anywhere and at any time such equilibrium should set in between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat the task of the latter will be not to wait passively but to rally all the revolutionary forces in order to turn the scales in its favor. The revisionists, ignoring this, have magnified the point made by Engels into a theory of the "balance of forces" designed to substantiate their opportunist practice.

* * *

In the socialist countries the Communist and Workers' parties are boldly facing realities. They know that there are shortcomings in the socialist state apparatus, including manifestations of bureaucracy. But they also know that there is a fundamental difference in this respect between the bourgeois and the socialist states. Bureaucracy is inherent in the bourgeois state precisely because it is anti-popular, because it is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Even in the most "democratic" bourgeois states, officialdom, divorced from the people and opposed to the people, is fertile soil for bureaucracy. But the socialist state is built by the working class in the interests of the whole people; it is staffed with men and women of the people and controlled by the people. So that in this state, vestiges of bureaucracy are but survivals which are persistently and systematically combated.

The revisionists slur over this basic difference between the bourgeois and the socialist states. Denouncing the latter they seize on manifestations of bureaucracy at some levels of the state apparatus in the socialist countries, magnify them and then shout for the abolition of the socialist state in order to wipe out bureaucracy.

There is nothing new in the charges of totalitarianism and bureaucracy levelled against the socialist states. They follow in direct succession from Kautsky to Trotsky, who slanderously declared that in a socialist country there inevitably appears a ruling bureaucratic stratum which, like the capitalist bureaucracy, is antagonistic to the people and should be overthrown by means of violent revolution. In reality, the socialist state apparatus is from top to bottom part of the people and, together with them, is engaged in building socialism.

In recent times, because of an incorrect understanding of the criticism of the personality cult, there has been a revival of the Trotskyite theories of a "ruling" bureaucracy. In some cases the Marxian criticism of the old Prussian bureaucracy has been used as a cover. The revisionists mechanically applied this criticism to the socialist state. Slanders of this kind have found currency in Yugoslavia since 1948. They were expressed with the utmost vulgarity in Djilas's *The New Class*. According to Djilas, the socialist state apparatus, above all at top levels, is a separate bureaucratic class which owns the means of production and exploits the working people. He included in this class the Yugoslav leaders, too, which may explain why they have broken with him. It is noteworthy, however, that Djilas's ideological concepts still find currency in Yugoslavia in different variants, for instance, in the book by M. Perovic, *Politicka Ekonomija*, published recently in Belgrade. The plain fact is that many Yugoslav writers have taken up the Djilas theory. It is also a fact that they use his Trotskyite ideas for attacking the socialist camp, but not, of course, Yugoslavia. In this form these petty ideas have found their place in the Yugoslav program.

The Belgrade revisionists remind us of a surgeon who is ready to amputate an arm because of a tiny scratch. In order to get rid of bureaucracy the economic and organizational function of the socialist state must, in their view, wither away right from the start. This, of course, is downright revisionism. On the contrary, it is precisely the socio-economic changes brought about by the socialist state that pave the way to the withering away of the state. By eliminating some of the vital economic functions of the state, the Yugoslav revisionists have actually put off the conditions for the withering away of the state in their country and have created conditions for spontaneous economic development: this retards and imperils the growth of socialist

production relations in Yugoslavia. Hence we see that in this case the pseudo "revolutionary spirit" of the revisionists is but thinly disguised opportunism.

The Yugoslav program contains a reference to the incorrect anarchist views on the role of the socialist state. But after their Congress an article by M. Popovic appeared in the Yugoslav theoretical journal *Socialism* (No. 1) on "The Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" in which the author, trying to substantiate the need for the withering away of the state, put the matter unequivocally: "The development and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat signify the steady weakening and withering away of the role of some of the state bodies." One cannot but recall the words of Lenin concerning the harm caused by talk about the "temporary" nature of the socialist state. Lenin said: "To proclaim beforehand the withering away of the state means to break the historical perspective."*

Up till now the mass of small agricultural producers have not been brought over to the socialist path in Yugoslavia, and even the state sector is in dire need of socialist reinforcement. To cope with these tasks the economic and organizational function of the state should be strengthened, not weakened. Since the Yugoslav leaders seek to prove the necessity of the withering away of the state at the present phase, and in pursuit of this are actually liquidating its economic and organizational function, this policy cannot but have a negative effect on the social system in Yugoslavia.

The revisionists see socialism in state-monopoly capitalism; at the same time they regard the common ownership in the socialist countries as state-capitalist ownership. The Yugoslav revisionists fail to see the fundamental difference between capitalist state ownership of the means of production and socialist state ownership of the means of production. This confusion serves as a basis for substantiating the revisionist concept of socialist ownership.

To the state socialist ownership of the means of production, which, in their view, is "indirect" common ownership, they counterpose "direct" ownership by the producers when the latter, through the medium of the workers' councils, control the means of production and all output. The Yugoslav revisionists maintain that only this "direct" ownership is consistently socialist. Their press claims that in their country, contrary to the

theory and practice of the Soviet Union, state ownership of the means of production under immediate supervision of the state bodies is the elementary, lower form of socialist ownership, which must be developed into a higher form, i.e., into common ownership of the means of production under the direct control of the producers themselves, and achieved during the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Moreover, proclaiming the so-called workers' autonomy as the solely consistent form of socialist ownership, the revisionists label state socialist ownership an element of state capitalism. In trying to prove their theories they indulge in pure sophistry. Under contemporary capitalism certain enterprises and even whole industries in some countries have become state property. In the socialist countries, as is well-known, the means of production are socialist state property. That in both cases the state becomes the owner of the means of production is but a formal coincidence. But it is exactly this coincidence that enables the revisionists to put on a par state socialist ownership and state capitalism.

The defect of these revisionist theories is that their understanding of ownership has nothing in common with Marxism. Ownership is expressed in the abstract form of the relation of people to things. But more than a century ago Marx clearly demonstrated that ownership understood as a relation of people to things, disregarding the production relations in the given social formation, is a metaphysical, bourgeois juridical illusion, and that the true nature of a particular form of ownership can be seen in the production relations of people. But the revisionists resurrect the bourgeois concept, long condemned by Marxism, of ownership as the relation to things and make it the basis of their economic concept.

They allege that the means of production are socialized only if they are directly owned by collective producers. This, too, is a crude distortion of Marxism. In reality what the founders of Marxism understood by the socialization of the means of production was the creation of production relations which place all members of society in the same position with regard to the means of production, and no part of society can use these means for exploiting the other part; when production and distribution cease to be an outward alien force in relation to society and are publicly controlled and developed along planned lines in the interests of society as a whole. At the present high level of social-

*Works, Russ. Ed., Vol. 27, p. 123.

ization of industrial production, public control and planning cannot be developed otherwise than on the basis of state socialist ownership, with the central state bodies enjoying the right to dispose of the basic means of production and to direct planning.

And, conversely, if the means of production are socialized in the way suggested by the Yugoslav revisionists, namely, if industrial enterprises are allowed to function independently, if they have the right freely to dispose of the means of production and the product, to determine their production program and fix prices for their products, etc., then public control over production and distribution will to a large extent become illusory and impossible. Such conditions are bound to give rise to conflict of interests between collective producers in a desire to gain as much as they can for themselves at the expense of society. In this case, the economy cannot but develop spontaneously, without control or guidance by society, and the results of this development will often be at variance with the wishes and plans of the people. The latter find themselves in the grip of elemental forces, are rendered helpless in face of the omnipotent market with its sudden fluctuations.

Since according to revisionism, "socialization" is determined by the fact that production is administered by "directly interested producers" (this, in essence, is stated in the Yugoslav program), logically its advocates are not only able to equate state socialist ownership with state capitalism; they can, in addition, arrive at anti-Marxist conclusions concerning the identity of the "directly interested producers" in industry with small producers. For the small producer in the town and the kulak in the countryside are both "directly interested producers" and therefore entitled to dispose at their own free will of the means of production and the output. Indeed, in their arguments the Yugoslav revisionists obscure the fundamental difference between the socialist sector and small private production. Their program says that "the economic system and the plan must not abolish the necessary degree of independence of the workers, of the enterprise and the other socio-economic units." Hence the sponsors of this document speak of producers in general, avoiding their concrete class content. They deliberately formulate their theories so as not to contradict petty-bourgeois ideology.

The above-mentioned "theories," naturally, have a direct bearing on the problems of socialist transformation of the Yugoslav countryside.

To substantiate their concept of socialist construction, the Yugoslav revisionists usually refer to the "absolute" concept of democracy which we have already mentioned. They affirm that conditions for democracy can be created only under a system in which the producers themselves resolve questions of production and distribution, where the law of value operates spontaneously. This view is expressed most unequivocally by Kardelj: "Free market exchange between producing and economic enterprises is the only possible form of inner-economic relations . . . and only this exchange makes it possible consistently to further the principle of the producers directly influencing the material base of the country, and is at the same time the incarnation of broad socialist democracy of the highest type."

In other words, only the spontaneous operation of the law of value and the regulating role of the market can bring about social equality, since they equalize all producers and consumers.

In Poland Kurowski, whose theoretical theses were censured by the vast majority of Polish economists, directly counterposed spontaneity to centralized planning. Kurowski saw in a laissez-faire economy a genuine democracy of producers and consumers.

The word "democracy" has a solemn meaning; but what these authors call "democracy," if translated into the language of political economy, would signify anarchy of production and rivalry.

Clearly the process of socialist construction poses a number of problems and primarily that of public control of production, without which there can be no socialism. It goes without saying that these problems are not always solved without mistakes and difficulties. They can be resolved only on the basis of scientifically generalized practical experience. The revisionists suggest, however, that we should not attempt to solve these problems, that we should abandon socialist economic planning and management and let things go their own way. Were we to follow this road we would not be able to build socialism—we would either mark time, or what is even more likely, return to capitalism.

Practice, as we know, is the main criterion of a particular theory, of the soundness and viability of a particular system of management.

And the practice of the economic and cultural construction in the socialist countries testifies to an unprecedented development. The Soviet Union has entered upon the phase of accelerated building of communism on all

fronts, while some of the other socialist countries are now rounding off the building of socialism. Material and cultural standards are rising and socialist democracy is broadening out, as can be seen from the growing activity and initiative of the masses in managing the state and the national economy.

The Belgrade leaders chant the praises of the "Yugoslav road to socialism," holding it up as an example to others. Yet the economic situation in their country proves the unsoundness of the revisionist theories on the state and socialist construction. According to the Yugoslav Chamber of Industry, some enterprises can hardly pay their workers a minimum wage, while others lack the financial means for the obligatory contribution from their net income to the fixed and circulating fund. In other words, they cannot even maintain simple reproduction.

This results in manpower fluctuations and in a falling standard of living. Workers leave the enterprises which are unable to pay.

On October 1, 1958, prices were again raised in Yugoslavia. The Government appealed for help to the United States, and another loan, \$95 million this time, was the shot in the arm to overcome the economic difficulties.

The Belgrade press, in an endeavor to divert attention from the economic difficulties, talks about "genuine democracy," abuses the socialist countries and shouts about their "bureaucratic forms of management." But how matters really stand in Yugoslavia with its "non-bureaucratic management of the national economy" and "labor democracy" can be seen from Yugoslav sources. Addressing the People's Assembly on October 27, Deputy Hafner said: "Over 75 per cent of the workers cannot understand the wage system."* This publication goes on to say that when the workers line up for their pay they gaze on the meter-long receipt which, with its 68 columns, is almost as baffling as a cross-word puzzle. Hardly anyone can fathom why his monthly pay added up to the particular sum in the envelope. Even the pay clerks have their work cut out to solve the conundrum. It takes one of them about three hours to calculate the earnings of a single worker.

If that is not a manifestation of bureaucracy we would like to know what is. In *Socio-political Organization*, an article published in *Nasa stvarnost* (No. 10), M. Popovic, denying the existence of bureaucracy in Yugoslavia's national economy, writes: "In our society anyone who tried to solve these prob-

lems (economic and financial—V.K.) by administrative and bureaucratic methods would be held up to ridicule and regarded as being backward." If that is really the case then there must be plenty of ridiculous people in Yugoslavia. For are not the Government and the national committee using administrative measures to halt the soaring prices?

Thus, everyday experience exposes revisionist theory and practice in Yugoslavia.

* * *

Recent developments have fully corroborated the conclusions of the Moscow Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties which says: "While condemning dogmatism, the Communist parties believe that the main danger at the moment is revisionism or, in other words, Right opportunism as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the working class and calling for the preservation or restoration of capitalism."

These conclusions are also corroborated by the experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Struggle against revisionism is an international duty of the Czechoslovak Communists, their Party duty in relation to the working class and all working people. Although in our country we have not had any sharp and systematic revisionist sallies against Marxism-Leninism, this in no way lessens the responsibility of the Czechoslovak Communists for the struggle against revisionism as the main danger.

The rapid growth of our Party after February 1948, was accompanied by a too hasty and, consequently, often superficial, study of Marxist theory. Outwardly this was manifested in some incorrect views and tendencies which our propaganda was unable to overcome at once. This circumstance, together with the survivals of the old traditions of Social Democracy, Masarykism and nationalism and also the external pressure of bourgeois ideology, favors the appearance of non-socialist views. Of these revisionism, which styles itself Marxism, is the most dangerous.

It follows, then, that struggle against revisionism is inseparably linked with systematic education of the masses along socialist lines. Inculcation of socialist convictions, of a firm Marxist-Leninist outlook and proletarian internationalism among the membership is the best shield against revisionist influence. This is effected both by the Marxist-Leninist training of Communists and non-Party members and by practical work to complete the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. It is

*Vjesnik u srijedu, November 5, 1958.

the task of the Party to inspire the broad masses of the working people to active participation in socialist construction.

While criticizing revisionism as such it is necessary to intensify criticism of the reformist ideology of the Right Socialists. While the revisionism now observed in the Communist and Workers' parties differs from Right Socialist ideology, the difference is in most cases purely terminological. Reformist ideology is the soil that feeds revisionism. Hence, the struggle against it must be stepped up.

Consistent criticism of revisionism also presupposes deeper criticism of bourgeois ideology which in turn is the ideological arsenal for both reformism and revisionism.

Marxist-Leninist theory was molded and enriched in the struggle against enemies and falsifiers of scientific socialism. Its history teaches us that effective criticism of a dangerous enemy always implies creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The danger of

revisionism is, among other things, that it speculates on a distorted generalization of new phenomena. So that along with criticizing it, we must improve our theoretical generalization of the experience of the international communist movement and socialist construction. The Leninist teaching to the effect that questions left unanswered by working-class ideology are seized on by bourgeois ideology, applies in full measure to revisionism.

Like the other fraternal parties, our Party is developing and generalizing the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the basis of practical work in building socialism and communism. The struggle waged by the Communist parties against revisionism, for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory, for its development in keeping with the requirements of social progress, is a vital condition for the further success of the international communist movement.

On the Situation in Spain

S. Alvarez

THE establishment of the Franco regime in Spain meant that a terrorist fascist dictatorship of the finance-landlord oligarchy had come to power. In directing the economy to the detriment of the people, this dictatorship furthered the consolidation of bureaucratic capital and the growth of the monopolies.

The past 20 years have witnessed a redistribution of the national income in favor of a handful of big monopolists. The overwhelming majority of the people — 83 per cent to be precise — share only 30 per cent of the national income among them, while a tiny oligarchy gets the lion's share of 70 per cent.

The growth of the "National Institute of Industry's"* investments — from 943 million pesetas in 1950 to 5.724 billion in 1955 (77.57 per cent of the investments of all companies) and to 6.3 billion in 1956 — is striking proof of the growth of state monopoly capital.

Monopoly capitalism, by virtue of the operation of objective laws, signifies concentration of wealth at one pole and greater

misery at the other. In Spain the effects of this process are felt all the more keenly for two reasons: 1) a growing contradiction between industry and the feudal survivals, which Franco has not abolished and which are most apparent in the preservation of big landed property; and 2) the economic policy of the dictatorship promotes industrial expansion solely in the interests of the financial oligarchy.

This means keeping wages at the minimum and hours of labor at the maximum. Since they do not get a living wage, the workers are forced to put in 12, 14 and 16 hours a day, and even this does not suffice to keep them from want. Sometimes action by the workers — as was the case in the autumn of 1956 — results in higher wages, but the subsequent rise in prices wipes out the gains. The standard of living of the Spanish worker is the lowest in Europe.

The incomes of professional people — doctors, architects and others — and the salaries of civil servants, most of the army NCO's and officers, have also declined, and it should be added that these incomes and salaries do not always ensure a subsistence minimum.

*A state-monopoly association to which dozens of large industrial enterprises are subordinate.

The tax system is one of the chief instruments of the dictatorship's economic policy. Taxes are going up all the time and the main burden is borne by the working people. *Peasants, for instance, have to pay 42 different taxes.* The high taxes greatly restrict industrial and trade circles, while the big banks, monopoly enterprises and latifundia enjoy special privileges.

The small manufacturers, traders, peasants and professional people were particularly hard hit by the 1957 tax reform. In the first seven months of 1958, taxes increased by 5.83 billion pesetas compared with the corresponding period for 1957.

The growth of the national debt and the emission of paper money are not met by a corresponding growth in production. Hence the runaway inflation and its consequences—soaring prices, reduced purchasing power, etc. When the government tries to cut the national debt, which in October 1957 reached the fantastic sum of 143,380,400,000 pesetas, it does so by reducing allocations for public works, irrigation, housing and afforestation.

To mitigate the effects of inflation (paper money in circulation in 1956 amounted to 55.821 billion pesetas and 62.569 billion in November, 1957) the government resorted (in 1957) to a credit squeeze from which the peasants, non-monopoly manufacturers and traders are the first to suffer. The big banks, however, continue to grant credits to monopoly enterprises.

To these factors we should add the monopoly-dictated price policy. The monopolies wield their economic power and use administrative levers to impose high prices for raw materials, transport and public utilities. The effect of their incursion into the sphere of trade in basic farm products can be seen from the following example: rice bought from the peasant at 4.68 pesetas per kilogram is sold to the consumer at 10 to 12 pesetas.

Franco's economic policy of preserving the large latifundia and reducing the ability of millions of urban and rural buyers to pay their way inevitably contracts rather than expands the home market.

For the dictatorship the way out of the situation is seen in militarization of the economy and subordination of the country to American imperialism. But only the financial oligarchy gains from this, certainly not the people. It aggravates the situation and contracts the home and foreign markets. The 1957 foreign trade deficit amounted to 1.183 billion gold pesetas (\$395 million); in that

year imports were 45 per cent in excess of exports.

These economic factors, together with the absence of civil liberties, the policy of repressions and maintaining the atmosphere of the civil war, explain why the Franco regime has been losing support in recent years among the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and the middle strata in town and countryside, whose development under the dictatorship is marked by specific features. It goes without saying that Spanish fascism has never obtained the support of the masses.

The working class has always hated the Franco dictatorship. Right from the beginning it resisted the brutal exploitation. An important strike took place in the Basque provinces in 1947, but at that time the influence exerted by the proletariat on the other anti-Franco groupings was weak. We should not lose sight of the fact that many of the class-conscious representatives of the working class had either fallen in battle, been killed during the terror, entombed in prison or banished. This, and the effects of the defeat, paralyzed working-class activity for nearly ten years. Then there is the absence of elementary rights and civil liberties in the Spain of today. Nor should we forget the changes that have taken place in the composition of the working class, whose ranks after the Civil War were filled by tens of thousands of young people politically immature, mostly from the countryside.

In the big struggle in Catalonia in 1951 the working class showed its ability to influence the non-proletarian sections.

The strikes and the anti-Franco demonstrations of 1956 proved that the working class was now far more aware of the political significance of its actions in the common struggle against the regime.

This was seen particularly in January, 1958, during the elections for trade union delegates,* when the opposition candidates, led by the Communists and other anti-Franco people, won the most important victory for the working class since 1939. The strikes in Asturias, Catalonia, in the Levante and the Basque provinces, in which about 150,000 workers took part, testified to the scope of the class struggle. These strikes were the prologue to May 5, 1958, the great Day of National Reconciliation.

It follows, therefore, that the Spanish working class is emerging from the depression which set in after the Civil War. Al-

*Factory representatives.

though at the moment first place is given to economic demands, these demands have a profound political content. The working class is now playing the leading role in the fight against Franco. *Its struggle has become the major factor in the great awakening of other classes and social groups, in their protest against the regime.*

The dictatorship deprived the peasants of the land which they had received at the time of the Republic and drove many tenants and share-croppers off the land. The changes that have taken place in the countryside during the years of fascist tyranny have greatly influenced the economic, social and political situation. Many peasant farms are being ruined, thousands have been driven off their land, seasonal unemployment among agricultural laborers is greater than ever and masses of peasants are leaving the countryside for the towns.

Satisfaction of the peasant demands and development of agriculture which is marking time at the 1931-35 level, are resisted chiefly by the parasitic landed aristocracy, by finance capital which, having penetrated into the countryside, is robbing all the peasants no matter what the size of their plots, and by the dictatorship that serves the interests of these two classes.

The opportunity to sell some of their products on the black market explains the peasants' attitude to the regime during the early years, when at times they supported it, reconciled themselves to the fact that it was there or remained wholly passive. But the situation is different today. Other sections of the rural population are now joining in the protest voiced by the most exploited peasants who for years have supported the heroic anti-Franco guerrilla movement.

A considerable part of our population consists of petty bourgeoisie—shopkeepers, small manufacturers and proprietors, and handicraftsmen. After the war this stratum was reinforced by some industrial proletarians and middle peasants.

In the period immediately following Franco's victory, demand for consumer goods was in excess of supply. This, coupled with other factors, explains why the dictator's economic policy, which sharply lowered the standard of living of the working people and poor peasants, did not affect the small proprietors and shopkeepers, the rich peasants and some of the middle peasants, to say nothing of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. This circumstance, together with the aftermath of the Civil War, was a major factor

in determining the attitude of the small proprietors and shopkeepers to the dictatorship. As the economic policy began to infringe their interests and ruin them and as working-class and student activities gained momentum, the petty bourgeoisie began more forcefully to oppose the regime.

Mention should be made of the intellectuals who are suffering from unsatisfactory material conditions, the absence of freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom to engage in creative work. The more progressive intellectuals realize that their place in the struggle for freedom is with the working class.

Franco deprived the people of Catalonia, the Basque provinces and Galicia of autonomy. Hence the national-democratic forces in these areas (the liberal and petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry) are opposed to Franco, although in varying degree.

During the early years of Franco's rule, which coincided with the Second World War, the non-monopoly bourgeoisie in the main supported him—the war meant money for them. Beginning with 1947, however, when the economic situation changed, their attitude also underwent a change.

The contradictions between the expanding capitalist monopolies and the medium and small enterprises began to sharpen in the mid-fifties. The industrial and commercial bourgeoisie not connected with the monopolies began to feel the pinch. This influenced their attitude to the regime and, despite hesitation and vacillation, impelled them to go into opposition. They, naturally, act irresolutely, fearing to ally themselves with the working class in the struggle against Franco. The activity of the masses scares them, and passivity displayed by the liberal bourgeoisie since May 5 is a reflection of this fear.

This attitude derives from realization of their weakness, from their fear of the violence that accompanied the political and social struggle in Spain in the past, from the Franco propaganda which intimidates them with the specter of communism, the pressure of foreign imperialists and the Vatican, and the country's position in the international arena.

* * *

In the light of these facts it will not be difficult to understand why the events which took place early in 1956 shook the country. There were big student actions and demonstrations, particularly in Madrid, strikes, etc., all of which had repercussions in the politi-

cal life of the country, despite the seeming invulnerability of the dictatorship.

From that moment the Franco regime began to show signs of crumbling; its political backbone — the Falange — began to disintegrate. New political groupings, drawn from the forces that had comprised the social base of the dictatorship, appeared on the scene.

Most conspicuous of these were the monarchist trend (the notorious third force), the liberal movement and Christian Democracy. Groupings of this kind are unstable. Some, the monarchists, for instance, continue to support Franco and will do so until he is replaced. But the salient point is that the dictatorship now has appreciably fewer supporters.

At the moment power is still held, contrary to the interests of the people, by an insignificant minority, representing the monopoly-finance oligarchy.

But among this finance oligarchy, too, there are antagonistic groups. These antagonisms have their source in the conflict of interests among the foreign monopoly groups, chiefly U.S. monopolies, with whom the former are associated.

The groupings around Franco express the attitude of these circles. They are competing with one another with an eye to seizing power after the fall of Franco.

These particular groupings are the remnants of the top Falangist bureaucracy, the politico-religious "Opus Dei" ("God's Work") sect, the monarchist-Franco elements and Army brass connected with the inner councils of the big monopolies.

They have no great support nowadays among public or national forces or mass movements. The trade unions and youth organizations set up by the Falange and even the peasant "Hermandades"* (only yesterday docile political tools of Franco) sometimes support the opposition.

Thus the social base on which the Franco dictatorship rested is beginning to crumble. The struggle of the past three years and particularly the Day of National Reconciliation justify this conclusion.

This does not mean that the dictatorship has ceased to be fascist. Quite the reverse; it is in the country that changes have taken place. *And the urgent need now is to replace the dictatorship.*

The Franco regime is disintegrating in its own way, one totally unlike that witnessed in other fascist countries. In Germany and

Italy, for instance, the regimes disappeared mainly as the result of military defeat. The Franco regime is crumbling chiefly as a result of internal contradictions aggravated by the struggle of the masses. This is a slower, more difficult and complex process.

Why is it that Franco is still in power?

Franco, the political creature of the oligarchic monopolies, controls the most important levers of the state machine, which is used for brutal repressions, and relies on "aid" from American imperialism, which saved the regime at the end of World War II and without which it could not now remain in power; it has, of course, the backing of the church hierarchy. Franco plays on the conservative forces' fear of the possible consequences of a change of regime, scares them with the specter of communism and resorts to demagoguery.

