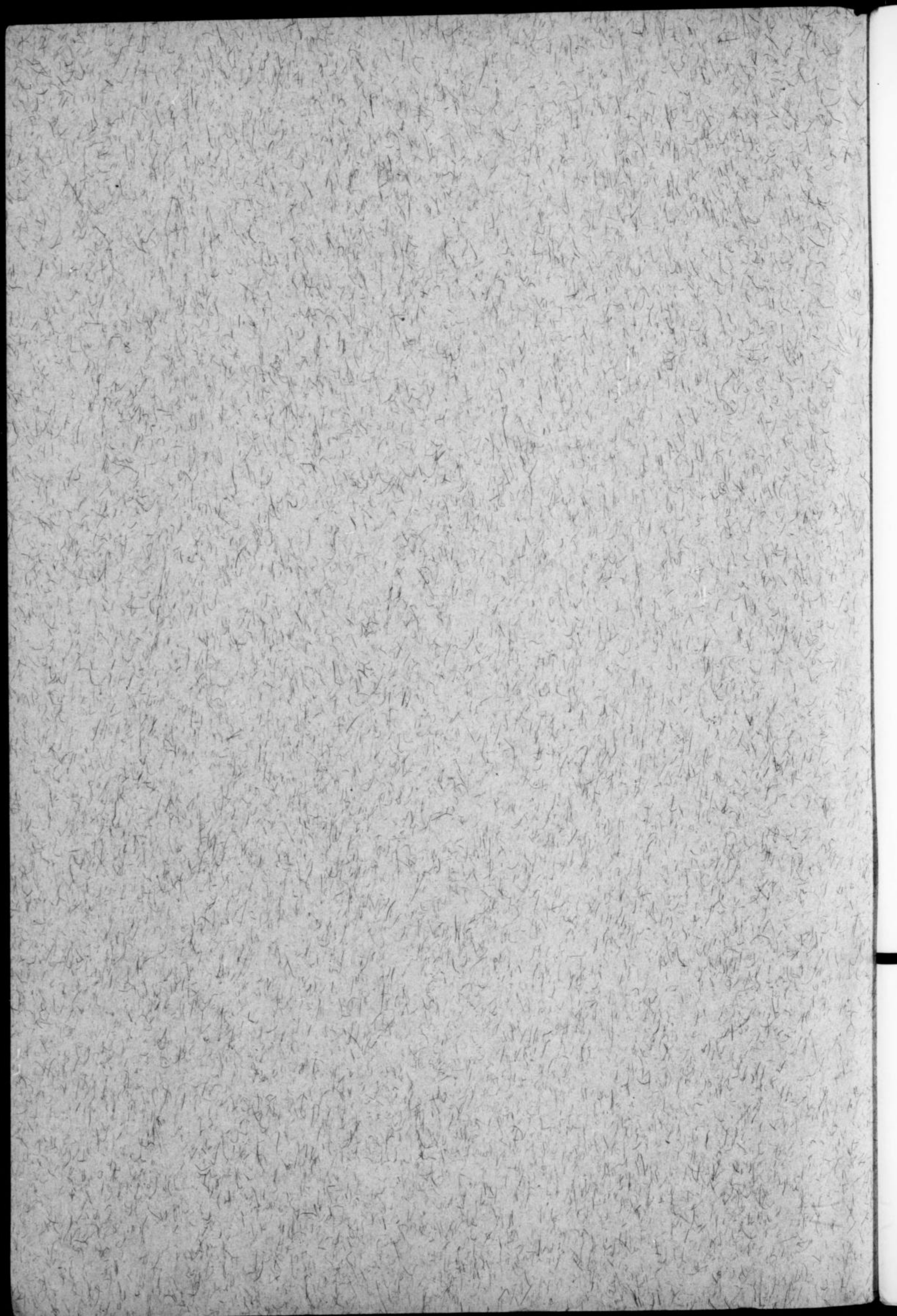


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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World Marxist Review:**Problems of Peace and Socialism**Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties**CONTENTS**

M. REIMANN: Unity in the Fight for Peace	3
V. SPANO: Some Problems of the World Peace Movement	10
PO YI-PO: Centralism and Democracy in the Chinese Economy	18
T. STEPANYAN: Communism and the Spiritual Poverty of Its Critics	21
R. ARISMENDI: On the Role of the National Bourgeoisie in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle	29
BACHIR HADJ ALL: The Present Stage in the Liberation Struggle in Algeria	40
J. KANAPA: At the Crossroads (Reflections on the Meeting between Bevan, Nenni and Mendès-France)	48
I. MACEK: Who Benefits from "People's Shares"?	56

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

S. JEDRYCHOWSKI: Socialism on the March	61
G. BRICHOT: France: Gains for the Communist Party	64
For Better Inner-Party Work	65
V. VLADIMIROV: Soviet Worker-Peasant Newspaper Correspondents	67
J. JIMENEZ: Progressive Juntas in Costa Rica	69
SHORT NOTICES	70

DOCUMENTS

Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of Six West European Countries	73
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REVIEWS

S. VISKOV: Socialist Co-operation of Nations	75
K. BRUNTON: Affluence, for Whom?	79
O. WALBAUM: "Wissen und Tat"	85

LETTERS AND NOTES

M. VALENTI: Class Struggles in Italy	87
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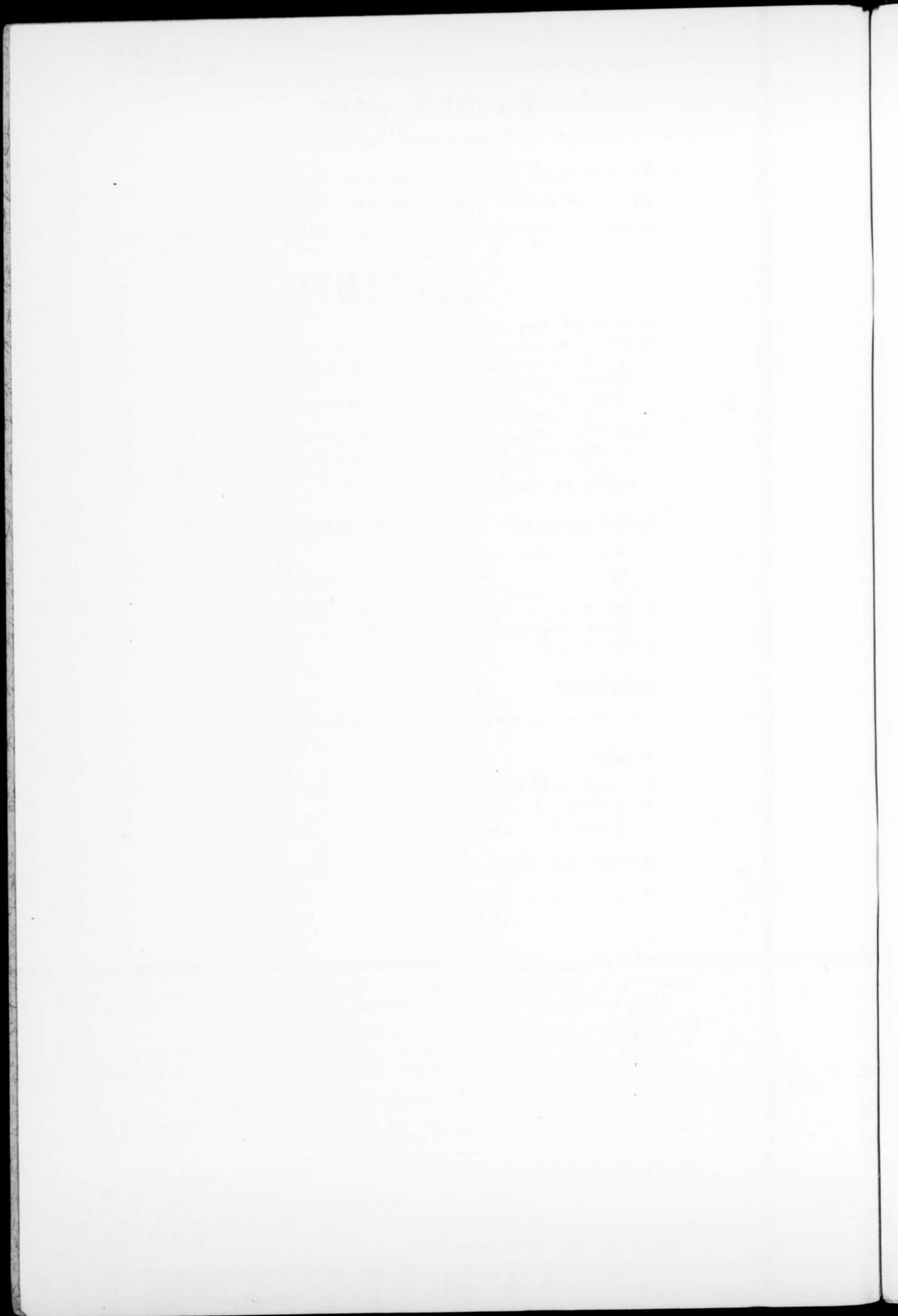
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Unity in the Fight for Peace

Max Reimann

THE German working class and all freedom-loving Germans are faced with a task of cardinal importance — to restrain and curb the growth of imperialism and militarism in West Germany. The Communist Party of Germany, which has taken the lead in this, is working to win the support of the masses and to strengthen the influence of the forces in West Germany standing for peace, mutual understanding and social progress. The way to peace and a German settlement lies through a peace treaty with Germany and a confederation of the two states.

There are two main forces in the country. On the one hand, the working class and all peace partisans, who have a solid base in the German Democratic Republic whose policy is winning more and more support in West Germany. And on the other hand, the imperialists and militarists — the architects of the Bonn state who, for purposes of internal policy, use this state as an instrument for suppressing the masses; for foreign-policy purposes it is used for preparing military aggression.

The German imperialists pursue predatory aims. Adhering to the old revanchist concepts, they are, in fact, carrying on the Nazi policy, partly disguised in new forms. Like Hitler, his revanchist successors are inciting aggression against the East. In the Bundestag and in the last election campaign Chancellor Adenauer and Minister of Defense Strauss described the Soviet Union as "the mortal enemy" and threatened to bring it to its knees by the notorious "positions of strength" policy. Loudly declaring that they would never recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier, they have added grist to the mills of chauvinism and revanchism. The German militarists, however, are planning aggression not only against the East, they also have secret plans for annexing Alsace-Lorraine and other regions in the West.

The Bonn rulers, apparently blind to the fact that the balance of forces in the world has changed radically in favor of the camp of peace and socialism, hope to complete the atomic armament of the Federal Republic by 1961. Their idea is to secure a German settlement by forcibly annexing the Democratic Republic; and they are angling for the support of the USA and other NATO members in pursuit of their criminal design to unleash

atomic war. Clearly, the danger to the German people and to the other European nations from German imperialism is increasing.

The statement issued by fifteen Communist and Workers' parties in June 1958 justly pointed out:

"Atomic and rocket weapons in the hands of the Federal Republic of Germany are even more dangerous because the right to control these lethal weapons will be vested in the old Hitler generals and SS officers, in the butchers of Oradour and Lidice, in the wholesale-annihilation experts of Oswiecim and Buchenwald."

These same evil forces of the past, those responsible for the annihilation of countless numbers of people both in Germany and in the occupied countries, have become respectable again and hold high posts.

More than 600 Nazi lawyers, including 450 judges of the Hitler special courts and 150 former military judges, occupy key positions in the judicial machine. It is common knowledge that under the Potsdam Agreement fascist organizations were to be dissolved, and militarist and revanchist propaganda prohibited. The Bonn government, however, with the backing of the Western powers, annulled the ban on the National-Socialist Party with the result that now over 1,000 SS and ex-soldiers' unions act as they think fit in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin.

Under conditions of imperialist and militarist rule, the fascist theory of the "master race" and nationalist venom have been revived. Hardly a day goes by without anti-Semitic outrages. The organizers of racial hatred are to be found in the Adenauer "psychological war" headquarters, headed by State Secretary Globke, ex-Nazi Schroeder, now Minister of the Interior, Oberlaender, a former SS commander, and Taubert, who functioned as Goebbels' anti-Comintern "expert."

The more the imperialists and militarists fasten their grip on economic and political positions the more brazenly they attack democratic rights and liberties. The Communist Party, the only party in the Federal Republic which since 1945 has fought persistently for the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, for a peace-loving and democratic Germany, has been banned; proscribed too are the Free German Youth Union, the De-

mocratic Women's Union, the German-Soviet Friendship Society, and many other organizations working for peace, mutual understanding and friendship among the nations.

* * *

To the question: why has West Germany developed along these lines since 1945, there is but one answer — the continued split in the working-class movement.

In the German Democratic Republic, thanks to the unity achieved by the working class, to the merger in 1946 of the Social-Democratic and Communist parties into the Socialist Unity Party, the militarists have lost their power forever. Unity has paved the way for a development along democratic lines, for the re-education of all Germans in the spirit of peace and friendship among the nations. Consequently the healing of the split in the working-class movement in the GDR was of the greatest importance.

Today, 14 years after the Second World War, taking cognizance of the basic difference in the two lines of development, we are entitled to state that the monopolists and militarists would never have been able to raise their heads in West Germany had the split in the working-class movement been overcome throughout the country. And the conclusion we Communists should draw from this is that still greater efforts must be made to achieve working-class unity.

Now that the fiasco of Adenauer's policy is obvious to all, with the result that he has had to relinquish the post of Chancellor, it is more urgent than ever before to carry out this task. Everyone now sees that the Adenauer era may be ended quickly and that a new policy is likely, the policy on which the Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists and representatives of other sections of the population are insisting. But this depends on unity. We consider, therefore, that the primary task of our Party is to convince all its members of the new and greater opportunities for joint action and, in this way, overcome the sectarianism, which in many cases still blocks the way to negotiations and unity with the membership of the Social Democratic Party and its organizations.

In West Germany this problem boils down to the need for better co-operation between Communists and Social Democrats at all levels — in the enterprises and in the trade unions, in the towns and the villages, between the organizations and their leading bodies — in order to expedite joint action in defense of peace.

Only if the entire working class, its parties and organizations rally in the fight for peace and act in close co-operation will it be possible to curb the German imperialists and militarists. This is the decisive lesson of the past and of the recent history of the working-class movement in Germany. "The united front of the labor movement," said Wilhelm Pieck at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, "represents such an increase of strength as to make it a powerful force of attraction for the mass of proletarians who are still not class conscious, detaching them from the bourgeois parties and enrolling them in the class struggle."

These words, uttered in 1935, retain their significance for our struggle. The condition for working-class unity is a common interest in combating militarism. On the basis of the things that are affecting and worsening the conditions of the people, we say that all the misfortunes of West Germany stem from the rebirth of militarism and imperialism. Defense of peace necessitates active resistance to atomic armament in the Federal Republic, to the squandering of millions on war preparations; it calls, too, for resolute action against the attacks on democratic rights, and for the rapprochement of the two German states, for a confederation and, above all, for a peace treaty.

In charting its strategy and tactics the Communist Party proceeds from the need to take the working class and the people generally step by step to the point where they will wage consistent struggle against militarism and imperialism. It aims at turning the various trends and movements for social demands, for the rights of the working people, against the danger of atomic war, into a broad political struggle. In doing so, the Party takes into account the complex situation in the country where, in addition to factors hindering the unity of the peace forces, there is a steadily developing tendency towards unity.

The contradictions between rulers and ruled are becoming more acute in the Federal Republic. The aggressive, revenge-seeking élite of monopoly capital and its spokesmen in the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, pursuing a NATO policy, are countered by forces among all sections of the population, forces which stand for a genuinely national policy, a policy of peace.

The end of Adenauer's career as Chancellor is striking proof that in recent months there has been much re-thinking in West Germany,

even at top levels among the bourgeoisie. This process, which was spurred on by the scientists' protests against the use of atomic energy for military purposes, has found striking expression in the popular movement against atomic death. Despite Government proscription of a referendum against atomic armament, the movement has gained in scope, particularly in the form of meetings, strikes and demonstrations. Actively participating in the campaign are Paster Niemoeller and other clergymen.

The need for a peaceful solution of the German problem through a peace treaty and the formation of a confederation is penetrating to the minds of the masses, particularly the youth. At the students' congress sponsored by the Student Committee Against Atomic Armament of the Federal Republic, the delegates, overcoming the resistance of Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders like Schmidt and Brandt, spoke in favor of talks on the question of a peace treaty and the formation of a confederation of the two states.

Noteworthy, too, is the desire of the big West German industrialists to establish direct contact with representatives of the Democratic Republic.

Peace supporters are becoming increasingly active in the bourgeois parties, especially in the Free Democratic Party whose deputies together with the Social Democrats form the opposition in the Bundestag. A similar process is taking place even in the ruling Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, and especially among their rank and file members who realize more and more that the policy of atomic blackmail pursued by their leaders has little in common with the Christian name of the party. Rank and file discontent is echoed to a certain extent by some of the leaders who want a more "flexible policy"; they helped, through the departure of Adenauer, to remove the number one disturber of the peace from the post of Chancellor.

And so despite the difference in the conditions of the various strata of the population and their different interests, more and more people in the Federal Republic are becoming convinced that the Atlantic (American) concept of intimidation through strength, a concept zealously upheld by the Bonn government, gravely damages the national interests and imperils the security of the people. This conviction is growing under the impact of such objective factors as:

—the might of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union's outstanding achievements in science and technology, and also the success of the German Democratic Republic and its international prestige;

—crisis symptoms in the West German economy and the Federal Republic's increased need for normal trade with the socialist countries;

—the inner contradictions in the Western alliance giving rise to economic and political complications in West Germany and forcefully demonstrating the failure of Adenauer's policy.

The developments in West Germany have had their impact on the Social-Democratic Party, too. Two viewpoints have come to the fore: on the one hand, growing numbers of members and functionaries are insisting on action against atomic armament and militarism, and, on the other, some Right-wing leaders — Brandt and Erler, for example — are seeking to bring the SDPG policy closer to that of the government party. In this respect, a far-reaching resolution on military policy was adopted last October by a group of Social-Democratic deputies. This resolution not only urged the Social-Democratic youth to volunteer for the Bonn-NATO army, it even suggested co-operation in Strauss' "psychological war."

The resolution evoked so much indignation in the party that even leading functionaries were forced to protest. For example, Deputy Arno Behrisch wrote: "It would be more advisable to send Social-Democratic members of parliament and functionaries to the factories in order to get acquainted with the real state of affairs and with the source of their political strength. The decision taken on October 14 brings us into the fatal wake of the battleship.* The consequences of that policy are well known."