This, however, would not save him, were the national opposition forces to unite with the sole aim of establishing a democratic government. *It is lack of unity that is holding back the inevitable fall of the Franco dictatorship.*

This unity has not yet been achieved because of the attitude of the Right bourgeois forces who, although regarding themselves as the opposition, refuse to break with Franco; it has not been achieved because of the protracted split among the supporters of democracy.

In the main, Franco's policy, as heretofore, boils down to retaining power in the interests of the monopoly oligarchy.

But as things are, the groups representing this oligarchy no longer regard Franco as the sole arbiter and guarantor of their interests. Conscious that he will certainly be replaced, each group wants the change to suit its particular interests or, at least, to ensure its privileges.

And so the monopoly groups, maneuvering for a way out of the situation, are putting pressure on the liberal and Christian-Democratic sections and the Right Socialists with a view to getting them to agree to their way of solving the problem. The "Opus Dei" and the reactionaries collaborating with Franco suggest restoring the monarchy. This would simply mean a continuation of the present corporate state. For them it is not a question of a different regime, or of a transitional stage, but of another form of the same dictatorship, a dictatorship whose job will be to hold back the establishment of a democratic regime. This, naturally, is meeting with opposition from the people.

*Peasants corporative organizations.

Monopoly capital sees the political basis for a future monarchy or a similar regime in a "national unity" without the Communists and the more consistent democratic forces.

This, and other plans based on anti-communism, runs counter to the Spanish people's yearning for freedom. The people are rallying and rising against the dictatorship and the monopoly oligarchy. As an alternative to these plans the Communist Party advances a different and convincing solution of the issue; and the resolute action of the workers and the people for their economic and political rights is likewise aimed against reaction.

Early in 1958 a group, linked with the Catholic Church in Spain and with the Vatican, formed around the Editorial Catolica (publishers of Catholic literature). From the statement made by its official leader, ex-foreign minister Artajo, it follows that this group regards itself as collaborating with the regime and, at the same time, as being independent, thus expressing its contradictory attitude towards the dictatorship. It envisages "changing" and "liberalizing" the Franco dictatorship. This group would welcome restoration of the monarchy. Along with other Right bourgeois forces, it feels that Franco is bound to fall, but, since there are no large political parties to guarantee its interests, it dreads democratic changes which might be "a leap into the void."

The Catholic Church has, on the whole, always supported the dictatorship. But in recent years it, too, has not been indifferent to the way in which developments are affecting the life of the country.

The new generation of Catholics, having different views, is beginning to take part in political and social life and is against identifying the Church and the Catholic movement with the Franco dictatorship. Moreover, Catholic circles have produced highly influential leaders who are anxious to form a Christian-Democratic Party favoring a policy of far-reaching social reforms.

The Catholic hierarchy in Spain has long been entangled in a web of contradictions: on the one hand, dreading to accelerate Franco's downfall it supports him, while on the other, it is forced to reckon with pressure from below, with the protest movement against the dictatorship in which the majority of Catholics are participating.

The solution of this contradiction largely depends on the activity of the masses and the participation of millions of Catholics. The Communists are working for this through their reconciliation policy and by their day-

to-day work in strengthening unity of action with the Catholic working people.

There has been considerable ferment in the army in recent years, especially among the younger officers, and growing dislike of the dictatorship. The resolute opposition to the regime, expressed in the mass struggle, the financial straits of the NCO's and officers not associated with shady transactions and who get no pickings from the political groupings, the situation that has developed since the forced withdrawal from Morocco, the U.S. bases in the country, Franco's militarist policy and the dominance of the American imperialists—all have their effect on sentiment in the army and other military organizations.

The army opposition to the dictatorship is bound to grow, and the Spanish Communists will do all in their power to further it.

Taking into account that some social groups would like to get rid of the dictatorship but without too great an upheaval such as might lead to violence, and that they are against the idea of a monarchy, military dictatorship or other solutions of this kind, the Communist Party in February 1957 expressed its readiness to support a transitional liberal government "that would declare a broad and effective political amnesty, begin to restore political liberties without discrimination, and take effective measures to improve conditions for the people."* This proposal, repeatedly affirmed by the Communists, has met with a wide response throughout the country.

* * *

The shameful policy of the majority of the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party (Right Social Democrats) exerts a negative influence on the opposition.

At its last Congress this party declared that it was fighting not only Franco "but also communism and the Soviet system." After the Congress Indalecio Prieto, the party leader, and some of his supporters indulged in foul abuse of the Communist Party and its leaders and even supplied information against them.

The traditional anti-communism of Prieto and his ves-men is heightened by the pressure exerted by the international imperialists who, like the Spanish reactionaries, are dead set against democratic changes in the country. It is heightened also by pressure from international social-democracy, particularly from its Right wing, the Socialist Party of France (SFIO), which has increased since de Gaulle's advent to power.

*From the Statement issued by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the CPS, February 9, 1957.

Prieto's anti-communism and his slander campaign reflect his impotent fury and that of the other Socialist Labor Party leaders over our Party's recent successes, particularly the Day of National Reconciliation. This mirrors the alarm occasioned by the growing strength and influence of the Communist Party.

The last congress of the Socialist Labor Party revealed that it was in the throes of a grave crisis. This crisis is in part the outcome of the membership's desire, particularly strong within Spain, for unity, including unity with the Communists. At the same time this increased the anti-communism of the party leaders, in particular of Prieto. This trend is exerting pressure on the Socialist Labor Party leadership. The Socialist rank-and-file and their sympathizers who, together with us, are taking part in action—often coordinated—against the dictatorship, uphold unity.

The Communist Party is rebuffing these provocations of the Right Socialist leaders, explaining to the working class and the people the real position of those who are hindering joint struggle against the dictatorship and thus delaying its fall. The Party is waging a consistent ideological and political struggle against opportunism and reformism—manifestations of bourgeois ideology in the labor movement—and utilizes every opportunity to urge the Socialists and the other opposition forces to concentrate on joint action against Franco.

* * *

A new stage in the struggle of the Spanish people was opened by the strikes and demonstrations held last year, and especially by the Day of National Reconciliation. It was the Communist Party that advanced the idea of holding this Day; it did so because the popular demonstrations of 1956-57 showed that the protest movement was assuming nationwide proportions.

Having summed up this experience, the Communist Party began to popularize the idea of holding a Day of National Reconciliation against the dictatorship under slogans uniting social sections from the working class to the national bourgeoisie: *against the high cost of living and Franco's economic policy, an amnesty for political prisoners and émigrés, for civil liberties.*

The Party regarded the Day as the first rehearsal for rallying the masses on a nationwide scale. This foresight was justified by the results. On the one hand the Day, the culmination of a broad protest movement, was a national demonstration of the workers,

peasants, the petty and medium industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, a kind of plebiscite against the Franco dictatorship. *It was the first organized nationwide political movement against the regime.* On the other hand, the Day created conditions for the movement to acquire a more definite political form, to gain momentum and strength. The resolve of the working class to fight increased after May 5 and is being manifested in factories, mills, mines and other enterprises as well as at meetings of trade union delegates, in the public departments of the corporate trade unions, in which the Party has conducted hard, persistent and painstaking work for over ten years.

Spain is experiencing a rising wave of economic demands. The working class is insisting on higher wages, for while these have been frozen at the 1956 level, prices in the past two years have risen more than 50 per cent; big changes have also taken place in its class consciousness. This is evident from the many demonstrations, from the resolutions adopted at workers' meetings, which are evolving from purely economic to political demands and taking on the character of struggle for vital democratic liberties.

There has been a trend of late among trade union delegates in enterprises to coordinate their activity or to put forward nationwide trade union opposition to the dictatorship and the fascist unions.

Since the Reconciliation Day a new factor has made itself felt in socio-political life: a notable change is taking place in the attitude of the agricultural workers and peasants. The anti-Franco struggle in the countryside is spreading and gaining momentum. *The working class now enjoys the support of its ally—the rural population—which includes agricultural laborers and poor peasants, well-to-do peasants and even rich peasants and medium landowners who have suffered from the dictatorship.*

In January 1958, the government retaliated to the widespread protest movement by arresting workers, students and men of liberal views. Recently Military Tribunals passed long prison sentences on leading Communists who initiated action last spring in Zaragoza, the Basque provinces, Asturias, Catalonia-Rosell, Pena, Canga, Nunez, and also on Communists and opponents of the Franco regime in Madrid and elsewhere.

By passing heavy sentences the government hopes to dampen the mass struggle. But this calculation is doomed to failure. In the main districts of the country, demands for higher

wages are accompanied by angry mass protests against the arrests. The solidarity campaign, laying the foundation for still broader action for an amnesty for the political prisoners and émigrés, is gaining momentum.

* * *

The 1958 strikes and the Day of Reconciliation were the outcome of objective conditions which the Communist Party skilfully utilized. They confirmed the correctness of its policy which is summed up in the formula of national reconciliation of Spaniards, advanced in June 1956. This policy is the continuation and development — with a few important tactical changes—of the policy of popular unity and a national front, at the stage when it has to a degree been assimilated by the masses and when the right conditions prevail, brought about, as we have seen, by the aggravation of the crisis of the Franco regime.

The policy of national reconciliation is explained first and foremost by the conditions which have taken shape in our country. The Civil War divided the nation. The division continued after the war, but only Franco is interested in perpetuating it. The most consistent democratic forces, the working class and its Party, feel that this situation must be ended. As long as hatred exists between the former opponents in the past war there can be no successful struggle against the dictatorship to secure its replacement and reconstruct the country along democratic lines and thus open the way to subsequent socialist development.

When it proclaimed the policy of national reconciliation, the Party based itself on the socio-economic conditions in the country and paid due regard to the relationship of the class forces and the class struggle. This policy is the product of this struggle, which has sharpened tremendously in the past three years.

The class struggle in Spain at present is engendered not only by the main contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is true of any capitalist society. Other important objective contradictions are also developing. In the forefront at the moment is the contradiction between the people as a whole—from the working people to the national bourgeoisie—and the monopoly oligarchy. This contradiction is the determining factor in the entire march of events. Its impact is causing the Franco dictatorship to lose the support of those sections of society which in the past either upheld it or adopted a neutral attitude. The Party's policy of

national reconciliation derives objectively from this contradiction.

The main idea behind it is the possible replacement of the Franco dictatorship by a democratic regime, in a peaceful way, without another civil war. This was the central idea of the Party's tactics during the preparations for the Reconciliation Day. May 5 confirmed the correctness of its political stand. The facts show that these tactics are the most suitable in the present conditions, facilitating action by the masses for partial political and economic demands, furthering the growth of a popular mass movement and the transition of this movement to consistently revolutionary positions.

* * *

The rise of a mass movement is a feature of the situation in Spain today. The successes of the democratic forces throughout the world, and the magnificent achievements of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, have had a powerful impact on developments in Spain.

The Party clearly sees the link between the cause of universal peace and the cause of democracy and the people, whose lives are jeopardized by Franco's subordination of the country to the war plans of the U.S. imperialists. That is why it is organizing the struggle against the nuclear war threat, U.S. bases on Spanish territory, for neutrality and peace.

If in the present conditions of disintegration of the Franco dictatorship the opposition on the Right and on the Left reached agreement on joint support for the platform of the transition to democracy, then this platform would prevail. If, in preparing for the Day of National Reconciliation, unity of action from below had been accompanied by unity at the top, then, in all probability, Franco would no longer be in power.

The Communist Party, as demonstrated by the meeting of its Central Committee in September 1958, is making every effort to achieve this unity and establish a united opposition center. In pursuit of this aim it is anxious to find at least a partial community of interests and enter into an alliance with all the anti-Franco groups or with some of them in the struggle against the dictatorship.

The Party is concentrating on strengthening its organizations and their contacts with the masses. It aims at guiding the nation's forces, at rousing them to greater activity in order to organize the struggle for their specific demands and the general demands advanced on May 5.

It never loses sight of the close dialectical inter-dependence between working-class struggle and unity of the opposition and democratic forces, between mass action and national reconciliation. Consequently, relying on the lessons of the struggle, the Party has set itself the task of organizing a nationwide democratic movement headed by the working class.

The foundations have been laid. The objec-

tive conditions in Spain inevitably make for the growth of this movement. As it grows and gains strength, as the struggle develops, the rest of the opposition will be compelled to go over to more resolute action against the dictatorship. In any event the movement, implementing the resolve of the vast majority of the people, will at the right moment create real possibilities for overthrowing the hated Franco dictatorship.

A New Stage in Soviet Education

V. Kirillin

LAST December the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR enacted a law designed to consolidate the links between school and life and ensure the further development of public education. On the initiative of the Communist Party and its Central Committee the reorganization of secondary and higher education was submitted to the public for nationwide discussion. A memorandum by N. S. Khrushchov and the Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR stressed the need for a thorough reconstruction of the educational system and suggested how this should be done.

The discussion revealed the deep interest displayed by the people in the matter, and showed that the suggested reconstruction was both imperative and timely. In the Russian Federation alone the nearly 200,000 public meetings at which the reorganization was discussed had an overall attendance of more than 13 million; 800,000 made suggestions of one kind or another. The same public interest was displayed in the other Union Republics.

The debate was an example of the democratic manner in which fundamental public issues are tackled and solved in the Soviet Union. Many of the suggestions made at the meetings and taken into consideration in the Theses promoted the solution of urgent problems, others were debated by the USSR Supreme Soviet and helped mold the corresponding law. The Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics will presently discuss the ways and means of effecting the reorganization in accordance with the national features of their republics; there is no doubt that

suggestions made by the public will also be taken into account.

The fact that the subject was discussed simultaneously with the draft of the Seven-Year Plan was quite a significant matter. The Theses of Khrushchov's report to the Twenty-First Party Congress pointed out that implementation of this magnificent plan of building communism necessitates a radical improvement of the entire system of education. This is needed to deepen communist consciousness and enhance activity, to mold the new man in the spirit of collectivism and diligence, awareness of public duty, in the spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism, of the lofty ethical standards of the new society. Special attention must be given to educating the young generation in the spirit of communism, to bringing the school closer to life, to combining study with productive labor, to assimilating the scientific knowledge accumulated by man, to overcoming the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people and to irreconcilable struggle against hostile bourgeois ideology.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state have always devoted close attention to educating the younger generation and training highly skilled personnel for all fields of production, science and culture. The founders of scientific communism—Marx, Engels and Lenin—worked out the basic principles of communist education. Guided by these principles the Communist Party sees its task as one of giving citizens an all-round education. In our country the differences between mental and manual labor are being successfully overcome. Study is combined and will continue

to be combined with participation in productive labor.

Under socialism the character of labor has been changed decisively. The work performed in factories and on collective farms is approximating more and more to the work done by engineers and agronomists, for this is a requirement of the advance of mechanization and automation in industry and of the new machinery in agriculture.

"As in the natural body head and hand wait upon each other, so the labor-process unites the labor of hand with that of the head," wrote Marx. Communism presupposes the all-round spiritual and physical development of man. Harmonious development of man is achieved by closely linked mental and manual labor. The rapid expansion of the Soviet productive forces, the progress made in science and technology, and the changes in the relations of production—all make new demands on public life in all its aspects. The accelerated construction of communist society furthers a deeper and more purposeful education of the youth, who will now combine the study of modern science with participation in constructive work.

* * *

A genuine cultural revolution has been carried out in the Soviet Union. The progress made in education, science and culture stands out when compared with the backwardness of pre-revolutionary Russia.

Before the Revolution seventy-five per cent of the population was illiterate; almost complete illiteracy prevailed in Central Asia. With rare exceptions, higher education was accessible only to the rich; even secondary education was confined to well-off families.

The low level of education in tsarist Russia had its counterpart in the backwardness of science. True, outstanding achievements were made in pre-revolutionary Russia, for example, the discovery of the periodic system of elements by the famous chemist D. I. Mendeleev, or the discovery of viruses by D. I. Ivanovsky. But these discoveries had little effect on life in the country, and scientists received hardly any support from the government. The number of research institutions and scientific personnel was few.

Things are different now in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party has always devoted close attention to the development of science and culture. Universal seven-year education was introduced and secondary and higher education are now widely developed. At present something like 50 million people

are studying in our country in one way or another.

In 1914, less than 10 million pupils attended school; today the attendance exceeds 30 million and by 1965 will have risen to about 40 million.

In tsarist Russia there were 182,000 students in higher educational establishments and technical schools; today there are more than four million. The number of students graduating from technical colleges in the Soviet Union is three times greater than in the United States. The new economic plan envisages training in the forthcoming seven-year period 2,300,000 specialists — 600,000 more than in the previous seven years (1952-58).

The rapid strides in education under Soviet rule have made it possible to train large numbers of specialists—the Soviet intelligentsia—most of whom are of worker and peasant stock. About seven-and-a-half million specialists with a higher and secondary education are working in the national economy, whereas in 1913 there were less than two hundred thousand. The training of this intelligentsia, wholly devoted to communism and possessing the necessary knowledge, is one of the greatest achievements of the Communist Party.

The success registered by Soviet scientists is universally known. Even the capitalist press is forced to acknowledge it. Soviet scientists have achieved major results in the sphere of nuclear physics and peaceful uses of atomic energy. The first atomic power station was commissioned in the Soviet Union. These achievements were demonstrated at the Second United Nations Atoms-for-Peace Conference in Geneva last September. The conference showed that the Soviet Union leads the world in this important branch of science and technology. The world's biggest atomic power unit with a capacity of 100,000 kw.—the first stage of a new atomic power station in the Urals—is now in operation. We are planning to build far more atomic power stations than the United States.

High-speed electronic computers, highly efficient labor-saving devices, have been built. These machines are indispensable where automation is concerned, for raising labor productivity.

The launching of the Sputniks and the cosmic rocket are striking testimony to the maturity of Soviet science.

This success would have been impossible without the broad development of public education and the training on this basis of

numerous scientific cadres. The secondary and higher schools in our country have trained millions of people with high educational and cultural standards, active fighters for socialism. The facts speak for themselves.

But time marches on and confronts the educational system with new tasks. The accelerated building of communist society makes higher demands on the whole system of public education. The main thing now is to prepare the younger generation for socially useful labor, for practical work in the different sectors of the economy and culture, and to reconstruct the educational system in a way that will enable the general secondary, vocational, technical and higher schools to play a more active role.

Boys and girls who up to now have been through the ten-year school did not receive professional training; as a result many of them believed that the only way for them was to enter college or at least a technical school. But the industrial expansion calls not only for engineers and technicians but also for skilled workers and foremen with a good general education and specialized knowledge. Agriculture, too, is developing on the basis of science and technology. Consequently general and specialized agrotechnical education is vitally important for agricultural workers.

Thus, a general secondary education is a must not only for those going on to college or technical school, but also for those joining the ranks of the working class and peasantry or engaging in other socially useful labor. That is why the educational system must bridge the gap which to a certain extent separates school and life, and meet the needs of social production. The general secondary school is obliged to extend the range of its work, increase the number of graduates from year to year and provide better general and polytechnical training; moreover, it is obliged to train people better prepared for socially useful labor. This does not mean that the function of training contingents for the higher educational establishments and technical schools loses its importance. On the contrary, higher and secondary specialized education will be extended annually, in keeping with the needs of the national economy; the demands on the educational level of those entering college and technical schools will likewise be higher. As before, the function of the general educational school is to prepare adequate replenishments for the higher and secondary specialized schools. But this is not the only task.

An extended program for a new advance in Soviet education is laid down in the Theses of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers and in the new law enacted by the Supreme Soviet.

Complete secondary education is to be divided into two stages. The first stage is the eight-year general polytechnical school obligatory for all. Transition from obligatory seven-year education to obligatory eight-year education will be of paramount importance for raising the general educational level. Provided there is good organization, the eight-year school for pupils from seven to fifteen years will greatly improve polytechnical training compared with the seven-year school. Although the general educational curricula will be extended somewhat, pupils will have more time for games and esthetic education.

When finishing the eight-year school, boys and girls will engage in socially useful labor—learn a trade and participate in production. At the same time they will be able to continue their education. The enterprises, institutions and other organizations will not only encourage those desirous of completing secondary education, they will also provide the most favorable conditions for those who combine work and study. In fact the number of people with complete secondary education will be greater.

During the three years in the schools where he will complete his secondary education while at work, the pupil will acquire the knowledge which makes him eligible for entry into college. These schools, providing training for the main jobs, will now be the main form of education.

Since in the next few years the working day and week will be reduced considerably (bearing in mind that in addition those who attend evening schools work fewer hours), after-work study will be greatly facilitated.

Secondary education can be acquired also by attending those schools which will simultaneously provide general knowledge and enable pupils to learn a trade (turner, bricklayer, tractor-driver, etc.). This, too, is a three-year course. Thus, all in all, eleven years will be needed for a complete secondary education.

When finishing the eleven-year school, young people will be ready for work in the different branches of the economy, while their knowledge and professional training will enable them to enter higher educational establishments.

A third way will be technical and other secondary specialized schools which, along with providing general knowledge, will train skilled workers and technicians. Graduates of these schools will be able to work in either capacity, and will have the knowledge needed to enter college.

It follows, then, that the boy or girl choosing any one of the ways mentioned, provided he or she is diligent and displays ability, will be able to go right on to a higher educational establishment.

* * *

The higher schools, too, are obliged to strengthen their contact with life and production, to train students who will be better prepared for jobs in economy and culture. The ways in which they will do this cannot be stereotyped—they will vary, depending on the pattern and conditions of the particular establishment.

In the public debate most of those who took part suggested that the higher educational establishments should arrange for after-work training of specialists, i.e., evening and correspondence courses should be further developed and consolidated.

Others advocated a system of higher education which for a definite period would enable students to combine study and work, while the remainder of the time would be devoted wholly to study.

The purpose of the reconstruction of higher education is to improve both the practical and theoretical training of specialists.

While undergoing practical training, students should be not merely passive observers, as is sometimes the case now, but active participants in productive work. Support should be accorded to such forms of combining study and work as the technical colleges functioning right in the plants, a method which has already justified itself. Agricultural colleges should be located in the well-equipped state farms where all work could be done by the students themselves.

As to universities and teacher-training colleges, it is clear that in the first place practical studies should be improved; more time should be allotted for this and, what is

most important, the quality of study improved. It would be advisable for those studying the humanities, for instance, students of the faculties of economics, philosophy, history and law, to combine their first year with production work in order to acquire the necessary experience.

Most of the suggestions for improving higher education directly concerned the technical and other secondary specialized schools. Their chief function likewise is to ensure closer contact with life and better preparation of students for practical work. In this respect even greater stress should be laid on evening and correspondence courses.

Study of the social sciences is of paramount importance for the entire educational system—from the elementary school all the way to the university. The importance of this branch is growing, for every student must have thorough knowledge of the laws of social development, of Marxism-Leninism.

* * *

The new developments in public education will further the growth of the economy, science and culture. Their importance, clearly, is not only practical but also theoretical, for they will enrich and promote the science of the upbringing and education of young people. Close contact between secondary and higher schools and production will favorably affect scientific development as a whole.

The reconstruction of the educational system has attracted world-wide attention. Our friends in other countries are closely following the work carried out in the USSR in the sphere of public education. They understand the trend and sense of this work, which will result in closer contact between education and production for the common good. They know that the steps taken by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government will strengthen secondary and higher education, raise the theoretical level and the practical training of its graduates, and thus accelerate the further growth of the economic might and political influence of the Soviet state and the entire peace-loving camp of the socialist countries.

The Founding of the Communist International

P. Reiman

THE Communist International was established early in March, 1919. The foundation congress was convened in Moscow and attended by 51 representatives from Communist and workers' organizations. This was a modest beginning for a big international organization.

For a quarter of a century the Communist International, which rallied millions of workers throughout the world, functioned as the guiding body of the international working-class movement. It was born in an atmosphere of bitter struggle against the opportunist leaders of the Second International who had betrayed the working class and helped the bourgeoisie to crush the revolutionary movement. Opening the Congress, Lenin suggested that all rise in honor of "the best representatives of the Third International"—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who had been murdered by the reactionaries at the instigation of the Right Social Democrat Noske, the butcher of the German revolution. Thus the Communist International was formed at a time when not only theoretical deductions, but the sanguinary experience of the struggle revealed to the workers' vanguard that the Right Social-Democratic leaders had deserted to the enemy. The workers were faced with the choice: either the dictatorship of the proletariat — the road taken by Soviet Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party; or collaboration with the bourgeoisie — the road leading to defeat and butchery of the proletariat. This was the basic issue confronting the world labor movement at the time of the establishment of the Third International.

* * *

The idea of founding the Communist International was conceived by Lenin. A resolution drafted by him in August 1914 concerning the tasks of revolutionary Social Democracy in the European war said: "The betrayal of socialism by the majority of the leaders of

the Second International (1889-1914) signified the ideological and political collapse of the International. The main reason for the collapse was the virtual predominance of petty-bourgeois opportunism, the bourgeois character and danger of which had long been pointed out by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. . . . The task of the future International should be irrevocable and decisive renunciation of this bourgeois trend in socialism."* The first wartime appeal of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, issued in November 1914, closed with the words: "Long live the proletarian International, purged of opportunism!"

Lenin was the first to reveal the underlying reason for the collapse of the Second International, to show the working class the only way out of the situation resulting from the betrayal by the opportunist leaders. A new world organization, a new revolutionary International was needed to guide the labor movement. And so it was that Lenin elaborated the tasks of the Communist International five years before its establishment. This struggle for the new International during the imperialist war was the continuation of the struggle which the Bolshevik Party had waged for a number of years against the opportunist trend in the Second International. And it was precisely because Lenin and the Bolsheviks had fought consistently that he was the first to demonstrate at the beginning of the war that the desertion of most of the leaders of the Second International to the bourgeois camp was not accidental, that this was the logical outcome of the entire history of opportunism which, even before the war, had become the dominant trend in most Social-Democratic parties.

In recent times historians have appeared who, falsifying Lenin's thesis to the effect that the betrayal by the leaders of the Second In-

*V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 21, p. 2.—Ed.

ternational had objective roots in the sentiment of a definite stratum of the working class (the so-called labor aristocracy and the bureaucracy), argue thus: the leaders bore no blame whatever, because the masses had fallen for the chauvinistic bourgeois slogans, and some of them, subjectively sincere people, expressing the sentiment of the masses, were themselves taken in.

It is true that at the beginning of the world war a part of the working class had been deceived by the chauvinistic propaganda of the bourgeoisie and its henchmen — the social chauvinists and social imperialists, as Lenin called them. But the class-conscious workers who remained loyal to Marxist principles spurned these leaders and immediately started to seek ways and means of combating the war. Thousands of rank-and-file Social Democrats were shocked by the fact that the parties in which for decades they had placed their hopes had betrayed and deserted them in the hour of crisis. But, as Lenin wrote, no one bothered to consult the masses. The research carried out recently by German Marxists has revealed that from the outset numerous Social-Democratic organizations in Stuttgart, Nieder-Barnim and other districts of Germany supported the Left group headed by Karl Liebknecht, Rose Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin and Wilhelm Pieck. And in Czechoslovakia the overwhelming majority of the people — though far removed from the Marxist ideas of revolutionary struggle against imperialism — were definitely against the war. When in all the countries the true and full history of the labor movement during the years 1914-18 has been written, it will be seen that everywhere tens of thousands of workers were eager to fight against the war, but because of the betrayal by the parties of the Second International were left without leadership.

The fact that the outbreak of the war had taken the people by surprise played, naturally, a certain role at the beginning, but to use this to excuse the conduct of most of the Social-Democratic parties would be tantamount to justifying the betrayal by the Kautskyites, to revising, from an anti-Marxist standpoint, Lenin's thesis of the logical growing over of opportunism into social chauvinism during the imperialist war. Hence the argument about the opportunists being divided into the subjectively sincere and insincere is utterly groundless. Lenin pointed out that the personal motives of a politician are not important where historical developments are concerned. The decisive criterion

is his attitude to the class struggle. In the given case the decisive fact was the desertion of the Right and Centrist leaders to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

It is also true that the Lefts in Germany and Austria, though they put heart and soul into the anti-war campaign, made several blunders and failed to find a clear and correct line on all the issues. But under no circumstances can the mistakes and vacillations of the Lefts be confused with the treachery of the leading majority in Social Democracy.

At the beginning of the war, apart from the Bolsheviks, few revolutionary parties broke organizationally with the opportunists. Among the few were the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labor Party (the Tesnyaks) and the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania; the latter was closely linked with the Bolsheviks, both ideologically and organizationally. In all other countries the Left was merely a trend in the Social-Democratic parties — the Left leaders had not yet arrived at the understanding of the need for independent revolutionary parties. Only the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin were guided in their revolutionary work by a sound, well-founded theory of proletarian revolution, the theory which corresponded to the changed conditions of imperialism.

That is why the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, right from the beginning of the war, became the ideological force which led the struggle of the working class not only in Russia but on a world scale.

"After a whole year of war," wrote Lenin in September 1915, "the *only* trend in the International which adopted a perfectly definite resolution, and also a draft manifesto based on it, and which united the consistent Marxists of Russia, Poland, the Lettish province, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and Holland, was the trend represented by our party."*

Lenin formulated the strategic slogan of the international revolutionary movement: turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. Criticizing the inconsistency displayed by some Left leaders in the matter of creating an independent revolutionary party, Lenin insisted on an immediate organizational break with the traitors of the Second International.

Lenin did not confine himself merely to advocacy of the Third International. The Bolshevik Central Committee headed by him took practical steps in this direction during

*V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed. Vol. 21, p. 356—Ed.

the first years of the war. An important advance was made when agreement was reached with the Swiss and Italian Socialist Parties on summoning an international conference of internationalists opposed to the war. The conference took place in Zimmerwald early in September 1915. Lenin knew that the leaders of these parties were opposed to the war, but not from a revolutionary standpoint. He knew that the Swiss and Italian parties, though more Left than most of the parties of the Second International, were ideologically close to the Kautskyite center. That is why they could not be expected to wage a consistent revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war. Nevertheless, agreement was necessary in order to rally the anti-war forces and establish ties with other internationalist groups as a preliminary to setting up the Third International. The Bolsheviks, as is known, submitted their own independent revolutionary platform to the Zimmerwald conference and began to rally the revolutionary groups in other parties. Thus, a Zimmerwald Left group was formed, which later became the nucleus of the Third International. The subsequent conference called by the Zimmerwald group in Kienthal, Switzerland (April 1916), revealed that most of the parties and groupings adhered to centrist views and were incapable of breaking with the opportunists.

The new situation which emerged as a result of the February Revolution in Russia necessitated a new approach to the question of founding the Communist International. In his *April Theses* and in the pamphlet *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, Lenin showed that the Bolsheviks could no longer work with the majority of the Zimmerwald group who supported Kautsky centrism. He pointed to the need for a Communist International without the centrists, who were against an organizational break with the Rights and who pursued a social-pacifist line. Lenin proposed that contact with the Zimmerwald group be maintained solely for purposes of information. Among those who had taken a revolutionary stand in the working-class movement Lenin singled out the Spartacus group headed by Karl Liebknecht as the most significant, and mentioned the Left groups in France, the United States, Britain, Sweden, the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Tesnyaks), the Tribune group in Holland, and others. The fact that some of those mentioned by Lenin in his writings — for example, Friedrich Adler in Austria, who won popularity among the revolutionary workers when he made an attempt

on the life of the Austrian premier Stuergh — proved incapable of breaking with Kautsky centrism, did not prove decisive. The main thing was that the revolutionary trend had now matured to the point where a new International became necessary.

But, because of the opportunist attitude of Zinoviev and his supporters, Lenin was unable to convince the majority of the delegates to the April Conference of the Bolshevik Party of the need to leave the Zimmerwald bloc.

* * *

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia ushered in a new era in history, the era of socialism. The Revolution marked a turning point in the international labor movement as well. The ideas of Leninism, thanks to the October victory, spread all over the world, rousing the workers to active struggle to end the imperialist war and overthrow bourgeois rule. The Socialist Revolution in Russia was hailed by the revolutionary working-class parties and opposition groups in all lands. The crisis evoked by the war, the collapse of the moral and political prestige of capitalism and, primarily, the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, accelerated the growth of the world revolutionary movement.

The revolutions in Finland, Austro-Hungary and Germany, the revolutionary situation in Spain, the strike movement (including general strikes) becoming increasingly political in character and often developing into direct clashes with troops and police; the revolutionary ferment in the armed forces, particularly among the soldiers sent to bolster up the Russian counter-revolutionaries; the awakening to revolutionary activity of millions of people in Latin America and Asia (particularly the rice-riots in Japan); the new forms of mass struggle of the industrial workers who sought a way out of the blind alley into which they had been driven by the discredited trade union leaders (the movement for factory councils in Italy and the shop-steward movement in Britain) — all insistently called for the creation of genuine proletarian parties capable of merging the spontaneous and dispersed revolutionary streams into a single channel of socialist revolution.

Communist parties began to appear here and there in 1918 and early in 1919. Some of these were mass parties from the beginning. The Bulgarian Tesnyaks adopted the standpoint of the Communist International. Most of the Finnish Social-Democrats joined the Communist Party. But the savage white terror which followed the defeat of the revo-

lution forced the Party to go underground. In Poland the Communist Party was formed as a result of the merger of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Left Polish Socialist Party. In Hungary a prominent role was played by the Communists headed by Bela Kun who had just returned from Russia. The Left Socialist groups of Alpari and Sabo also took part in forming the Communist Party. In a few months the Hungarian Communist Party won over the majority of the working class. In Germany the Communist Party grew out of the Spartacus League and the Lefts in Bremen and other places. In view of the international character of this process, the urgent need was felt to rally the advanced, class-conscious elements of the revolutionary movement on an international scale for the purpose of exchanging views and, primarily, of assimilating the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin was conscious of the need for this.

Despite the immensity of the work carried out by Lenin as leader and organizer of the October Revolution and the first socialist state, he carefully followed the progress of the international labor movement and by means of articles and books helped the working class of the capitalist countries to find the right road. On the eve of the victory of the socialist revolution, he completed *The State and Revolution*, which elaborated the Marxist theory of the state and proletarian dictatorship. He developed the theory of the proletarian dictatorship also in his *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918) which laid bare the sophistry of the Social-Democratic traitors who had broken with Marxism and taken service with the bourgeoisie. These works and also his Theses on proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy approved by the First Congress of the Communist International were for thousands of workers in the capitalist countries the first Marxist-Leninist textbooks. Here is what Klement Gottwald wrote many years later, in 1935, in this connection: "Only Leninism opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands of workers—the Social-Democratic rank and file. I remember to this day the feeling I experienced when reading the first book by Lenin. This was *The State and Revolution*, and it was a revelation to me: I felt that a new world was being opened to me. Things to which I had been blind for years now became clearer. Thousands of other workers have had the same experiences."

Thus the works of Lenin, his untiring struggle against the treacherous leaders of the

Second International, played the decisive role in rallying and consolidating the revolutionary forces of the working class in the various countries, in accelerating the formation of the Communist parties.

The need for Communist parties and the unification of their efforts on a worldwide scale was also dictated by the fact that during the powerful upsurge of the working-class movement the counter-revolutionary policy of the Right and Centrist Social-Democratic leaders was exposed and their collaboration with the bourgeoisie revealed. The leaders of the discredited Second International joined with the bourgeoisie in launching a hate campaign against the world's first socialist state. Notorious in this respect was their chief "theoretician" Karl Kautsky. In his works spearheaded against the Marxist theory of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviets, Kautsky lauded bourgeois democracy and the so-called democratic road to socialism. The Right leaders of Czechoslovak Social Democracy parroted the assertions of Masaryk, the Czech bourgeois leader: Russia is a backward peasant country where socialism is impossible. Czechoslovakia should advance to socialism through co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Otto Bauer, allegedly a Left, said much the same thing. The Russian revolution, he claimed, was not a socialist, but a bourgeois-democratic revolution in a backward peasant country.

But the Social-Democratic leaders were not satisfied with combating revolution on the theoretical plane alone. Co-operating with the bourgeoisie, they lent a hand in suppressing and drowning in blood the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. A particularly heinous role was played by the German Social Democrats—the largest party of the Second International—who in the November revolution together with the "Left" Independent Social-Democratic Party did everything to keep the bourgeoisie in power and crush the revolutionary working-class movement. Their example was followed by the "Left" Social Democrats in Austria. It would be no exaggeration to say that in the 1917-23 revolutionary period in Europe it was the Right and Centrist Social Democrats who were chiefly responsible for keeping the bourgeoisie in power. Among the more prominent leaders of the Second International there were only some individuals who, learning from the socialist revolution in Russia, sincerely changed their views and adopted the standpoint of the Communist International. Among them we find the beloved leader of the French workers Marcel Cachin, editor of *l'Humanité*, and

Bohumir Smeral, leader of the Czechoslovak Social Democrats.

Such, in outline, was the situation when the First Congress of the Communist International opened on March 2, 1919. It was attended by representatives of the Communist Party of Russia headed by Lenin (other delegates: J. V. Stalin, G. V. Chicherin, V. V. Vorovsky, etc.), the Communist parties of Germany (Albert), Austria (Steinhardt), Poland (Unschlicht), Finland (Y. Sirola, K. Manner, O. W. Kuusinen and others), Ukraine (N. A. Skripnik, C. I. Gopner); delegates were present from the Communist parties of Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia, Estonia, Hungary, the Balkan Social-Democratic Revolutionary Workers' Federation (which included the Social-Democratic parties of Rumania, Serbia, and Greece), the Swedish Left Social-Democratic Party, the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party, the American Socialist Labor Party, United Group of the Eastern Nations of Russia and the opposition groups in the Swiss Social-Democratic and French Socialist parties. Several foreign Communist groups formed on Russian territory and groups from some eastern countries including China, Korea, Turkey, and Iran, attended with a deliberative vote.

The presence of representatives from eastern countries, no matter how limited, showed that the Third International, as distinct from the Second, was an organization in which, apart from the workers of the highly-developed capitalist countries, the toilers of colonial and semi-colonial countries were represented. Under the auspices of the Communist International there emerged for the first time in history powerful working-class parties in the colonial and dependent countries, including the glorious Communist Party of China, which is now building socialism in a formerly backward country of more than 600 million people, the Communist parties in Korea, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, India, Mongolia and Latin America.

The main political document adopted by the Congress was Lenin's Theses on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship. The theses became the basic policy document of the Communist International. The theory of proletarian dictatorship, elaborated by Lenin for the conditions of imperialism, is the fundamental teaching of Leninism. The basic point was: the slightest concession in this respect always leads to a break with Marxism in general. The experience of the international working-class movement over the past forty years has fully confirmed the Lenin theory of the proletarian revolution and proletarian

dictatorship. This theory is the basis of the ideological unity of the socialist countries and of the Communist and revolutionary working-class parties of the world.

The most important decision of the First Congress was the Resolution on the establishment of the Communist International:

"The international Communist Conference hereby resolves to establish itself as the Third International and to adopt the name of Communist International . . . All parties, organizations and groups can in the course of eight months declare in final form their intention to affiliate to the Third International."*

The setting up of the Communist International marked a major victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and revisionism. All the best revolutionary forces of the international working-class movement rallied under its banner.

* * *

The events that took place between the founding and the Second Congress in July 1920 showed that the establishment of the International was a timely act, a measure which fully met the needs of the world revolutionary movement. The months between 1919 and 1920 witnessed a further upsurge of the mass revolutionary struggle and a growing rift between broad sections of the working class and their reformist leaders; the ideological and political appeal of communism gained momentum.

The most important revolutionary development after the First Congress was the proclamation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary in March, 1919. In April of that year a Soviet republic arose in Bavaria, but it was drowned in blood by the armed forces of the Weimar Republic with the support of the Right Social Democrats. Soviet power in Hungary, encircled by the imperialist states of the Little Entente, was crushed after four-and-a-half months by the intervention of Rumanian and Czechoslovak forces. The revolution in Hungary and the heroic struggle of the Hungarian workers greatly benefited the working class of Soviet Russia, which staunchly repelled the attacks of the internal counter-revolution and the Entente forces. Soviet Hungary played no small role also in spreading the ideas of proletarian dictatorship and communism in Western and Central Europe, especially in Czechoslovakia, where the Soviet Republic of Slovakia was proclaimed in June 1919.

*Beginning with May 1919, the journal *Communist International*, organ of the Executive Committee, was printed in six languages.

Soviet Hungary was defeated chiefly because the proletarian dictatorship, having been established in a small country, was surrounded by capitalist states which, on the orders of the Entente, and the French imperialists in particular, launched armed intervention and crushed the revolution. The mistakes made by the Hungarian Communists, grave though they were, were not the main reason for the defeat. But from these mistakes, which reflected the ideological deficiencies of the as yet young Communist parties which had no great revolutionary experience, the Communist International learnt a serious lesson. The gravest mistake, apart from the incorrect approach to the peasant question, was the consent of the Hungarian Communists to a merger with the Socialist Party then controlled by the Right leaders. Actually, they performed the role of agents of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and took advantage of their positions to undermine Soviet power from the inside.

At this time, 1919-1920, many Social-Democratic organizations began to adopt the platform of communism. The working class in a number of European countries actively supported Soviet Russia against the imperialist intervention. The growing solidarity of big segments of the working class with the socialist revolution affected the situation in some of the mass Socialist parties. In the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany the majority of the revolutionary workers under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, Willi Stoecker, Wilhelm Koenen and others, drew closer to the Communist Party. In December 1919 the Left Social-Democrats in Czechoslovakia formed a group called the Marxist Left. The program of this group recognized the principle of proletarian dictatorship and endorsed the aims of the Communist International. Similar developments took place in the French Socialist Party where the Left trend was headed by Marcel Cachin. The platform of the Communist International was adopted by the Japanese Left Socialists led by the veteran working-class fighter Sen Katayama. In Italy the bulk of the Socialist Party membership and some of the leaders (Serrati, for instance) favored the principles of the Communist International. L'Ordine Nuovo group headed by Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti maintained a consistent revolutionary position. However, Serrati and other Centrists did not agree with Lenin's condition demanding a complete break with the Rights. Some of the centrist leaders in the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Ger-

many, forced by mass pressure to declare their readiness to join the Communist International, tried to maneuver, refusing to adopt all its principles. This approach endangered the International in view of possible penetration by centrists who had neither broken with opportunism nor displayed the desire to do so and who hoped to impose their ideology on the organization.

Another danger was the Left sectarian trends in the young Communist parties which lacked revolutionary experience and which reflected the spontaneous, though basically healthy, sentiments of the rank-and-file who hated the bourgeois parliamentarism propagated by the Social Democrats and the treacherous compromise tactics of the trade union leaders. In Germany the "Left" Communist Labor Party broke away from the Communist Party. In principle this breakaway party opposed Communist participation in parliament and work in the reformist trade unions. In Britain, too, some Communists failed to understand the need to work in the trade unions and other mass organizations affiliated to the Labor Party. Sectarian mistakes were characteristic of many Communists in Italy, Austria and other countries.

In this complex situation Lenin, without relenting in the fight against opportunism and centrism, attacked sectarian moods because they hindered the winning over of the masses to the Communist International. He did this on the eve of the Second Congress, in his well-known "*Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*—an unsurpassed textbook of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working-class parties. Lenin demonstrated the international significance of the "Russian experience:" "We now have a fairly considerable international experience which shows quite definitely that certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance which is not local, not peculiarly national."* Advancing this thesis Lenin warned the Communists against a one-sided, dogmatic approach to the international experience of the Russian Revolution: "Of course, it would be a grave mistake to exaggerate this truth, to extend it not only to some of the basic features of our revolution . . . But at the moment the situation is that precisely the Russian model reveals something to all countries and something very essential, of their near and inevitable future."**

From the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the October Revolution, summed up in

*V. I. Lenin. *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 31, p. 5.

***Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

Lenin's brilliant work, the young Communist parties in the other countries deduced that it was necessary to combat not only sectarian deviations from Marxism but above all vigilantly to guard the ideological purity of their international organization from encroachments by opportunism and centrism. On the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist International the centrist threat to the communist movement was real indeed. It suffices to glance at the list of speakers at the Congress to see the truth of this.*

In this connection the "Conditions for Affiliation to the Communist International" formulated by Lenin and submitted to the Second Congress were of supreme importance. With more and more parties and groups trained in the traditions of the Second International applying for affiliation, Lenin warned: "The Communist International is in danger of being diluted with unstable and vacillating groups which have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International."** The object of Lenin's conditions, which with a number of amendments were adopted by the Second Congress and later became known as the "Twenty-One Conditions," was to safeguard the revolutionary purity of its ranks by preventing centrist infiltration. The "Twenty-One Conditions" stipulated that the every-day propaganda of each party should be Communist in character so that the parties applying for affiliation should recognize the need for "a complete and absolute break with reformism and with the policies of the 'Center'" and should purge their ranks of reformist and centrist elements. Organizationally the Communist International was based on the principle of democratic centralism which obliged each party to abide by Congress and Executive Committee decisions. The "Twenty-One Conditions" stipulated further that all parties affiliated to the International be named Communist.

The purpose of the "Conditions" was not merely to keep out the centrists while the Communist parties were being organized and the International consolidated. It was much broader than that: the "Twenty-One Conditions" set forth in concentrated form the basic principles of the party of a new type

after the model of the Bolshevik Party organized and led by Lenin. Thus, the works written by Lenin in the period between the First and Second Congresses, particularly "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder and the "Conditions for affiliation to the Communist International," formulated and substantiated the ideological, strategic and organizational principles of the future activity of this great international working-class organization. The process of founding the Communist International was rounded off by the adoption of these principles at the Second Congress.

In the twenty-five years of its existence the Communist International played a tremendous role in organizing the world labor movement, educating the newly-formed revolutionary working-class parties in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In the last pre-war years, after the Seventh Congress at which Georgi Dimitrov enunciated the basic tasks of fighting fascism through a united working-class and people's front, the Communist International headed the broad mass movement against fascism and imperialist war. The growth of this movement in the various countries under the leadership of the Communist parties led to a situation during World War II in which the organizational framework of the International no longer corresponded to the new tasks with which the Communist movement was confronted. International developments revealed the need for new forms of co-operation by the Communist and Workers' parties.

In 1943 the Presidium of the Executive Committee unanimously dissolved the Communist International. Its principal objective—to help in forming consistent revolutionary working-class parties and educating them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism—had been achieved. Its merit was that it had educated a generation of leaders and functionaries for the world working-class movement in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, that it had roused millions of workers throughout the world to struggle against imperialism and colonial oppression, against fascism and war, and for socialism. In the course of its twenty-five years the Communist International paved the way to the historic victories of the socialist revolution in a number of European and Asian countries, to building the mighty camp of socialism. Its long and uncompromising struggle against social reformism, opportunism and revisionism had laid firm foundations for the ideological unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world, unity which

*Among the speakers at the congress were prominent centrists: the German "Independents" Crispian, Dietmann and Daumig; Serrati, who vacillated towards centrism (later Serrati admitted his mistake and when the Communist Party of Italy was established he joined its ranks). There was also the delegation from the French Socialist Party which at that time had not yet broken with the Rights, although the majority of the members insisted on affiliation to the Communist International.

**V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 31, p. 182.

secured success in the past and which to this day is the reliable guarantee of the victories to be won by the world communist movement.

The history of the Communist International and the parties affiliated to it is the history of the working-class struggle in the widely varying conditions in particular countries. This rich experience lives on; it lives in the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties now heading the construction of a new society in the socialist countries; it lives in the struggle for peace and a better future now being waged by the revolutionary working-class parties of the world. The Communist International was born in the struggle against imperialist war and opportunism which helps to unleash war. Throughout its history this was its main task. In the new conditions of today the communist movement is continuing

this glorious humanist tradition of the Communist International, a tradition inherent in the international working-class movement and the socialist system.

And for this reason the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International is something more than a recollection of times past: it is living history which is now helping to educate in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism the new generation of Communists who reached maturity in the period after World War II. The Moscow Declaration of the 1957 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries further developed the Leninist principles of the international communist movement in the conditions of the existence of the mighty camp of socialism.

February 1934—February 1959

VIENNA

THE armed battles of February 1934 were an important milestone in Austria's history, a turning-point in the Austrian working-class movement. If Georgi Dimitrov's courageous stand at the Leipzig trial sounded as a call to action at a time when, following Hitler's seizure of power, a mood of deep despondency had gripped considerable numbers of European workers, then the February battles in Austria—like the successful resistance put up by the French workers to the fascist onslaught—marked the beginning of the counter-attack by the working class and all the democratic forces. This counter-offensive was manifested later in the heroic fight of the Spanish people and the international brigades and was crowned by the historic victory of the Soviet Union and the other freedom-loving peoples over the countries of the fascist Axis.

When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 the Austrian reactionaries seized on the situation "to do their bit." And this time too, the Austrian Social-Democrats could not bring themselves to entrust the fate of the republic to the masses of workers who could really have defended democratic liberties.

In March 1933, when the Dollfuss government dissolved Parliament on a formal pretext, fascist reaction launched an all-out offensive. On March 24, the Social-Democratic paper *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was forced to submit to censorship. On April 1, the Republican Schutzbund* was disbanded. The traditional May Day demonstrations were banned. This was followed on May 26 by the banning of the Communist Party. Every day brought news of worker activists and Schutzbund leaders being arrested; raids and confiscations of arms were daily occurrences. Terror against working-class organizations was intensified,

*Workers' defense units formed by Social Democrats in 1923 as a counter-measure to the fascist gangs' activity and attacks on the working class. The Schutzbund had secret arsenals.

while the fascist associations were hurriedly reinforced. In the months that followed, authoritarian rule became more pronounced. But as Otto Bauer subsequently admitted, "in the factories and in the Party sections the voices of impatient, militant people ready to go into action resounded louder and louder: 'Why wait? We can fight back.' . . ." The Social-Democratic leaders, however, thought up arguments and excuses to prevent political strikes and armed defense of democratic liberties.

Things were coming to a head. Mobilization of the fascist Heimwehr** was announced for January 27, 1934; and on January 30 it seized the key buildings and squares in Innsbruck and established a reign of terror in the Tyrol. At this juncture *Die Rote Fahne* (underground Communist Party paper) called for a general strike. The Party called for the formation of action committees "to lead the struggle in every factory," demanded that the fascists be disarmed, all anti-fascist prisoners released and the workers be given arms.

But the Social-Democratic leaders were still waiting for a miracle. And when the spark ignited and the conflagration flared up, it was already too late: the masses were unprepared.

* * *

On the morning of February 12, the police in Linz raided the Social-Democratic Party premises for the purpose of arresting the Schutzbund leaders. But stubborn resistance forced them to withdraw. This gunfire heralded a general uprising of the Linz workers.

When the news of this fighting reached Vienna, the workers in a number of factories in the Floridsdorf district of the capital struck work. The strike spread to the other districts, embracing the gas-works and power stations; transport in the city came to a standstill. The Schutzbundlers hastened to their assembly points, located, as a rule, in the large apart-

**Reactionary military organization which, in contrast to the Austrian Nazis, favored Italian fascism.

ment blocks. The concealed arms were distributed as widely as possible.

Forced to resort to arms, the workers had neither a leading center, leaflets, nor instructions from their Social-Democratic leaders. Many of the Schutzbund commanders had been arrested a few days before and some of the districts had been paralyzed by treachery. Despite this, the uprising rapidly spread throughout the city. Fierce fighting took place in the municipal quarters (the blocks of apartments built during the twenties by the Social-Democratic municipality and used by the reformists as an argument to prove the possibility of capitalism "evolving" into socialism).