The unsound basis on which their collaboration with the Bonn militarists rests can be seen from the fact that up till now the SDPG leaders have aligned themselves with the policy of the Western powers; the pursuance of a genuinely German policy would necessitate explaining to the people, particularly to the youth, the aggressive character of the Bundeswehr, the aggressive aims of NATO and the Hitler generals, and organizing resistance to militarism. In this respect the Frankfurt meeting of the Young Socialists and the "Falcons" correctly stressed that the

*The allusion is to the suggestions made in 1928 by a Right Social Democrat, Hermann Mueller, to build a battleship. This example indicates that after World War I the Social Democratic leaders again supported a militarist policy.

Bonn army is an instrument of the ruling class against the organized workers and that its nature is always determined by the character of the social relations.

The idea of working-class unity is being taken up by growing numbers of Social-Democratic workers and functionaries. They justly believe that the stronger the working class and all peace supporters, the firmer will be security in Europe. This lofty idea was the keynote of the IXth All-German Workers' Conference attended by 1,100 West German delegates, and of the meeting of 450 Social-Democratic functionaries in Leipzig (March 1959). It was embodied in the appeal to oppose militarism, together with the Democratic Republic, and to campaign for a peace treaty.

Social-Democratic organizations in Munich, Iserlohn and Ruesselsheim and the district conference of the Cologne Social Democrats adopted resolutions rejecting any collaboration with the Adenauer government and insisting that the Social Democratic Party should have its own stand on the question of peace, which is vital to the people.

These facts and, above all, the pressure exerted by the many Social-Democratic organizations, functionaries and committees insisting on an independent German policy, have prompted the SDPG leadership to place before the public a "German plan" based on the idea of easing tension. It recognizes the need for a peace treaty with Germany, and reflects a more realistic attitude towards the German Democratic Republic. Although the plan is contradictory and not entirely consistent, we nevertheless regard it as proof that we can work together to realize its aims in the interests of peace. We shall now redouble our efforts to broaden the discussion on vitally important national questions, so that as we go from comrade to comrade, from one factory group to another and from committee to committee, we can discuss the views of both sides and take joint action.

* * *

The development of united action by the working class and a broad, organized popular movement are hindered by a number of factors.

For years the Bonn rulers, banking on the favorable economic situation, had promised an end to crises and an era of prosperity and security, equal opportunity for each irrespective of his place in society. The high level of employment and the increased purchasing power from which part of the working class

benefited were used to boost the false superiority of a "laissez-faire" economy.

The parliamentary forms served to conceal the actual relationships of class domination and subordination, and the rule of imperialism and militarism was palmed off as a free democratic system.

Taking into account the bitter wartime experience of the people, Adenauer poses as an apostle of peace, making declarations "against atomic death in any part of the world"; his purpose is to conceal from the masses that, with the arming of the Federal Republic with atomic weapons, everything is being done to prevent successful talks on ending the arms race and establishing an atom-free zone. The Bonn rulers are camouflaging their war preparations, pretending, as Hitler did before them, that they stand for peace and international understanding.

Many in West Germany are as yet unaware of the danger which this aggressive policy bodes for the people. Many do not understand the essence and character of the Bonn state and its army as an instrument in the hands of the imperialist and revanchist forces which in the past plunged Germany and Europe into two world wars and which are now preparing an atomic war.

And because of this the working class, as the most politically conscious class in the Federal Republic, bears a heavy responsibility for the future of Germany.

Wherever the peace forces succeed in opening the eyes of the people to the war preparations, the people move into action. In Dortmund hundreds of thousands of people from various walks of life protested against the stationing of a British atomic-rocket regiment in the area. Under pressure from the population the city council (including Christian-Democratic councillors) decided to inform the Federal Government of its disagreement with the stationing of this unit. The Dortmund workers declared a general strike, thus expressing their determination to fight against atomic and rocket bases in the Ruhr and throughout West Germany. And despite threats from Defense Minister Strauss and the Minister of the Interior, Schroeder, the struggle in Dortmund is continuing.

This example is of nationwide significance, for it demonstrates the desire of the people for a national peace policy; and shows how united action by the workers takes shape in the struggle, that they are becoming more aware of the duty of the working class to lead the masses in order to halt those who

pursue the criminal policy of atomic armament and threats.

The working-class unity achieved in Dortmund refutes the slander that the masses are not ready to fight for political demands. A high degree of militancy was displayed; during the strikes the ranks of the working class — from Communists to Christian Democrats — were closely united.

On the basis of this experience we flatly reject the sectarian assertions in our own Party to the effect that there can be no joint action with the Social Democrats. Using the Dortmund experience we can show how incorrect and dangerous it is to put the Social-Democratic rank and file and functionaries, and the workers supporting the Social Democratic Party, on a par with the Right-wing leaders such as Brandt, Erler and Deist. The latter actually side with Adenauer, while the Dortmund workers are fighting jointly for security, against the atomic policy.

In order to promote joint action it is essential to explain the link between the arms policy of the Bonn rulers and the fall in the standard of living of the working people. As was the case before the two world wars, German militarism is steering a course to reduce consumption, explaining this as the need for "national sacrifice." In this way it is planned to extract from the working people thousands of millions for atomic armament. This is accompanied by a sharp rise in the price of meat, milk and other foods, by higher rent and increased charges for water and gas. In view of the fact that last March Strauss spent the record sum of 2.5 billion marks on atomic arms, Finance Minister Etzel has announced a sharp rise in taxes. The social and economic consequences of the crisis, aggravated by the NATO policy, are telling more and more on the working people, resulting in a worsening of their conditions. This is especially the case in the mining, metal-working and textile industries. In 1958 production showed a slight increase in 21 industries, while 19 others, mainly those producing consumer goods, showed a general decline. The conditions of the workers, particularly in the mining, metal-working and textile industries, are characterized by such phenomena as ruthless attacks on the social gains, drives against wages, idle time for which there is no payment, dismissals and speed-up.

The result is that the opportunist theories about the possibility of averting crises in capitalist society and of abolishing class antagonisms no longer greatly influence the working class. Workers are becoming more

and more conscious of their class position. Proof of this was the demonstration of the Ruhr workers against the power of the monopolies. In Bochum 80,000 miners protested against the consequences of the Adenauer armament policy, against the short time and the dismissals. The marchers carried the slogans: "Stop the Dismissals! Reduce the Hours of Labor!" "Stop the Import of American Coal!" "No Rocket Bases in the Ruhr!"

Together with the encroachments on the standard of living, attacks are being made on the remaining democratic liberties. A feature of the growing transformation of Federal Germany into a clerical-militarist state is that after the ban on the Communist Party the supreme judicial bodies passed a number of sentences which affect the right to strike. For example, a heavy fine was imposed on the metal workers' union to indemnify the employers for the strike in Schleswig-Holstein.

Restriction of democratic rights affects not only the working class but all sections of the population. Bans were imposed recently on the Kulturbund and on the Bureau of the North Rhine-Westphalia Peace Committee; the bulletin of the peace movement has been prohibited, articles have been confiscated and the homes of the leaders of the peace movement raided. This is clear proof that the struggle for freedom of activity for the peace movement, the trade unions and all the democratic forces is inseparably linked with the demands to annul the ban on the Communist Party of Germany.

The attempts made by War Minister Strauss and Minister of the Interior Schroeder to secure the enactment of an emergency law testify to the rulers' fear of the active struggle waged by the masses against the reactionary policy. They are anxious to have at their disposal the "legal" means with which to crush popular resistance by force of arms in the event of it spreading further. Should this law be enacted then any demonstration could serve as the pretext for declaring a state of emergency. The Chancellor would then be empowered, by virtue of special ordinances, to annul freedom of assembly, speech and the press, to prohibit strikes, dissolve organizations opposing the Bonn policy, and to use armed force in order to crush the popular protest. The striving to utilize Adenauer's nomination as Federal President for the establishment of one-man dictatorship is worthy of note. In other words, resorting increasingly to fascist methods, the ruling

groups continue to support a discredited policy.

To conceal from the working class and the population generally that the source of the misfortunes and of the mortal danger facing the people lies in imperialism and militarism, the Bonn rulers fall back on their main ideological weapon—incitement against the Soviet Union and communism. By utterly distorting the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, they try to justify atomic armament by pleading the necessity of defense against “the threat from the East.” The purpose of this is to lull the consciousness of the working class and to befuddle the masses. Their lies are backed up by a falsification of history which is channelled to the masses through the schools and colleges, press and cinema, radio and pulpit. They deny the guilt of the German imperialists and militarists in unleashing the two world wars, and endeavor to put the blame for the consequences of the Hitler war on the other powers, primarily on the Soviet Union. And, of course, they blame the Soviet Union for the division of Germany.

How is it that a significant part of the West German population is still taken in by this fraud? By their anti-communist and revanchist propaganda the imperialists are reviving the false and dangerous concepts which for decades had been hammered into the Germans by the chauvinists and the fascists. And whenever any reference is made to the aggressive wars fought by German imperialism the soldiers and generals are depicted as having fought for “a new Europe,” as having had all the chances to win, had not Hitler spoiled things by his political and military dilettantism.

Cognizance is also taken of the fact that among a big section of the population outright nationalist and fascist ideology has been discredited by the 1945 catastrophe. So the old wine is poured into new bottles. At this point recourse is had to the services of some of the top clergy who, for political purposes, abuse the religious sentiments of people who are told that atomic death is morally justified because what is at stake is “defense of the Christian West against the heathen East.” The aggressive aims of NATO, the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market — are all decked in phraseology about the need to overcome national egoism and to abolish frontiers in “a united Europe.”

Lastly, the German imperialists base their crusade against communism on the slogan

of a “free West.” We should not ignore the fact that it is precisely this aspect of their propaganda that can exert a strong influence on some people because the reactionaries have considerable support from the Right-wing Social Democrats. Through slander of the worker-peasant rule in the Democratic Republic, depicting it as “a system in which there is no freedom,” support is given to the militarists’ thesis of “liberation,” i.e., forcible annexation of the GDR.

There can be no doubt that with the further political, economic and cultural successes and the continued development of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and in all the socialist countries, particularly in the GDR, it will be much easier to overcome anti-communism.

It is worth noting that the West German bourgeois propaganda, which hitherto tended to ignore the economic and political success of the Democratic Republic, is now alarmed, fearing that the aim of the GDR — i.e., to catch up with and outstrip Federal Germany in output per head of basic foodstuffs and consumer goods by 1961 — may be realized.

In the course of their struggle (mass actions in the Ruhr and Dortmund) the masses will learn that anti-communism is against their interests which can be upheld only by unity and by resolutely rebuffing the anti-communist inciters.

In these conditions our Party considers that its supreme duty is tirelessly to expose the lies about the Soviet Union and the GDR, to tell the working class and the masses about the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We say to the German people that their misfortune is that militarism, which bears the guilt for the two world wars, was again enabled, after 1945, to re-establish its domination in West Germany. Explaining the danger of imperialism and showing that its aggressive policy is bound to fail, we tell the working class and the masses that the first commandment of national duty is to curb militarism and imperialism.

* * *

Of great help in this struggle is the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Germany. The Soviet Union has proposed that the two German states forego the manufacture, acquisition or testing of nuclear weapons, that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Germany and all military bases be closed. The conclusion of a peace treaty would mean that in West Germany atomic armament would be

ended and militarism and revanchism curbed, i.e., the main obstacles to reunification would be eliminated. With the banning of the fascist and revanchist organizations all the working people in West Germany would have greater freedom and better conditions in the struggle for democratic rights. In fact, all Germans desirous of living in peace and friendship would benefit.

If we bear all this in mind it will become clear why Adenauer rejected the Soviet proposals as being "unacceptable" and why he is doing everything in his power to suppress any discussion of a peace treaty. In this, however, he has failed, because this discussion is already under way in Federal Germany. In our talks with Social-Democratic comrades we stress that, in principle, the Soviet draft treaty corresponds to what has been demanded by many Social-Democratic and trade union organizations.

Previously the Social-Democratic leaders themselves affirmed that atomic armament of the Federal Republic made reunification impossible and called for an atom-free zone in Central Europe. And they have incorporated this important demand in their plan.

The way to this lies through a peace treaty which, as the Soviet draft envisages, would mean no atomic or rocket weapons for the Federal Republic, either imported or of home manufacture. This would remove the obstacles standing in the way of the implementation of proposals to create an atom-free zone and ease military tension in the heart of Europe.

The Social-Democratic press has correctly pointed out that Adenauer's course is fraught with a political Stalingrad. This idea is reiterated by the Social-Democratic leaders in the plan on the German issue. It conflicts, however, with the fact that a group, formed by Erler and supported by 54 Social-Democratic deputies, facilitated the adoption of the decision to reject any foreign policy debate in the Bundestag. And this took place on the day it was decided that Adenauer should relinquish the Chancellorship. In this situation, that is, on the eve of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' conference, the discredited Adenauer policy should be counterposed in parliament by a genuinely German policy.

This decision, it should be said, was opposed by 47 Social-Democratic deputies who, undoubtedly, acted in accordance with the opinions of the vast majority of the Social-Democratic rank and file and functionaries. They say: we should take advantage of the favorable situation not only to replace people,

but to substitute a policy of peace and mutual understanding for Adenauer's policy.

The XXIst Congress of the CPSU clearly demonstrated to all realists the blind alley into which the obdurate Adenauer policy of bitter animosity towards the Soviet Union has led the Federal Republic. The Congress of the builders of communism emphasized that at present the positions of German militarism, even in alliance with U.S. imperialism, are weaker than was the case before the first and second world wars. Consequently, the logical outcome of any aggression against the GDR and the socialist camp would be the transformation of West Germany into a zone of death.

Karl Gerold, publisher and chief editor of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, wrote: "The Adenauer policy of reunification has exhausted itself. Consequently, it should be the job of the Germans in the West to elaborate peace proposals based on recognition of the existence of the GDR, on recognition of the fact that confederation, perhaps, is the last chance to unite the Germans of the East and the West."

In view of this, any politician who believes that our people are genuinely interested in peace should be for unity of the working class and of all the people against the fatal policy of militarists and revanchists, should be for talks between the Federal and Democratic republics concerning a peace treaty and a confederation of the two states.

The working class and all freedom-loving West Germans expect that the Social-Democratic leaders will work for an independent German policy in line with the aspirations of most of the social-democratic organizations; and, above all, they expect resolute action.

The proposals put forward by the Communist Party of Germany and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the SDPG leadership, organizations and membership, have this end in view. And it is becoming increasingly clear that the SDPG members, functionaries and entire organizations, despite the still negative attitude of the leadership, approve the proposals set forth in the Socialist Unity Party's plan, and are in favor of joint action by the workers' parties.

Many Social Democrats will find the answer to their searching for a new West German policy, for a real alternative to the discredited concept of the West German rulers, in the proposals of the GDR Government aimed at preserving peace and reuniting Germany as a peaceful and democratic state,

and in the Soviet draft treaty. We on our part are doing our best to inaugurate a broad discussion of these constructive proposals among the working class, among Social Democrats and among all sections of the population.

We shall tirelessly explain to the Social Democrats the community of our interests, and the affinity of their interests and those of the working people in the Democratic Republic. We should use the experience gained in recent months in order to show them that as long as leaders such as Erler and Brandt pursue a pro-militarist policy, the policy of their party will be doomed to failure and the interests of the working people

gravely damaged. The cause of peace and German reunification requires that the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Association should cast off the chains binding them to the monopolists and militarists and to unilateral orientation on the imperialist states and should display the will to establish normal relations with the GDR and with all the socialist countries.

Only through co-operation and a militant alliance of the working class and all the peace forces against the common enemy, against the aggressive monopolies, militarists and atomic politicians, will it be possible to preserve peace and ensure the national regeneration of Germany.

Some Problems of the World Peace Movement

Velio Spano

Ten years have passed since the First World Peace Congress (Paris-Prague, April 1949). Much has been done during this period. Using the experience gained, the peace movement is now planning new forms of activity.

In the following article Senator Velio Spano, an active peace champion in Italy, gives his views on some important aspects of this great movement of our times.

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THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT is celebrating its tenth anniversary. On this occasion conferences and public meetings are being organized to define its tasks on the basis of the experience accumulated during the past ten years. The Communists, too, active participants in this movement, should define their attitude to the problems which have arisen in recent years.

The first point we have to make is this: if we look at the peace forces today, as represented by their various organizations in different parts of the world, we will get a clear picture of the long path that had to be traversed before the peoples realized the political importance of an organized peace movement for all mankind, before the movement acquired its mass character. By its worldwide campaigns and through the everyday activity of its national and local councils the movement has made a signal contribution. It

has helped to awaken the peoples, drawn them into the solution of international issues and, lastly, in different places and in a variety of ways has aroused and rallied more and more supporters.

The Scale of the Peace Movements

New peace forces have appeared in the world. Some of them arose together with the world movement and are linked with it: this was the case in Japan where the movement against nuclear weapons immediately began to exert a profound influence on the masses; this was the case in the political and public circles influenced by the Indian National Congress; this was also the case in Australia and in Scandinavia among the Christian organizations and trade unions. Other peace forces arose independently of our movement and have no contact with it. This is the case, for instance, with the British movement for nuc-

lear disarmament sponsored by Canon Collins and Bertrand Russell; the Reconciliation Movement initiated by Christians in some Western countries, and, lastly, the great movements associated with German Social Democracy and the British Labor Party.

The growth of the peace forces not connected with the world movement is a noteworthy political phenomenon. Indeed, two somewhat contradictory, but none the less real, features are characteristic of these movements. On the one hand, their leaders have in recent times become even more distrustful of the World Peace Movement in which much work is done by the Communists. They fear that their actions might coincide with the steps taken by Soviet diplomacy. The reason for this is an erroneous and at times deliberately distorted assessment of certain events (e.g., in Hungary) which are seized upon by the enemies of socialism for unleashing a furious anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign. On the other hand, these movements have formulated slogans and political platforms similar to those of the World Peace Movement.

Despite their leaders' distrust of our movement, we regard these forces as a positive factor. This should be stated clearly and definitely. Yet it is equally clear that the contradictory character of these peace forces confronts us, the Communists, as it does all peace champions, with a definite political task: to do everything in our power to consolidate all that we and they have in common in our political views and, by our practical work, remove any grounds for the completely unjustified lack of confidence in us.

Before tackling this political problem we must state with satisfaction that these forces are developing, and although at first glance it may seem that their appearance had nothing to do with the World Peace Movement, our movement welcomes their development. We are far from thinking that they arose because of a tactical need to compete with the World Peace Movement. We believe in the sincerity and noble aspirations of the millions of men and women who participate in the movements initiated by Canon Collins, the Labor Party and German Social Democracy, of those who fight for peace together with German and American scientists, even though these movements are unwilling to establish contact with us. We are always ready — as the Moscow meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council stressed — wholeheartedly to support their efforts. We can but note, however, that these forces arose

and developed under the slogans and on the basis of the experience of the *World Peace Movement*. Had it not been for the ten years' struggle of the latter, it is quite possible that these movements would not have developed in Britain, West Germany and the United States; in any case they would not have acquired such a mass character nor such clarity of purpose. That is why the peace partisans, including the Communists, note with pride the remarkable growth of the peace forces. Thanks to this growth the situation has changed and, consequently, the conditions in which our movement operates.