Fighting broke out in some of the towns of Upper Austria (in Steyr, for example) and in Styria (particularly in the Bruck-Kapfenberg industrial center). In some of the Tyrol towns the workers secured arms and were ready to go into action.

By February 14, the numerical superiority of the gendarmes, fascist and regular troops, using tanks and artillery, had made itself felt everywhere. In some of the Vienna districts the Schutzbundlers were forced to retreat and surrender; some groups fought their way to the Czechoslovak frontier. On February 15, the last fighting took place for the communal blocks in the Karl Marx-Hof (Vienna's 19th district), Goethehof (22nd district), Laerberg (10th district), in Simmering (11th district), and also in Styria.

The fascists displayed their typical brutality. Worker casualties numbered thousands killed and wounded. Schutzbundlers taken prisoner were savagely maltreated, some were murdered. Later, courts martial passed death sentences on some prisoners. Many were sent to hard labor; the aggregate sentences amounted to thousands of years. And, on the Hitler pattern, hundreds of Communists were thrown into concentration camps.

The defeat of the working class disarmed the only reliable force capable of upholding Austrian independence against the impending Hitler occupation. By suppressing the working class the bourgeoisie committed national treason, a betrayal that paved the way to the Anschluss of 1938.

* * *

In February 1934, the Communists fought hand in hand with Social-Democratic workers and Schutzbundlers. They played an outstanding role in the battles in Linz and in some of the districts of Vienna. In Ennsleiten

(Upper Austria) a unit of Communist machine-gunners fought alongside the Schutzbundlers. In those days the workers found a common language—there was no need for long speeches in order to appreciate the importance of united action and realize the community of interests for which they had taken up arms.

The February battles dispelled the illusions, entertained by many Socialist workers, of a peaceful evolution to socialism. They saw for themselves that the institutions of the democratic republic, the state apparatus, the police, gendarmerie and the army were used not to defend the democracy to which they had sworn allegiance, but to destroy it. Thousands of workers realized in those days that the Communists were quite correct when they stressed the class nature of bourgeois democracy and fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument of struggle for socialism. The class-conscious Socialist workers joined the Communist Party in large numbers, despite the fact that it had to work in conditions of brutal terror. After the February battles, the Communist and Socialist workers, in fact the entire underground movement, clearly realized that what was needed now, in order to fight fascism, was a united front. And these sentiments found expression in the agreement concluded between the Communist Party and the "Revolutionary Socialists."*

And today, 25 years after the February battles, developments again confirm the importance of working-class unity in resisting fascist provocations. Last autumn, for example, the unanimous mass protest initiated by the Communists frustrated a European gathering of SS veterans scheduled for Salzburg. The working class is also in a position to prevent Otto Hapsburg's return (to which the Social-Democratic leaders have consented) and thus thwart the far-reaching designs of the reactionaries at home and overseas.

For the Austrian workers, the events of 1934 were a grim lesson in class struggle, alerting them to fascist and reactionary schemes. Another positive result was that the Communist Party grew into a mass party. Its recent campaign for new members demonstrated that it has struck deep roots among the working people and that, because of this, the Austrian working class is much stronger now than it was in 1934.

Erwin SCHARF

*An underground party formed by some of the leaders and rank-and-file members of the Social-Democratic Party, which had crumbled after February 1934.

PARIS

FEBRUARY this year reminds us of February 1934, when the reactionaries tried to establish a fascist regime in France. But, as is generally known, they received a vigorous rebuff. What analogies can be drawn and what is the difference between the situation in France at that time and today?

In the inter-war period French imperialism was still one of the strong links of the capitalist system, although the crisis of the early thirties greatly weakened it. With Hitler's advent to power, the Versailles system began to collapse. This stimulated the rapid unification of those who dreamed of abolishing "the old order" of 1919 with those who could not endure the thought of the loss of Russia from the capitalist orbit. And so the French bourgeoisie began once more to prepare for war. This, too, was linked with growing fear caused by the success of the popular movement inspired by the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie felt that the inroads made earlier on democracy might not guarantee the rule of big capital. Hence they decided to launch a direct offensive against democracy.

Superficially, circumstances favored this action: the workers and middle sections had been disappointed by the failure of the "Left" majority of Radicals and Socialists elected in 1932 to honor their election promises. In order to stir up anti-parliamentary sentiment, the bourgeoisie cashed in on the popular indignation over the monstrous financial scandals in which deputies and ministers were involved. The monopoly press had long displayed its admiration of strong government such as that of Hitler and Mussolini. Big business relied on the police and the army; it was also supported in the Socialist Party where a group with a semi-fascist program had emerged.

On February 6, 1934, fascist gangs attacked the Chamber of Deputies. But they met with strong resistance of the workers who, at the first signal from the Communist Party, barred their way. The Party then summoned the populace to counter the attempt at a fascist putsch by holding a mass demonstration. On the appointed day, February 9, some 60,000 workers, chanting the slogan "Down with Fascism!" kept the police at bay for five hours, all the way from the Place de la Republique to the Gare d l'Est. Although the call for the demonstration had been issued by the Communist Party alone, vast numbers of Socialists and reformist-minded workers,

in fact the entire population of the districts in which action took place, fought alongside the active anti-fascists. Six workers were killed. But this sacrifice was not in vain. The prompt and courageous resistance to fascism on February 9 predetermined the success of the general strike and anti-fascist demonstration on February 12. Four and a half million workers downed tools. On that day one could see two powerful columns of marchers shouting "United Action!" mingle in the Vincennes Boulevards. One was headed by the Communists, the other by the Socialists.

In the subsequent months this rank-and-file unity made rapid progress. It spread throughout the country and led to the united action pact between the Communist and Socialist parties. The numerous middle strata in town and country drew closer to the working class united in the anti-fascist struggle, and from this there emerged in 1935 the Popular Front, which in the next two years won memorable victories.

The Radicals and Socialists, however, did not honor their obligations to the Popular Front and this led to its disintegration and cleared the way for a counter-attack by big capital; eventually, this onslaught culminated in the Pétain puppet regime during the Hitler occupation.

This shows the analogy that can be drawn between the reactionary assault of February 1934, and that which is now taking place in France. Essentially, this analogy reflects the inherent tendency of the bourgeoisie to destroy its own democracy the moment the popular mass movement creates a serious obstacle to the policy of poverty and war. The principal methods used by the bourgeoisie are, firstly, division in the ranks of the working class and, secondly, anti-parliamentary and particularly nationalist demagoguery—the latter designed to conceal the misuse of power.

The experience of 1934 and its lessons are instructive and retain their significance to this day. But in order to derive the utmost benefit from them it is essential to have a clear idea of the changes that have taken place in the past 25 years.

As a result of the victory won by the anti-Hitler coalition, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, fascism suffered a grave military, political and ideological defeat. But wherever the rule of big capital is preserved, and this was the case in France, the factors giving birth to the fascist danger continue to exist.

After the liberation, vital social and politi-

cal gains were won thanks to the influence wielded by the Communist Party. But the persistent refusal of the Socialist Party to accept our proposals for united action was seized upon by the bourgeoisie in an attempt to regain its positions. At first they set out systematically to restrict democracy and then abolish it. Since 1945 this has become an even more urgent matter for them, for French capitalism has encountered grave difficulties arising from the general crisis of colonialism and the disintegration of the overseas empire. In clinging to the obsolete relations between France and her colonies, relations founded on violence and exploitation, big capital needs, first, ever bigger sums for colonial wars, i.e. constantly rising taxation; secondly, suppression of democratic resistance to its anti-national policy and, lastly, elimination of any opposition to this policy even by one or another group of the bourgeoisie. The feature of present-day France is that monopoly capital, and the financial magnates in particular, are bent on ensuring their undivided rule in all spheres of political, economic and social life; on resolving issues between the different bourgeois groupings by authoritarian means, at the expense of the working people. The drive launched by the big bourgeoisie against their own democracy is "justified" by the nationalist and chauvinist campaign, which has acquired unprecedented dimensions and which has been joined by all parties—the Socialist Party included—with the exception of the Communists.

This is the first distinction between the situation today and in 1933-34. In the thirties big capital could with relative ease crush the budding liberation movements of the peoples of Indo-China, Algeria and Tunisia. But today, in order to preserve its shattered colonial rule, it is forced to throw into the crucible of war all the resources of the nation, and in order to compel the masses to make sacrifices in this war it falls back on one-man rule at home.

Other contradictions, too, are becoming sharper. The economic crisis is growing, and the rulers are trying to shift the burden of it onto the workers and middle sections in town and country. One of the fundamental contradictions, that between labor and capital, is thus becoming more acute.

Then there is the keen rivalry between the capitalist countries. The conflict arising from the "Common Market" and "Free Trade Zone," the contest for leadership in NATO, and the struggle for markets and spheres of influence in Africa—these are open secrets.

French imperialism of 1959 is not what it was in 1933-34. It is now forced to depend on its rivals—the more powerful imperialist states. This impels it to don the mask of a sham "grandeur" in order to conceal the adventurist policy which, in substance, simply continues the anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy pursued by the ruling classes since 1947.

It follows, then, that the series of antagonisms rending the capitalist world, and France in particular, compel the big bourgeoisie to resort to the extremes of totalitarianism. But, conscious that our people have not forgotten the melancholy experience of the past, monopoly capital employs new and even more treacherous methods. Under cover of Gaullism, the reactionary fascist forces, by means of mystification and electoral swindles, have secured the Constitution and Parliament of their heart's desire. They have formed the "official" UNR party and have enacted extraordinary laws without debate or approval in Parliament.

The main reasons why the people have been unable to beat back the fascist onslaught as they did in 1934 are: the nationalist confusion, created by the demagogy about de Gaulle's role in the anti-fascist war and his halo of a "savior of France," and intensified by the colonialist ideology inculcated in the country for over a century; and—most important—the confusion caused among democrats by the split in the working class and the treachery of the Right Social Democrats.

There is, however, a way out, and of this we are reminded by the history of 1934-36. It lies in the unity of all who want to save France from disaster and the shame of totalitarian adventure. The Communist Party is much stronger and much more experienced now than it was 25 years ago (and this is a new element), and it will achieve unity of all the progressive forces. At the moment it is acting as a powerful democratic force countering the reactionary onslaught.

In the course of the day-to-day struggle for economic demands, civil liberties and individual rights that are now imperilled by one-man rule, the Communists will do everything to restore the fighting capacity and vigilance of the people and achieve an early peace in Algeria. Despite the opposition of the splitters in the working-class and democratic movements, the outcome of this struggle will be a broader and more stable unity, a unity that will ensure the democratic and national renovation of France.

André VIEUGUET

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

A Call to Fight Fascism and Reaction

THE events of recent months in Western Europe have confronted the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class with important and urgent tasks. The representatives of the French and Italian Communist parties who recently met in Rome discussed these tasks and decided upon the steps needed for their solution.

The subordination of the European capitalist countries to American imperialism contributes largely to the aggravation of the industrial and agrarian crisis and the steady growth of unemployment. The illusions spread by bourgeois and Social-Democratic ideologists regarding a "normal," "crisis-free" capitalism are being dispelled.

The joint statement by the two parties shows how the leading capitalist groups are seeking a way out of the situation. The bourgeois rulers are now mobilizing their forces in order to make the working class and the middle sections shoulder the burden of the economic crisis. "The attack on democracy in France," the statement declares, "is fraught with the direct threat of fascism."

What we have is a typical totalitarian trend, which is manifested in forms differing from those of classical fascism, and, moreover, varying in each country, depending on the sharpness of its economic and social contradictions. The tragic experience of the peoples who suffered under fascist regimes that were smashed in the Second World War, prevents reaction from openly resorting to the old forms and methods. That which has taken place in France, with an outward observance of some of the democratic forms, shows whither this trend can lead. The military are now active in establishing complete and undivided sway over the entire life of society. An authoritarian regime has been established, based on personal rule, relying on the oligarchy of the monopolies and banks and not subject to any democratic control on the part of the nation.

Similar trends can be observed in other countries, particularly in Italy. The reactionary bourgeoisie is trying to discredit parliamentary institutions, drain them of their content, preserving only the outward semblance. Attempts are being made to impose shameful and unjust electoral laws, and through them to create parliaments that "would not represent the real interests of the different sections of the nation and would be a mere caricature

of parliament, as has happened in France." The press and other means of propaganda which exert considerable influence on public opinion and could serve to organize a freer democratic life are used unscrupulously to create an atmosphere of universal approval for government measures. Publicly-owned and nationalized branches of the economy are used not in the interests of society, nor to curb the lawlessness of the monopolies, but as a means of ensuring the rule of the dominant political groups. A component of the reactionary onslaught against democracy is the calculated aim of splitting the working-class movement.

This policy of dividing, weakening and humiliating the working masses rests ideologically on anti-communism, which is accompanied by unbridled social and national demagoguery, by implanting the old spirit of colonialism. The Right Social Democrats in Italy and France serve as one of the chief instruments of this policy. The reactionary bourgeoisie uses them as the shock force of anti-communism within the working class and regards them as the most effective means of dividing the people. Furthermore, the reactionary bourgeoisie in Italy, taking into account the influence of the Church on the masses, uses the clerical organizations and their so-called social doctrine with an eye to establishing a political authoritarian regime.

Whither is this totalitarian trend now prevailing in some of the big capitalist countries leading? It worsens the position of the masses, "adds to international tension and the danger of atomic war and incites new colonial wars. Unless it is defeated it can lead to the degeneration of European civilization and culture."

These reactionary imperialist plans can, however, be foiled by the vigorous activity of the peoples who are aware of the danger threatening them. The historic task of the Marxist-Leninist parties is to prevent the development and realization of the reactionary plans of the big capitalist bourgeoisie—plans which, if successful, could bring with them a general regression in political and social life. "Reaction's partial and transient successes cannot, of course, change the general perspective of our times, which is that of the inevitable transition from capitalism to socialism, but they cost the working class and the people very dear." The struggle against the threat of thermo-nuclear anni-

hilation, colonial wars and for universal disarmament and peaceful co-existence remains the cardinal task of the two parties. But for it to succeed, this struggle must have close links with the struggle for democratic and social regeneration, against the evil designs of reaction.

All the conditions obtain for a new upsurge of the labor and democratic movement, for imparting to it a wider scope. In France, despite the success of reaction, opposition by the Communist Party and politically conscious democrats could be the starting point for a new and general advance of the anti-fascist and democratic struggle. In Italy, thanks to the strength of the Communist Party and its unity with the Socialist Party, there are now, as in the past, real possibilities for successful struggle by the democratic forces against the totalitarian aspirations of the big monopoly bourgeoisie and Catholic circles.

The representatives of the two parties stressed that the activity of each could be organized and extended on the basis of a more general program for democratic regeneration. This program, taking cognizance of the specific conditions in each country, should envisage a struggle for the restoration of representative bodies and respect for basic civic rights wherever they are being trampled upon, for the proper functioning of parliament and democratic institutions, for making them correspond to the relationship of forces in the country and reflect in larger measure the true interests of the nation. This program should also envisage a struggle for economic and social transformations with the aim of restricting the power of the monopolies. In this situation the essential demands are: nationalization of some industries; land reform and protection of small peasant property from the arbitrary actions of the monopolies; democratic management of the nationalized branches of the economy, and democratic control over plans for state investments in industry and agriculture. These measures would help to safeguard the common interests of the working people and the small and medium producers in town and countryside; they would promote the economic progress arising from the development of technology and would be an obstacle to the robbery which always accompanies capitalist concentration, directed by the monopolies.

The plan provides for struggle against the European Common Market, because the capitalist monopolies regard this market as a means to establish domination over the economies of the member-countries of the "community," a pretext for accelerating concentration from which the monopolies alone stand to gain. The creation of this "community" will make it easier for the international monopolies to plunder the resources of the countries of Little Europe.

This program of democratic and national regeneration could rally the working class, the peasantry,

the intellectuals and the middle sections. In this way it would be possible to unite in action the political and social forces capable of isolating the big bourgeoisie and breaking up the reactionary bloc controlled by monopoly capital.

The main condition for this broad solidarity is proletarian unity. "Working-class unity wherever it exists," the statement continues, "must be defended as the most precious possession." To cement this unity, the two parties will constantly extend their ties with all sections of the population exploited by the capitalist monopolies. The parties must be capable at any moment of taking into account concrete problems which the developments in their countries place on the agenda; be able to find a positive solution to all problems in order to ensure the further growth of the democratic movement and orientate the masses, bearing in mind the real perspectives, which the masses understand.

With a view to further strengthening the unity of the people, both parties "appeal to those Social-Democratic parties which stand for easing international tension, oppose the colonial wars, and have expressed alarm in connection with the offensive launched by reaction and fascism. The Communist parties of the two countries hope that they will respond to this ardent call for joint action against reaction and fascism."

At the same time the two parties emphasize the need to uphold revolutionary Marxist theory against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. This means a persistent struggle against revisionism which continues to be the main danger in the working-class movement, and also struggle against all manifestations of dogmatism and sectarianism which engender stagnant thinking and organization. Struggle against revisionism and dogmatism is necessary today in order to eradicate the wait-and-see tendency in the working-class and democratic movement, to put an end to the reformist capitulation of skeptics and the sectarian exclusiveness which hamper the solution of urgent tasks in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The two parties have expressed the desire that study of the problems now confronting the working-class movement in the West European countries be continued whenever possible by the fraternal parties of the countries concerned. "This would help to strengthen their ideological and political unity in the spirit of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto approved in Moscow in November, 1957, which chart the main path of development and the chief tasks of the communist movement in the present period."

The surest guarantee of success in the struggle against reaction and fascism lies in the unity of the international communist movement. This unity is realized on principles of proletarian internationalism, Marxist-Leninist teaching and solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Platform of the Syrian Communist Party

As already reported in the press, in view of the new conditions in the Arab East, particularly the creation of the United Arab Republic, two independent parties, the Communist Party of Syria and the Communist Party of Lebanon, have been formed. The meeting of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party held last November reviewed the general political situation in the country and unanimously adopted a platform which defines the aims of the Party's struggle in the present period.

THE Central Committee's estimate of the overall situation in the Arab countries and in the Middle East is as follows:

The danger of imperialism not only exists, it is growing and assuming diverse forms. In the north it has taken the form of the bilateral pacts which the United States has concluded with Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. In the Arab Maghreb (North Africa) it is expressed in the dirty war unleashed by French colonialism against the people of Algeria. In the Arab countries of the South, British imperialists are massacring the peoples of Oman and Aden. Israel, an aggressive Zionist-imperialist base, continues its provocations. The U.S. Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean, while American and British military bases are scattered all over the Near and Middle East. In each of the free Arab countries the imperialists are plotting and organizing sabotage.

They will not relinquish their strategic aims in this area (the policy of pacts and military bases), nor will they relinquish the economic plunder. As the capitalist economic crisis grows, so does the danger of political, economic and military penetration by imperialism.

The Arab problem as a whole and problems affecting the home and foreign policy of each Arab country must be viewed from the standpoint of this growing imperialist danger.

What are the imperialists' plans today, now that their attempts at direct aggression and boring from within have been foiled? To this we can say that they are now paving the way for new acts of aggression, new plots aimed at disrupting Arab unity and crushing their feeling of solidarity.

How can this danger be eliminated? It can be eliminated only by the forces of the people. Hence it is necessary: First, to give these forces freedom in a democratic way. Second, to ensure a firm alliance and solidarity among the Arab peoples. As long as imperialism exists, friendship, fraternity and solidarity of the Arab peoples will be the decisive factor for the success of the liberation movement. The movement for Arab unity, which has emerged from the situation in the Arab countries, can be organized only by abolishing imperialist

rule. This unity must be carried out and strengthened by genuinely democratic means. It must be established on a democratic foundation with due regard to the objective conditions in each Arab country.

Third, to eliminate the imperialist danger and preserve national independence, to march forward in the liberation movement, the Arab countries must persistently strengthen friendly relations with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. This point needs no elaboration because every patriotic Arab knows from experience that such relations are essential.

These considerations have been taken by the Central Committee as the point of departure in determining the Party's policy at the present stage. On this basis the Central Committee has drawn up the following political platform:

"To consolidate the independence of the United Arab Republic, uncover the imperialist plots against the Arab liberation movement generally and uphold the idea of Arab unity on the basis of complete liberation from imperialism, on the basis of democracy. These are the main national and patriotic tasks and their fulfilment calls for unity of all the popular and patriotic forces in Syria so that this policy may be implemented on the following principles:

1) In establishing state rule and administration it is necessary to take into account the objective situation in Syria and Egypt. It is necessary to create a parliament and government in the Syrian Area, and also a parliament and government in the Egyptian Area, together with a central parliament and a central government concerned with national defence, foreign policy and other general matters. These bodies shall be created in a democratic way on the basis of universal and free parliamentary elections.

2) Grant democratic liberties: freedom of the press, assembly, demonstrations and the right to strike, freedom of the trade unions and the right of all the people and patriotic forces to free political association.

3) Strengthen fraternal relations and co-operation with the Republic of Iraq for the good of all Arabs.

4) Strengthen friendly relations with the Soviet Union, People's China and all the socialist countries so that we can preserve our national independence and ensure the development of our industry and agriculture.

5) Vigorous action against American imperialism; expose its intrigues and attempts to deceive us and the false claims that the U.S. is changing its policy in relation to the Arabs.

6) Safeguard the Syrian economy, industry in particular, and make every effort to ensure its expansion. Ensure markets for the products of industry and agriculture, particularly cotton and grain. An all-out effort to fulfil the plan within the schedule envisaged in agreements signed in 1957 between Syria and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

7) Put trade and economic relations between Syria and Egypt on a normal footing, on a basis that will ensure the economic and, particularly, industrial development of each area.

8) Resist penetration of imperialist capital—American, British, Japanese, Italian and West German. Foil the imperialist schemes to extend the sway of foreign capital in our national economy.

9) Carry through a comprehensive agrarian reform so that all landless peasants receive plots, consideration being given to quality of soil, fertility, availability of water for irrigation purposes and proximity to means of communication. Take measures to supply peasants receiving plots with seeds, farm implements and credit. This will maintain the volume of agricultural output in Syria and contribute to its increase.

10) Defend the level of wages and abolish unemployment; respect the workers' right to join trade unions and to strike, to preserve their gains as formulated in the Syrian Labor Code.

11) Encourage trade and take the necessary steps to expand it, improve trade relations between the Syrian Area and the Republic of Iraq, the Lebanese Republic and other Arab countries, and with the socialist camp.

12) Raise the general material, cultural and social level of the people. Preserve good moral usages and customs.

13) Raise the general level of education, and respect the patriotic and democratic traditions of Syrian students and the cultural and democratic rights won by them through persevering struggle."

The Communist Party of Colombia Holds Its VIIIth Congress

(Notes of a Delegate)

THE holding of a legal congress in conditions of a state of siege, declared in connection with the discovery of a conspiracy by the remnants of the Pinilla military junta, can be counted as a big success for the Communist Party.

The 118 delegates who met in Bogota on December 7 included many factory workers, miners, farm laborers, peasants, former guerilla leaders and Party functionaries drawn from intellectuals and students. The hall was decorated with Party banners and the national flag. On the walls hung the portraits of the six Central Committee members tortured to death by the reactionaries. Among the displays were clippings from reactionary papers boasting about the blows the police dealt our propaganda system. Exhibits also included underground and legal Party literature, peace posters and slogans calling for national liberation from U.S. imperialism.

The Congress summed up the work carried out by the Party over the past years under extremely difficult conditions, and adopted a number of important resolutions concerning future tasks.

The delegates approved the Central Committee's report, which was delivered by its secretary Gil-

berto Vieira. The report analyzed the ten-year struggle waged by the people against the reactionary dictatorships which expressed the interests primarily of the semi-feudal latifundists and served as an instrument of U.S. imperialist policy. These governments had waged ruthless war against their own people, forcing them to retreat, especially in the towns. Although forced to yield ground, the people never capitulated. The peasants resisted the dictatorship, waging an eight-year guerilla struggle.

The Communist Party was the only party outlawed by Pinilla. However, it succeeded in maintaining its organization, strengthened its contact with the peasants and was in the forefront of the popular resistance. As a result of bitter struggle, supported ultimately by the national bourgeoisie, the military dictatorship was overthrown. Now the power is shared by the bourgeoisie and the semi-feudal sections.

The overthrow of the military dictatorship was followed by a mass movement and the restoration of civil rights. Although the Communist Party regained legal status, its electoral rights were greatly restricted. The Communists have rebuilt their

organizations and have formed new ones in the industrial enterprises. The working people are joining the trade unions.

The political resolution of the Congress defined the immediate tasks of the Party and the people and affirmed the Party's attitude to the Camargo government. The Party declares that the government ruling prohibiting all parties and societies, with the exception of the Liberals and Conservatives, from nominating candidates to elective posts is a gross violation of democracy. It is insisting on recognition of its contribution to the National Front and to the struggle against the reactionary dictatorship. The Congress resolution ideologically routed the revisionist tendencies displayed by some members and reaffirmed fidelity to Marxist-Leninist principles.

The "Programmatic Declaration" noted that Colombia is still a backward, agrarian country. This is due to the unfortunate heritage of the past and the constant efforts of the imperialists to prevent independent development of the national economy. U.S. imperialism, relying on the support of the comprador bourgeoisie and the semi-feudal elements, dominates Colombia. Six hundred and thirty-seven big landowners own more land than 750,000 small farmers. The system of share-cropping and semi-feudal tenancy accounts for 20 per cent of the cultivated land. However, capitalist relations are developing also in the countryside. In our economic development, which is vitally important for social progress, the state-capitalist sector plays a positive role. But the industries are wholly dependent on imports of machinery and equipment from the United States.