There are, then, forces working for peace independently of our movement; but there is in addition another great force working jointly with our movement and, at times, merging with it. This is the national-liberation struggle in the colonies and in the dependent countries. In our world-wide movement the numbers of representatives of the peoples fighting for liberation are growing and their role has increased considerably in recent years. This fact, which has posed new problems to the movement, was immediately taken into consideration, as can be seen from the Delhi session of the Bureau in March 1958 and from the Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation (1958). It is not surprising, therefore, that the new problems engaged the attention of the Moscow meeting of the Bureau in February this year.

The Problem of Colonialism

The discussion of new problems at this meeting revealed two main, and in a sense (but only *in a sense* as we shall see later) contradictory, factors. On the one hand, it became clear that it would be impossible to preserve the international character of the movement, its strength and influence among the public, were we to ignore or underestimate the contribution made to our movement and to the defense of peace in general by the national-liberation struggle. On the other hand, it would be impossible to do this, were we to regard the national-liberation struggle as the main force of the movement, that is, were we to approach it in the same way as many public personalities in the Afro-Asian countries do. In recent years the peace supporters have come to this first conclusion: it is necessary to specify the political basis and the character of the movement, take into account the immense contribution made to it and to the cause of peace in general by the peoples battling for independence, and simul-

taneously to maintain and extend the contacts with the other peace forces developing independently of the world movement.

This conclusion does not, of course, exhaust the problem. It should be recognized that parallel with the growing importance of the Afro-Asian countries a regrouping of forces has taken place within the movement: it is now developing rapidly in the colonies and former colonies, whereas in some capitalist countries it has begun to show signs of stagnation and even decline. This is true of some West European countries, but not of Japan, Australia, the Latin American countries and others. But the fact is an obvious one, and it cannot be disregarded.

This situation, new by virtue of its political elements and the relationship of the national forces in the movement, is the source of a variety of trends and perspectives which manifested themselves at the Stockholm Congress (1958) and in the subsequent period.

The first question prompted by the different rates of growth of the movement in West European and other countries is this: what is more important — the developments in Western Europe or those in the other countries? And say we had to choose, where would our choice fall: on the peace movement in the European capitalist countries or in the other parts of the world? A clear answer to this is contained in the resolution on the Cold War adopted at the Moscow session of the Bureau: the movement in one country or in a group of countries cannot be given preference over that in another country or in another group of countries. Our job is to further the movement of peace supporters and of all peace forces everywhere.

Still, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the war danger is most serious in Europe, that this region is the main arena where there are forces preparing to unleash war. There are two reasons why the peace partisans should not be diverted from what is taking place in Europe: a) the old world still remains the cockpit of the struggle for peace; b) any weakening of the peace forces in Europe and in the capitalist world generally would deepen the contradictions, and counterpose Europe even more to the other parts of the world — the socialist camp and the Afro-Asian countries. Objectively, this would activate the "positions of strength" policy and increase the danger of a conflict. In the final analysis, the peace forces would certainly triumph, but there is the danger that victory

would have to be won through war, whereas we want to achieve it by peaceful means.

The resolutions of the Moscow session of the Bureau of the World Peace Council do not rule out (nor could it be otherwise) differences within the movement, expressed in different assessments and views on the present situation. These differences are perfectly natural in such a comprehensive movement as the World Peace Movement in which Communists and bourgeois democrats, materialists and idealists, people of diverse views and walks of life, take part. Today these differences are revealed mainly in the discussion of one of the fundamental problems: what should be its attitude to imperialism and colonialism?

Two Approaches to the Problem of Colonialism

There are few people nowadays who would openly defend colonialism. Certainly, no participant in the peace movement will do so. And yet there is a tendency in the movement to ignore the problems arising from colonialism or, at least, to underestimate and neglect them. This tendency is engendered by the basically sound conviction that the World Peace Movement cannot be identified with the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle. In recent times many delegates to meetings and congresses of the movement had the impression that our British friends are most prone to this tendency. This is understandable, since the British peace supporters are preoccupied with such a grave problem as the threat of atomic death. But it is equally understandable that the problem should be regarded differently in other countries. In many of these, for example, people are less worried by the threat of nuclear war than by the danger of finding themselves under the heel of a colonial gendarme. In Japan, in addition to the threat of atomic death there is the danger of losing national independence. In the United States, the problems associated with atomic danger are not the source of worry that they are in Britain.

Then there is the opposite tendency: to regard the anti-colonial and, consequently, the anti-imperialist struggle as the basic thing and to switch the *entire* peace movement to this struggle. This view is natural in the countries suffering from colonialist repressions or threatened with such repressions. Most of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries can be taken as an example. Clearly, this problem does not worry the other peace fighters, for example, the British, to

the same extent. In any case, the two tendencies exist and engender the two one-sided views on the subject of peace. The Moscow session of the Bureau declared with good reason that both tendencies were unacceptable because of their one-sidedness and should, therefore, be regarded from the angle of taking into account the just points contained in each.

The Fight for Peace Is not a Tactical Maneuver

It should be clearly stated that from the standpoint of tactics this question is not exhausted by calculations concerning the number of friends the first or second tendency can attract to or alienate from the movement. The peace supporter in Britain is undoubtedly right in his desire not to do anything that would deprive him of friends in his country. But as a peace fighter he cannot but think about the friends who may be won or lost in the underdeveloped countries. The peace supporter in Indonesia, naturally, is concerned about developments in his country; but he cannot overlook what is taking place in Britain or Holland. In reality, neither the struggle for peace nor war is waged one-sidedly. We have already said that this problem cannot be solved from the purely tactical angle: in a tactical sense, the just demands on which both positions are based are irreconcilable.

In point of fact if we were to define the movement's attitude to colonialism purely from the standpoint of tactics, i.e., how many friends can be won or lost in one or another country, the danger will arise: either we confine ourselves to general questions and deprive the movement of any prestige (if the national-liberation struggle is underestimated) or we make it fully dependent on the interests of the peoples fighting for national independence and substitute the perspective of conflict for that of mutual understanding. In both one and the other case our movement could not have preserved its unity and, consequently, its world-wide prestige, i.e., it would never have become what it is — a world peace movement. By rejecting the first conclusion, the peace supporters inevitably pass from the tactical standpoint and adopt a more general, political standpoint; by rejecting the second conclusion, they inevitably pass from the particular to the general problems of peace in which all mankind is interested.

Some may say that tactical considerations are very important. We Communists hold that in the last analysis the cause of peace and

the cause of socialism coincide. For us the preservation of peace is a great strategic and not merely a tactical aim. Our enemies vilely slander us, claiming that we actively participate in the movement for the sole purpose of securing a relation of forces that would facilitate our victory over capitalism in open combat, that for Communists defense of peace is simply a maneuver, an instrument. Actually, we hold that, historically speaking, socialism has already triumphed; we believe, too, that another world war would signify the end of capitalism. But not one of us, especially in view of the present level of atomic science, would ever agree to pay so dearly in order to hasten the final victory of socialism. We want to build socialism for all people, and not at the expense of human well-being. It is more than doubtful whether there is among us a madman who would take it into his head to build socialism out of devastation and death.

We want peace for the same reasons that we want socialism; we are convinced that peace, like socialism, is an important condition for the well-being, happiness and freedom of people. And the cardinal condition for this is life.

To those who may say that, proceeding from this premise, it would be simpler for us to develop a frontal struggle for socialism, since its victory would automatically ensure peace, we will answer with three arguments of a political character.

First, the struggle for socialism in isolation from the peace struggle would deepen not only the social contradictions in each country but also the contradictions between the different countries.

Second, not all the forces fighting for socialism are unanimous in their understanding of socialism or the ways and means of building it; nor are they unanimous on the ways and means of overcoming and settling their differences. Unfortunately, it has to be said that within the working-class movement there are deeply-rooted differences, which sometimes take the form of prejudice against, and even dread of, communism.

Sincere Social Democrats in West Germany, and they are legion, can be taken as a typical example. These people, suffering under a capitalist dictatorship which has gone so far as to outlaw the Communist Party, are still far from the Communists, although the latter show by concrete examples (the experience of the Soviet Union, China and the German Democratic Republic) and by clear-

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Sincere Social Democrats in West Germany, and they are legion, can be taken as a typical example. These people, suffering under a capitalist dictatorship which has gone so far as to outlaw the Communist Party, are still far from the Communists, although the latter show by concrete examples (the experience of the Soviet Union, China and the German Democratic Republic) and by clear-

cut political arguments that the proletarian dictatorship rests, and cannot but rest, on the will of the majority of the people.

Third, it should be recognized that the ranks of those standing for peace have grown much more than the ranks of those who are fully convinced that capitalism, chiefly by virtue of its imperialist and colonial policy, is the most serious and constant threat to world peace.

It is true that we say colonialism is in its twilight. But paradoxical as it may be, the colonial system is being abolished much more rapidly in practice than it is in the minds of many people. Some metropolitan countries lost their colonies much earlier than many people in these countries lost their colonialist psychology. The discrepancy is engendered and at the same time explained by the camouflage to which the colonialists have resorted in recent times. The camouflage takes the form of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," military, "defensive" pacts, the theory of total war against communism, the theory of common interests between the metropolitan countries and their colonies, etc.

France's tragic example is instructive for all. The war in Algeria is, on the one side, a national-liberation war, and, on the other, a dirty war for colonial domination and oppression. If the French people could really see the brutality of this war, the majority of them would undoubtedly oppose it and the problem would be resolved in the only logical way; the independence of Algeria would become the natural basis of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation between the two countries. But life is not so simple. To ignore the colonial problem would deprive the struggle for peace in France of any sense; on the other hand, the peace movement would have too narrow a base were the defense of peace to be identified with the struggle against colonialism. Hence the importance of showing to the masses the real meaning of colonialism.

The point, of course, is not to use defense of peace as the basis for rallying the masses to put an end to colonialism and capitalism, which gave birth to it. All who do not want war must be persuaded that colonialism is a permanent threat to peace. It may happen — and it is bound to happen — that a sincere peace supporter, encountering the war danger and trying to understand its reasons, will realize that peace cannot be upheld if the right of all peoples to national independence is not recognized.

The Character of the World Peace Movement

Thus, there is now a real opportunity to reconcile the two tendencies which have taken shape in the movement in recent years. Imperialism is a multiform and complex phenomenon with various aspects. One of them is colonialism; the sources and reasons for this phenomenon lie in the given social system, i.e., capitalism. It is essential to abolish imperialism, and this task devolves on the Communists. It may be combated by restricting its activity and possibilities in one or another sphere (the struggle for national independence in some country) or opposing one of its aspects (the anti-colonial struggle in general). It is here that the peace movement comes out against imperialism and colonialism.

The peace movement as such does not and cannot have a specifically anti-imperialist or anti-colonial character for the reason that the threat of war does not always emanate directly from imperialism and colonialism. Sometimes it is caused by the conflicting interests of non-imperialist countries. But in this case it is imperialism that acts as a catalyst of war. In our times when it is clear that lasting peace cannot rest on the enslavement or exploitation of one nation by another, it is imperialism which threatens peace. Seeking to preserve their privileges, the imperialists adopt an aggressive attitude to the socialist camp and the peoples in the dependent and formerly colonial countries. The peace movement combats the danger of war in which the imperialists have a vested interest, and therefore it gradually acquires an anti-imperialist content.

People of diverse views participate in the World Peace Movement. Naturally, they may assess the situation differently. The sole factor uniting them, provided various convictions are respected, is the desire and the ability to discern the war danger and combat it. We have said the sole factor, but at the same time this is the basic, determining factor. It is the criterion of the international unity of the movement, of its ability to co-operate with the other peace-loving forces and, consequently, the basis for reconciling the two above-mentioned tendencies.

Naturally, it is easier to establish such a criterion in theory than in practice. It is much easier to discern the war danger in its general features and in those places where the main forces of modern history come into conflict. It is more difficult to discover this

danger when it is created by an exceptional, unusual situation. The difficulty is aggravated by the fact that in recent years some of the dangerous situations were eliminated or at any rate did not lead to a world conflagration, although they were fraught with such a possibility. We recall the aggression against Egypt, the landing of American troops in Lebanon and of British troops in Jordan, the provocations against Quemoy and Matsu, etc. Many people are not aware that in these cases war was averted solely as a result of the intervention of the powerful peace forces both through diplomatic channels and by mass action. And many, believing that the conflicts had petered out, became passive observers. It is also evident that some, even very dangerous, conflicts that aggravated international tension had different repercussions in different countries. This difference is explained by the subjective factors (for example, the mass action in Italy against the invasion of Lebanon was much more impressive than against the provocations in the Taiwan Straits) and, in a way, by the objective factors which cannot be disregarded.

Hence it is clear that if our movement wants to remain international (and it cannot be otherwise), it should not concentrate on particulars (or on what can be regarded as such) but on the main questions of the fight for peace. The validity of this demand is borne out by the varying response to our documents in the various countries. Even those who know only in outline the history of our movement understand that it was the simplest and most topical decisions of the World Peace Council which found the widest response. A classical example is the Stockholm Appeal for the prohibition of atomic weapons. It should be said that particular questions can be of great importance for some countries and regions of the world. It is clear, for example, that all the Arab peoples and the Afro-Asian countries reacted to the aggression against Lebanon, and that the peace movement developed there. Indeed, it would be strange if the organization of peace supporters did not tackle this problem. Another example. The pressing problem of the peace fight in Italy is, of course, opposition to the atomic-rocket installations. And again it would be strange if the peace movement did not take up this problem. Hence the need for greater autonomy of the national peace movements. This autonomy, which we observe in the stronger national peace movements, raises the political problem of a broad, rational and by no means automatic imple-

mentation of the general line of the World Peace Movement.

Action Is Needed

We see, therefore, that a twofold danger should be avoided: we should not advance slogans which might hamper contacts and mutual understanding with the other peace forces, should not raise academic and, therefore, useless questions. No peace action should be academic. This refers to all aspects of the peace fight, to all its particular, more general and universal questions. A typical example in this sense is how to pose now the task of organizing Europe on a peace footing, the Berlin question and, lastly, the aims of a European conference of the peace forces, the timeliness of which has been stressed by many public personalities and politicians.

What should be the guiding lines of this conference? Maybe each of us will go to this conference firmly resolved to impose his own views? Certainly not. In such circumstances a European conference — no matter how useful it might be — would acquire a purely academic character. Would it not be better to hold a conference according to a plan outlined beforehand and read out ready-made decisions? Of course not. In this case, too, each would adhere to his previous opinion. Lastly, maybe after such a conference the question of organizing Europe along peaceful lines will be posed the same way in all European countries, will have the same basis and emphasis on common points? No and again no, because in this case we would run the risk of ignoring the stimulus which for every person is the conviction that the proposed decision takes into account the peculiarities of his country. To some countries the greatest danger is German rearmament and economic integration, to the others it is the construction of rocket bases, etc. After reaching agreement on the common aim — organizing Europe on a sound peaceful basis — the conference should discuss the various projects (the Gaitskell plan, the Rapacki plan, the Soviet proposals on the Berlin question, etc.), with the firm intention of finding at least the starting point for a peaceful solution which could be usefully presented to the masses.

In a sense the above-mentioned points concerning the settlement of particular questions, not necessarily linked with each other, also cover the basic questions of the struggle for peace. The movement pursues its own policy which combines various elements. One of these finds a profound response in one

country or a group of countries; the other — in another country or in another group of countries. Some attach greater importance to the struggle against atomic death, others to the struggle against the cold war, and still others to some way of ending the cold war.

Clearly, these two remarks are applicable both to the questions of the unity of the movement and to the question of mutual understanding with the other movements. It is much easier to find a common platform for the various peace forces in one and the same region of the world. The European peace forces, for example, will find it easier to formulate a decision, though partial, on the subject of organizing Europe along peaceful lines, just as the world peace forces will find it easier to reach agreement on a common problem, e.g., the struggle against atomic death. Still, this is inadequate for mutual understanding between our movement and the other peace forces. It is essential that they, like us, should be imbued with the conviction that our struggle for peace is not of an auxiliary character, that we have no concealed aims. First and foremost the other peace forces should realize that for the Communists, defense of peace is not at all an instrument in the struggle for socialism and, of course, is not a weapon in the struggle for power.

Further, the point is not that we should give the "guarantees" some people demand. It often happens that those who demand objectivity from us cannot give any guarantee themselves, since they are motivated mainly by the desire to prolong the existence of the decrepit capitalist system. Sometimes those who want guarantees from us in the struggle for peace also demand guarantees concerning preservation of democracy, while they themselves support regimes which have nothing in common with democracy, save perhaps the name. Can we be objective in dealing with people who talk about peace and do everything for war? At the same time no one has the right to impose his particular evaluation of events on the Communists fighting in the ranks of the movement. That is the main question. And if it is the main question for us, it is also the main question for the others.

That is why we should argue, search for common points which can lead us to common assessments. But no one — and this goes for us, too — can impose his opinion on others.

The Question of Responsibility

The question arises: who is responsible for the present situation, and mainly for the cold war? We Communists have a definite opinion on this question. We are convinced — and we had an opportunity to prove this during our polemics with the Yugoslav League of Communists — that full responsibility for the cold war rests with the imperialist camp. We must never be silent about our convictions nor refuse to name the guilty; otherwise we would run the risk of making the peace fight aimless and ineffective. We cannot renounce our common view on the present situation since ideological questions, passing through the crucible of momentous events, often become political questions; and, if they contain a fundamental mistake, paralyze mass action.

It should be admitted, however, that there are peace forces which do not agree with us on this question of responsibility, and that even in our movement there are sincere people who do not fully agree with us on this point. This means that we cannot count on a general and, what is more, preliminary agreement with the other forces on the question of responsibility. Were we to insist on this then right from the very beginning we would have restricted any possibility not only for a co-ordinated but even for a parallel action in defense of peace. We should understand that common, or at any rate coordinated, action to achieve definite aims in the struggle for peace can be developed even if there is no unanimity on the question of responsibility. This question, which is obligatory as the basis of the activity of the Communists in matters of foreign policy, both on a national and a world scale, cannot be the condition for participation in the peace movement.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that in our fight for peace we Communists have to overcome deeply-rooted mistrust. Some people believe that we, come what may, will always agree with the diplomatic measures of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. True, on the whole we agree with their diplomacy, but as fighters for peace we are guided not by a predetermined desire to adapt ourselves to this diplomacy but by recognition of the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries pursue a consistent policy of peace. Significant in this respect is the stand taken by the Catholic clergy in Poland and Hungary. While continuing to obey the Roman Catholic Church, they support the diplomacy of the socialist countries. To those who demand

that we remain aloof from the blocs, who accuse us of supporting one side against the other, we say: yes, we are for those who uphold peace and we are against those who instigate war.

It is not the fault of the peace supporters that on the major international issues a consistent peace policy is pursued only by one side. This question was very simply explained by N. S. Khrushchov in a talk with the participants in the Moscow meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in February this year. He said: "It might appear strange to some of you that your movement has never opposed the Soviet Union's policy. And we say to you: If you find that we are mistaken, give us your advice. We shall pay heed to it. But it seems to me that it will be difficult for you to object to the Soviet Union's actions because they are always aimed at defense of peace."* And to those who are fond of finding fault we say: In general we agree with the policy of the Soviet Union because it stands for peace, and it is wrong to assert that we uphold peace only because the Soviet Union stands for it.

In my view, these are some of the difficult problems which face the World Peace Movement today. Of course, we have not elucidated them fully, but we have tried to do so in all candor, because we are aware that, though the peace forces have grown to the extent

*The quotation is not verbatim, of course, but it contains the gist of Khrushchov's idea.

that they can prevent a new war, the danger still exists and the weapons of war are becoming increasingly destructive. We are convinced that the growth of the peace forces is largely due to the efforts of the World Peace Movement. The chief merit of this movement is that it showed what the popular masses can really achieve. And this brings us back to where we began.

The World Peace Movement appeared ten years ago in conditions much more difficult than they are today. And yet it acquired tremendous strength and exerted a profound influence in the world thanks to clear-cut aims and an indomitable will for broad unity. It would be very interesting to study more thoroughly, on the basis of the experience gained, the problems of the peace fight and united action by various peace forces in the individual countries. It would be even more interesting to make a comparison, to see how these problems are posed in the capitalist and colonial countries, or in the different capitalist countries as, for example, in Great Britain and Italy. Be that as it may, this experience helps us to determine the main direction.

We must go forward with all people, showing them clear and concrete aims in each particular case, infusing our strength with the spirit of frankness and impartiality. The peace forces will continue to grow and will advance with us, and the stronger the peace movement becomes and the more its prestige rises, the sooner will it triumph.

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Centralism and Democracy in the Chinese Economy

Po Yi-po

CHINA'S economy is experiencing a big leap. Here are some figures illustrating the growth of industrial and agricultural production: steel—from 5.35 million tons in 1957 to about 11 million tons last year; coal—from 130 million to 270 million tons; metal-cutting lathes—from 28,000 to 90,000; food crops—from 185 million to 375 million tons; cotton—from 1.64 million to 3.35 million tons. A similar increase was also registered in respect to other vital industrial and agricultural items. As compared with 1957, overall output last year showed a 70 per cent increase. This rate of development is unprecedented for China.

There is nothing fortuitous about the leap: it is the logical outcome of our political and economic development, of the Party's general line in socialist construction, of the rectification movement; it owes much also to the aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the people have won an outstanding victory in the socialist revolution on the economic front through the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, cottage industry and the capitalist sector (both industry and trade), as well as on the political and ideological fronts through the rectification campaign and the anti-Rightist struggle. These achievements helped considerably to free the productive forces and make possible the great leap in industry and agriculture. The Party summed up the experience of socialist construction and, on the basis of the conditions in the country, charted the general line: "exerting every effort to advance towards socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results." The objective is to bring into action all the positive factors and to step up the activity of the people in order to make China as quickly as possible a great socialist power with a highly developed industry, agriculture, science and culture.

The leap of 1958 confirmed the soundness of the general line. It enabled the Party to take the path of simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, giving priority to

heavy industry; simultaneous development of heavy and light industry; the path of rapid expansion of steel production; the path of simultaneous development of the industries run by the central and local authorities, giving priority to the former; simultaneous construction of big enterprises, on the one hand, and small and medium-sized enterprises, on the other, giving priority to the big enterprises; simultaneous development of modern production methods and the more simple local production; combination of centralized industrial management with broad mass participation. To put it simply the Party has adopted the policy of "walking on both legs." The experience of the past year has confirmed the soundness of this course.

The main idea is to combine unified centralized leadership with the mass line, that is, to practice democratic centralism in economic management.

The Party and the government pursue an identical policy for the country as a whole, in relation to the political objectives, plans and basic regulations to be observed by each economic organization and by every citizen. These are elaborated and implemented by the method of the mass line—i.e., "taking from the masses and taking to the masses." The identity of the leadership and the mass movement, of centralism and democracy, of centralized power in the capital with decentralized power in the localities — these are the fundamentals of socialist economic management.

China's economy is developed in accordance with a single state plan which is worked out under the guidance of the Party in conformity with the balanced development of the socialist economy. Plans of this kind are the concentrated expression of the interests and the will of the people as a whole; they ensure realization of the principal projects and even development for all branches. At the same time they provide for effective management at all levels so as to bring the initiative of the masses and the local authorities into full play. During 1957-58, the system of industrial management was partially re-

organized: eighty per cent of the enterprises formerly run by the central authorities (that is, except key industries) were transferred to the local authorities.

This measure not only stimulated the activity of the local forces and of the enterprises themselves but also enhanced the role of the central authorities in charting policy and plans; moreover, it created favorable conditions for the big leap in 1958. Recently, with the formation and consolidation of people's communes in the countryside, the formerly state-owned local trade and finance organizations as well as some of the smaller enterprises were transferred to the communes. These economic units have become part of the commune, catering to its production needs as well as to the needs of its members. At the same time they continue to function as the lower finance and trade organs of the state which supervises them. In running these units, the people's communes follow a unified policy and plans and are responsible to the state for certain financial functions. The character of ownership of these units has not changed: they are national property. Consequently this measure promotes the growth of the state sector in the communes and helps strengthen them by gradually raising the level of collective property to that of national property.

Socialist construction is carried on under Party leadership, in accordance with the unified plan; the initiative of every man and woman is encouraged. The plans for economic development are drawn up in a unified manner: those of the communes — by the county; those of the county or chou — by the province or the autonomous region; those of the province, city and autonomous region — by the central authority. Work is begun after the plans for the economic areas* have been balanced and co-ordinated. Vital materials and equipment and technical personnel are allocated by the central authorities in conformity with production and construction needs in the localities. The allocation, however, is not rigid, a certain margin being left for the local factories. As to capital construction, each province, city and autonomous region enjoys the right, within its respective sphere, to draft development plans and introduce the necessary improvements with regard to the projects under construction, to determine the size and scope of the enterprises, distribution of investments and utilization of

resources, provided the production targets set by the state are reached and provided production capacity grows and key projects are completed on schedule. About one-fifth of the annual state investments are placed at the disposal of the localities. The same is true of the relationship between the state and the enterprise: here we find the combination of centralized state management and a certain autonomy enjoyed by the management of the particular enterprise.

The state management of socialist construction rests on the efforts of the masses — on the mass line, which means encouraging broad mass movements. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that it is the people who are the motive force of history, that the creative capacity of the people is inexhaustible and that only mass support makes us invincible. We have learned from experience that in the class struggle the chains fettering the masses have to be broken by the masses themselves. Similarly in the drive for more production the innovations and the creative approach have their source in the masses. Faith in the masses, reliance on their activity and initiative have played a decisive part in ensuring success under Communist Party leadership not only in the democratic or the socialist revolution but also in socialist construction.

Implementing the mass line in socialist construction means practising broad democracy combined with centralized guidance by the Party and Government. In this sphere the leading role of the Party consists chiefly in the following: proceeding from the experience of the masses and the objective needs of economic development to lay down a correct policy, fix the targets, and draw up plans which are then submitted to the masses. The tasks of the technological revolution are also referred to the masses, who discuss them and then proceed to carry them out. Without such conditions and working methods based on the mass line there can be no effective mass movement for the building of socialism.

Take agriculture, for instance. Some of our Party members maintained that for large-scale agricultural schemes capital investments chiefly by the state were a vital condition. Had this course been pursued in the conditions that obtained at the time — of limited possibilities for investment and mechanization — the rate of development would have been slower and output would have increased only by a tiny percentage each year. We have started our drive in agriculture, relying on

* An Economic Area consists of several neighboring provinces, cities or autonomous regions. It is not an administrative unit. Its function is to co-ordinate and accelerate the economic development of each province, city and autonomous region. There are seven such areas in China.

the masses, on their wisdom and diligence, with the state contributing only the necessary minimum. In this way the broad movement for various agricultural development schemes spread rapidly. Whereas in 1958 the state investments in agriculture were not much larger than those of the previous years, the effect was tremendous, and a bumper harvest was secured. One may well suppose that the mass movement on the agricultural front will continue to grow, achieving even greater successes.

Some Party members thought that the mass-movement method would not work in industry. However, experience proved the opposite. Of course, management of industry calls for unified centralized methods. However, the drive for industrialization should be supported by a mass movement. Industrialization is the job of the state (the central authority and the local bodies), but, in addition, the masses should be enrolled to help fulfil this task throughout the country, including the villages. The great leap in 1958 has confirmed the soundness of the line laid down by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Within a short period of time a broad mass movement developed throughout the country which was crowned with brilliant success.

In 1958 many of the large enterprises increased their output several-fold, thanks largely to the mass movement for boosting production and for technical innovation. The large-scale industry now being built by the central government and the local authorities is the backbone of our socialist industrialization. The new enterprises are large; they are equipped with complex machinery and are characterized by diversified division of labor. They are, naturally, run by the central authority. However, one may ask: is it necessary with centralized management to develop the mass movement, to enrol the masses in managing the enterprises? Experience shows that in our conditions this is vital for ensuring a high rate of development. Thanks to this method we secured an immense increase in output last year. Thousands of factory and office workers submitted valuable rationalization proposals and inventions, thereby helping to solve problems of production techniques. Their contribution not only eased the labor of the workers and considerably increased labor productivity, in a number of cases it radically changed the outward appearance of some enterprises.

At the larger enterprises decisions taken by the management are subject to approval

by workers' representatives. This is effected under Party leadership, releasing the energies of the masses and helping to boost production. This system implies that the Party committees in the enterprises collectively discuss and adopt decisions concerning the more vital problems and planning, after which the duties and responsibilities are assigned to individuals. In this way the personal responsibility for proper management is increased. Running the enterprise is the responsibility of the manager. Not all the administrative work, naturally, can be allocated to the Party committees. Their main function is to provide ideological and political guidance, to deal with political questions and guide the mass movements. The personal responsibility of the factory manager and Party committee guidance also extend to such matters as raising current production targets, outlining tasks, selecting methods for fulfilling them, foreseeing possible difficulties and ways of overcoming them. The workers' representatives who discuss and approve the decisions acquaint the entire personnel with them. This is followed by a thorough airing of views and the issuing of special posters by factory and office workers with a view to fulfilling and overfulfilling production plans. The way to ensure constant progress is to summarize the views of the masses and translate them into reality and to do this over and over again. At the same time, in applying the principle of the leading personnel spending a certain amount of time in physical labor, it is appropriate to enrol workers for the management of the enterprise, to revise irrational and outdated rules which fetter the activity of the masses, to rally the workers, technicians and supervisors, and in this way conduct production and technological activity at the enterprise. This signifies combining Party leadership with mass activity, political work with work in the economic and technological spheres. This method has helped to draw workers into the management of enterprises, to improve techniques and overcome bureaucratic tendencies among the leading personnel. It has also infused the communist spirit among the factory and office workers, inspiring them to overfulfil production quotas and increase labor productivity.

Apart from the industrialization program undertaken by the central government and local authorities, the people's communes are building thousands of small factories. As a result, industrial enterprises are springing up also in the villages. Industry is no longer the

sole concern of some 20 million factory and office workers; it has become the pursuit of tens of millions of peasants. The big state industry will help the communes to carry out their industrialization program. This is important for accelerating the mechanization of agriculture and the electrification of the countryside. With the raw materials spread over a vast area, and with peasants constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, the building of small enterprises in the villages will speed up industrialization as a whole and increase the output of manufactured goods. Extensive industrial development of the rural districts will create the conditions for the gradual abolition of the distinction between workers and peasants, between town and countryside and will change the contours of the latter.

China's economy is run on the basis of democratic centralism which calls for combining centralism with democracy, and national interests with those of the localities, state interests with those of the enterprises and the communes, the enterprise interests with those of the factory and office workers and the commune interests with those of the commune members. This principle impels the masses to think not only of their current needs, but also of the perspective, not only of personal interests but also of their common interests, so that the current and per-

sonal interests are subordinated to the long-term common interests, so that the interests of the collective body and of the state are given priority over personal and local interests. Actually it means a high degree of centralization on the basis of broad democracy. Our democracy is a democracy directed by centralism, and our centralism is based on democracy. Such centralism does not in the least prejudice broad democracy, on the contrary, it gives democracy the necessary guidance and hence favors broad democracy. Simultaneously, far from prejudicing centralism, this democracy helps implement centralism. Far from weakening socialist discipline this principle cements discipline, because it is based on the consciousness of the masses. Precisely because our centralism arose on the basis of broad democracy it is the concentrated expression of the interests and will of the people. Clearly, a democracy which runs counter to the interests of the majority of the people is a false democracy.

The experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and our own experience prove that only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, with the full support of the masses for socialist construction and by implementing democratic centralism, is it possible to stride forward in the building of socialism.

Communism and the Spiritual Poverty of Its Critics

T. Stepanyan

MAN IS witnessing an epoch-making process — the advance towards communist society in the Soviet Union. Having completed the building of socialism and secured its final victory, the Soviet people, under the leadership of their Leninist Party, have entered upon a new period, that of the all-round building of communist society. The distinguishing feature of this new period is the growth of the elements of communism in all spheres of public and personal life — in production, in the relations between people, between social groups and between nations, in culture and in public and individual consciousness. The first shoots of communism

were disclosed by Lenin in the initial phase of the socialist reconstruction in Russia. They have grown rapidly since then, and never more so than at the present time. In his report to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, which has made an important contribution to Marxism-Leninism, N. S. Khrushchov referred to the contours of the new stage: "There are many tangible and visible features of communism in our society, and they will continue to develop." Practice has confirmed the Marxist theoretical proposition that the first phase of communism — a developed socialist society — contains within it the elements of the higher stage.

The decisions of the XXIst Congress and the progress made by the socialist countries have struck a heavy blow to the ideology of imperialism.

All the critics of communism have one feature in common — the desire to bring communist ideas and the Communist parties into disrepute, to slander communist construction. In our days, when communist ideas are gripping the minds of forward-looking people, when the international communist movement has become a powerful force, when communist society is emerging over a great part of the globe, the spiritual poverty of the critics of communism stands out with striking clarity.

* * *

Present-day social development introduces new elements into the competition between socialism and capitalism. The socialist world system is forging ahead: the edifice of communist society is being erected in the Soviet Union; China and the other People's Democracies are building socialism; there is now the prospect of the socialist countries moving more or less simultaneously to the higher stage of communism.

During the transition from capitalism to socialism in the USSR, many bourgeois ideologists said that socialism was an "empty dream," "a utopia." But today socialism is a reality in the Soviet Union, and it is becoming a reality in the People's Democracies. This has made the anti-socialists change their tune; they now say that communism, not socialism, is utopian. The much-talked-of *Guide to World Communism* published in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1958, claims, for example, that "communist philosophy and political economy culminate in a utopian picture of the society of the future," that communism, its teaching of a "utopian" and "mythical" future society, its theory and methods, are false.

The Right-wing Social Democrats, not to be outdone, have joined in the chorus. *Vorwaerts*, organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, carried an article entitled "The Utopia and Science of Karl Marx," the purport of which was that communism is a sheer utopia. There is no need, we think, to cite further. It will be much more useful, we believe, to examine the main arguments of the enemies of communism, to expose their unscientific character.

These people claim that the communist teaching has always been utopian, that it has held out the promise of universal happiness, of a heaven on earth, to beguile the credu-

lous. In contrast to communism, they say, Christianity, a much older teaching, has nothing utopian about it, for it preaches brotherhood, liberty, etc., and a heaven in the hereafter.

It is true that much of the earlier communist teaching was utopian and incapable of pointing the real way to a just, humane society. But the rise of the working class, and the development of the class struggle enabled Marx and Engels to discover the historical mission of the proletariat, to accomplish a revolution in the social sciences and, on the basis of their discovery of the laws of social development, to transform communism from a utopia into a science. Since that time the theory of scientific communism has been developed and enriched. The rise of the socialist world system, the building of socialism in the People's Democracies, and the Soviet Union's march to communism, demonstrate the soundness of the theory of scientific communism. And those who fail to see this historical transformation of communism from a utopia into a science, who are blind to the consistent translation of communist ideas into reality, are simply a hundred years behind the times.

The critics of communism qualify as utopianism the basic principle of communist society — "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." This has always been their favorite argument. Commenting on this basic principle, *Vorwaerts* said: "Anyone who wants to believe in these fantastic changes in human nature is at liberty to do so, but these predictions have nothing to do with science." The arguments boil down to the assertion that society will never change "human nature" to the extent that people receiving according to their needs will work voluntarily according to their ability. "You can't change human nature," "Man is lazy and selfish by nature," "If a man receives according to his needs, he just won't do any work," they harp. Some years ago, to cite a case in point, at a special session of the Papal St. Thomas' Academy devoted to combating communism, the Vatican philosophers tried to substantiate this thesis. "The nature of man is such," they said, "that an abundance of earthly blessings will not satisfy his desires nor moderate his passions. Envy, jealousy, vanity and a craving for power are human weaknesses which no economic utopia can remove." Here we see the spiritual poverty of the critics of communism who claim that the vices of the system of exploitation are inherent in the nature of

man. In reality, individualism, avarice and careerism are not innate qualities of man, they are the products of an antagonistic social environment in which the prosperity of the few derives from the oppression and misery of the many. Consciousness and human behavior, according to the materialist concept of history, are determined by social conditions; any fundamental change in social consciousness presupposes a change in the social system. Avarice, careerism, and the other survivals of capitalism will then, as experience of building socialism has shown, be ousted by labor valor, collectivism and service to society, because the well-being and happiness of the individual depend upon the well-being of society. And this law-governed process is accelerated thanks to the educational role of the Communist party and the socialist state.

Communist ideology elevates man, gives free rein to his mind and brings out the nobility of his morality which harmoniously combines the interests of the individual with those of society as a whole. The critics of communism are right on one point: it is true that under capitalism people cannot all be transformed spiritually, for them there cannot be abundance because the material benefits cannot be distributed according to the reasonable needs of all members of society. And it follows, therefore, that a social system which prevents the discharge of social justice should be replaced by another system.