Consequently, the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the middle section and the national bourgeoisie, concerned for the progress of the country, are diametrically opposed to those of U.S.

imperialism, the anti-national capitalists and latifundists whose interests lie in maintaining the present backward and dependent system.

Hence the forthcoming revolution is defined as an anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. Its objective is to ensure national independence, carry through a democratic agrarian reform and create the conditions for building up socialism—the task of the subsequent stage.

In view of the nature of the social classes which stand for national progress, this transformation will be realized through a coalition of the working class, peasants, middle sections and the national bourgeoisie. This coalition will take the form of a *Democratic Front of National Liberation*, its supreme aim being a people's government. The backbone of this front will be the worker-peasant alliance, without which a durable alliance with the national bourgeoisie is impossible. The leading role will be played by the proletariat. The influence of the Communist Party among the working class and peasants will guarantee the successful realization of the revolutionary aims.

The new Rules adopted by the Congress are designed to strengthen democratic centralism and discipline. This is especially important in view of the fact that numerous petty bourgeois people have joined the Party. The Rules stress the need for collective leadership.

The congress decided to bring more members on to the Central Committee.

It would be no exaggeration to say that this was the most fruitful congress in the history of our Party. The delegates will now report to the membership and together with them work actively to implement the congress decisions.

Jose Cardona HOYOS

Bogota

Building the Party

THE disparity between the considerably increased influence of the British Communist Party in the working-class movement and its comparatively small numerical strength is today one of its characteristic features. And this is particularly striking in view of the high level of organization of the British working class. One of the major tasks of British Communists is to expand the Party.

As a result of the discussion initiated by the report of our general secretary, John Gollan, to the October 1958 meeting of the Executive Committee of our Party, we have begun to fight seriously to build up the membership of the Party, and the results are already sufficient to demonstrate that we can solve this problem, and create a Party in Britain whose size corresponds to its mass influence. It has been necessary to fight to root out old attitudes, including the traditional "few, but roses" attitude which is cited to justify a numerically small party. It is also necessary to enlist all Party members, particularly our key cadres influential in the labor movement, for recruitment of new members to the Party.

The fight to build the Party is often complicated by difficulties and we cannot hope for success until they are overcome. First of all, we must dispel the illusion born of the fact that in the years since the war, until 1958, there has been comparatively full employment in Britain, and the working class has been in a strong position to win certain limited but important social reforms. Hence many workers and even Party members came to the absolutely incorrect conclusion that there was no need for revolutionary changes in Britain and that therefore there was no place in Britain for a revolutionary working-class Party.

Although this outlook was not shared by the great majority of members of the Communist Party, it was the basis for a decline in the political life and public activity of Communist Party branches, and a lack of confidence in the possibility of winning new members for the Party. It also spread revisionist tendencies in the Party and found expression in the narrow sectarian standpoint which holds that a large membership is an obstacle, that what is wanted is only a comparatively small group of activists.

Both of these attitudes have been broken down to a considerable extent by the actual development of crisis phenomena in the capitalist world, including Britain, and by the Executive Committee's campaign to mobilize the Party in the struggle against Tory policies and right-wing defeatism. In this campaign, Gollan's pamphlet "Which Way for Socialists?" (37,000 sold) and the Party's pro-

gram "The British Road to Socialism" (48,000) have played a vital part.

A special aspect of our problem is related to the work of our comrades in the mass organizations, especially the trade unions. In fighting for peace and higher living standards, Communist Party members have won the confidence of the workers. Hundreds of Communists hold positions of trust in trade union and other public organizations of the working people.

Many of these Communists, however, become pre-occupied with the sectional struggles in which they are engaged, and although they are loyal Communists and work hard to win support for our policies, they begin to share the traditional empiricism of the British labor movement, and tend to lose sight of the fact that they are Communists. In accordance with the Party's Rules, their first duty is to "work in a Party organization." But attending the trade union branch or district committee becomes more important for them than attending the Communist Party branch. Their tremendous influence is not always brought to bear in order to help to build the ranks of the Party, and the life of the Party branch is affected by their absence.

We are making progress in overcoming these problems. The awareness of the new situation in which the ruling class is once again preparing a vicious attack on the working class is awakening the revolutionary spirit of our comrades — more Party branches are meeting regularly, organizing activity, and fighting to win new members; and one by one our influential cadres in the labor movement are beginning to take their place in the fight to build the Party.

A major obstacle in the way of the Communist Party becoming a mass political organization is the idea held by many trade unionists and co-operators that it is useless to join the Communist Party. This is the outcome of preaching the old argument of "exceptionalism" which alleges that communism will never come to Britain and that only the big Labor Party can have any decisive political influence. We are overcoming these obstacles by patient explanation.

On the other hand there are those who would join, but express the sincere feeling: "I'm not good enough to join the Communist Party." In many cases it is clear that workers have only been waiting for some member of the Communist Party to express confidence in them by asking them to join the Party. We now pay more attention to this.

Our campaign for building the Party ranks is yielding results. Already nearly 1,500 men and wo-

men have applied for membership in the first three months of the campaign. This is only a beginning,

and more branches are being brought into public activity and recruiting. Margaret HUNTER

Guatemalan Communists Continue the Fight

THE imperialist intervention in Guatemala, the treachery of the top officials and army officers and also the vacillations displayed by some democratic circles, paved the way to the downfall of the democratic regime established in 1944 after the overthrow of Ubico's tyrannical rule. In 1954 North American imperialism imposed on our country a government which was only too ready to serve U.S. monopoly interests and which relied for support on the ultra-reactionaries. All progressive organizations were dissolved, the gains of the working people wiped out and the peasants deprived of their land. The terror of the reactionaries was spearheaded primarily against the Party of Labor. Exile, prison, torture and death were the lot of many of our comrades.

But the terror failed to destroy the Party, which went underground. Barely a month after the "glorious victory" of the traitors, the Party published its manifesto summoning the democratic forces to unity and resistance. By steering a course for unity and persistently and courageously carrying on their work, the Communists were able to maintain contact with the masses. The Party's struggle in the popular resistance won for it the love and respect of the masses. It continued to fight and constantly gave reminders of its existence. Here are two examples.

Most of the leaders were arrested in 1955. Despite this blow, the Party celebrated its sixth anniversary by distributing so many leaflets and writing so many slogans on the walls that the police were powerless to do anything. Even the reactionary press widely commented on this event. In 1956, when a student demonstration was fired upon and a state of emergency declared, the Party issued another manifesto, and a few months later its paper *Verdad*, hitherto mimeographed, began to appear in print.

Popular discontent continued to grow, while the internal contradictions in the ruling clique sharpened to the point where dictator Castillo Armas was killed by a "friend and comrade-in-arms." Preparations were made for a general election. At the last moment the democratic forces were permitted to campaign legally and nominate their candidate. The Party called upon the people to vote for this candidate, despite his vacillations and the fact that he was nominated in a way that was not fully democratic.

The rabid anti-communist forces, represented by the ruling clique, suffered defeat and Idigoras Fuentes secured a relative majority. Fuentes, although also the nominee of reactionary, pro-imperialist forces, nevertheless advanced certain democratic demands and strongly denounced the government which had come to power with the connivance of the United States. Cashing in on the rise of the popular struggle, he managed to secure a victory.

The elections reflected the changed situation. They showed that the people had emphatically rejected the treacherous anti-national and anti-democratic policy of the clique foisted upon them in 1954 by U.S. imperialism. Fuentes' success showed that considerable sections of the population, confused by the anti-communist propaganda, were not sufficiently clear about the road Guatemala should choose in order to maintain her independence and establish a genuinely democratic regime.

Forty-eight per cent of the votes in the capital and about 30 per cent throughout the country were cast for the democratic forces. If we recall that these forces, long underground, with most of their leaders in emigration, had but a month and a half in which to reorganize themselves, it becomes clear how great is their influence and the potentialities for the future.

Although there has been no drastic change in the country, the situation is far from being what it was. The conditions in which the new government was formed, the spread of the mass movement, condemnation of the outgoing regime and the nature of the election promises—all have impelled the government to abandon terror and systematic persecution at least for the present and to make some democratic concessions. Nevertheless it has not relinquished its discredited anti-communism and has refused to restore legal status to the Party of Labor.

Basically the government represents the interests of the big landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie. But it differs from the previous government in its attitude to imperialism, and our Party takes this into account.

There is a difference between a government imposed on the country through the direct, crude and brazen interference of U.S. imperialism and a government which, though reactionary, has been

formed as a result of more or less free elections. Nor is a regime completely subordinated to the United States the same thing as a more independent and as yet less subservient regime. Moreover, the new government is not uniform; it includes extreme reactionaries hankering after out-and-out dictatorship and less reactionary forces favoring "a somewhat less intolerant anti-communist democracy." Naturally, these features should not be overrated.

Although the ultra-reactionary group, closely linked with imperialism, lost power as a result of the elections, it still retains a majority in Congress, continues to control the key posts in the army and carries on its plotting under cover of the U.S. Embassy. That is why our Party aims primarily at preventing the extreme reactionaries from returning to power and at changing the composition of the government in favor of more moderate forces. While the Party supports the government's democratic measures, it consistently denounces its concessions to the imperialists. It welcomed, for instance, Fuentes' decision to end the brutal repressions of the former ruling clique, but sharply criticized his attempt to annul the six-million-dollar debt of an American company.

The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois supporters of democracy are united chiefly in the Revolutionary Party which also numbers in its ranks workers, peasants and people from different walks of life. Our policy of unity in relation to the Revolutionary Party and the democratic forces generally is based on a comprehensive and clear-cut program of struggle for national independence, democratic liberties, better conditions and protection of the natural resources. Unity of action has been organized in a number of cases on the basis of these concrete demands. The celebrations held on the occasion of the big national holidays were really democratic and militant in character; a campaign was launched for the return of the political emigres; May Day is celebrated by growing numbers every year.

But establishing unity of action is not an easy matter. The Right leaders of the Revolutionary Party are not keen on unity and not infrequently prefer coming to terms with reaction rather than ally themselves with the Communists. When the Revolutionary Party was in process of formation the Communists appreciated the fact that, bringing together as it did various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups, it was at the time the

rallying point for all the democratic elements and any weakening of it would have affected the entire democratic front. Despite the negative attitude of its leaders to the Communists and to unity with them, we favored strengthening the Revolutionary Party and supported it in the January 1958 elections.

The soundness of this policy was confirmed by the election results; the democratic forces won six seats in Parliament. The fact that, despite mistrust of the Communists by some democratic circles, unity of action was achieved on a number of issues is explained by the Party of Labor's influence, which is a force to be reckoned with.

At the moment the Party is forced to wage an underground struggle. It realizes that hard battles and great difficulties lie ahead. But the winds of the great epoch of the disintegration of the colonial system, the twilight of capitalism and the triumph of socialism have filled out the sails of the Party of Labor and are driving it forward.

It must be admitted that there are still mistakes and shortcomings in its work. The sectarianism of some comrades makes it difficult to establish unity with the democratic forces and make closer contact with the masses. The Party has not yet worked out a definite policy in relation to the national bourgeoisie, and this makes it difficult to win them for joint patriotic action. Despite progress in broadening contact with the masses the Party is not making full use of all the possibilities for strengthening its organizations. In large measure this is due to lack of trained people and their low ideological level. A superficial and one-sided study of phenomena and insufficient knowledge of the conditions in which they evolve frequently lead to subjectivism and other errors. So that one of the main tasks of the Guatemalan Communists is to make a profound study of Marxism-Leninism and of the concrete conditions in the country.

The Party is rectifying these errors and meeting with success in this task. Despite the difficulties, and sometimes superfluous discussions, and the lack of experience on the part of leading functionaries, the Party has strengthened its unity and has built a solid, leading core. In overcoming its mistakes it is utilizing the rich experience of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. This invaluable experience is one of the major factors of the Party's development.

E. S.

An Underground Party's Contact With the Masses

FOR over thirty years the Communist Party of Portugal has been underground, subjected to constant and brutal fascist terror. During these years the Party has acquired considerable experience in utilizing legal and semi-legal possibilities, combining them with its underground work.

In the early phase of its illegal activity the Party had to combat incorrect concepts concerning the decisive role of mass struggle. The people were told to await the coming of a Messiah who would perform the miracle of overthrowing Salazar's reactionary regime. These erroneous ideas hindered the Party from establishing and consolidating contact with the masses. Time was needed before the Communists appreciated the importance of being among the masses, of getting to know how they lived, what were their difficulties, sufferings, hopes, aspirations and interests, in order correctly to assess the degree to which they were ready to fight. Closer contact with the masses necessitates working out and implementing a correct policy on such questions as upholding the country's independence, fighting for democracy and satisfying the needs of the people.

The Party's main line is unity of the workers and all those who oppose fascism and advocate democracy. Committees of working-class unity have appeared all over the country and include workers of varying political views and religious beliefs.

Unity committees have also been formed on estates in the countryside and at the hiring markets (where farm laborers assemble and are hired by landowners).

Despite the fact that they are wholly subordinated to the government, the trade unions provide at least some opportunities to fight for the interests of the working people. The main thing is to get the government to recognize the leadership elected by the members. Committees have been formed to carry through the elections for trade union offices. Young people serve on these committees, and there are youth unity committees for the purpose of protecting specific youth interests. The Party attaches importance to such temporary bodies as the committees supporting progressive candidates during parliamentary, presidential and local elections, the amnesty committees and the local public service committees.

Anyone in Portugal taking part in mass action or collecting signatures to a peace petition is liable to arrest and punishment. He can be deprived of work and even of his life. It is com-

mon for the political police to illtreat and torture their victims and even murder them in prison. Strikes are strictly forbidden, and their organizers and participants subjected to severe persecution. And yet there have been more than a thousand big and small strikes in the past ten years, which proves that repressions are powerless to halt the struggle of the masses.

Worsening conditions impel the working people to action. Real wages of a worker in the canning industry, for instance, are less than 12 cruzeiro per day (i.e., less than 50 cents), barely enough to keep a family in bread. Between 1930-55 the population of Lisbon increased by 200,000; as against this, the annual consumption of meat fell by 2,000 tons. Annual per capita consumption of meat is three kilograms (6.6 lbs.). Some 870,000 agricultural laborers are condemned to a life of chronic seasonal employment.

The mass movement assumes diverse forms, with the working class, which is stepping up the struggle for higher wages, playing an outstanding part. Industrialists, merchants, small and medium landowners and different sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie are also protesting and demanding lower taxes, the abrogation of laws undermining the economy, free trade, and the establishment of trade relations with the socialist countries. The protest movement extends even to the armed forces, the backbone of the fascist regime. Regiments which mutinied in Setubal, Evora, Aveiro, had the support of the population and even of some officers. Mobilization of soldiers for suppressing the people of Goa was opposed by both army men and the people.

The Party has had some success in building unity. The presidential elections (details of which were given in No. 3 of "World Marxist Review") demonstrated the strength of national unity. The working class was the driving force behind the mass action during the elections. Between May 8 and June 8, 1958, some 1,200,000 people took an active and organized part in the election campaign. For a country of some 9,000,000 this is a pretty good indication of the political upsurge. But these figures are only approximate, they do not take into account all the people who participated in strikes, meetings, public demonstrations, clashes with the troops, or who in one way or another expressed their desire for a change in the political system. Lisbon workers carried a poster with the words: "You can kill 80, you can kill 800, but you can't kill 8,000,000." Fire was

opened at once on these workers, but the poster was taken up by others and the march continued. The police tried to disperse the demonstrators but proved powerless against their unity and solidarity.

Despite savage persecution and the recent law prohibiting strikes and threatening recalcitrants with an eight-year prison sentence, industrial workers and agricultural laborers are continuing the strikes all over the country. Other sections are also moving into action. At a recent congress of medical workers more than a thousand delegates — about one-fifth of the doctors in the country — discussed pressing social problems and decided to fight for their demands.

Assessing the recent strikes, the Central Committee of the Party pointed out that they have opened up new prospects for the struggle against the Salazar regime in "conditions that have taken shape since the election swindle of June 8." The working class has demonstrated that the opportunities for action against the regime are not confined to the legal channels permitted by the fascist constitution. Political strikes on a nationwide scale may become the form of popular

struggle to change the regime, should the dictator refuse to hearken to the nation's voice.

Since the elections a National Junta of Liberation has been set up with the aim of uniting and co-ordinating the activities of all the democratic forces. In addition to the Communist Party, the Junta includes various opposition groups, among whom are those that were active during the election campaign. This illegal body has now published its first manifesto denouncing the electoral farce and the system of repressions and calling upon the people to liberate the country from the fascist regime.

The recent experience of the Portuguese Communist Party has shown that illegality does not preclude working among the masses. The Party still faces enormous difficulties. Of late the police have resorted to savage repressions against the democratic forces. They have arrested Communist leaders and rank and file members. The need of the day is to step up the anti-Salazar struggle and overthrow the fascist regime.

Jose PEREIRA,
Member, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Portugal

How UNITA Is Financed

Unita, the Italian Communist newspaper, is winning new readers daily: in eight months of 1958 it sold 2,884,000 more copies than in the same period of 1957. With the substantial financial help it receives from the working people—Party and non-Party—the Party is able to increase the circulation. The recent Communist Press Month brought the Party over 500 million lira, despite the fact that it was held immediately after the election campaign for which about the same amount had been collected.

The following letter from the Secretary of one of the provincial organizations of the Party describes how the press month was organized in his area.

Sassari is a provincial center in Sardinia. There are no factories and the population of 80,000 consists mostly of peasants, shopkeepers and office workers. This composition makes it easier for the conservative parties to conduct their propaganda. The Christian Democrats, for example, gain from the prestige of Segni, the M.P. for this constituency, who was Prime Minister for more than two years and is now Deputy Prime Minister. They poll about 50 per cent of the votes in the constituency.

But despite objective difficulties, our Party conducts active work and enjoys prestige. Whereas in the 1957 regional elections we suffered a setback, receiving 4,000 votes, in the parliamentary elections of 1958 we polled 5,700, and for the first time became the number two Party in Sassari.

Our growing influence made itself felt during the last Communist Press Month which, developing into a campaign for freedom and peace, consolidated the positions of our Party and made it possible to acquaint different sections of the population with communist policy.

A press-month committee, set up in advance, discussed a plan of work. The three Party sections were given appropriate assignments. Our comrades did their best to make the month a real festive occasion which, through its interesting program, would attract general attention. In recent years the program of the *Unita* festival had displayed a tendency towards dullness, and interest declined. In 1957 it was not held at all. So something had to be done to revive interest and keep up the tradition.

We set ourselves what might be regarded as an ambitious aim — to collect 500,000 lira, and to sell an extra 500 copies of *Unita* every weekend during the month.

Hundreds of members took part in the work. Activists and non-activists joined in. Preparatory meetings were held in the Party sections and in women's, youth and sports organizations. This was not an easy matter during the warm summer weather. Moreover, some comrades were skeptical about the results. Gradually, however, genuine enthusiasts appeared. The example set by comrades such as Manca from the Gramsci section and Pittalis from the July 14th section, who collected more than 50,000 lira each, played a notable part. This inspired the other comrades who spent their holidays making posters, enrolling subscribers to *Unita* and arranging the festival program.

Finding a suitable site for the festival was quite a problem. In the past the municipal authorities had always allocated the least attractive place. But this time, thanks to representative deputations, we were granted permission to hold the festival in the beautiful town square.

A few weeks before the festival we reviewed the preparations. Despite some success we felt that we had not rallied sufficient forces and that we had worked primarily within the Party organizations. The concert programs, amateur theatricals, the sports competitions and the erection of stands, necessitated a considerable outlay. We needed timber, trucks, electric bulbs for illumination, decorations and so on. In order to recoup expenditures we had to show initiative, undertake something new, and figure out how to collect the biggest possible sum during the festival. And here we turned not only to our members but also to friends and sympathizers, to everyone willing to lend a hand. Section members went from house to house, spoke with handicraftsmen, artists, friends with cars, and small business people. The results were astonishing. Some supplied

timber, some brought chairs, others loaned their motorcycles, and still others helped to make decorations. An engineer supplied us with metal parts for stands. During the weeks that preceded the festival the section premises were crowded.

Women members took charge of the raffle. At first they were a bit timid, so the Federation Secretary accompanied them on a round of the shops. Soon the premises were filled with presents. Some shopkeepers sent presents on their own initiative, others telephoned asking someone to call. The festival program was advertised in shopwindows, in the cinema, in the center of the town and in the local press. An atmosphere of genuine interest was created.

The square in which the festival took place was transformed. A tall tower with panels devoted to political issues rose above the shopwindows. The stands with their interesting topics drew the crowds. A large model of Sputnik No. 3 was a big attraction.

At least 1,000 people visited the square during the two days of the festival. They enjoyed themselves, chatted with our members about Party policy, bought literature and learnt for themselves that the Communists are not as they are depicted in the churches.

The local Christian-Democratic weekly felt obliged to feature the festival. Since it could not deny its success it turned its guns against those, including the Mayor, who had helped the festival.

Communist prestige in the town has risen. We won the sympathies of the middle sections. And there are many signs that the people think more highly of the Communists and their work. The experience gained during press month is most valuable. It will improve the work of our Federation.

Luigi MARRAS,
Federation Secretary,
Sassari Province,
Italian Communist Party

Short Notices

Belgium

ABOLISH UNEMPLOYMENT!

AT the beginning of the year there were some 250,000 unemployed in Belgium, more than double the figure at the beginning of 1958. In some weeks unemployment rose by eight to ten thousand. It is particularly rife in the iron and steel, textile and building materials industries. Miners too are hard hit. Official data place stocks of coal at seven million tons and sales prospects are dim. A number of mines are slated for closing.

The Communist Party is campaigning against the growing unemployment. Party leaders, including members of the Political Bureau, visited the mining areas and urged the workers to take united action to stop the closing down of pits and to secure higher unemployment benefits. Some of the miners' demands were granted at the end of 1958.

Led by the Communist Party, the workers in building-materials enterprises succeeded in getting some employers in the Tournai district to pay an extra 44 francs a day in addition to unemployment benefits in the event of their being temporarily out of a job. If they are fired, the employer will make a grant ranging from 3,000 to 16,000 francs, depending on how long the worker has been employed at the factory.

The Party branch in the large Cockerill-Ougrie works circulated a leaflet calling on the workers to fight for a 44-hour week without reduction in pay, compensation for time lost during strikes, and less lay-offs. The owners were forced to take back some of the men previously laid off and to give an undertaking that there would be no more dismissals.

Experience has shown that as a rule, Party and trade union unity of action ensures success. The Party is working for closer contacts with the unions affiliated to the General Federation of Labor. In the Central areas of the country the Federal Party Committee has appealed to the Metal Workers' Union for joint efforts to win the following demands: no more dismissals, creation of an employers' fund to keep the jobless workers going so that with the supplement from this fund the unemployed would receive altogether 160 francs per day; unemployment benefits to be raised to 75 per cent of a worker's wage; implementation of economic and political measures to guarantee full employment.

The Party has put out a special pamphlet entitled "Abolish Unemployment." The author, Ernest Burnelle, secretary of the Central Committee, sums up the experience of the Party organizations and makes a number of proposals for combating unemployment. He stresses that although the crisis is only in its initial stage, the workers should fight for their existence now and not allow the capitalists to make them shoulder the burden. Examples are cited to show that the working people, if organized, can achieve much. The pamphlet is being sold to Party members and non-Party workers in all industries.

Towards the end of last year the Belgian workers forced the government to raise the level of unemployment benefits.

Greece

CURB THE OUTRAGES OF REACTION

IN connection with the latest attempts of the Karamanlis government to crush the popular democratic movement in Greece, the Central Committee of the Communist Party has issued a statement on the terror.

Greece has been turned into a vast concentration camp. Hundreds of progressives languish in prison and exile. They include prominent political figures, members of parliament, municipal councillors, journalists, trade union and co-operative leaders. As a rule those arrested are exiled by the administrative bodies on the basis of information supplied by police agents, without any preliminary court investigation. People are summoned to the police stations and interrogated, or are arrested for making political speeches or reading democratic newspapers.

The drive against the democratic forces is conducted in the guise of "anti-communism." "Communism," the government declares, "is more dangerous now than when it was in the mountains." It is a crime even to be a Party sympathizer. The authorities vilify the Party and accuse it of preparing an armed uprising. This anti-communist campaign is designed by the government to divert public attention from its discredited policy on vital national, social and political issues.

Leaders and rank-and-file members of the United Left Democratic Party (EDA) are subjected to ruthless persecution. Its propaganda centers are under constant police surveillance. People leaving the Party premises are requested to produce identity cards, taken to the police stations and questioned. EDA members of parliament are

also shadowed. In addition to reprisals by government bodies, the Party is attacked by gangs; its premises are bombed and set on fire.

The arrest of Manolis Glezos, national resistance hero, organizing secretary of the EDA and director of the democratic newspaper *Avgi*, has evoked deep indignation. Other democrats have also been arrested and handed over to the military tribunal.

The Central Committee statement points out that it has supported and will continue to support the EDA and all democratic forces, because the EDA stands for Greece's independence and self-determination for Cyprus, for peace and co-operation with all peoples, against reaction and war.

The Central Committee calls upon all democratic forces to unite in order to combat lawlessness, uphold the democratic rights of the people and secure legal status for the Communist Party.

India

HOW TO OVERCOME THE FOOD CRISIS

THE Communist Party of India is deeply concerned over the deteriorating food situation in the country.

The resolution adopted at a meeting of the Party's National Council, held towards the end of 1958, noted that grain prices were continuing to rise. Extensive areas, particularly in West Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar-Pradesh are in dire plight. The population is now feeling the repercussions of the high prices even in districts with a food surplus.

The main reason for the food crisis, the National Council points out, is to be found in the low level of grain production resulting from the government's agricultural policy. The Central Government and the state Congress governments did not take the necessary measures to accumulate food stocks, grant credits and help the needy population. Quite the reverse; having obtained bank loans on favorable terms and with the co-operation of some of the state governments, speculators and merchants seized control of the food supply. Governments refused to confiscate the supplies cornered by the speculators and merchants and failed to take effective measures to check contraband and black-market manipulations.

The National Council stressed that the Central Government had stopped all supplies to Kerala, and that in doing so they were guided solely by motives of political discrimination against the only state under Communist rule.

With a view to improving the food situation, the National Council suggested that the Central Government should confiscate the large stores of

grain in the hands of millers, wholesale merchants, profiteers and big landowners, and take drastic measures against black marketing; it should open stores in all districts where food is in short supply and sell it at moderate prices; deliver 25,000 tons of rice monthly to Kerala, exempt people in districts where the crisis is most acute from the payment of taxes and other dues; grant the rural population loans in money and grain on favorable terms.

To put a stop to grain hoarding by profiteers and merchants, the National Council suggested that during the next harvest the government purchase grain from the peasants and accumulate substantial stocks; fix minimum and maximum prices in contracts for the purchase of rice on the stalk which would be satisfactory to both producer and buyer; severely restrict the granting of bank credits to merchants and speculators.

It also suggested that food committees composed of representatives of all parties be set up in all administrative centers and mass organizations, and that they be empowered to supervise moderate-price stores and take measures to help the indigent.

Iraq

PATRIOTIC STAND OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party has published two statements on the historic significance of the formation of the national government. It calls upon the people to defend the nascent Republic against all imperialist designs. The Iraqi Communists, the statement continues, are ready to fight to the last drop of blood alongside the nationalists, for freedom and democracy, Arab unity, peace and progress.

Concerning Iraq's relations with the other Arab countries the Central Committee points out that, in the guise of national unity, the Right bourgeois parties are trying to get Iraq to join the United Arab Republic; moreover, they are agitating for adoption of the single party system as in Egypt.

In essence, this call for a single party is a call for struggle against the Communist Party. Yet ever since its inception, the Communist Party of Iraq has fought resolutely against imperialism and for national independence, democratic liberties and social progress. It actively participated in the Iraqi Revolution and has spared no effort to strengthen the Republic. While supporting every progressive measure taken by the government, it opposes the Right bourgeois parties and groups who are trying might and main to restrict or reduce to naught the democratic gains of the people and to prevent the further success of the revolution.

Turning to the experience of the amalgamation of Syria and Egypt into a single state — which has both its good and bad sides — the C.C. declares: "When we hear talk of joining the UAR, we feel great concern for the future of our democratic rights, for we know that there is no freedom for parties or public organizations in the UAR, no freedom of speech. We cannot concur in a step which might result in our Republic being deprived of freedom for the national, political, social and ideological movement and also the freedom to wage economic struggle." The idea of Iraq joining the UAR, as the Rights conceive it, is disquieting, for Iraq might, in this event, be deprived of the conditions necessary for economic development and remain an economically backward area.

The statements emphasize that the Communist Party, too, stands for the unification of Iraq with the UAR, not however by way of national union, but in a federation of free Arab countries which have made a complete break with imperialism. While supporting the plan for a Federal Democratic Arab Republic, the Communist Party takes into account the diversity of historical and material conditions in the Arab countries and is guided by the principle that within the framework of this unity it is necessary to guarantee the interests of the various sections of the people and also the interests of all the countries.

The question of what form the unification of Iraq with the Arab countries should take must be decided by the people. The task now is to consolidate the revolutionary gains and the republican system.

Puerto Rico

AGAINST MILITARIZATION

THE U.S. Government has decided to build launching-sites for guided missiles on the east coast of Puerto Rico. In this connection Juan Santos Rivera, Chairman of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, has published an official statement excerpts from which are printed below:

"The Puerto-Rican base is of major importance for the imperialist plans of the North American capitalists. It will enable them to sow death and destruction in all the Latin American republics that show no desire to subordinate themselves unconditionally to State Department policy.

"With the establishment of this base, Puerto Rico, in the event of the outbreak of a world war, would become a military bridgehead . . . Moreover, what would happen to us should an accidental explosion occur at this base! He who plays with fire always runs the risk of getting burned. Puerto Ricans should bear this in mind,

particularly the leaders of political parties, religious sects, workers' unions, all, in fact, who in one way or another uphold the vital interests of the people.

"It is perfectly clear that we have no reason whatever to prepare for war against our own Latin Americans, against Russians, Chinese, British or generally against any people of labor, no matter where they were born. We Puerto Ricans have every reason for submitting to the leaders of the U.S. Government a heavy bill for the damage that has been caused us. We can foresee no event, however, that would be likely to embroil us in war against the people of the United States. Our friendship with the American people is growing, and this shows that Puerto Ricans appreciate the difference between the goodwill of the people of the U.S. and the will of those who impose upon us compulsory military service, military bases and an entire code of colonial laws.

"Construction of the base provided temporary employment for several thousand workers; but the 110.5 million dollars which it cost, together with the millions more being spent in our country directly or indirectly on war preparations, could be used to build industries that would provide work for a hundred thousand people now living in poverty in Vieques, Naguabo, Comerio, Ponce and other villages. This could be done if only the people's will and their yearning for independence were taken into account.

"The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the working class and the people of Puerto Rico, resolutely protests against locating the military base in our country. This standpoint, we feel, should be adopted by all sections of the people of Puerto Rico if they really wish to express their peace-loving sentiment, their will for life and constructive labor."

Federal Republic of Germany

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY FIGHTS ON!

COMMUNISTS in West Germany, driven underground and subjected to persecution, are continuing their militant activities, and have demonstrated that neither repressions nor persecution can destroy the Party. In popularizing their slogans exposing the anti-people's policy pursued by the government, the Communists are using a variety of methods, displaying considerable ingenuity and resourcefulness.

Party members in Aachen, for instance, used great skill in circulating their literature. "Open letter boxes" (similar to the usual boxes) were put up in the vicinity of big plants so that work-

ers on their way to work could pick up the literature placed by Party members in the boxes.

Luebeck Communists used special rockets to distribute leaflets. Once, in the early hours of the morning, when workers were going to factory and office, they launched ten rockets within a matter of an hour, and these, from a height of 150-200 meters, discharged thousands of leaflets and red streamers attached to parachutes and bearing the inscription "CPG" in letters of gold. This was reported in the next day's newspapers. The police offered a reward of 2,000 marks for apprehension of the "criminal."

During the traditional holiday in Worms, leaflets cascaded from a rocket and the CPG flag came down slowly on a parachute. The leaflets called upon the people to be mindful of the danger of the Adenauer Government's policy and to resist the atomic armament of West Germany.

Boldness and skill which became the talk of the town were displayed by Party members in Dueseldorf. Teams of workers with picks and shovels made their way to the main railway station, to one of the central squares, to the Oberbilker steel plant and the Mannesmann radio-valve works. Leisurely going about their job, they put up Coca Cola advertisement boards. Shortly after the work was finished the two-meter wide bill-boards opened up with a crash and instead of "Drink Coca Cola" people could read "The CPG lives on! The CPG is with you in the fight against atomic death!"

Czechoslovakia

ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE PARTY BRANCHES

ON the basis of the experience of factory branches, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has adopted a resolution "On the Work of Party Branches in Industrial Enterprises." The resolution is designed to enhance branch responsibility for factory affairs and consistent realization of the XIth Party Congress decisions.

One of the most important tasks of the branches is to raise the level of Party work among the masses as well as ideological work, and to attain the utmost production efficiency. For this purpose wider use will be made of the forms of production initiated recently and which have proven successful in ensuring broad participation of the masses in industrial management. These include the mixed teams, technico-economic councils, production meetings and emulation on a mass scale. The trade unions are expected to play a much greater part in this work.

The resolution dwells at length on educational work in the branches and on strengthening their ties with the masses. New problems are always arising and it is the duty of Party branches to explain them lucidly and quickly to the collective. Special attention is given to the need to hold membership meetings which non-Party people can attend, group and individual talks, and to enlisting activists for mass-political work. This activity should be conducted not sporadically, but systematically and should help to eradicate old ideas and a bourgeois outlook, a wrong attitude towards work and manifestations of individualism.

The resolution stresses the importance of making Party work more effective, of properly utilizing the branches' right of check-up, and the need to go thoroughly into the economics of production. Party branches should help in allocating personnel, combat any tendency to get jobs for relatives or be influenced by friends, and help train executives in a way that will enable them to combine one-man management with reliance on the collective.

A grave shortcoming in the work of some of the branches is their failure to see a decision through once it has been adopted. In these cases Party members mainly confine themselves to voting for a decision and feel no sense of responsibility for carrying it out. This attitude is characterized as a manifestation of opportunism.

A special section is devoted to strengthening collective leadership and personal responsibility. It says that every Communist should have a Party assignment to conduct political work among the masses and also a production assignment connected with emulation, improving skills and training young workers, introducing advanced technical methods, etc.

Ceylon

FOR A UNITED NATIONAL FRONT

THE GOVERNMENT of Ceylon has drawn up a plan for building national enterprises with the object of making the country less dependent on the foreign market. The plan envisages the building of ten big plants in the next three or four years. These will include a rolling mill, a tire factory, a sugar refinery, a textile mill and others. Some will be built with the aid of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and Czechoslovakia. Intensive development of the local fishing industry is also envisaged in order to do away with the need to import fish.

Reactionaries at home and the foreign imperialists backing them have stepped up their opposi-

tion to the government's measures to ensure Ceylon's independence and the implementation of democratic reforms. The Communist Party is exposing the designs of those who are holding back the country. It has called on the working class and all progressive forces to be on the alert and has proposed the setting up of a united national front of all who have the national interest at heart, against the designs of domestic and foreign reactionaries. The Party has criticized the government for its vacillations in relation to reactionary and pro-imperialist officers and officials (who should be removed at once from key positions in the army, police and high posts in the administration), and for needlessly extending the state of emergency, since this merely plays into the hands of the reactionaries.

The Communist Party has put forward a program which, if implemented, would safeguard democracy and destroy the social basis of reaction. It proposes the ending of the state of emergency; removing all reactionaries from important posts in the army, police and public administration; nationalizing banks, companies, plantations and other foreign imperialist assets; it calls for a change in property relations in the countryside, banning imperialist organizations such as the "Voice of America," "Asia Foundation" and others still functioning in Ceylon; abolition of the control of education by pro-imperialist groups and private persons and establishment of a unified state school system.

These points could be the basis for the program of a united national front of the progressive forces.

Reviews

The Language of Figures

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Statistická ročenka Republiky československé, Praha, 1958.

Statistical Year-Book of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin, 1958.

Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin, 1958.

Statistical Year-Book of the Rumanian People's Republic, Bucharest, 1958.

Anuarul statistic al RPR, Bucuresti, 1958.

THE economic development of the People's Democracies is being followed throughout the world with keen attention, although from different motives. There is the sincere goodwill of friends and there is the covert alarm of those who still snatch at the thesis—although time has refuted it—of the "economic unsoundness" of the people's democratic system.

Well, how is the economy of these countries developing, what progress have they made in solving their economic problems?

The detailed statistics regularly published by many People's Democracies in Europe and Asia give an exhaustive reply to these questions. They are of great scientific value, testifying to the rapid economic advance of the countries now building socialism. Of particular interest, for reasons we shall give below, are the year-books published in 1958 in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the German Democratic Republic.

Czechoslovakia was industrially developed before the people's democratic system was established, and it was on this country that bourgeois propaganda concentrated in trying to prove that socialism "does not justify itself" in industrial countries. The Year-Book completely refutes these assertions. Whereas between the two world wars the average annual growth of industrial output in Czechoslovakia was in the neighborhood of from 1-2 per cent, the rate of growth under the people's democratic rule has averaged 10-12 per cent.

Rumania, as distinguished from Czechoslovakia, was until quite recently a "country of feudal backwardness," as Henri Barbusse once called it; and it was only under the socialist system that a national industry was founded. The progress made by these two countries, which before the war were at different levels of development, strikingly testifies to the advantages of the socialist system.

The economic achievements of the German Democratic Republic, one of the most industrially developed countries in Europe, are of particular interest because they were attained under the difficult conditions of a dismembered Germany. The GDR found itself cut off from the raw material resources of the Rhineland and the Ruhr. Deliberately pursuing a policy of splitting Germany, the Western powers calculated that the division would lead to considerable imbalance in the East German economy. Before the war the territory which now forms the GDR accounted for a mere 1.3 per cent

of the output of pig iron, 7 per cent of the steel, 2.3 per cent of the coal (1936 figures) and 42 per cent of machine-building. As the Year-Book shows, the young socialist state, aided by other socialist countries, is overcoming the effects of the dismemberment and the resulting disproportions.

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We shall dwell only on some typical features of the economic development outlined in the year-books under review.

Statistics confirm one of the most important laws of economic development — namely, steady and rapid growth of social production. This is true of all the socialist countries. As distinct from prewar days when their industries expanded at a slow rate and periodic slumps were common, output under people's democratic rule is rising rapidly year by year. Here are the figures (1938=100): in 1948 the index stood at 85, in 1950—147, and in each of the six succeeding years at 183, 215, 247, 263, 299, 331, and in 1957—359.

The figures testify to the operation of another important law of the economic system of socialism: with the general growth of all the socialist countries the difference in their levels of development—inherited from capitalism—is gradually disappearing; the less developed countries are catching up with the more developed ones. This can be seen, for instance, in the bigger contribution made by industry to the national income of Rumania which in 1938 was only 19.9 per cent; in 1956 this figure had risen to 50.8 per cent. This leap has brought Rumania much closer to the level of Czechoslovakia

where industry's share in the national income amounts to 62 per cent.

The process of doing away with the disparity in the economic development of the socialist states and the rapid expansion of industry in formerly backward agrarian countries are important features of the international socialist division of labor and coordination of production, thanks to which the problem of the structure of industry in the individual countries is being solved in a new way and the necessary conditions created for economizing on social labor. Rumania, to cite a case in point, now relieved of the need to build a heavy-industry complex, is concentrating on industries most suited to her natural and economic resources, for instance, on oil (extracting and refining), power, chemical, ferrous metallurgy; on agricultural and transport machine-building industries and on manufacture of oil equipment. State capital investments are made mainly in these industries. During the first Five-Year Plan (1951-55) some 67 per cent of the industrial investment was made in five major branches—oil, power, chemical, ferrous metallurgy and machine-building. This trend was maintained in the subsequent years. Between 1955 and 1957 investments in the chemical industry rose by 50 per cent.

Rapid growth of industrial output in the People's Democracies is accompanied by priority development of heavy industry. Key branches such as electric power, coal, oil and ferrous metallurgy are of especial significance. The growth in output of these industries can be seen from the following table, compiled from the statistical material under review.

Product	Unit	Czechoslovakia		GDR		Rumania	
		1937	1957	1936	1957	1938	1957
Electric power	billion kwh.	4.1	17.7	14.0	32.7	1.1	5.4
Coal	million tons	34.7	75.2	104.6	215.3	2.8	7.1
Pig iron	million tons	1.7	3.6	0.2	1.7	0.1	0.7
Steel	million tons	2.3	5.2	1.2	2.9	0.3	0.9

The table shows that the People's Democracies are further expanding their raw material and power bases. The results refute Western propaganda to the effect that the countries of Central and South-East Europe are poor in industrial raw materials and, because of this, lack the wherewithal to develop heavy industry.

All of them are prospecting for and using useful minerals on a large scale. In Rumania the new oil and natural gas deposits discovered in recent years are being exploited. In 1957 oil extraction, now running at 11.2 million tons, had risen 70 per cent compared with 1938. Wide use is made of natural gas (15.3 times more methane was obtained in 1957 than in 1938) and of such raw materials as

rock-salt, and lignite (brown coal) hitherto unexploited.

Big strides have been made in building the industries manufacturing machinery and equipment. This progress is common not only to Czechoslovakia and the GDR, where machine-building has long been a major branch and where after the Second World War output multiplied; it goes for Rumania, too, where it is a relatively new branch.

Whereas before the war Rumania imported 95 per cent of her machinery and equipment, home industry in 1950 covered 50.7 per cent of her requirements and 81.2 per cent in 1957. There is no other example in history of a small country pro-

cessing rich oil deposits and also having its own oil-machinery industry. The Rumanian People's Republic has such a branch with the result that all the oil is refined at home, in contrast to prewar times when Western monopolies shipped the crude oil out of the country. Rumania now manufactures oil and mining equipment, powerful tractors and other complex machines not only for her own use, but also for export.

Light industry is expanding in all the People's Democracies. In Rumania, for instance, where in 1948 output was 21 per cent below prewar, it had exceeded this level by more than 170 per cent in 1957. Output of consumer goods in Czechoslovakia in the past ten years has risen nearly 140 per cent. Capital investment in these branches (Group "B") is growing year by year. The textile and food industries have been expanding rapidly in recent years as can be seen from the following table:

	Year	Cloth (million meters)	Footwear (million pairs)	Refined sugar (000 tons)	Meat and meat prod- ucts* (000 tons)
Czechoslovakia	1948	313.0	53.0	517.5	240.4
	1957	427.0	60.2	791.6	581.8
GDR	1950	289.0	32.3	605.0	144.5
	1957	518.9	39.0	647.7	765.2
Rumania	1948	110.9	11.2**	98.8	54.1
	1957	247.5	21.8	185.3	242.4

*manufacture only. **for 1950.

Compared with prewar, output of consumer goods has risen considerably in all these countries; the rise now observed in agricultural production has facilitated this growth. Although postwar rates in agriculture have not been as high as in industry, current output in most of these countries is in excess of prewar. In Rumania 11.1 million tons of cereals were harvested in 1957, a 21 per cent increase over 1938 (the best year during bourgeois-landlord rule), while the industrial-crop yield was more than threefold. The number of cattle has risen by two million compared with prewar.

The result is that industry is ensured better supplies of raw materials, while food is available in greater abundance. Statistics show, however, that agricultural production is not yet coping with the demands made on it. "Its growth is as yet insufficient to meet the ever-growing needs of the national economy and the urban and rural population," declared Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, at a meeting of agricultural workers last April.

In each of these countries the decisive role in the growth of the productive forces in agriculture is played by the producer co-operatives.

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Output per head of population is an important index of a country's productive forces. The year-books provide interesting figures concerning per capita production of staple goods compared with prewar.

Output of electric power—a measure of the industrial level of any country—amounted in 1957 to

1,327 kwh. per capita in Czechoslovakia (4.6 times the 1937 figures); in the GDR, 1,868 kwh. (2.1 times more than in 1936), and in Rumania the per capita increase was 4.2-fold.

Of the three countries, the greatest per capita output of pig iron and of steel—267 and 387 kgs. respectively—was attained by Czechoslovakia. The GDR increased its pig-iron output 7.4 times as against 1936, and Rumania 4.5 times. Per capita coal output has risen considerably—having more than doubled in Czechoslovakia and Rumania and risen 1.8 times in the GDR. Footwear, cloth, sugar, etc., are being produced in greater quantities. In 1957 the GDR manufactured 29.6 square meters of cloth per capita—1.5 times more than in 1936.

Statistics show that larger quantities of basic foods are being consumed per capita compared with prewar. In Czechoslovakia consumption of staples in 1957 was 136 per cent compared with 1937. In Rumania consumption of sugar and meat doubled compared with 1938, while that of fats increased 3.5 times. Demand for consumer goods and foodstuffs has grown considerably in the German Democratic Republic.

It should be borne in mind that in contrast to prewar, when a disproportionately large part of the goods produced was appropriated by the numerically small but wealthy idle section of the population, under the people's democratic system manufactured goods and food are distributed more or less equally on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to the amount of work performed. Thus, under socialism, consumer-goods manufacture per head of population more or

less coincides with actual consumption (taking into account exports and imports).

The year-books cite other indices of the rising standard of living. Clearest proof of this is the rapid and steady growth of the national income. Whereas in the capitalist countries the largest share of the national income is appropriated by the parasitic sections of society, in the socialist countries it is distributed in accord with the interests of the working population: more than four-fifths of it now goes to satisfy material and cultural needs, while the rest is used to expand socialist production—of which the people are the masters.

Czechoslovakia's national income has more than doubled in the past ten years; it now exceeds the prewar level (per head of population) by 111 per cent. Since 1945 Rumania's national income has more than doubled. In the German Democratic Republic the per capita national income rose in 1957 by 90 per cent compared with the first year of its existence. Real wages and peasant incomes have gone up. Large-scale housing and education and cultural construction are a feature of all these countries.

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It is common knowledge that the growth of the social product depends directly on the level of labor productivity. And in this sense the rapid rate of industrial development in the People's Democracies is most revealing; statistics show that higher productivity largely accounts for this. In Czechoslovakia 86 per cent of the rise in overall industrial output between 1948-1956 accrued from higher labor productivity and only 14 per cent from the numerical growth of the working class. In Rumania, during the First Five-Year Plan (1951-55) the growth of labor productivity accounted for a 58 per cent growth in industrial output.

In the past eight years (1950-57) the average yearly growth of productivity in Czechoslovakia was 8 per cent, in the GDR 8.2 per cent, and in Rumania 8.3 per cent.

This growth is attained by developing science and technology, by perfecting labor methods and better working conditions, and by improving skills through the numerous state courses and technical schools. Arduous and labor-consuming work is widely mechanized and in some of the countries the transition to complex mechanization is being carried out on a large scale. In Czechoslovak enterprises over 800 assembly lines are being installed, sixteen of which will be automatic.

The worker's new attitude to his job is an important factor in raising labor productivity. Only under the socialist system, based on public ownership of the means of production, is it possible for the worker to be so profoundly and vitally interested in the results of his labor, in increasing output and productivity. This has inspired socialist

emulation and a widespread movement of rationalizers and inventors. In 1957 alone 193,000 rationalization suggestions were made in Czechoslovakia.

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Each of the year-books contains data comparing economic development in the socialist countries with that under capitalism. The figures illustrate the development of peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism—one of the burning questions of the day. The much more rapid growth of production in the People's Democracies testifies to the indisputable advantages of socialism over capitalism. Whereas in Czechoslovakia the average annual growth of overall output between 1948-57 was 11.7 per cent, in the GDR 14.5 per cent and in Rumania 17.3 per cent, the increase in Britain over the same period was but 3.7 per cent, 6.7 per cent in France and 3.4 per cent in the USA.

Some of the People's Democracies are now among the most industrially developed countries in the world. Czechoslovakia occupies a leading place in the world for per capita output of major industrial items and consumption of certain kinds of food.

A comparison between the GDR and West Germany is of particular interest, especially if we take into account that at its Fifth Congress last July the Socialist Unity Party advanced the task of "overtaking and surpassing West Germany within the next few years in per capita consumption of all basic foodstuffs and manufactured goods." The GDR now holds eighth place in the world and fifth in Europe for industrial output. It generates more electric power than Belgium, Denmark, Finland and Holland taken together, and, in per capita generation, more than any other highly developed European country, including West Germany. In brown coal extraction the GDR now ranks first in the world and has considerably outstripped West Germany per head of population, and in the output of other coal in terms of hard coal and in the manufacture of motorcycles and butter.

West Germany is still ahead of the GDR in per capita output and consumption of some foods and manufactured goods, but it should be borne in mind that there is a fairly considerable parasitical and wealthy upper stratum in West Germany which accounts for a large part of consumption. Moreover, the trend of per capita production and consumption in the GDR, as can be seen from the year-book, is definitely towards growth whereas in the Federal Republic it is towards decline.

The GDR Year-Book gives a picture not only of the economic situation in the two German states, it also reveals the trends of development and sheds light on some of the recent pronouncements made in Bonn. Not long ago both there and in the West

generally, the "economic miracle" of West Germany was proclaimed from the housetops. They boasted about their "shop windows" which, they said, would never be seen in the GDR. And now Erhard, Bonn Minister for Economic Affairs, has been forced to admit that the GDR may "overtake West Germany in per capita consumption." According to the West German *Die Welt*, the Industrial Institute in Cologne, which made a special study of this question after the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, admitted—with reservations it is true—that the population of the German

Democratic Republic "is getting much better food supplies than a year ago," and that in the next few years it would catch up with the Federal Republic's industrial indices.

The statistics contained in the year-book are irrefutable proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Consciously applying the economic laws of socialism, the peoples of the socialist countries have achieved considerable success in all branches of industry and in raising living standards.

I. LAPONOGOV

A World Without War Means a World of Plenty

J. D. Bernal, *World without War*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, 308 pages.

WHO has not heard the words "Stop thief!"—the cry invoked by the culprit to distract attention from himself and cover up his traces—the cry which involuntarily comes to mind when one hears science blamed for the deadly sins of our times, an imputation voiced only too often by reactionary ideologists, bourgeois sociologists and politicians. While utilizing scientific achievements to perfect the means of exploitation and increase relative surplus value, the monopolists at the same time try to place the responsibility for the intensification of labor and growing unemployment at the door of science. And the brass hats, seeking to sidetrack the wrath of the people while feverishly spurring on the scientists in the drive for still deadlier weapons, also blame science: it, so the propaganda goes, is responsible for the nuclear war danger. Over the radio and TV, apologists of the moribund capitalist world announce that mankind is suffering from a surfeit of science and a lack of morals.

John Bernal, one of the most eminent scientists of our time, has again raised his voice against this denigration of science by the capitalist West. Denouncing the selfish utilization of science by a handful of monopolies and the misuse of its achievements for aggressive military aims, Bernal demonstrates that the future of science is indissolubly linked with that of mankind, that a *World without War means a World of Plenty*.