Already at the present stage of the productive forces of socialist society, *the material and technological base of communism is gradually being built in the Soviet Union.* This finds expression in the rapid and planned development of all branches of social production; in the comprehensive mechanization of labor and in automation; in one hundred per cent electrification and the utilization of new sources of power, including atomic and, in the near future, thermonuclear; in the rapid scientific and technological progress, in the training of a new type of worker, one who will combine a knowledge of the fundamentals of modern industry with professional skill; in building an efficient structure embracing the whole of social production and achieving the higher level of labor productivity needed to create abundance; in continuing to harness nature for the benefit of society.

It may be said that a material and technological base of this nature is being built under capitalism, particularly in the United States. But that would mean approaching things in

a superficial way. We know that under capitalism, modern technology does not develop evenly, does not develop with a view to improving conditions for the people, to easing labor, but largely in the imperialist interests, in the monopoly interests. Let us take, for example, the comprehensive automation of industry. Owing to the domination of capitalist ownership, the omnipotence of the monopolies and the antagonistic contradictions, automation cannot embrace all the processes of social production. Along with a high degree of automation in some shops, enterprises and industries there are, under capitalism, non-automated forms of production, and these predominate. The extent to which automation is introduced depends upon how profitable it is and on the existence of markets and, in the long run, is determined by the contradictions of capitalism, irreconcilable contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Under capitalism large-scale automation signifies intensified exploitation of the working class and greater unemployment. American sociologists have estimated that automation of the manufacturing industry would reduce the number of workers in this branch from 17 million and more to 1.5 million, that is, more than tenfold. There is now an army of five million unemployed in the United States. The growth of unemployment is due in large measure to capitalist automation. *We are now in conflict with technology,* declared Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, at a conference of unemployed in Washington on April 8 last. But Reuther ignores the fact that this conflict derives from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism — the contradiction between the social character of production and the capitalist form of appropriation; he is aware, however, that automation and the new technology can resolve future problems in one way only — if they are adapted to the needs of the many and not to the selfish desires of the few. The conference demonstrated that no effective means of guaranteeing the right to work, of solving the unemployment problem — the scourge of the United States — could be found under capitalism.

Automation has altogether different consequences in the planned and organized socialist economy in which all aspects of modern technology are comprehensively developed. Arduous labor will, in seven years, be abolished thanks to comprehensive mechanization of production processes in all branches of the national economy. The large-scale automation of industry will be a big step forward

towards comprehensive automation in all branches. The number of enterprises with complete automation will increase from year to year. More than 50 model-experimental enterprises with comprehensive automation will be functioning by 1965. They will be the prototype of industry as it will be in a communist society. Automation is being introduced not only in industry, building, transport, but also in agriculture. The first automatic tractor with remote control gives a preview of technology as it will be under communism. This tractor performs faultless operations with trailer implements at any time of the day or night and without a driver.

A new type of worker is being molded in the process of automation. He is technically well-trained, well-educated and has a broad outlook. The First Moscow Ball-Bearing Plant can serve as an example. In seven years' time it will be a completely automated plant, a laboratory-plant. Its workers write with pride: "Our plant is often spoken of as the university plant. We intend to turn it into a higher technical-educational institute in the literal sense during the next seven years. Eliminating the distinction between mental and manual labor is not an abstract proposition as far as we are concerned, but a real, living process."

These typical facts demonstrate the radical difference between the two systems. Whereas under capitalism automation inevitably aggravates the social antagonisms and brings the worker hardship, under socialism it ensures the development of society and the individual as a harmonious entity; here every working man and woman is personally interested in automation which will ease labor and increase productivity, create abundance, reduce the hours of work, provide more time for recreation and ensure the all-round development of man. *This coinciding of personal and social interests constitutes the powerful motive force of communist society* in general, and of technological progress and automation in particular. The same can be said of the other elements of the material and technological base of communist society. Only in the aggregate can these elements form the base; they can take shape only in a mature socialist society, where production serves the interests of man. Even the USA, the most advanced capitalist country, cannot have a comprehensive technological base of this kind, a base that is being built for the first time in the USSR, where socialism has been established and which is now confidently marching towards communism.

Consequently the building of communism cannot be restricted to solving the Soviet Union's basic economic task — to catch up with and outstrip the United States in per capita output as quickly as possible. Thanks to the advantages of socialism and its rapid rate of growth, the Soviet Union will solve this task within the next 10 or 12 years. But it will not stop at this. "When we win in this economic competition with the USA," said N. S. Khrushchov at the XXIst Congress, "we shall have completed only the initial phase of communist construction. The economic level reached in this phase will not be the end of our road, but only the halfway house at which we shall overtake the most developed capitalist country, leave it behind and push ahead."

* * *

In the creative activity of the Soviet people who, under the Communist Party's leadership, have entered upon the new stage of socialist emulation, we see more clearly the shaping of the contours of communism. *To work, to study and to live in the communist way* — this is the leading theme in Soviet life: concern for the public welfare and the all-round development of the individual, collectivism, humanism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, which regards the building of communism not from the narrow viewpoint of the happiness of a single nation, but as an inspiring example to mankind and a contribution to world civilization.

In the process of creating abundance and of the growth of communist consciousness among the masses, the conditions are being created for realizing, step by step, the principle of distribution according to need. This can be seen in the social services which are constantly being extended. The model canteens, the improvements at all levels of the educational and public health systems, the massive housing schemes — all are shoots of communism which together with the rising personal incomes and falling prices prepare the way for distribution according to need.

It may be said that similar model institutions can be found in the capitalist countries, but no one regards them as the shoots of communism. It is true that in some bourgeois states there are modern amenities, canteens, well-furnished homes, fine school buildings and so on. But with all our respect for the technical organization of these establishments, we never regard them in isolation from the capitalist system and forget their place and purpose under capitalism with its

contrasts — wealth at one pole, poverty at the other. Millions of working people cannot afford the modern houses, cannot send their children to the higher schools, cannot take advantage of medical services. All this costs money, far more than most workers can afford. In Italy, for example, and also in other countries of the "free world" there is an acute housing shortage, while many dwellings are uninhabited. Socialism puts an end to this injustice which is engendered by the capitalist system.

Socialism, which is based upon public ownership and abolition of the exploitation of man by man, aims at satisfying ever more fully the requirements of all the people. This is also the aim of all the social services which, as we advance to communism, will embrace society as a whole.

For the first time in history communism brings out all that is best in man, rids him of egotism and develops his individual qualities in a spirit of collectivism. These qualities do not appear automatically: they are molded through the educational work of the Party and the other public organizations, in the process of production, in social and political activity, in the process of improving the social forms of satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the people. The extensive network of nurseries and kindergartens makes it possible to combine family upbringing with social upbringing. The subsequent school education, based on mental and physical training, combining education with socially useful labor, develops man's qualities and molds his material and cultural needs. These needs are being met more fully by extensive housing construction, by expanding health services, the network of sanatoriums and holiday homes, sport and recreational establishments, etc. With the advance to communism the number of these establishments will be multiplied.

Certain needs of the builders of communism are being met today by the various public institutions irrespective of the quantity and quality of labor contributed, that is, *gratis* or *for a nominal charge*. Education, physical training, health services, libraries and club-houses, are free. Each year the state allocates more funds for social insurance benefits, pensions, scholarships, for extending the boarding-schools which have a great future, the health services and sports houses for aged people, family allowances, etc. These benefits are enjoyed by millions. The following figures are indicative of the genuinely popular character of the various social ser-

vices. In the USSR there are about 100 million industrial workers, office employees and collective farmers engaged in production. Some 20 million receive pensions. Kindergartens, nurseries, and children's homes have accommodation for five million; over three million students in the higher and specialized secondary and vocational schools qualify for state scholarships and hostel accommodation. The boarding-school pupils (by 1965 their number will surpass two million) are provided for by the state. Camps and playgrounds cater to 5.6 million children annually. Over three million industrial, professional and office workers and collective farmers benefit from treatment in sanatoriums or rest in holiday homes every year, the cost being borne by the state social insurance fund and the collective farms. Government allowances are paid to about seven million mothers. As we advance towards communism, society will provide more facilities for each of its members, from birth to old age.

In 1965 the state will spend 4,600 rubles per worker on the construction of dwellings, schools, recreational and welfare establishments. These funds add considerably to the steadily growing real wages. The abolition of taxes will also be of great significance.

Along with creating abundance, improving the social forms of satisfying needs and the rise in personal incomes, the training of people to become conscious of the need to work in accordance with ability acquires particular importance in the process of building communist society. By virtue of the essential distinctions between communism and socialism and the grand tasks of communist construction associated with this, continued successful advance will call for greater labor heroism and struggle. The fact that the fruits of labor are enjoyed by the working people themselves impels them to work in accordance with their abilities. With our advance to communism, labor, thanks to the steady reduction of working hours, will no longer be drudgery and monotonous; it will become increasingly creative and satisfying; the urge to work in accordance with ability will become man's vital necessity. Communism arises upon the basis built by socialism. This is the guarantee that in the main the building of communism will take less time than was needed for the building of socialism.

With the passing of the years the rapid rate of communist construction places the world capitalist system and its apologists in a more difficult position. The opponents of communism seek solace in propaganda to the

effect that communism is a utopian idea. But the man or woman of common sense may ask, if communism is utopian, why the alarm in the capitalist camp? Does this alarm not betray a dread of the emergent communist society? And what will the champions of capitalism do when communism triumphs, as it soon will, over a large part of the globe?

There are politicians, philosophers and sociologists who assert that "communism is a tale for the poor," a "castle in the air." Others, more realistic, are beginning to ponder over the matter. And it can be said with confidence that many will soon abandon capitalism and become supporters, although not without initial hesitation, of communism. Khrushchov aptly remarked on this: "I think the time will come when the people who now oppose socialism and communism, will feel ashamed and deny that they did so."

The Communists, in addition to being realists, are confirmed optimists. Basing themselves on the laws of social development and the experience of the world revolutionary movement, they are confident that, with the rise of communist society in the USSR, China and the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia, the absolute majority of the people, including the overwhelming majority of scientists, technicians and professional workers, will voluntarily, consciously, and forever, link their destiny with communism.

* * *

One of the pet claims of the anti-Communists is that "communism abolishes freedom for the masses generally and for the individual in particular." There are bourgeois ideologists who are ready to acknowledge the economic success of communism in the USSR, and the improved well-being of its people. But, they add significantly, "the superiority of a system is explained not by the standard of living but by the individual freedom which it provides." This idealistic thesis, which divorces the spiritual freedom of the individual from its basis — the social system and the well-being of the people — has been elevated to official doctrine by many statesmen in the so-called "free world," the last "refuge" of the critics of communism. It is not at all fortuitous that they begin and end their arguments by a salvo from this — their "heavy artillery." The aim here is to prove that no matter what the success, socialism cannot provide individual freedom. This shibboleth, daily refuted by the free labor of the builders of socialism and com-

munist, is slavishly parroted by the "free" bourgeois press.

The Communists, whose world outlook is dialectical materialism, while noting that the material conditions of life are the determining factor in the development of society and the individual, always stress the tremendous role of spiritual life and the conscious activity of people. All the efforts of the Communist parties are devoted to the lofty and noble aims of delivering the working people from the yoke of capital and creating conditions not only for a steady growth of their well-being, but for rapid cultural development, too. The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have become masters of their destiny; in a brief space of time they succeeded in abolishing illiteracy, in introducing universal secondary education, in training 15 million professional workers. The Soviet Union now occupies first place in many branches of science and technology, having outstripped the leading capitalist countries in training specialists. The Soviet higher educational establishments turn out three times more engineers than those of the United States. By 1965 another 2.3 million will have graduated. And this is only part of the *spiritual development of society as a whole* in the period of the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Competing in the slander against communism, some bourgeois sociologists assert that communism destroys man's individuality, that it "turns the people into a shapeless mass." But before showing where the lie is and where the truth, before contrasting words and reality, it is necessary to say outright that the accelerated building of communism in the USSR and the socialist construction in the People's Democracies will, in the long run, result in making this slander boomerang against its authors. They, in all probability, have not yet realized the dialectics of social psychology — the psychology of the people. The people may be taken in for a time by one lie or another. But when, as a result of the struggle of the progressive forces, primarily of the Communist parties, the truth makes its way and dethrones the lie, it sweeps forward and grips the minds of the people.

This was seen, for example, in the launching of the Soviet earth and solar satellites. It should be recalled that for a long time the anti-communist propagandists kept up a clamor about "slave labor" and the "primitiveness of the Soviet people," and wrote reams about the "backwardness" of science and technology in the USSR. But when people

all over the world heard the news about the Sputniks, which embodied the free and creative labor of socialist society, they immediately realized how false were the assertions of the critics of socialism.

Staunch fighters for truth and justice, the Communists have never denied that under capitalism a higher stage of freedom has been attained in comparison with the slave and feudal systems. But at the same time they point to the antagonistic nature of capitalism, and demonstrate to the masses, on the basis of the facts of life, the restricted and formal nature of freedom in capitalist society. Indeed, what real freedom can there be when there is exploitation of man by man, colonialism and the other "blessings" of capitalism? In a class society freedom has a class content. Capitalists profit from the freedom to exploit workers, while the struggle for democratic rights corresponds to the vital interests of the working people. Some of the rights won by the masses in struggle are now being whittled away. The limits of these rights either extend or shrink depending on the outcome of the class struggle waged by the working people against the bourgeoisie. Where the working class is united, when it heads the masses and, under the leadership of its Communist vanguard, fights for the vital interests of the people, the democratic rights won in the course of protracted struggle are preserved and even extended, preparing the ground for the higher, qualitatively new freedom, which is possible only under socialism and comes to flower during the gradual transition to communism.

Communism is a leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This metaphor, used by the founders of Marxism, reveals the fundamental difference between the relative and restricted freedom achieved throughout the history of class society and the all-round, genuine freedom which the working people acquire under communism. The essence of the communist reign of freedom is the conscious activity of both the masses and the individual, who are guided by knowledge of the laws of nature and society. The laws of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism and the international experience of socialist and communist construction prove that throughout the world the time is ripe for a social system free from private property, exploitation of man by man, crises, unemployment, national hatred, colonial slavery and wars, both big and small. And the objective possibilities for establishing this system exist.

The new, socialist system, which removed the defects of the old antagonistic society, and which is now heading towards the higher phase of communism, is getting rid of the remaining "birth-marks" of the old society, which to a degree stand in the way of complete freedom both for the masses and for the individual. For example, the difference which still exists between skilled and unskilled labor is one of the reasons for a certain inequality in the enjoyment of material and cultural values under socialism, since distribution is based on the principle of quantity and quality of work performed. Although the people as a whole are in the same position in relation to the means of production, inequality still remains in the standard of living. These and other contradictions and difficulties and the social restrictions associated therewith are being abolished as the differences between town and countryside, between manual and mental labor, unskilled and highly-skilled work are overcome, as the dividing lines between workers, peasants and intellectuals are erased. All this is being done on the basis of ownership by the whole people. Overcome in the course of communist education and ideological struggle are such survivals of capitalism and of bourgeois ideology as negligent attitudes to work and to public property, nationalist prejudice and religious superstition, egotism and individualism, intrigue and animosity, subservience and envy. The changes effected during the gradual transition from socialism to communism ensure a broad economic, social and spiritual basis for a development of freedom unthinkable under capitalism.

Technological progress frees people not only from hard manual labor, it also frees people, thanks to the use of computers, from many exhausting and monotonous mental processes. It frees both brains and hands for creative labor and makes possible a sweeping reduction in the time of work. In the not too distant future the people in the USSR will have either a 5-6 hour working day with one day off or a 6-7 hour day with two free days. This reduction will be accompanied by a rise in real wages. The process of reducing the hours of labor together with the steady progress of science and technology, and the growth of well-being will radically change the nature of labor and result in the all-round development of the individual. *Communism presupposes the complete unity of the masses and the all-round development of individual ability and talent.*

In denouncing the socialist system, the critics of communism as a rule give a one-sided picture of the social contradictions of the period of transition to socialism described by Marx as the birth pangs of the new society. The critics say that these difficulties are caused by socialism and even communism. Moreover, they deliberately distort the separate phases of the building of socialism.

The opponents of communism have deliberately concealed from the public the main thing — socialist reconstruction and the emancipation of the masses from social and national oppression — and have raised a hue and cry about the suppression of a handful of exploiters and their stooges, about the mistakes made here and there in the course of socialist construction. In doing so, they attribute to all the phases of building the new system that which was typical mainly of the initial phase of Soviet society when, in response to the civil war and intervention imposed on the working class, the latter had to use force in order to smash the resistance of the enemies of freedom and progress. At the same time they are silent about the prospects of a peaceful transition to socialism, prospects opened up as a result of the further radical change in the world balance of forces in favor of democracy, peace and communism.

The socialist state is an historical necessity in building a new society. But when communism triumphs on a world scale, the state will wither away. Whereas no antagonistic society can exist without violence in relation to the people, violence organized by the state on a nationwide scale, the classless, communist society by its very nature makes the state superfluous. With the final victory of communism, political government of the people will give way to the economic management of the process of production.

The logical evolution of the Soviet state into communist public self-management takes place by way of all-sided development of its democratic foundations. The conditions for the future withering away of the state and for economic and cultural activities under communism can be seen in the present reorganization of economic management based on democratic centralism and the participation of the people in solving social and production tasks, in transferring a number of state functions to public organizations, etc.

The nationwide discussion of vital economic and cultural problems, development of the principles of democratic centralism — these are the prototypes of the communist forms of management. In recent years the following important questions of communist construction were submitted to *nationwide discussion*: improvement of industrial management, further development of the collective-farm system and reorganization of the machine and tractor stations, educational reform, and the theses on the target figures for the 1959-65 plan. Over 70 million people attended the meetings at which the seven-year plan was discussed, and some five million spoke and made suggestions. Besides, the central and local newspapers received more than 650,000 letters of which 300,000 found their way into print. These facts reveal a *typical feature of communism — the concern of every worker for the common interests*. The initiative displayed by the people is giving rise to new forms of mass participation in communist construction. The voluntary people's militia and the courts of honor now perform a number of state functions in maintaining public order and observing communist standards of behavior. Where is the bourgeois state which would dare entrust the people with the maintenance of public order or with part of the judicial functions? This is possible only in socialist society which ensures genuine freedom both for the masses and for the individual.

A genuinely free world will be a world without war. In our time only imperialism, foredoomed by history, has a stake in war. The strength of the rising communist society lies in its progressive and humane ideas, in its inspiring example of a radical solution of the pressing problems with which social development has confronted the peoples. To this society aggressive war is, therefore, utterly alien. Communism will forever rid mankind of war. The contours of this splendid future are taking shape right now, in the process of the all-out construction of communism. With the completion of the main tasks of the seven-year plan, real possibilities will be created for ruling out war as a means of resolving international issues.