Like Kuo Mo-jo, Josué de Castro and the never-to-be-forgotten Frédéric Joliot-Curie, whose friend and associate he was for many years, Bernal embodies the finest qualities of the scientist: the daring of the innovator, intolerance of social injustice, altruistic service to the people. The urge

to devote his energy and knowledge to the cause of social progress and human happiness has impelled Bernal to say: "I have never been able to separate, as some of my colleagues have, my responsibilities as a scientist from those as a citizen."

These words find cogent confirmation in his life's work. A talented physicist-experimenter, Fellow of the Royal Society and member of academies abroad, Bernal has a world-wide reputation for his research in crystallography and his fruitful ideas on the origin of life. (See *The Physical Basis of Life*, 1951). He has nothing in common with the fairly widespread type of expert who has shrunk into his own particular scientific shell. A man of extremely varied scientific interests, Bernal, beginning with his Utopia entitled *The World, the Flesh and the Devil* (1929), has given considerable attention to the place and role of science in social life, to the history of science, the methodology and outlook of the scientist. These subjects are treated in a number of instructive books: *The Social Function of Science* (1939), *Science for Peace and Socialism* (1950—jointly with Maurice Cornforth), *Marx and Science* (1952), *Science in History* (1954 and 1957) and others. Bernal's renown as a scientist is complemented by his reputation as a public figure, a leader of the peace movement. That is why every book that comes from his pen, including *World without War*, is at once profoundly scientific and topical.

World without War has been written for the wide reading public: it will be read avidly and profitably alike by the scientist and by the man-in-the-street, by Communists and people of other political views in both the capitalist and socialist countries. It is popular in the best sense of the word, not as a result of over-simplification but because of its lucid treatment of problems that are

agitating everyone. In writing the book the author "was concerned primarily with the scientific, technical and quantitative economic aspects of the process of transforming the world, rather than the political driving forces that will ensure that the transformation is actually carried through. I wanted to show, and hope that I have shown, that the transformation is neither physically nor economically impossible, that only some men's interests and prejudices stood in its way" (p. 290). Through 300 pages Bernal unfolds the alluring picture of what a world without war, using all the benefits of science, could bring to humanity. This future world, however, will not come about of its own accord; it will have to be won by the people.

The logic of his arguments, the abundance of scientific facts, the striking comparison between the development of science in the USSR and under capitalism, in a word, the whole book, leads the reader to the conclusions:

1) that modern science opens up truly boundless vistas for the rapid rise of living standards;

2) that these possibilities can be fully translated into reality only under socialism;

3) that the danger of a devastating war unleashed by imperialism, and the arms drive which now swallows up human resources and the lion's share of scientists' efforts, are a grave obstacle in the advance to a higher standard of life.

Peace or war, such is the alternative, Bernal declares, which now faces humanity, for never has war been fraught with such disaster for mankind, and never has peace held out such wonderful prospects as today! Never have the destinies of war and peace depended so much on the will and resolve of the people . . .

Rebutting the demagogic ranting of the apologists of a new war Bernal writes: "The material objectives about which nations have fought for centuries and for which they are prepared to fight are now completely trivial in comparison with what the same effort would win even more quickly in peace . . . the whole business of war becomes insanity as well as a crime" (p. 2). Appealing to the people of the imperialist countries, in whom the ruling classes wish to instil the idea that their well-being depends on exploitation of the colonial and dependent countries, the author declares: "My thesis will rather be that it is perfectly feasible to utilize the capital resources of the most advanced countries for the building up of the economy of the rest of the world without diminishing at all the capacity of their industries to satisfy the needs of their own peoples. Indeed it should increase that capacity, on account of the greater effective employment of capital that would result from the additional markets created . . . Here

I shall say quite frankly that, if it is true that it is impossible to improve the conditions of the world by following the rigid patterns of capitalist economics, it is time those patterns were changed" (p. 5).

According to Bernal at least 90 billion dollars are spent annually on the cold war. "This sum . . . is far greater than that required to provide for the most rapid practicable advance of all the underdeveloped countries." Even more wasteful than the direct military expenditure is the constant deflection of the efforts of armies of scientific personnel to military research. Moreover, the secrecy in which scientific discoveries are shrouded — again prompted by military considerations — appreciably slows down the general advance of science. It is true that the weapons manufactured at the expense of the taxpayer, at the cost of the labor-power of millions and the ingenuity of tens of thousands, quickly become obsolete, but the profits derived from their manufacture flow into the coffers of the monopolies!

Bernal illustrates the worthlessness of atomic blackmail and rebuts the hysterical predictions about the absolute destruction of humanity by which imperialist ideologists endeavor to intimidate and paralyze their opponents. As a matter of fact, he writes, the peace camp has the defensive means with which to deal a devastating blow to the imperialists' foreign military bases, to the aggressors' bomber squadrons and their territories. So it will not be humanity, but imperialism that will perish from aggression. Weapons of wholesale annihilation, however, mean that war would bring untold misery and fearful destruction before those who unleashed it were swept from the arena of history. That is why war must be averted at all costs. Bernal characterizes the imperialist "positions of strength" policy as dishonest and senseless in view of the fact that those who intend to dictate their terms to humanity obviously lack superiority of forces.

And so, Bernal declares, humanity must not hesitate in making the choice between war and peace. Scientific and technological achievements are rapidly multiplying all blessings. Before the century is out new sources of cheap atomic energy will have relegated oil and coal to secondary places; electronic control operating according to a program will enable automation to cope with all uniform processes, thus freeing man from arduous, exhausting labor and routine tasks.

Atomic energy will make deserts fertile and bring warmth to the lands of eternal frost. The specter of famine, Bernal points out, will be banished forever. The book outlines measures for an all-round advance of agriculture which, under capitalism, is in a state of stagnation. Briefly, these measures are: bringing more land under the plow; scientific methods of cultivation; large-scale use of arti-

ficial fertilizers; better selection of crops and breeding of stock; pest control; rational use of the harvests. In the aggregate they open up vast opportunities (long known to the experts) for supplying food and satisfying the needs of many times the present population of the world.

Bernal does not confine himself to summing up the many scientific achievements that are already well-known. On nearly every problem he advances his own extremely bold and original technical ideas which would promote abundance in a world freed from the threat of war. Everyone is aware, for instance, of the evil designs to use atomic-powered submarines equipped with nuclear rockets in a future war. Bernal suggests converting this lethal weapon into an unusual source of food: in a world of lasting peace atomic-powered submarines would virtually become "artificial whales," factories taking in and processing sea plankton into valuable human food. (There are far greater quantities of living matter in the sea than on the land).

Science, the author continues, has come close to solving the problem of manufacturing practically all organic substances from non-organic matter, so that it is quite feasible that in the not-too-distant future scientists will make man less dependent upon vegetable and animal products. "The world of the future will inevitably be a more man-made world not only in the material, but also in the intellectual sphere." Mankind is on the verge of new discoveries:—"What will be aimed at will be entirely new substances having desired properties not necessarily ever found in Nature; not only passive but possibly even active properties, such as spontaneous and controlled contraction imitating the action of muscle" (p. 94).

Artificial foodstuffs, far superior in flavor and more nourishing than the food of today; hygienic clothing, made, possibly, without spinning and weaving; healthy houses from materials which let in light and at the same time retain heat—all will radically transform daily life, and free woman from her domestic drudgery. Thanks to the study of meteorological conditions, people will learn to subordinate the uncertainties of the weather to their own ends; large populated areas covered in by a transparent and practically invisible plastic sheet will make it possible to "bring the weather to the people, rather than the people to the weather." And, finally, the paradise of legend will become a reality. Earth will become a paradise, "from which we would not be driven by increasing knowledge."

A sober-minded scientist and public figure, Bernal makes no attempt to present the enticing prospect of an unrealizable utopia. Thus the main

part of his book is devoted to proving the feasibility of this magnificent future becoming a reality.

Citing the Soviet Union as a model, which, in less than half a century has been transformed from a backward country into a power now challenging the USA for world industrial supremacy, Bernal suggests utilizing this historic experience for the economic development of the world.

And, indeed, the Soviet Union was the first to demonstrate how to ensure the all-round development of society—from its economic foundations to its inspiring cultural achievements—in the interests of the working people. The backward and remote regions of former tsarist Russia which, under "internal colonialism," bore all the hallmarks of "underdeveloped countries," have, in a few decades—thanks to the revolutionary gains and the fraternal help of the more economically developed Soviet republics—made big strides in social progress. In these achievements delegations from the colonial and dependent countries visiting the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia see, and not without reason, the future of their own countries. Thus, for the working people in the older industrial countries of capitalism as well as for the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, the USSR serves as the prototype of what should be done and of what can be achieved by resolute action.

The Soviet experience, continues the author, shows that the rapid development of heavy industry is the key to all-round economic advance, to higher material and cultural levels for the population. Bernal shows on a map of the world 35 major industrial centers (p. 247) which ensure the most rational distribution of industry on a world scale: some of these centers already exist in the USSR, the USA, Western Europe and Japan; others need to be expanded, while yet others—in the economically backward areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America—remain to be built. These new centers of industry (of which the establishment of the second coal and iron and steel base in the USSR and a third now under construction in Siberia are the prototype) imply, in the author's view, "the ability to produce all the basic raw materials—the coal, the steel, the aluminum, the power — and to possess an engineering industry capable of producing machines, machine-tools, vehicles, and heavy contracting plant largely from local raw materials. In addition there is required a heavy chemical industry, capable of processing fuels and producing fertilizers, industrial chemicals, fibers and plastics; a light chemical industry, capable of producing pharmaceuticals and photographic requirements; and an electronics industry" (p. 126).

Creation of such industrial centers, the author tells us, would soon shelve the concept of "underdeveloped countries." "Many of those who are most concerned with preserving their standard of living do not realize that by trying to keep down the underprivileged people of the world they are doing more to endanger that standard of living, both by increasing the risk of war and by inviting slumps by limiting markets, than if they came into a general scheme of mutual help, first to give the others the advantages which they have had themselves, and then to enjoy with them a common prosperity" (p. 137).

The author dwells in detail on education. In his view the abolition of illiteracy on a world scale, "Operation Literacy," as he calls it, would in fact cost not more than \$10 billion (i.e., one-quarter of the USA's annual arms expenditure), and could be virtually completed within five years. Bernal believes that education which in most countries is conducted on an ossified curriculum, should be radically revised. "The present syllabus is, in fact, a kind of geological record of the education of the past in which stratum upon stratum is laid down one after the other. . . . What we really need now is a literal metamorphic process, a general scrambling of education and a concerted attempt to think out anew, not only how to teach, but what to teach" (p. 197). We do not propose to detract from the importance of either the creative thought or genius of those individuals who supply the world with new ideas, Bernal notes, but "what is done with them is much more a matter of organization."

It is primarily the Cold War that in all fields bars the way to social progress. Bernal gives its history and exposes those who are responsible for it—the big monopolies—for whom the Cold War has become an important sphere of capital investment. For the people, the working people, ". . . the Cold War has proved a curse and it is one whose effects are likely to grow worse the longer it is maintained. It is a fantastic situation in which one half of the world is trying actively to prevent the development of the other half and preventing its own development at the same time. It is intolerable that this situation is allowed to continue" (p. 217).

From the Cold War, now poisoning the international atmosphere, through a truce—a perfectly realistic and feasible objective—to peaceful competition between the two systems and international co-operation—such, in Bernal's view, are the main stages of humanity's path to a bright future. Universal disarmament, cessation of military research and a winding-up of the war industry, to give place to a World without War, a World of Plenty, will mark the third stage.

For the first time in history the resources of this earth, the labor of man and the genius of science will be entirely devoted to the building of a new life. Famine, poverty and illiteracy will disappear, never to return; the shameful stigma of colonialism will be wiped off the face of the earth; people will be free to choose the social system they want; specialized United Nations institutions will, without hindrance, carry out their duties; the most rational international division of labor will obtain; and there will be a far broader exchange of cultural values. After capitalist rule has been abolished we shall have: joint planning free from crises, uniform industrialization throughout the world, the flowering of civilization. ". . . we could build a world that would provide for every single person in it more than the richest can hope for today . . ." (p. 283). In the near future this third stage will crown the struggle now being waged for peace and social progress. And in the course of it, Bernal remarks, capitalist society will inevitably disappear.

But all that is historically outlived does not disappear of its own accord, it does so only through class struggle in which the destiny of mankind is shaped on the national and international arena. Abolition of the exploitation of man by man is an essential condition for the final abolition of wars, for the accelerated advance of mankind. The struggle against the war-mongers is simultaneously a struggle against those who wax rich on the Cold War, against the monopolists who, for the sake of fabulous profits, are ready to condemn hundreds of millions to extinction. A world of plenty and prosperity for all cannot be built unless this handful of plunderers—the culprits who abuse science and cry "Stop thief!"—are removed.

A World without War, a World of Plenty means Socialism and Communism which will spread to all continents and unite them in creative activity. Appealing to those in whom the imperialist ideologists are endeavoring to inspire a fear of Communism, who have not yet shaken off this fear, Bernal declares: "For practical purposes Communism means using the resources of a country for the benefit of the people in it, and this . . . is the major dread of the oil companies and their backers" (p. 134). The book ends with a call to avert war. "We must in every country throughout the world organize and struggle against the madness of war and the crime of scarcity" (p. 292).

World without War appeared just before the Soviet Union published the target figures for its new Seven-Year Plan and the Draft for the new system of education, which have attracted the

attention of the world. These plans bring closer the building of Communist society and the molding of the new communist man. They are the guarantee that Bernal's book is not a utopia,

not wishful thinking, but a fully attainable and visible goal. The scientist's bold dreams acquire flesh and blood in the onward march of society.
W. HOLLITSCHER

The British State in the Epoch of Imperialism

James Harvey and Katherine Hood. *The British State*, London, 1958, 288 pages.

THE Labor Party's theory of the state is one of the most important ideological weapons in the armory of social-reformism. And the new revisionism has been so unoriginal as to borrow its arguments from this frankly anti-Marxist source. That is why James Harvey's and Katherine Hood's important contribution to debunking the Labor concept is a "must" for anyone who wants to know the real nature of the bourgeois state.

The British labor movement, the authors state, has long associated the concept of freedom with the need to get rid of the capitalist whose ownership of the means of production enables him to dictate the level of well-being and indeed of the very existence of the workers. Most Labor Party members recognize that Britain cannot become a free country until private ownership of the means of production has been abolished. But its leaders and theoreticians believe that by means of bourgeois democracy the working class will be able to solve this problem without making fundamental changes in existing political and social institutions. It follows from this that the advance to socialism should be made step by step "within the existing political framework."

The reformist theory of the possibility of achieving socialism along this road is based on the false assumption that the British capitalist state (which includes Parliament, Monarchy, Cabinet, Armed Forces, Police, Judiciary, the educational system, etc.) is neutral and impartial in the conflict between the classes.

This theory, as the authors show, is not a new one; it can be traced from Attlee, Morrison and Strachey back to Ramsay MacDonald and nineteenth century trade unionism when the British labor movement followed the ideological leadership of the Liberal Party. The authors trace the evolution of the British state which grew, expanded and perfected its machinery of class domination step by step as the labor movement developed, in order to neutralize the growing role of the working class in the struggle for democratic liberties and rights. The main section of the book is devoted to estab-

lishing the groundlessness of the thesis from which Labor ideology proceeds—the "above-class" character of the modern British state in all its integral parts. Continuing to remain the political organization of the capitalist class, this state, in the epoch of imperialism, "has become more and more subordinated to the dominant group of great monopolies, and has become an instrument which they use not only against the workers, but also against the smaller capitalists and the independent producers" (p. 24).

The ruling classes find that democratic traditions are becoming increasingly burdensome, and so monopoly capital is using the state to an ever greater extent as a weapon of violence. But the existence of a strong and organized labor movement and the long-standing respect for democratic rights which is deeply rooted among the British people have meant that the turn against democracy has been mostly a process of undermining its foundations in devious, roundabout ways, rather than by a direct attack (p. 25).

In the epoch of imperialism the turn to reaction has been reflected in the enactment of such laws as the Defense of the Realm Act (1914), Emergency Powers Act (1920), Police Act (1919), Official Secrets Act (1920), Trade Disputes Act (1927), Incitement to Disaffection Act (1934), Public Order Act (1936).

Such democratic rights as the people in the colonies possess are flagrantly swept away and in the most outrageous way. Suspension of Habeas Corpus, concentration camps, suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, abolition of the right to vote and the right to form trade unions, and the imposition of collective fines—such are the usual ways of dealing with "democratic liberties" in the colonies the moment that British domination finds itself menaced. The book cites a typical case in British Guiana in 1953. In the first election based on universal suffrage, the People's Progressive Party won a majority in the Lower House. But no sooner did the government formed by this party begin to carry out its extremely modest program than it was overthrown: British monopoly sugar planters considered that this program threatened their interests. A "Communist plot" was hastily discovered, the Governor suspended the Constitu-

tion and troops were sent in. When everything had been done *The Times* calmly announced that there had been no plot at all.

This should be borne in mind in assessing the essence of the British state, for the "British state is an integral part of the imperial state apparatus" (p. 28). Colonial service is, as it were, a school for training officials for many organs of this mechanism, and the fact that Britain is the center of the empire has had a profound influence on the country's political system. While democracy is overtly suppressed in the colonies, roundabout methods are, as a rule, used in Britain, but the heart of the problem is the same: any encroachment whatever on the foundations of monopoly-capitalist rule will everywhere meet with relentless resistance from its state machine. This idea runs through the book, and the arguments are substantiated by a wealth of factual material drawn from past history and the present.

The authors make a detailed study of the two-party system, which has led to the decline of Parliament as a democratic institution. It is based on an electoral system whose features are the majority principle, the single-member constituency and the requirement that every candidate must make a substantial deposit. The main features of the present electoral system have no roots in the past, they are the product of the epoch of the transition to imperialism and have evolved with the growth of monopoly capital. In fact all the changes in this system, which firmly entrenched a two-party monopoly, were designed to prevent the growth of working-class influence on politics in connection with the extension of the franchise. The electoral system is now such that the British voter is virtually limited to choosing between the candidates of either of the two parties, Tory or Labor. Far from attempting to conceal this fact, it is regarded as a merit of the system by both the Tories (Amery is quoted) and the Labor Party (Morrison). The parties are very careful to preserve this state of affairs, for, as their spokesmen and leaders affirm, it ensures stable government and continuity of policy. And this is really so. We need only add that the stability and continuity of policy are dictated by the desire to maintain and consolidate the rule of monopoly capital.

The archaic and often seemingly absurd parliamentary procedure and the polite forms of address which M.P.'s are compelled to adopt when referring to one another have something behind them. They make it difficult to formulate a question from the class standpoint and easy to camouflage the genuinely social contradictions behind this or that question by verbal exercises which take on the appearance of a struggle for the "interests of the nation," without being in any way detrimental to the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The extension of the government's functions at the expense of the prerogatives of the House of Commons—a process that coincides in the main, and not fortuitously, with the epoch of imperialism—has long since led, the authors tell us, to the dictatorship of the Cabinet. The House of Commons cannot control the Prime Minister, while party discipline is such that Cabinet members obey the Premier. The Cabinet has supreme direction of the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, foreign policy and colonial affairs. To all intents and purposes it has taken on legislative functions, can declare war and enter into treaties. Financial initiative is the sole prerogative of the Cabinet, for it has control of the country's finances.

More often than not Parliament is asked to sanction a vital national measure *post factum*. A case in point was the Labor Government's unprecedented decision to allow U.S. armed forces into Britain which was first announced in a joint statement of the British Air Ministry and the United States Air Force on July 17, 1948. Neither did the Labor Government consider it necessary to inform the House of Commons that Britain had become a NATO member until it was a *fait accompli*.

Other institutions of British democracy also serve to maintain the stability of the regime (i.e., maintaining capitalism). Among these (paradoxical though it may be in a capitalist society at the highest stage of development) is the monarchy. Its main function is ideological. The monarchy is called upon to symbolize the nation's unity: to suggest that Britons are one happy family, any domestic discords are simply family quarrels that will soon be made up, they are united on the main thing, and each desires the good of all. The pageantry and glamor of the court, traditional ceremony, the Queen's gowns, her visits and receptions, mixing with the people, her "humanity" and "noble democratism"—this, reinforced by the powerful means of modern publicity, helps the ruling class to catch the popular imagination and divert public attention from the burning problems of everyday life. In addition, the Monarch has important political prerogatives in forming the Cabinet, making appointments to high governmental posts, etc.; these rights are exercised under cover of a secrecy sanctified by long-standing tradition. And, when necessary, the inviolable person of the Monarch serves as a convenient screen for the government's anti-constitutional moves.

The book brings out, laconically, but concretely and convincingly, the reactionary role of yet another archaic institution—the House of Lords, which is heavily weighted with representatives of monopoly capital and the aristocracy.* Although the

*Of the 868 members of the House of Lords only 56 are Labor, but these, it goes without saying, cannot be regarded as representatives of the working class.

powers of the Lords were curtailed in 1911 and 1949, it effectively carries out its obstructionist function in relation to any progressive measure.

The key personnel in the main levers of the state machine, who often exert a decisive influence on policy are most important from the standpoint of concentrating political power in the hands of monopoly capital.

The policy apparatus headed by the Foreign Office is a typical example. According to official theory, foreign policy should be above inter-party controversy. Otherwise the continuity so essential for the "protection of the interests of the nation as a whole" on the international arena will be lost. Hence the principle that the chiefs of the Foreign Office may change (depending upon which of the two parties is in power) but its apparatus, headed by the Permanent Under-Secretary, remains unchanged.

There was a time when leaders of the Labor Party, purely from considerations of demagoguery, objected to this theory (the book cites Attlee in 1937). In practice, however, they strictly adhered to it and its principle of a permanent apparatus. The explanation is simple: the Labor chiefs had no intention of changing the main line of foreign policy, the essence of which was, and remains, undermining and weakening the forces of socialism throughout the world, defeating the national-liberation struggle of the peoples everywhere and protecting the foreign investments of the British monopolies with all the means at their command. Continuity of this policy is assured by officials of the type of Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick. As First Secretary to the British Embassy in Berlin he actively helped Chamberlain in carrying through the Munich policy; the Labor Government, no doubt in recognition of his services, appointed Kirkpatrick High Commissioner for West Germany where he developed the Munich tradition and was so successful that he later became Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under the Tories.

The Foreign Office and the diplomatic service are the domain of the aristocracy and have long since aligned themselves with monopoly capital. Thus monopoly capital not only determines Whitehall policy, it ensures that it is carried out and upholds it by means of embassy reports compiled and sifted in a strictly colonialist, imperialist and anti-communist spirit. These reports are used also to mold "public opinion" (through the press, radio and so on).

The permanency of the senior officials, who are surrounded by an aureole of political neutrality, has the same aim in all other departments of the state apparatus. The facts and figures given by the authors concerning the social background of the key personnel, their education in the privileged public schools, universities and military colleges,

and concerning their years of service, mostly in the colonies, leave not the slightest doubt that the top-ranking officials are flesh and blood of the ruling classes.

Not only does this bureaucracy decisively influence the applications of the law, it assumes legislative functions by virtue of the ever-increasing amount of delegated legislation.

The use by Labor leaders of hardened bourgeois officials in carrying out their "socialist policy," merely testifies to their reluctance to fight for socialism in general.

A detailed analysis is made of the Army's political role in the British system of democracy, in particular that of the generals and officers. It is understandable that in modern conditions, with a mass army, the ruling classes find it highly undesirable for soldiers to take any part in politics. Army regulations are categoric and rigid in this respect. But this, it should be said, far from hampering, facilitates the use of the armed forces against democratic liberties in Britain itself, to say nothing of the colonies. Harvey and Hood cite some ten cases of troops being used by the Labor Government (1946-50) to break strikes. Troops protect strike-breakers and quite often have been used as scabs.

In origin and tradition the Regular Army is an army of colonial, imperialist expansion, trained in race prejudice and the use of arms against defenseless people. And as such it represents a particular danger for the socialist movement. Its top brass in our day play an evil role, though often behind the scenes, in fomenting war psychosis and formulating the provocative "positions of strength" policy.

The book deals with the other organs of the modern British state and, in particular, explodes the myth that there is no secret police in Britain; it indicates the merits and shortcomings of local government, whose growing subordination to the central authority is designed as a counter-weight to the growing strength of the working class. A big part in maintaining the capitalist system is played by the propaganda machine, owned by monopoly capital and wholly subordinated to it. This machine is the main instrument with which the bourgeoisie is enabled to corrupt the masses and demoralize the democratic forces.

Most interesting is the analysis of the economic functions of the modern British state, which are lauded by the revisionists. Noting the state's increasing intervention in economic affairs, the authors establish first and foremost that "the present economic functions of the state, therefore, are overwhelmingly a product of the epoch of imperialism, and represent a response to the demands of monopoly capitalism" (p. 217). The development of state-monopoly capitalism in Britain

entered a new phase during and after the Second World War. Characteristic of this stage are: the establishment of a special apparatus of state intervention in economic affairs in connection with the nationalization of a number of industries, the increasing absorption of the national income by the budget, utilization of taxation policy as a means of influencing economic activity, setting up new, and expanding the functions of old, economic ministries, etc.

State regulation of the capitalist economy is carried out in various ways: 1) Regulating relationships between labor and capital. The government pretends to be only a "conciliator" in labor disputes. "But, in point of fact, its principal objects remain constant: to secure for capitalist industry a regular and flexible labor supply, and to assist employers to maintain or to restore an 'industrial peace' which enables them to extract the maximum profit from industry with the minimum of disturbance in the form of strikes, lock-outs, go-slow movements, etc." (p. 218).

2) State assistance in capturing foreign markets, in ousting competitors, in securing imported raw materials on the most favorable terms, in protecting British investments abroad, particularly in the colonies and underdeveloped countries. In the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, in the period of the disintegration of the colonial system, these functions of the state have acquired vital importance.