The critics of communism and the war-mongers will suffer a complete fiasco. And this time is not far off: the Twentieth Century will be inscribed in history as the century of the rise of communist society.

On the Role of the National Bourgeoisie in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

(*A Study of the Liberation Movement in Latin America*)

Rodney Arismendi

THE TREE OF LIFE which, according to Goethe, is ever green, while theory is grey, proffers both its fruits and any number of questions to us, Latin American Communists and other patriots. Some of these are problems of long standing which the march of events has advanced to practical tasks of the day. Others are new and call for a generalization of the rich experience accumulated by the people of different countries and, hence, merit collective study. Then there are those which call for a more precise definition of separate propositions and formulations, generally recognized and disputed by none, but which should be interpreted in the light of the historical process in Latin America and its revolutionary practice.

Of the many themes confronting the researcher and the political leader, none, perhaps, is more urgent or topical than that of defining the relation between the strategy and the tactics of the proletariat in the Latin American revolution. We have in mind a practical, and not an abstract, bookish, conception of the dialectical inter-connection between tactical and strategic tasks, which would enable us to combine maximum flexibility with clear purpose and principled steadfastness. In other words, what we have in mind is the problem of the interconnection between *the independence of the proletariat, the growth of its party and the policy of alliance with other classes and social strata*. This determines the limits within which compromise is possible, compromise dictated by the task of uniting forces, taking into account the constant aims of the struggle (in the ideological, political and organizational sense) to rid the proletariat of the influence exerted by other social sections, allies included. This, briefly, also determines the practical struggle waged by the proletariat through its Party for leadership in the democratic national-liberation revolution.

All the problems touch on the *united front*, the proletariat's alliances and policy, that is, the problem of building the democratic front of national liberation. In some countries these problems are not new and have already been studied. In some of the countries the working-class parties have drawn up corresponding programs, in others, the parties have employed various forms of the united front when participating in big struggles. The present situation, however, calls for a deeper generalization of the experience accumulated and for identity of views. We will dwell on some aspects of this problem, making no claim to exhaust the subject.

We have in view the role of the bourgeoisie in Latin America, the possibilities of the national bourgeoisie participating in the patriotic struggle and the peculiarities of this participation, as well as the attitude of the proletariat and the masses towards the conciliatory big bourgeoisie. By the latter we mean those economically powerful groups of the bourgeoisie who, although they have not sold themselves to imperialism, nevertheless maintain connections with it and, despite frequent clashes, try to come to terms, first and foremost, with the U.S. monopolies and diplomats to the detriment of their own people and country.

The national bourgeoisie undoubtedly vacillate, that is to say, are conciliatory; but their national interests are more clearly defined, while their antagonisms with imperialism go deeper and, hence, predominate. In the main, the concept of "national bourgeoisie" coincides with that of the middle, chiefly industrial, bourgeoisie.

So that we may set out our views more clearly, it would, we think, be advisable to begin with an analysis of the political developments over the past decade and of the contemporary relationship of forces on the American continent.

I

The Fight for an Independent Foreign Policy Is the Urgent Task of the People

Latin America is entering upon a new, we would say the highest, stage of its liberation struggle. The agrarian and national* problems—the focal point at which the problems of any of our countries converge—are interwoven with the desperate struggle against the tyrants, the stooges of the U.S. State Department, or, in other countries, with the active defense of democratic liberties. This poses common tasks and proves irrefutably that, despite the diversity of tactics peculiar to the conditions in each country, the democratic national-liberation revolution is *continent-wide*, just as the popular revolt against the Spanish Empire was a *general* uprising. Although it began in 1810, the revolt ended only many years later on the fields of Ayacucho with the smashing of the center of the Viceroy regime in Peru.

Dependence on imperialism, primarily North American—the leader of reaction and the center of world imperialism—brings this identity of the destiny of the revolution throughout Latin America still more to the fore. About 40 per cent of U.S. investments are concentrated here; and from 40 to 60 per cent of the strategic raw materials used in the USA come from here. Situated as it is between two oceans, our continent is highly important strategically and, according to the Pentagon calculations, constitutes the last colonial cannon-fodder reserve. It is one of the sources of the strength of U.S. imperialism, but, simultaneously, incontestably demonstrates that the colossus has feet—and very brittle feet—of clay. Hence the “sensitivity” displayed by the USA when the talk turns on Latin America. It is precisely for this reason that the struggle waged by our countries for emancipation is such a complex one and despite the outcome will provide an all-continental picture of an extremely fierce and at times — let us be frank about it — sanguinary struggle.

It would, then, be useful to assess, on their merits, the significance of Latin American developments, changes illustrating that the “old mole” of revolution, to use Marx’s words, has burrowed well on our long-suffering continent.

Two events at the beginning of 1959 were New Year’s gifts for Wall Street—the launch-

ing of the Soviet space rocket—irrefutable proof of the socialist world’s strategic, scientific and technological superiority over capitalism; and the triumph of the Cuban patriots who, in Marti’s* words, under the very nose of the monster, announced that *a new phase* had begun in the struggle on the continent. For the first time in many years, with the possible exception of Guatemala in the last act of her tragedy, the anti-imperialist flag flies over a government palace in Latin America. And although the rising tide has not reached the same level everywhere, can anyone doubt that the Cuban events will have a torrential impact on Latin American countries?

We now can look at ourselves in a mirror that is no longer to be found in Asia or Africa alone. That is the important point. And this situation obtains under the present balance of world forces, a balance that is being influenced by the Soviet seven-year plan!

We should not, of course, imagine, in the spirit of Pangloss optimism, that events are developing in a steadily ascending curve. The battle will be fierce. But in the new conditions, the processes which of late have been shaking our continent may mature rapidly. We should not forget this.

Not so many years ago Latin America to the superficial observer seemed wrapped in darkness, only here and there did a star twinkle. Military and civilian dictatorships, dependent upon the dollar, were in the saddle almost everywhere, and in the United Nations the Latin American delegates obsequiously voted, to a man, as required by the Washington conductor’s baton. U.S. air and naval bases facilitated, under cover of Pan-American pacts and bilateral military agreements, maneuvers off our coasts by squadrons of warships whose gun-turrets blotted out the horizon. Everything was reminiscent of the “hinterland,” of the assured rear about which sedulous prophets of the “American age” are constantly harping.

An offensive was launched by U.S. imperialism in an atmosphere of war hysteria (the Korean war) in conjunction with the anti-national big landowners and capitalists. In many Latin American countries it was supported by the big bourgeoisie, or they participated in it. Hoping to net huge profits, they were at the same time convinced that the notorious “geopolitical fatality” determined

*Under the national problem here is understood the relationship between the Latin American countries and the imperialist states.

*Jose Marti, outstanding Cuban revolutionary democrat of the last century.

their role of henchmen to North American imperialism.

Class interests impelled them along this path and they took a big section of the national bourgeoisie with them. The big bourgeoisie labored under the delusion, current at that time, that Europe, Asia and Africa would become the battle-fields of local and world wars, whereas Latin America would receive a share of the gold obtained through the shedding of other people's blood, and that it would remain in the safety of the palaces of the southern hemisphere. The Korean war boom for a time created a good climate for speculation of this sort.

A close observer of social trends and of the people's struggle could not, however, fail to appreciate that the situation was precarious and, sooner or later, was bound to end as a result of the internal contradictions and world developments. The attentive observer could not but see the following phenomena. Despite flowery declarations of loyalty to "Pan-Americanism," U.S. imperialism succeeded in getting only one Colombian battalion for Korea; the suppression of Guatemala turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory for the dollar colonialists. The struggle waged by the Latin American peoples, in particular the workers and the students, took many forms. Illegal, semi-legal and legal Communist parties continued the struggle. Beginning with 1953-54 the contradictions with North American imperialism narrowed still further the forces supporting it, while the interests of the broad sections of the population, and even of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, clashed more and more frequently with the policy pursued by the U.S. ruling circles, despite passionate protestations of "Pan-American love."

Falling prices for raw materials and foodstuffs, the pumping out of dollars by the North American monopolies, crude economic extortion and unconditional demands to give the "green light" to Wall Street capital, to give the U.S. capitalists free access to our oil deposits and other natural riches—these factors shattered the illusions nurtured by the national bourgeoisie and many representatives of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie as to the possibility of making huge profits.

The foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, being more dynamic and elastic, made headway, especially after the XXth Congress of the CPSU, in the sphere of easing international tension; moreover, generous proposals have been made to deliver industrial equipment and

establish broad trade relations on the principle of equality with Latin America, too. This was in keeping with the socio-economic trends on the continent. The people realize that the balance of world forces has changed. The creation of a peace zone and the example of Bandung have engendered a favorable climate which neither Suez nor the wave of fascist-like hysteria in connection with the Hungarian events have been able to poison. These developments have, in fact, detracted still more from the prestige of imperialism, first and foremost, North American. The economic crisis which has been developing since 1956 has accelerated this process.

This, then, is the situation in which the Latin American peoples are paving the way to freedom. Brutal dictatorships have fallen one after the other. Strikes and militant action by the proletariat became typical features of the new situation and in many countries the Communist parties recovered their legal status. The fact that the ranks of the parties are increasing almost everywhere, despite the complex situation and the slanderous attacks launched by international revisionism, is illustrative of the role played by them in achieving democratic advance on the continent.

This attests to the impetus of the liberation movement, to the important part which the working class plays in it, to the broad vistas now opening up.

However, *the contradictions between the various classes and strata of the Latin American population, on the one hand, and imperialism, chiefly North American, on the other, cannot be regarded as equally profound and significant. We shall dwell on them for a moment.*

The "deformation" of the economy of the dependent countries makes them hypersensitive to any world market fluctuation. All the contradictions in their economic life conflict and interweave in their foreign trade. The relative capitalist development of the Latin American countries, far from mitigating, actually aggravates these antagonisms. And in the conditions of an economic crisis, these factors affect even influential sections of the ruling classes. Unequal trade—a feature of the relations between the imperialist and the underdeveloped countries—becomes the sphere in which broad sections are in conflict with and antagonistic to the monopolies, particularly those of the United States. The interests of the people and even those of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie and certain groups of landlords are trampled upon. This

bourgeoisie and the landlords would like to come to terms with the imperialists by virtue of their political views, hatred of the workers and their organizations and the constant striving to place the burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the people. The imperialists merely respond with anti-communist speeches but make no attempt whatsoever to improve their prices. *Thus the contradictions between these forces are of a limited character and depend a great deal on the state of business.* These contradictions come to the surface at the Pan-American economic conferences, whose constant failure is always complained about by official representatives of the Latin American countries. This is the source of the differences between many Batllist* leaders in Uruguay and Wall Street. Should not Senor Kubitschek's "operation Pan-America" be seen in this light, or perhaps, even as slightly more to the right? *Combate's*** platform, in our view, rests upon the same basis, and the Colombian liberal leaders' protests at the meetings of the ill-starred "Committee of 21"*** belong to this category.

Consequently, the cry for trade with the Soviet Union and all the socialist states, a cry that springs from the general interests of the Latin American countries, is becoming, strange though this may appear at first glance, one of the most insistent demands on the continent. The constantly growing trade with the socialist camp eloquently attests to this. Yet the results of this trade fall far short of what they could be, if we bear in mind the benefits our countries derive from it and the enormous losses they suffer from the unequal trade forced upon us by imperialism.

If we take a close look at the situation in each of the Latin American countries, we shall see that this demand is forcing its way thanks to the determined efforts of the people, particularly of the working class and the progressives. This struggle spurs the national bourgeoisie and compels the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, paradoxical though it may seem, to sign advantageous contracts which, at the same time, benefit the country as a whole.

*Batllism—a political trend in Uruguay, so called after President Batlle y Ordóñez, its founder.

**Journal published in Costa Rica by ex-President Figueres, Betancourt, leader of the Venezuelan Democratic Action ("Acción Democrática") Party, and Haya de la Torre, ideologist of the Peruvian Popular Party "Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana" (APRA).

***Meetings of the "Committee of 21" (representatives of 20 Latin American countries and the USA) began in Washington in 1958. They deal with the economic problems of the American Continent. The Committee was set up on a proposal made by Kubitschek, President of Brazil, with a view to accelerating the economic advance of Latin America ("Operation Pan-America").

That is why the U.S. news agencies have launched a provocative campaign around foreign trade. They scream about the "Soviet infiltration plan," meaning thereby the mutually advantageous exchange between, for example, the USSR and Uruguay, under which Soviet oil is exchanged for traditional Uruguayan goods. The corrupt big capitalists in our countries, repeating what the U.S. embassies say, are taking part in this campaign.

In speaking of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, we would say that Senor Figueres, one of the most loquacious politicians in Latin America, personifies them perfectly. If there is peace, he says, we can trade even with the socialist camp, but he proceeds from the premise of "loyalty" to U.S. world strategy and from the stand of militant anti-communism inside the country.* We, of course, do not lose sight of the fact that among the big bourgeoisie there is a variety of shades of opinion, a variety of political activity. They, however, have to reckon with the might of the national and democratic movement, with the political positions won by the working class and its Party.

In estimating how far the particular contradictions go, it would be a grave error not to see that, in addition to friction with Washington, to the complaints of unrequited love addressed to it, and similar statements by politicians, revealing the inability of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie to head the independence movement, the antagonism between our people and North American imperialism is sharpening with every passing day.

This antagonism, a dialectical entity, emerges as a contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. Imperialist domination, landlord ownership (which to a greater or lesser degree preserves semi-feudal survivals) and big capitalist interests are closely interwoven in production relations in our country. Socially, the imperialists, the big landlords and big anti-national capitalists oppose the people, that is, the workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This antagonism reflects the profound crisis of our socio-economic system, aggravated by the economic crisis and the intensified struggle by the working class and the democratic and patriotic forces.

Here we have the source of the *present crisis in the policy of submission to Washington pursued by the ruling class.* Striking illus-

*J. Figueres, "Communism and Latin America," *El Diario*, Bolivia, December 16, 1958.

trations are provided by Mr. Nixon's "ordeal," by the instructive defeat of some of the dictatorships and the decline in North American prestige, which the paper flowers of "operation Pan-America" cannot conceal. In view of the fiasco of the "Committee of 21," Lopez, ex-President of Colombia, expressed his disappointment thus: "I thought Nixon's visit had taught the United States something. . . ."

The exactions of the North American plunderers, and the activities of the International Monetary Fund, the new "Big Stick," will further aggravate the crisis, and will injure not only the masses, but the national bourgeoisie as well. The International Monetary Fund and its "missions" in the Latin American countries are banking on the backwardness of our states, and upon their still greater subordination to imperialism (resulting in retarding industrial advance, reducing the share of the state sector in the economy, ensuring big profits for imperialism, the latifundia and the big bourgeoisie, orientating foreign trade towards Washington by means of currency devaluation, gradually abrogating social legislation, etc.). This policy will only rub salt into the wound, aggravate the contradictions, accentuate the class struggle and pose more sharply the question of defense of democratic liberties as an alternative to the North-American course. This policy means that the rulers are forced to prostitute themselves publicly (take a look at present-day Argentina); it is aimed at strengthening the bonds with the landlords and the corrupt big capitalists—the social basis of imperialist rule—who want to make the people bear the whole burden of the crisis.

We repeat, this presages a sharpening of the struggle, which, however, will not evolve along the lines of the 1947-51 struggle. It is developing in a climate of anti-colonialism, in conditions of a different balance of forces in the Latin American countries and at a time when the Soviet Seven-Year Plan is under way. Hence the struggle demands a clear statement of the aims pursued by each social force, and that we proceed from the present relationship of forces on the continent.

Generally speaking, the new situation is distinguished by a further upswing of the patriotic and democratic movement, by the fact that conditions are maturing for the attainment of more far-reaching and more general aims. These aims will be won in bitter struggle, one that is bound to be accompanied by unexpected turns and vicissitudes. *The movement now embraces broader sections of the people, and its aims go consider-*

ably beyond the political situation obtaining in many Latin American countries. Favorable changes have taken place, but in most countries the conciliatory big bourgeoisie either head the governments and the main political parties or exert a decisive influence upon them. The epic events in Cuba, in themselves, and inasmuch as they reflect the deep-going processes maturing in many countries, signified a swing to the Left and have influenced the thinking and the policy of the democratic movement throughout Latin America.

This circumstance confronts the masses, not only from the viewpoint of propaganda but also of practice, with the task of establishing democratic, anti-imperialist unity. The Popular Action Front in Chile, the unity of the people in Caracas, and other examples, testify to the possibilities for bringing about deeper changes and for achieving closer concerted action throughout Latin America. In view of this we believe that the main task of the patriotic and democratic forces *should be the struggle for an independent foreign policy—a policy of peace and defense of national sovereignty. In the conditions of the struggle against North-American imperialism, this task reflects the striving for a democratic course, for the development of national industry and agriculture, for economic and social progress and the desire to raise the material and cultural level of the masses.*

We should be able to distinguish the content and significance of this policy from the demands that can be won now from certain governments of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie. No one will deny that, under popular pressure and the operation of objective economic processes, these governments can be compelled to take steps favoring peace in the sphere of foreign policy, to establish or extend trade with the socialist countries, to put up a relative opposition to the cruder arbitrary acts on the part of the USA, and to respect democratic rights, the most vital of which is the legality of working-class organizations.

The situation in some Latin American countries, particularly in Uruguay, shows that these things can be attained if the united front of the working class and the masses comes forward as the principal active force. Failure to see these possibilities would be tantamount to shortsightedness.

At the same time it would be wrong to deduce from this that these governments will pursue a more or less consistent and independent foreign policy. It would be equally wrong to delude oneself with the idea that the

conciliatory big bourgeoisie have the will to conduct a policy of this kind. The friction between the bourgeoisie and the United States, and the concessions which they are compelled to make to our people do not signify that they have the will to conduct an independent policy vis-à-vis North American imperialism. If we transfer the matter into the sphere of proletarian tactics this would mean *confusing the question of extensively utilizing all the contradictions with the task of achieving a more considerable change in the balance of political forces, a change which would advance to the fore the genuinely patriotic sections relying on a united popular front.*

Can anyone deny the highly positive nature of such facts of Uruguayan reality as the existence of diplomatic relations with many socialist countries and the sizeable trade with them, the steps taken against Wall Street imperialism (on the meat-packing plants, for example),* the utter bankruptcy of McCarthyism, and so on? But can anyone think that the Uruguayan government is pursuing an independent foreign policy in the real sense of the word?

In the present conditions the class-conscious proletarian fighters should study the problems of the united front and its variegated forms in each country. In so doing they should take into account two aspects: first, the maximum extension of political activity among the masses and, secondly, concentration on achieving unity of the proletariat, strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, and rallying the most militant sections of the population (patriotic intellectuals, students, urban middle sections and broad masses) around the proletariat. In this way we will combat the tendency of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie to conclude deals with imperialism behind the people's backs, and will draw the patriotically-minded sections of the bourgeoisie into an active anti-imperialist struggle. Our success will largely depend upon the ability of the Communists to strengthen and multiply their ranks and to rid the working class of the influence of non-proletarian ideology.

II

Some Problems of Theory and Practice Under Discussion in Latin America

The role of the national bourgeoisie is of course determined by the character of our

countries. Lenin's point about the differences between a revolution in an imperialist country and one in a country dependent upon imperialism fully retains its validity. The imperialist yoke, particularly North American, and the need for a solution of the democratic tasks of the revolution, primarily the agrarian problem, turns the national bourgeoisie into one of the factors of the revolution, enabling it to participate in the democratic front of national liberation. One would think that there is no difference of opinion on this point.

The Chinese revolution was a classical example of this, just as Lenin's tactics before 1905 provide the basis for the contemporary Marxist teaching on the participation by and the leading role of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Here, truly, we have a reliable compass.

But things can develop in different ways, depending upon the history of the countries and the difference in their socio-economic development. The sharpness of the political struggle and the extent to which the masses participate in it play a part in assessing the militancy of each social class and section during the revolution. An observer of the revolutionary process in Asia will see, for example, the variety, the manifold shades of the leading role of the bourgeoisie in India and Indonesia. Different situations are arising in Africa (Egypt, Tunisia) as well as in Syria and Iraq. In our view this obliges us to be more attentive in regard to the specific features of Latin America and to its bourgeoisie, so that we should not trail behind events. Latin America has now accumulated experience that merits attention.

It is generally admitted that there are two dangers that lurk when one assesses the role of the national bourgeoisie: either of underestimating their possible active role, or of exaggerating their role and capacity to take anti-imperialist and democratic action. In the first case the national factor in the revolution is, in effect, belittled, the national bourgeoisie are regarded simply as the instrument of imperialist rule and the proletariat's isolation is exalted. This wrong conclusion is drawn from the premise that the national bourgeoisie frequently betray and persecute the proletariat. And it is apt to be forgotten that the antagonism between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism is a constantly operating factor, despite their conciliatory characteristic as a class. In the second case the role and revolutionary spirit of the national bourgeoisie, and even of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, are exaggerated. More-

*Under working-class pressure the Uruguayan Parliament adopted a law in 1958 to buy out the meat-packing plants owned by U.S. monopolies.

over, illusions are created; the verbal duel engaged in by the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, who shrink under the pricks of the North-American spur and end up by docile obedience to both bridle and rider, passes for anti-imperialist action. Politically, exaggeration of this kind leads to historical parallels being lightly drawn between this or that Latin American leader and his contemporary Asian opposite number. This belittles the role of the proletariat and the Communist Party, and makes for carelessness in building the Party.

I refrain from qualifying only a sectarian mistake as subjectivism, as is sometimes done. Both these trends are subjectivist and do not conform to practice, which, according to the Marxist theory of knowledge, is the criterion of truth.

Let us consider these two questions in the light of the ideological struggle now under way in Latin America.

Have the Latin American Bourgeoisie Exhausted Their Ability to Fight for National Liberation?

In some countries various leaders and political groups connected with socialist parties assert that the Latin American bourgeoisie as a whole have completely exhausted their ability to participate in the struggle for national liberation.

This proposition reflects a two-fold phenomenon. On the one hand, their extremist argumentation is designed to justify the attitude adopted by the frankly Right-wing opportunists striving to block unity between the Communists and Socialists and the unification of the people as a whole in the struggle against North American imperialism and reaction. On the other hand, in the sphere of socio-political thought, it reflects impatient indignation apropos the betrayals by the bourgeoisie and their attacks on the workers' organizations. Some important events in the recent history of our countries (from the Mexican to the Bolivian revolutions, including the somersault executed by Frondizi* and others like him, and the zig-zags of the "Centrist" and "Leftist" Batllism in Uruguay) show that the way has been well paved for extremism. Furthermore, Lenin's warning that anarchism was a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement, is confirmed in the new conditions.

*Arturo Frondizi, President of Argentina, leader of the Irreconcilable Radical Party, deliberately went back on his election program and imposed a pro-imperialist, anti-popular policy on the country.

This evaluation of the role of the national bourgeoisie is widespread among the socialist youth groups (particularly students), who are up in arms against the policy pursued by many leaders of the Socialist International, the puppets of imperialism, or against the bourgeois-liberal views prevailing in their parties. In so doing they contract the infantile disorder, preaching that the working class — or the working class, students and the more progressive sections of the people — should wage an isolated struggle against all other classes and sections of society. The accentuated class struggle and the growing strike movement — a typical and highly important feature of the situation in Latin America — sometimes results in the fact that those who have made but a superficial study of the events elevate to the level of theory their desire to skip over essential stages of development. Marx's well-known warning that without a peasant chorus the solo song in the proletarian revolution might well become a swan song, is entirely and with even greater validity applicable to the broader field of the national-liberation movement.

And it goes without saying that insignificant groups of Trotskyists are also clamoring about the need to isolate the proletariat, but their political face is now quite well known. . . .

The twofold nature of the extremist views on the role of the bourgeoisie obliges us clearly to distinguish the two sources from which this position stems. This will enable us to see what it owes to the maneuvering of the Right-wing opportunists, no matter to what Leftist heights they may soar; and what it owes, although in a confused way, to the accentuated class struggle and the justified indignation at the betrayal by the bourgeoisie — including the national one. It is even more important to underline the second aspect of the question, for in their polemics the Communists are accused of "co-operating with the bourgeoisie." This charge is based on an artificial identification of two different social concepts: "class alliance" and "class collaboration": in other words, identifying the unity of various classes and sections of society against the main enemy with collaboration between the classes, which characterized the decay of the Second International and is now the official doctrine of the Socialist International. It is interesting to note that many of the authors of this charge take at face value the economic concepts of latter-day revisionism (on the evolution of the state and so on), which are based on the decrepit theory of class collaboration.

It should not be forgotten that tactical blunders by Communists, or opportunist mistakes, can contribute to posing the question this way. Any exaggeration of the role of the national bourgeoisie, lack of bold and militant leadership in the independent organization of the proletariat and in its fight for economic demands, a truce in the ideological sphere with the bourgeois trends, a decline in the activities of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class, a tendency to ideological eclecticism on the pretext of preserving unity, rejection of the leading role of the proletariat and so forth — all come within the range of mistakes of this kind. All this, no doubt, would be a windfall for the creation of quasi-radical fabrications. In polemics with extremist trends there is the danger of slipping to the position of advocacy of the national bourgeoisie, which is hardly a fitting thing for a representative of the proletariat to do. Although fully realizing the contradictory character of the national bourgeoisie, who are cowardly when confronting imperialism and avid with class greed as far as the working people are concerned, the proletariat seeks, nevertheless, to make every possible use of their potentialities for smashing North American imperialism and carrying out the tasks of the democratic revolution to the end.

* * *

In connection with the upsurge in the working-class movement in Uruguay, the Communists have had an exchange of views on these subjects with representatives of the Socialist Party. For a variety of reasons it is interesting to analyze the conclusions drawn by Vivian Trias, Socialist Party leader and M.P., in an article "Rise, Blossoming and Decline of the National Bourgeoisie." Trias believes that at a certain stage of its development the bourgeoisie completed its historic mission ("destruction of feudalism and capitalist development of agriculture," "political democracy," "industrial expansion," "formation of the nation"). "Thus," he writes, "bourgeois political ideas, which looked as if they had a big future, collapsed. This was the case with the Kuomintang in China, the Mexican Revolution Party, the Argentine Radical Party. . . . This process seems to have passed through four stages: 1) struggle against the semi-feudal oligarchy associated with imperialism and victory over it; 2) vigorous government implementing of revolutionary programs and registering important

successes; 3) stagnation and internal crisis and 4) collapse, regression and corruption."*

This thesis which, it would seem, unfolds the stages of a classically correct dialectical process — rise, development and decline — begins to crack directly it comes up against the complex and contradictory course of developments. Trias' cardinal mistake is in exaggerating radicalism and the extent of the reforms carried out by the Latin American national bourgeoisie. The talk about the "revolutionary programs" of the Batllists and the Argentine radicals, etc., is far-fetched. Should not the examples of Chile and Colombia, or perhaps the belated experience of "Accion Democratica" in Venezuela or APRA in Peru be added?

These forces did, of course, to a degree carry out reforms; many of them were implemented only under relentless pressure by the working class and by the petty bourgeois intellectuals who have played and will continue to play a big role in Latin America. One can speak of "revolutionary programs" or of revolutionary efforts by governments ("implementation" of these programs) only if these governments take a radical stand on the national and agrarian questions, i.e., on the two main sources of oppression. (The particular cases of Mexico and Bolivia deserve special consideration, but neither fits in with Trias' picture.) Our present socio-economic system testifies to the restricted nature of the reforms. The example of Uruguay is revealing: capitalism there is relatively developed, the production of the means of consumption provides a substantial share of the national income, the state sector embraces the basic industries and transport, capitalist relations obtain in agriculture. From the political point of view Uruguay has one of the most stable bourgeois democracies. In saying this we must be careful not to make two mistakes:

a) to fail to note the peculiarities of the country's development and fit the real state of affairs into a general scheme, copied from another, Asian or African, country, in which the survivals of feudalism find classical expression and are more pronounced and, because of this, the national bourgeoisie are politically weaker, their class struggle against the proletariat has a shorter history. A mistake of this kind leads to a Right-wing deviation, to an overestimation of the anti-imperialist and democratic role of the national bourgeoisie and to an underestimation of the sharpness of the class struggle;

*V. Trias, "Rise, Blossoming and Decline of the National Bourgeoisie". Journal *Nuestro Tiempo*, Montevideo.

b) to exaggerate the degree of capitalist development, the extent to which democratic and national reforms have been carried out by the bourgeoisie, forgetting that imperialist oppression and latifundism — the source of the semi-feudal survivals — are still there, and, consequently, fail to observe that this capitalism is "deformed," is lame in both legs, and, as they say, will catch pneumonia the moment it sneezes because of upsets in the economy. This is the social consequence of the situation of the national bourgeoisie. The foregoing testifies that the national and democratic tasks of the revolution have not yet been exhausted. That is why the policy declaration of our Party analyzes, and with every reason, what is deformed and underdeveloped in national capitalism, and emphasizes the radical agrarian and anti-imperialist tasks of our revolution. "The national bourgeoisie, who have exerted a decisive influence on the various governments since the beginning of the century, took a number of measures to develop the economy, particularly industries producing the means of consumption. But it has failed to carry out radical changes in the system of landownership and has not pursued a consistent anti-imperialist policy. It entered into an agreement with the latifundists and British imperialism and furthered the penetration of North-American imperialism. Thus an immature capitalist development has not led to any substantial changes in the socio-economic system characterized by dependence and monoculture."*

These considerations enable us to express complete agreement with P. Reyes when he writes: "... the position of the Latin American bourgeoisie is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, its economic interests run counter to those of monopoly capital and, on the other, it is still dependent on this capital to a large degree. The economic and political interests of a part of the bourgeoisie are closely linked with the interests of the big landowners. . . . Hence the restricted nature of the bourgeois-democratic reforms; despite the fact that in many of our countries the national bourgeoisie at times participates in administering the state — the key positions in the economy and the administration are held, as before, by the spokesmen of big capital and the landowning aristocracy."**

It is worth noting that, in order to reinforce the "radicalism" of his assessment of

the national bourgeoisie, Trias and others like him have had to extol the revolutionary past of this class. This, unwittingly, plays into the hands of the parties and politicians of the national bourgeoisie who glory in their past, and this despite the fact that it is replete with the vacillation, political cowardice and defeats so common to the bourgeoisie in Central and South America. This bourgeoisie take credit for every gain that the working masses and progressive intellectuals have wrested from them. In other words, the bourgeoisie demagogically depict their social defeats as great exploits.

Trias "nobly" crowns the bourgeoisie with laurel wreaths in order to be able to say: from now on, this class as a whole, having sold itself to imperialism, is irrevocably doomed. His conclusion is obvious: the proletariat should also regard the whole national bourgeoisie as a reactionary mass, incapable of any participation in the national-liberation movement.

This way of posing the question, elevated by Trias almost to the heights of a theory of revolution in the dependent countries, disregards present realities, one of whose main features is the rapid growth of the national-liberation movement and the disintegration of the colonial system. Now the national bourgeoisie acts as a factor in the anti-imperialist revolution, which assumes many forms and can be reduced to two main variants: working-class leadership (in China), and bourgeois leadership (in some countries). And although there is a great difference between the bourgeoisie in the Afro-Asian countries and that in Latin America, clearly the common feature of the national-liberation revolutions is that the national bourgeoisie participates in them.

Can We Say that the Latin American Bourgeoisie Is a "Creature of Imperialism"?

Some dangerous conclusions follow from the Trias premise. He embellishes the penetration of imperialism, depicting the matter as if, at a given stage, the latter is interested, although to a limited degree, in developing capitalism and democracy in the colonial and dependent countries. According to Trias the maturing of capitalism in the dependent countries is the corollary of "forcible penetration of another economic variety . . . which, as a rule, cuts at the roots of local capitalism." This, in fact, is a half-truth. In Uruguay, Trias asserts, amid the primitivism and semi-feudalism of "extensive estancias,* we find

*Policy declaration of the Communist Party of Uruguay. Journal *Estudios*, No. 10, 1958.

**"Some Aspects of the Liberation Movement in Latin America," *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1959.

*Big ranches.

the trade representatives of British capitalism installing themselves," and later "imperialist penetration — enclosure, the building of railways and factories, the granting of loans and so forth — begets a national bourgeoisie."

It would be over-simplification to consider the formation of the national bourgeoisie in Latin America as being exclusively the work of imperialism; it would signify losing sight of the dialectical inter-connection of events, of the combination of the internal and external contradictions that draw our countries, ascending to the epoch of "free competition," into the process of development of world capitalism which, at a certain point, grows over into imperialism. José Carlos Mariátegui* was right when he pointed out that the susceptibility of certain political leaders in Latin America, after the War of Independence, to bourgeois economic and political theories reflected the real processes of the rise of capitalism, which was stimulated by contact with the world market. It would, of course, be a mistake to think that this was a bourgeoisie in the modern sense of the word, for it had no industrial base. It would be equally wrong to believe that this bourgeoisie emerged as the result of world capitalism entering the imperialist stage, that it was its product or its conscious creature. Imperialism, of which Trias also speaks, molds the economy of colonial and dependent countries into the distorted forms of monoculture, extraction of raw materials and food production. Imperialism seeks to maintain the backwardness of these countries, relying on feudal or semi-feudal ownership, even sustaining, where possible, survivals of slavery. Export of capital is stimulated by the chase after big profits which can be obtained where labor is cheap, where the working people have no rights and where the price of land and raw materials is low. In his critical remarks on Rosa Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, Lenin wrote, with full justification: "It is not for the sake of the 'realization of Mehrwert,' but for the convenience of exploitation ('Peitschen,' free labor, etc.) that capital has migrated to the wild countries. A higher percentage! That is all. Plunder of land (for nothing), loans at 12-13 per cent, etc., etc.—that is the root of the matter. (State guarantees: etc., etc.)"***

Imperialism establishes contact with the trading bourgeoisie (importers) who sell the manufactured products of the metropolitan

countries, as well as with the big landowners (exporters), from whom they purchase goods, fleecing them at the same time. Latin American countries, with their coastal cities, which are simultaneously rail terminals and big ports, are becoming important centers of trade, particularly on the Atlantic coast. The wealthier sections of the trading bourgeoisie have strengthened their positions and have become middlemen for the imperialists. Under the influence of the world market the big landowners, as the price of their produce rises and that of their land increases, also come within the process of world capitalist development. In the internal regions they extend their property by means of enclosures. In other countries this process is accompanied by the destruction of cottage industry. In all countries it destroys the survivals of the guild system and the formal slavery of Negroes.

For the transition to capitalist production, Marx stated, two conditions are required: a) the accumulation of wealth in money and b) people, personally free, deprived of the means of production. In some Latin American countries the enclosing of fields, the increasing price of land, the destruction of cottage industry, the expelling of the "agregado,"* the disbanding of landlord detachments, and so on, throw onto the labor market people who have been deprived of all means of production. The ranks of these people are swelled by the numerous European immigrants. Some of this labor power is absorbed by the market, while another part, unable to find employment because of the weak accumulation of capital in the country, moves into the poverty-stricken villages and settlements. The incomes of traders and landowners are invested in the new manufactories and, subsequently, in factories, which absorb some of the "free" labor. The other part of this labor power is employed in building railways and in enterprises owned by foreign capitalists. In some cases skilled European workers enlarge their workshops, employ labor and become capitalists. That is how the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in the modern sense of the word, are born. Francisco Pintos tells us that factories with steam-engines existed in Montevideo in the 1860's, and a decade later there were about 700 enterprises.**

This process is not the work of imperialism. The irony of dialectical development is, as

*"Agregado"—a peasant who lives on a landlord's estate and has no land. In fact he works for his master for a mere pittance.

**Francisco Pintos, *Battle and the Historical Process in Uruguay*, Montevideo, 1938.

*Founder of the Communist Party of Peru.

**Lenin's *Miscellany*, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1933, p. 346—Ed. (Mehrwert: surplus value. Peitschen: whips).

we know, that upon entering the stage of imperialism, world capitalism is obliged to reckon with a certain degree of capitalist development in the countries which it penetrates; and this is accompanied, as the home market takes shape, by a strengthening of the national bourgeoisie. Any other approach to the question would compel us to believe in the progressive role of imperialism at a certain stage and even to acceptance of the ludicrous theory of Haya de la Torre.

"Lenin defined imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. Yes, imperialism is the last, the highest stage in industrially advanced countries in which the historical 'space-time'* has reached full maturity. But just as the last drop fills the full glass to overflowing, and it is the last drop that comes out first, so for our American 'space-time', *imperialism is the first stage of capitalism*, for we cannot have the same historical pattern as in Europe." (Our italics—R.A.)

We have no desire to ascribe argumentation of this kind to V. Trias; our purpose is to show proof from the opposite position, from Haya's absurd theory about the progressive role of imperialism in the dependent countries.