3) A somewhat newer method of state intervention is direct regulation of the economic activities of firms and the nationalization of individual industries (80 per cent of British industry is still privately owned). Two aims are pursued: a) To help put on their feet backward industries that are on the verge of bankruptcy; to eliminate the splitting-up of industry into small, competitive units, which often limits profit, hampers the introduction of modern methods and weakens its competitive power in the world market. b) Re-equipment and rationalization of backward industries at the expense of the state (that is, at the expense of the tax-payer) enables monopolists in the basic industries to obtain excessive profits in consequence of the comparatively cheap price of coal, gas, electric power, transport and other services.

Nationalizing individual industries and creating "public monopolies"* to manage them, is the limit to which State intervention in economic affairs can go under capitalism. Capitalist nationalization

*Since the Second World War these monopolies have become the form of nationalization under Labor; they are managed by the former capitalists, administrators and other representatives of the top bourgeoisie. The former owners are paid compensation in excess of the real value of their property.

fails not only to eliminate exploitation but, as the facts and figures show, often intensifies it and makes it even more distressing.

Bourgeois state "regulation" of economic affairs, including nationalization, is needed by the monopolies in order to maintain their rule. "Only in one sense can it be regarded as 'a step along the road to socialism'," the authors stress, "... in the sense that the growing concentration of ownership and control in the hands of the state facilitates the building of socialism *once state power has been won by the working class*. But until that revolutionary transfer of state power has been achieved, 'state intervention', far from being socialist, is in fact a necessary condition for the very existence of capitalist institutions in the epoch of monopoly and imperialism. To pretend otherwise, as the Right-wing Social Democrats do, is to create illusions as to the nature of the state and of the tasks of the working class in relation to it" (p. 229.)

The state-monopoly form of property cannot solve the basic contradiction of capitalist society—the contradiction between production relations and the productive forces. The reverse is true—in the final analysis, it aggravates the contradictions inherent in capitalism.

Three conclusions follow from the authors' thorough examination of the nature and functions of the British state:

1) State-monopoly capitalism promoting concentration of the monopolies' economic power leads to the further concentration of political power in the hands of big capital.

2) This process is reflected in the unparalleled growth, in the past fifty years, of the role of the state apparatus which tolerates the exercise of democratic liberties only to the extent that and insofar as this is safe for the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

3) To achieve the transition to socialism, the working class will not only have to win a majority for its genuine representatives in the House of Commons, and thus take over the government; not only will it have to abolish such reactionary institutions as the monarchy and the House of Lords; it will have to carry through a radical reorganization of the entire state system. All key posts in the new state apparatus will have to be filled with men and women loyal to the working-class cause, who will defend the democratic traditions of the British people against encroachments by dethroned big capital, develop these traditions on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production and ensure a planned economy on a nationwide scale.

F. KAMOR

Reviews in Brief

Arnault, J. *Proces du colonialisme (Colonialism on Trial)* Paris, 1958, 331 pp.

EXPOSURE of the ideology of colonialism is the aim which the author of this book set himself and which is successfully realized. While showing how colonial problems have been falsified he at the same time investigates the history of colonialism and examines its basic features and forms at the different stages of capitalist society. The facts which he adduces testify to the utterly pernicious influence of the colonialists on the social development of the enslaved peoples. Comparing the past development of India and China with that of Japan, the author concludes that the latter's economic progress proceeded more rapidly precisely because it did not fall into colonial bondage. The facts testify also to the impoverishment of the colonies and to the artificial preservation of feudal relations.

The doctrines of the apologists of colonialism are subjected to scathing criticism and contrasted to the clear-cut principles of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory on the colonial question; the false argument about the "blessings" brought by the colonialists is torn to shreds.

The national-liberation movement, one of the burning issues of the day, is thoroughly examined. The author draws attention to the significance of the October Revolution and the Soviet solution of the national problem for the entire anti-colonialist movement; and to the impact of the socialist world system on the struggle of the colonial peoples.

"Colonialism," writes Arnault, "is at variance not only with the interests of the colonial peoples but also with those of the peoples of the metropolitan countries." Using the example of France's relations with her colonies he shows that colonialism benefits first of all the handful of exploiters, the big monopoly bourgeoisie of the metropolitan countries. The struggle waged by the progressive forces in France against the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie is hastening the day of liberating the colonial peoples and of inaugurating entirely new relations between them and France.

Arnault cites data on the democratic reforms carried out in some of the newly-liberated countries. These reforms which restrict the influence of religious and other backward institutions were out of the question under colonial rule. The author counsels the reader to beware of any unfair comparison between the countries of the East and of

Europe, since quite a number of social phenomena in the former countries are of a specific nature.

Naturally, the present-day proletariat and the national bourgeoisie in the colonies and dependent countries differ from the 19th century proletariat and bourgeoisie of Western Europe. The proletariat in these countries has developed, in his view, not in a direct connection with a native bourgeoisie, but under the impact of foreign capital. Consequently, the political development of the proletariat and its militancy can reach higher levels than those of the national bourgeoisie. Furthermore, though it has only recently begun to develop, the proletariat in these countries has a tested revolutionary theory with which to realize its historical mission.

The basic problems of the national-liberation movement are treated from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and the inevitable doom of the colonial system is clearly foreshadowed.

Karpinski, A. *Zagadnienia socjalistycznej industrializacji Polski (Problems of Socialist Industrialization in Poland.)* Warsaw, 1958, 240 pp.

THIS book sums up the results of Poland's Six-Year Plan (1950-55) and illustrates a number of vital problems, such as the rate of industrialization, capital investment policy, growth of employment, the raw materials supply and the role of foreign trade in the economy. It dwells in detail on the structural changes that have taken place in Polish industry, its technological-economic level and geographical distribution.

Commenting on the favorable results of the plan, the author refutes the arguments of those who, seizing on its shortcomings and weak points, seek to cast doubts on the results and on the need for industrialization. He exposes the "neo-agrarian" theory according to which Poland could develop only along agricultural lines and argues against those economists who, while favoring industrial development in general, suggest that heavy industry should not be expanded since its products can be imported.

The reader interested in socialist construction will find a wealth of factual and statistical material.

W.P. and Z.K. Coates. *A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations. (1943-1950).* London, 1958, 463 pp.

THIS book by two well-known British writers maintains the high standard of their previous works. At first glance it has the appearance of a collection of documents knit together by the

authors' clear and concise remarks, thus forming a complete picture which enables the reader to follow developments in their proper sequence. Three aspects of the history of Anglo-Soviet relations are elucidated: relations between the governments and between public organizations (trade unions and others), public reaction to events and government policy (Parliament, the press, personal impressions). A wide range of material is used, including excerpts from newspaper articles, speeches at public meetings, memoirs and parliamentary debates, legislative acts, agreements and reports by delegations, etc.

The book is a calm and reasoned evaluation; it contains no sensational exposures. The data and documents from which it is compiled were all published previously. But many of them, naturally, are no longer remembered, and imperialist propaganda has created confusion about them, tendentially confusing cause and effect.

The Coates' did not set out to analyze the profound, socio-economic factors and motives underlying the policy of either side. The aim of the book is clear—it is to remind readers of the facts in their actual sequence and, by so doing, restore historical truth: the truth about the wartime friendship between the peoples of Britain and the USSR; the decisive role played by the USSR in smashing German fascism; the hypocrisy of Churchill who, ever since Stalingrad, together with his British and American friends has nurtured anti-Soviet designs; how, in the first postwar general election, both Labor and Conservative parties vied with one another in declaring from public platforms that they could secure the best relations with the Soviet Union; the "atomic diplomacy" inaugurated by Churchill and Truman immediately after the Second World War; Bevin's disastrous role in Anglo-Soviet relations; the new war plotted against the USSR—via Fulton, the Marshall Plan, the nuclear arms race and NATO—all the way to the Korean war, which brought mankind to the brink of a third world war. The research ends with June 1950.

The objective, factual truth—such is the merit and the significance of this new book by the Coates'.

F.W. Park. *The Power and the Money*. Toronto, 1958, 104 pp.

TODAY the wealth and resources of Canada have been incorporated." This is how F. W. Park, an active participant in the Canadian working-class movement, commences his inquiry. He examines the structure of finance capital in Canada, describes the formation of trusts and notes the role played by the federal and provincial authorities in the large-scale plundering of

the natural resources by the monopolies. Park shows how Canadian industrial and bank capital are converted into finance capital. The author deals with the interrelation and interlocking of financial groups and the conflicts between them.

The reader learns how the financial oligarchy achieves and consolidates its domination, how it influences the Government's taxation, economic, social and foreign policies. Most interesting are the data on the penetration of U.S. capital. In 1955 U.S. investments in Canada totalled 9.5 billion dollars, of which 6.6 billion were direct investment. The book throws light on the methods whereby U.S. finance capital controls Canadian concerns even when its investments are relatively small; it shows how U.S. control is imposed on Canadian economic and government bodies.

Of particular interest is the author's examination of the methods used by the monopoly bourgeoisie in robbing the treasury and deceiving the public. These include tax dodging, tax-free "gifts" of shares and stock-exchange manipulations. The close, hidden ties linking the monopolies and Government are laid bare.

But the working class and democratic circles are fighting back. Tracing the growth of this opposition, Park reflects the faith of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada in the creative power of the working people, in their ultimate victory.

Scoccimarro M. *Nuova democrazia* (New Democracy) Rome, 1958, 267 pp.

IN this book M. Scoccimarro supplies the answers to a number of questions: What is democracy? How and why is bourgeois democracy becoming increasingly conservative? Why does Italy need a new, genuine democracy? And why, in order for Italy to take the road of this new democracy, is implementation of the Republican Constitution necessary?

The main theme of democracy is closely interwoven by the author with problems of the political and mass struggle, with domestic and international developments since 1943.

The examination begins with the conditions which determined the conservative nature of bourgeois democracy in Italy. The features of the uncompleted bourgeois revolution in Italy are stressed and compared with the bourgeois revolutions in France and Britain. The author explains the reasons for the belated establishment of a unified Italian state, shows that the Italian bourgeoisie never had close political contact with the people, and emphasizes the relative weakness and reactionary nature of Italian capitalism which took the path of fascist dictatorship. The author deals with the policy of national unity and democratic alliances

headed by the working class, which is battling for participation in leadership of political life and for a new, full democracy.

On the basis of facts, experience and theoretical postulates, Scoccimarro shows that the point of the postwar political struggle in Italy was not the alternative—either “democracy or Bolshevism”—as the enemies of the working class avowed. “Conservative democracy or a new, progressive democracy”—that was how the Communists posed the question. In working for this new, progressive democracy, the masses should maintain their pressure, they should attack and defend; that is, defend and retain their positions and, at the same time, win new ones.

To move forward, the author states, it is necessary to make the republican regime a reality, to build the republic on the basis of labor as proclaimed by the Constitution. But the vital condition for implementing the Constitution is that the working class should have a say in the political leadership of the country, based on the unity of all the genuinely democratic and republican forces; achieving the political and social democracy envisaged in the Constitution also means creating the conditions for the subsequent democratic development towards socialism.

The book shows how the Communist Party contributes to the working out of the political and ideological problems emerging from the struggle for working-class participation in leading the country's political life, for a new, progressive democracy in Italy.

Wheeler G. S. *Vyvoj a problemy zemedelstvi v USA* (Development and Problems of Agriculture in the USA.) Prague, 1958, 343 pp.

G. S. WHEELER, an American farmer and economist now settled in Czechoslovakia, examines from a Marxist standpoint the complicated problems of American agriculture and its prospects. In assessing this highly productive farming he shows how bumper harvests are obtained, how livestock is increased, how mechanization is used, and how labor methods are improved.

The wealth of factual material and the author's personal experience enable him to throw light also on such problems as the impoverishment of the small farmers and farm laborers, destruction of agricultural products for the sake of maintaining high prices, of plowing under crops, curtailing the crop area, unnecessary slaughter of vast numbers of cattle, soil erosion against which no measures can be taken because the land is privately owned, and so on.

The author shows that the impoverishment and expropriation of the small and medium-sized farms continue at a rapid rate. The struggle waged by the farmers and farm laborers does not, in Wheeler's opinion, meet with success because of the lack of political unity among them, and because they are defending only the narrow class interests of their groups. Farm laborers are virtually deprived of political rights.

This book will be useful not only to research workers, but to all who want to know the truth about farming in the U.S.A., to know the America of today as it really is.

Heyden G. *Kritik der deutschen Geopolitik* (Critique of German Geopolitics) Berlin, 1958, 283 pp.

THE author gives a thorough analysis of the anti-scientific content of geopolitics, closely examines the geopolitical conceptions at the various stages of development of German imperialism. In the first pages Heyden critically analyzes the views of the bourgeois theorists of “geographic determinism” and sets out the materialistic teaching on the relation between society and geographical environment. By distorting geographical facts, geopoliticians represent geographical environment as the determining factor in the life of society and thereby attempt to justify the seizure of alien territories.

The book shows the essence and social purpose of German geopolitics, its rise and development. The criminal role played by the “theorists” of geopolitics who called for aggression under the pretext of expanding “German living space” (K. Haushofer and others) is also exposed. The author dwells particularly on the forms and methods of propaganda of present-day geopolitics in West Germany. Trying to befog the thinking of the peace-loving peoples of Europe, the West German revanchist geopoliticians are pretending to be the champions of “European” interests.

Inasmuch as the old slogans such as “German living space” and “people without space” have become wholly discredited, the revenge-seekers are now presenting them as “European living space” and “shortage of European space.” They propose to make good this “shortage” by “assimilating” Eastern Europe through a joint “European” effort, that is, through military aggression by the Western powers against the socialist countries.

Heyden's work arms the reader with new and convincing arguments exposing latter-day German geopoliticians.

Our Country Will Be Independent

(Letter from Nigeria)

MY NATIVE NIGERIA is a vast country populated, according to official data, by 33 to 35 million people, but actually by some 40 million. The onerous poll-tax, it should be said, forces parents to hide the true number of children they have. Ascertainment of the exact population figure will be possible, perhaps, through a census only when the country attains independence.

Most Nigerians are engaged in agriculture. Crops include cassava, corn, rice, millet and sweet potatoes. The chief exports are cocoa, palm oil, ground-nuts, cotton, rubber, bananas and sesame seed. Mineral resources still await full exploration, but coal, tin, silver, manganese and oil have been discovered and are being worked. Uranium, too, has been found. In a word, the country can produce everything man needs for a well-to-do life, without hunger and privation.

Nigeria has an ancient history. Its territory in olden times embraced the Songhai Empire, which was a prosperous state with large towns and universities. The Songhai civilization was destroyed during the Arab expansion. A new phase in Nigerian history began in the XVIth century when our country entered into trade relations with England. Nigeria's wealth attracted European merchants whose sole idea was to plunder the native population. The merchants were followed by soldiers. Our forefathers, who for a long period resisted the enemy, were ultimately subjugated and enslaved.

The colonialists boast of bringing "culture" to Nigeria. The truth is that thanks to them the development of our civilization has been held back for centuries.

The slave trade was one of the curses of colonialism. Large numbers of Africans were seized and shipped to the Western hemisphere. The ancestors of most of the Negroes in the USA and in the Caribbean islands came from West Africa. The slave trade ended only when it ceased to be profitable.

To this day the people of Nigeria suffer from foreign exploitation, although its forms have changed significantly. British colonialists ship from our country valuable products and raw

materials and give almost nothing in return. For instance, 70 per cent of the ores mined in our country are shipped to Britain. This is a direct result of the fact that Nigeria is not a free country. Britain trades with independent countries on a different basis—she pays for the goods she buys.

Much could be said about the unhappy lot of our country, about the lag in its development through no fault of our people. But I shall confine myself to two examples: first, the Nigerian worker's remuneration for ten days' work approximates to the earnings of an English worker for one day; second, the annual income of the Nigerian peasant is half the weekly earnings of a British worker.

Colonial dependence on Britain was forced on us, but our people never became reconciled to it. A free and independent Nigeria has long been the dream of our people. The idea of freedom was first proclaimed by those of our countrymen who received an education and who as a result realized the true meaning of colonialism.

The independence movement has been complicated because of the mixed composition of the population. We have 280 national groups and tribes.

The colonial rulers have always feared the united movement of the Nigerians for independence, for it jeopardizes their domination. To ward off this danger they resorted to the old divide and rule policy, splitting the country into separate regions with a dominant tribe in each. This artificial division into Northern, Western and Eastern provinces was lauded as an "achievement." "Without us," the colonialists asserted, "the bigger tribes would have exploited the rest. We are here to prevent them from doing so." This device, however, did not deceive our people. "Rule by our own countrymen," they said, "is better than colonial rule."

Forward-looking people in Nigeria who are determined to achieve independence have formed a number of political parties which are representative of the entire country. The most powerful of these, formed after the Second World War, is the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons.

It is led by Dr. Azikiwe, a prominent leader of the independence movement. In his youth Dr. Azikiwe, like so many Africans, endured hardships. In the '30s he graduated from a university in the United States and, upon returning to his homeland, began to fight for an end to British rule. Branches of this party function throughout Nigeria. The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons has set itself the task of delivering the country from the colonial yoke, for a democratic constitution and a united country.

The growth of the liberation movement has alarmed the colonialists. They have taken measures to restrict the movement, to split it and to tame it. The chiefs of the Northern and Western clans were advised by the colonialists to form their own political parties. Thus there appeared the Action Group led by Awolowo in Western Nigeria, and the People's Congress in Northern Nigeria headed by Emir Sardauna of Sokoto. But the British plans went awry. For, despite disagreements, all three parties stand for independence.

In conformity with the divide and rule policy the three parts of Nigeria are administered along different lines.

Western Nigeria is the sphere of influence of the Action Group. The franchise here is limited, and the elected bodies are headed by the clan chiefs.

Northern Nigeria, with a largely Moslem population, is governed by Emirs. Government bodies are elected, but the Emirs enjoy privileges which prevent the people from actively participating in public life. Power is concentrated in a privileged group which champions its own interests. The Emirs are members of the People's Congress of Northern Nigeria.

Eastern Nigeria has a local parliament and government which are elected by the people. Here both men and women enjoy suffrage. The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons plays the leading role in public life and is fighting for national independence. The representatives of this party have demanded in the Federal Parliament that the question of Nigerian independence be placed before the British Government.

Independence has been the subject of heated discussion at four conferences. The debates revealed different viewpoints concerning the future of our country. For instance, the Emirs of the Northern provinces, fearing that independence would deprive them of their privileges, although at first they agreed with this demand, stipulated, unlike the representatives of the other parties, that it be postponed for 30 years. Later, at the London Conference of 1957, the leaders of the People's Congress sided with the demand for immediate independence.

What was the reaction of the British authorities? Their spokesman said: "Britain is not against your independence. But you must come to an agreement with regard to the conditions that would satisfy all the Nigerian tribes."

The colonialists have resorted to various devices in order to delay granting independence. They insisted that the conferences to "draw up the constitution" be held not in Nigeria, where the people could exercise more influence over their work, but in London, under Colonial Office control.

In making hypocritical statements to the effect that they were anxious about the small tribes, Colonial Office officials sought one pretext after another to put off granting independence. They sent a special commission to Nigeria to ascertain the views of the tribes. The outcome was by no means to the liking of the Colonial Office. Our people were solid for independence. The British Government followed up the commission by calling a new conference in 1958.

Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated that Britain would agree to independence for Nigeria provided separate states were formed in the country, adding that she was "ready to watch" their development till 1965. The colonialists raised numerous questions which they wanted settled as a preliminary condition to discussing independence. But the views of our people were emphatically expressed by Dr. Azikiwe, Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria. Upon arriving in London for talks on the future constitution, he said: "We believe that independence is the most important question. In this respect the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons cannot compromise." The Nigerian delegates firmly declared that the number one task was independence. The details could be worked out later.

In view of the need for a general election in the country and a settlement of other matters, the Nigerian delegation agreed to postpone the proclamation of independence from April to October 1, 1960.

At present the draft constitution is being drawn up. It will proclaim the basic rights of the citizens, freedom of speech and freedom in the practice of religion. According to the draft, direction of foreign policy, finance, trade, army and navy will be in the hands of the federal government, which will also be responsible for higher education. Jurisdiction of the regional governments will extend to public health, primary and secondary education, transport, etc.

In the East and West, electoral rights will be enjoyed by both men and women, in the North only by males. The National Council has agreed to this restriction in the North in order to pre-

serve the unity attained by all the regional governments.

The 1959 elections will substantially influence the final elaboration of the constitution. In campaigning for these elections each party will have its own policy.

The Action Group led by Awolowo advocates membership in the British Commonwealth and consolidation of ties with the Western countries. It also champions free enterprise.

The People's Congress is also of the opinion that Nigeria should remain in the Commonwealth. In its program the Congress stresses the necessity for friendly relations with the Moslem countries. It has no economic program of its own.

The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons, which does not raise the question of leaving the British Empire, stands for a Pan-African Union and relations with the socialist countries.

Guided by the desire to consolidate the unity of the people, the National Council holds that electoral co-operation with the People's Congress is possible. This decision is prompted by the latter's support for friendly relations with the Arab East. A bloc of the National Council and

the People's Congress would be in line with the actual situation in the country despite the fact that the chiefs and Emirs in the People's Congress have no economic program of their own and stand first and foremost for their own particular privileges.

This problem will be discussed at the congress of the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons. It will not be easy for its leaders to secure adoption of their proposals, because there are in the party different groups with contradictory views. For instance, some want a close alliance with the West. An influential youth organization in the Council insists on leaving the Commonwealth and co-operating with all countries. It is difficult to say which viewpoint will prevail. We, however, are waiting impatiently for 1960, the year when Nigeria's independence will be proclaimed.

We are determined to cement the solidarity of our people in the name of our great aim—national independence. I feel sure that the majority of the people of Africa, still suffering under the colonial yoke, will take the path chosen by Nigeria—the path of freedom and democracy.

Lagos

Basil MICHAEL

NEW BOOKS

Below are listed a few of the many interesting Marxist works that have been published recently. The list will be continued in forthcoming issues of the magazine.

- W. Bartel, *Die Linken in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie im Kampf gegen Militarismus und Krieg*. (The Struggle Waged by the Left Social Democrats in Germany against Militarism and War). Berlin, 1958, 640 pages.
- T. I. Berend, es Ranki Gy. *A monopolkapitalizmus kialakulása és uralma Magyarországon. 1900-1944*. (The Rise and Domination of Monopoly Capitalism in Hungary. 1900-1944). Budapest, 1958, 95 pages.
- Блюмин И. Г. *О современной буржуазной политической экономии*. Москва, 1958, 158 стр.
- I. G. Blumin, *Contemporary Bourgeois Political Economy*. Moscow, 1958, 158 pages.
- R. O. Gropp, *Der dialektische Materialismus. Kurzer Abriss*. (Dialectical Materialism. A Brief Essay). Leipzig, 1958, 96 pages.
- I. Dobi, *Szocialista mezogazdaság—gazdag parasztelek*. (Cikkek és beszédek. 1957-1958.) *Socialist Agriculture—Prosperous Peasants* (Articles and Speeches. 1957-1958). Budapest, 1958, 242 pages.
- Зверев А. Г. *Вопросы национального дохода и финансов СССР*. Москва, 1958, 242 стр.
- A. G. Zverev, *The National Income and Finance in the USSR*. Moscow, 1958, 242 pages.
- PCR—*conducatorul luptei maselor populare pentru consolidarea si dezvoltarea regimului democrat-popular* (6 martie 1945-30 decembrie 1947). (Communist Party of Rumania—Leader of the Mass Struggle to Consolidate and Develop the People's Democratic System: March 6, 1945-December 30, 1947). Bucharest, 1958, 64 pages.
- Nguyen Khas Dam. *Nhu'ng thu doan boc lot cua tu ban Phap o'Vietnam*. (Methods of French Capitalist Exploitation in Vietnam). Hanoi, 1958, 158 pages.
- K. Piwarski, *Watykan a faszyzm*. (The Vatican and Fascism). Warsaw, 1958, 170 pages.
- D. N. Pritt, and F. Freeman. *The Law Versus the Trade Unions*. London, 1958, 128 pages.
- Ревизионизм — главная опасность. Из опыта борьбы коммунистических и рабочих партий против современного ревизионизма. Сборник статей. Москва, 1958, 469 стр.
- Revisionism—the Main Danger. (The Struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties Against Modern Revisionism). A collection of articles. Moscow, 1958, 469 pages.
- Les pays sous-developpés. ("Recherches internationales," No. 8). (Underdeveloped Countries). Paris, 1958, 206 pages.
- J. Suret-Canale, *Afrique Noire occidentale et centrale*. (Geographie, civilisations, histoire). (Western and Central Black Africa: Geography, Culture, History). Paris, 1958, 288 pages.
- J. Fucik, *Pokoleni pred Petrem*. (Stati, clanky a pozustalost z let 1938-1942). (The Generation Before Peter: Articles and Notes. 1938-1942). Prague, 1958, 263 pages.
- Nhung loi keu goi cua Ho Chu Tich. Tap 4. (Thang chin 1956—Thang chap 1957). (Ho Chi Minh. Works. Vol. 4: September 1956-December 1957). Hanoi, 1958, 192 pages.
- S. Schwann, *Korespondencje Karola Marksa do Wroclawskiej "Neue Oder-Zeitung"*. (Letters by Karl Marx to the Wroclaw newspaper "Neue Oder-Zeitung"). Poznan, 1958, 267 pages.
- L. Stern, *Der Einfluss der Grossen Sozialistischen October-revolution auf Deutschland und die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung*. (The Impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on Germany and the German Working-Class Movement). Berlin, 1958, 356 pages.
- Economicke a socialni podminky a dusledky automaizace v kapitalismu a socialismu. (Economic and Social Conditions and Consequences of Automation under Capitalism and Socialism). Prague, 1958, 110 pages.

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