The national bourgeoisie and first and foremost the industrial bourgeoisie is developing, despite imperialism, and its history is one of contradictions with the imperialism of one or another country. Its development is most rapid in the periods when, by virtue of extraordinary circumstances, imperialist competition on the home market declines and there is no flow of foreign capital investments. That was how matters stood at the time of the two world wars. Industrial development and accumulation of capital in

*An idealistic category of solitary zones of human society—artificially created and so designated by Haya—with allegedly exclusive laws of development operating in each zone.

Latin America took place mainly during these wars. A striking example of this is the development of the La Plata basin countries and the Atlantic coast of Brazil during the First World War.* (Before the First World War Britain was the chief investor and the chief creditor and occupied first place in the trade of these countries.) And if at that time the U.S. imperialists were pushing to the south and extending their relationships with the ruling classes—a penetration facilitated by the rise of the big bourgeoisie with which they were linked through banks, land-ownership, trade and certain industries—the bulk of the national bourgeoisie, chiefly the industrial, pursued their own aims which often ran counter to the interests of imperialism. The creation and expansion of the state sector (communal enterprises, power and fuel industry) are obviously aimed at weakening the dependence on the imperialist monopolies. Proof of this is provided by Wall Street's fierce opposition to the "industrialization" of Latin America and its advocacy of "denationalization." The national industrial bourgeoisie do not arise at the will of imperialism, but independently of it, although subsequently imperialism endeavors to utilize this class for the purpose of establishing its rule and looting the country, infiltrating into the so-called mixed enterprises, renting equipment, utilizing credit, receiving "payment for the use of patents" and so on.

This brief economic survey enables us to determine the role of the national bourgeoisie as a possible ally of the proletariat in the struggle against imperialism.

(Part II will appear in our next issue)

*Interesting data are available on national capital in Uruguay: internal loans floated since 1920 had the object of meeting the national debt. By 1930, 55 per cent of the debt had been covered.

The Present Stage in the Liberation Struggle in Algeria

Bachir Hadj Ali

THE war of independence in Algeria has entered upon its fifth year. What are the special features of the present situation in the country?

THE MILITARY SITUATION

The situation in Algeria is characterized in the first place by the intensified struggle of the people for national liberation. The colonialist press reports that the scale of hostilities has extended considerably compared with last autumn. The National Liberation Army (NLA) is practising guerilla methods such as ambush, sudden attacks, derauling trains and blowing up bridges. Despite preventive measures taken by the French Command, the protection of communications is becoming more and more difficult.

Military posts have been attacked and, in some cases, destroyed (seven were destroyed in two days—December 27-29). Towns are being increasingly isolated. The city of Constantine was without water for three days, while telephone and telegraph communication with the outside world was broken for 24 hours. The road between Constantine and the Telerghma airfield (45 kilometers away) was put out of commission for a long time by blowing up one of the main bridges. Sudden attacks and explosions are daily occurrences in the rich Mitidja valley (settled by colonists) in which the city of Algiers is situated. Having occupied the nearby mountains, the NLA forces are threatening Orleansville, Tlemcen and Sétif. The French command has declared the coastal Chenoua massif (70 kilometres west of Algiers) a "prohibited area." A few months ago the Bouzegza massif (50 kilometres from the city) was also declared a "prohibited area." The NLA is fortifying its strong points and extending the area which is unsafe for the occupationists.

The second feature of the situation is the aggravation of strategic and financial difficulties facing the colonialists and the difficulty in getting replenishments for their army.

The strategic difficulty is that a huge army

is being tied down in the main towns, at the oil pipelines now under construction, at the airfields guarding the extended communication lines the defense of which is becoming increasingly difficult. This situation has forced the colonial army to call for reinforcements. And this involves them in yet another difficulty.

The French Government, fearing the reaction of a public already dissatisfied with its social and economic measures, is reluctant to extend the period of service. Since the present call-up covers the age-groups born during the Second World War, when the birth-rate was low, the colonial army will be short of 20,000 soldiers. And when we bear in mind that even now it badly needs replenishment, then the future shortage of manpower will be in the neighborhood of 50,000. But even if the strength of the troops is increased (in Gen. Salan's opinion it should be increased by 200,000) the colonial army will still be faced with the basic contradiction of its strategy: either it will continue the operations based on the division of Algerian territory into special areas (*système de quadrillage*) — which means dispersing its forces and thus making them more vulnerable — or it will favor concentration at the vital centers, in which case even more territory will come under the control of the NLA. A combination of the two tactics would necessitate extra hundreds of thousands of men which France is unable to supply and, what is more, find the expenditure needed for their maintenance. In any case the combination, even from the purely military standpoint, would hardly be worthwhile.

Lastly, there is one more problem — the wear and tear suffered by a considerable part of the armaments and equipment.

What conclusions can be drawn from this situation? The first is that the colonial army is no longer able to ensure unrestricted colonization. In a protest forwarded to the French Command, the Confederation of European Landowners in Constantine declared that the military situation may result in the near

future in the rural areas being deserted because of landowners leaving for the towns *en masse together with their laborers and farm implements . . .**

The colonial army is in a bad way. It is waging war in an alien country. It is fighting for an unjust cause, guarding concentration camps on our soil and protecting the privileges of an insignificant minority who have made fortunes out of the poverty of the Algerian people. Morale is declining steadily. True, this army contains mercenaries bent on pillage and killing. But most of the soldiers are the sons of French workers and peasants who, irrespective of their behavior in our country, want an end to the war as quickly as possible so that they can return to their families. They are fighting against their own freedom and their own interests. And many of them realize this. Underground publications calling upon the soldiers to resist the war are circulated in the military units. There have been cases of soldiers refusing to fight against the NLA. Our people hail the young Communists Liechti, Guyot and many others who have been imprisoned for refusing to fight in Algeria, regarding this as a supreme manifestation of the courage of French patriots. The boycott of the elections was a political defeat for the colonialists. They have suffered defeat also in the so-called psychological war for which there is a special department in the French General Staff.

Our people scornfully reject the "integration" which the colonialists have counterposed to the independence slogan of the NLA and which inspires the nation.

In contrast to the colonial army, *the NLA is daily gaining in strength.* In a revolutionary war the contending forces cannot be measured by the numerical strength of the troops and their equipment. One would think that the 600,000-strong colonial army with its planes, helicopters, tanks, transport and supply services, naval forces, gendarmerie, police and guard units, should have defeated the NLA long ago. But the colonial army is a colossus with feet of clay. The facts show that real superiority lies *elsewhere*: since November 1954, despite the heavy losses, the NLA has grown in numbers and is better armed. Its strategic potential is greater and its equipment has improved. Morale is excel-

lent. *It is fighting on native soil.* A feature of a revolutionary army waging war in a colony is that on the whole it consists of poor peasants, and the villages serve as its strong points. *This army knows what it is fighting for.* The army of the enemy, on the contrary, defending an outlived stage of social development — colonialism — serves the reactionary forces of the past, which are doomed to disappear. But the National Liberation Army, defending the interests of the people, is striving for a society in keeping with the age and for this reason represents the new and growing forces fighting for liberation. Enjoying the support of the people, the NLA is not waging war for the sake of war. Its objective is a *just peace*.

The National Liberation Army will continue to grow both in numbers and in quality because it devotes special attention to winning the masses politically, explaining things to them and convincing them; combats anarchism and everything prejudicial to its honor; opposes any discrimination against the soldiers because of their former political affiliation; spurns anti-communism as an imperialist venom and condemns factionalism, defeatism and despondency.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The military situation will not be understood correctly if regarded in isolation from the political situation.

French Policy in Algeria

Since 1954 all French governments have tried in vain to alienate the NLA from the people. De Gaulle, too, is trying to do so, but on a larger scale. After the General's advent to power, a part of the Algerian public, although mistrustful of the reactionary forces behind him, still believed that his participation in the Resistance Movement would enable him to take a broad approach to the Algerian problem.

Our Party immediately warned the people against any illusions about the General's Algerian policy. Although somewhat different from that of the preceding governments, the aim of his policy is the same—to deny independence to Algeria. The minor policy changes are explained by the fact that "the class interests of the oil industrialists . . . compel them to draw up plans for a partial industrialization of Algeria. They find it profitable to build factories, oil pipelines, highways, railways and to train a relatively skilled labor force drawn from the local population. The economic and social program an-

*Incidentally, of the 250,000 hectares of land to be distributed under the Constantine plan, 100,000 hectares are in the Constantine Department. This land belonged to the big colonists and was purchased by the French Government. It was promised to the Algerian peasants because it had been abandoned owing to lack of security.

nounced by de Gaulle in Constantine pursues not only propagandist aims. It expresses the interests of the big bourgeoisie who placed him in power. One should not be surprised that de Gaulle is forced to pursue a policy differing in some respects from that proclaimed by the colonists and that he may, should the circumstances call for it, even oppose their policy . . .”*

At the same time de Gaulle and the Debré government have no desire to recognize the national character of our struggle, and this is the main question. They have not stopped the war in Algeria; mass murders, tortures, raids and arrests are still the order of the day. To the provisional government's sincere proposal to begin negotiations without prior conditions (this was preceded by freeing the French POW's) de Gaulle answered with the demand for unconditional surrender. The Algerian people thereupon resumed the struggle, since they had exhausted all the possibilities of gaining freedom by other means. Abolition of colonialism is the first condition for a durable peace between France and Algeria, the condition for peaceful co-existence between the Algerian people and the European minority.

It is quite possible that through negotiations common ground will be found for a reasonable solution which would respect both Algeria's inalienable right to independence and the legitimate interests of the two sides. The colonists, who have turned down political negotiations and insist on our capitulation as if there were no political reasons behind this war, have adopted an attitude of intransigence. On the patriotic political organizations rests the responsibility for preventing the blood of our people from being shed. Moreover, as Ferhat Abbas, head of the provisional government, has said, the Algerian people would be the first victims of a shameful peace. Any peaceful solution based on confused and ambiguous propositions, is bound to be the source of conflicts. Genuine peace with France is possible only if the colonialist relations of master and subject make way for normal relations of freedom and equality between two sovereign nations.

We shall continue to repeat that we have *no anti-French sentiments*. The freedom-loving and revolutionary traditions of the French people arouse in us feelings of admiration and respect. The long years of colonial oppression have not prevented our people learning from French democrats and working peo-

ple much that is valuable, positive and that has furthered the struggle. On the whole, the Algerian liberation movement spurns chauvinism and hatred of foreigners for hatred's sake. Our Party combats all forms of national narrow-mindedness. But we declare over and over again; our country is not French, it has no desire to be French and never will be. The peace proposed by de Gaulle, wrote *Al Istiqlal*, a Moroccan nationalist paper, “substitutes modern and, consequently, more dangerous forms for the old forms of colonial exploitation. The peace of which de Gaulle speaks is an ‘Atlantic’ peace on the ‘American’ model, a peace that would enable the big oil companies to exploit the tremendous riches of the Sahara exclusively in their own interests.”

What is more, the colonial war threatens peace in North Africa, the three nations of which are linked by bonds of fraternal solidarity. The French Government's systematic provocations against Tunisia and Morocco are fraught with the danger of deepening the Franco-Algerian conflict. Any agreement between France and these two countries cannot be stable so long as the war in Algeria continues. Cessation of this war will guarantee lasting peace in North Africa and in the Mediterranean basin.

Not satisfied with turning the Sahara into an atomic testing ground, with seizing and exploiting our resources in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the French Government has handed our oil and natural gas to the powerful international cartel dominated by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. These resources have been vested in the American firm for a long period and on terms detrimental to Algeria's economy and the political future of our people.* We know full well that in the Middle East these companies have made fortunes out of the blood and misery of our brother peoples and are the cause of their long years of suffering. We realize how grave is the danger for our immediate future caused by handing over our oil and gas resources to the international cartel (it enables the French war economy to get the needed hard currency) and the danger involved for the whole of North Africa which may become the arena of rivalry between international trusts. By seizing eco-

*The terms enable France to pocket 50 per cent of the profits, enabling her to cover her military expenditure. The remainder finds its way to the coffers of the oil companies. Thus, our people are robbed both by the French Government which receives part of the profits, and by the companies. In other, independent countries, foreign firms get no more than 25-40 per cent of profits.

*Leon Feix, *l'Humanite*, November 8, 1958.

conomic positions in our country, Standard Oil Co., directly represented in the U.S. Government, paves the way to political penetration by the United States — the most powerful imperialist power at the present time.

The experience of the Eastern peoples shows that American imperialism is the mortal enemy of the Arab countries. The people of Algeria, who are making untold sacrifices in the war, are not doing so for the sake of a change of masters.

To a people in chains, fighting for freedom, de Gaulle and his government offer a gilded cage and a paltry pittance in the shape of the so-called Constantine plan. The Algerians, living in abject poverty, more than anybody want to see economic changes. But they know that the first condition for any really substantial changes in their way of life is to take over their country and its national wealth; that another condition is the growth of political consciousness and organization among the working class, poor peasantry and the masses generally.

The Constantine plan, still only a *promise*, is designed, in de Gaulle's opinion, to weaken the resistance of our people and to divert them from political issues, to fill the "political vacuum," as the colonialists describe the refusal of the Algerians to collaborate with the French administration. The reply of the Algerian people was soon forthcoming; not a single patriot stooped to treachery. Evidently the French leaders are shortsighted politically, otherwise they would have realized that, in our eyes, the small group of Algerians with whom they have surrounded themselves, whether in parliament or in the government, are those who, in the eyes of the French people, were collaborators during the Hitler occupation.

To the policy of violence and intrigue the Algerian people have but one answer, i.e., *struggle*. It would be a mistake to regard their sincere desire for peace as a sign of weakness or weariness. They are ready to make more sacrifices since they know that these will not be in vain and that history has never known the case of a nation winning freedom, peace, dignity and happiness without sacrifice.

The International Conditions of Our Struggle

The internal and external conditions of our struggle are incomparably more favorable than those in which the colonialists are waging war against us.

The socio-economic situation in France is

getting worse. The Algerian war adversely affects the conditions of the French working people. No matter what struggle they may wage now or in the future, they will be helping us, creating extra difficulties for the French Government. Moreover, in the course of this struggle they will become aware of the close link between the colonial policy in Algeria and the reactionary policy at home which is increasing the poverty of the people. We are carefully watching events in France, expressing our sympathy with and gratitude to her class-conscious workers and their Communist Party for their courageous support of our right to independence despite all obstacles. We express our sympathy with and gratitude to all the forces of the Left, all progressives fighting for peace through negotiation. We have no desire to meddle in France's internal affairs. But in the interests of the fight for peace in Algeria we would like to see certain Left, non-communist, forces abandon their anti-communism, because anti-communism is detrimental both to the struggle for democracy in France and to the cause of liberation in Algeria.

Our Party will make persistent efforts to ensure that the French public is correctly informed and, as hitherto, will continue to refute the lies. The facts have confirmed the correctness of our stand on the question of a natural fighting alliance between the national-liberation movement and the French working class. We hailed the statement made by Mohamed Yazid, Minister of Information of the Algerian Government, in *La Tribune de Lausanne*: "We shall do everything to win the moral and political support of the French democrats and the working class for our lawful liberation struggle."

The formation of the provisional government and the proclamation of the Algerian Republic were important steps in the political life of our country advancing towards its free future. The reaction of the Algerians to this act can be appreciated only by a nation deprived of sovereignty for many decades. The news of the formation of our government, which after the dark century-long night succeeded the last government of Emir Abdel Kader, brought gladness into the cottages of the poor and the mansions of the bourgeoisie. Only people blinded by prejudice could imagine that the Algerians would relinquish that which they have won.

De Gaulle invited Algerian Government leaders to Paris with a view to securing their capitulation. But his design was frustrated,

and the invitation, despite all the verbal subterfuge, merely strengthened the position of our government. The Algerian Government has been recognized by a number of countries. From sympathy and solidarity, the aid to our people is ascending to the level of inter-state relations with ensuing broader support. In this connection we should recall the visit of the government delegation to China, which resulted in a joint communique, confirming support for our cause by 650 million Chinese people.

It is also known that during the recent debate on the Algerian question in the United Nations, Algeria was supported by 35 countries against 18, with 28 abstentions. The Great Powers, which usually support France, abstained this time, thus aggravating the diplomatic isolation of the French Government on the Algerian question. The point in the resolution noting the existence of the Algerian Government won 32 votes during the discussion in a UN commission, i.e., more than the number of countries which have recognized the government. This is important, for it testifies to tacit recognition of the representative character of the provisional government by those of the 32 countries which have not yet granted official recognition. The earlier debates in the United Nations, when the judicial fiction of "three French departments" was exposed, have been left far behind.

The struggle waged by our people is a component part of the general anti-imperialist struggle. The Algerian Communist Party has always repeated this point, and it is confirmed by our country's participation in the Cairo Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Countries, by the support of all Algerians for the Bandung principles and by Algerian-Chinese friendship. By virtue of geography, history, ideology and economic factors and by virtue of some common interests our country is linked with Tunisia and Morocco, with the Arab countries, the people of Africa and the French proletariat. Moreover, we should mention the ties established by our country with the other international anti-imperialist forces.

The striving of the African people for unity and independence is shaking the "Franco-African community." The time is not far distant when Nigeria, the Cameroons and Sierra Léone will attain freedom. The people of the "Belgian" Congo have risen in struggle. Does anyone think that Algeria will remain the only oppressed country in Africa?

The anti-imperialist revolution in Iraq, carried through by the National Front, which includes nationalists and Communists, placed the problem of Arab unity on a real and solid democratic basis. This revolution will have a beneficial effect on the alliance and solidarity of the Arab peoples in their anti-imperialist struggle. In this struggle the Communist parties of the Arab countries act as the leader and vanguard of their people. The struggle of the Arab peoples inspires us. The stronger their independence, the more effective will be their aid to Algeria.

"The China of the people's communes and of the gigantic leap forward has superseded the formerly underdeveloped country exploited by foreign capital and enmeshed by unequal treaties," writes *Al Moudjahid*, the central organ of the National-Liberation Front. At present China is getting ready to outstrip capitalist Britain in industrial development.

The Soviet Union is now building communism. As Algerians anxious for our country's future, we know that the success of the seven-year plan will enable the USSR to render still greater disinterested aid to the underdeveloped countries, thereby helping them to get rid of their economic dependence on the imperialists. In our view the strengthening of the socialist camp will accelerate the process of easing international tension and create more favorable international conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem. The defeat suffered by Britain, France and Israel at the time of Suez convinces us that success for the Algerian revolution, too, is linked with the consolidation of the socialist camp.

More and more, our people are beginning to understand who are their real friends, to see more clearly those who support their enemies — the Atlantic alliance and its main force, American imperialism. The illusions about the "anti-colonialism" of the United States are being dispelled.

With one hand the United States supplies France with planes which drop bombs on our wives and children, and with the other it sends tins of condensed milk to those who survive the bombings. The fact that the United States refrained from voting at the last session of the United Nations, citing the absence of France, hardly testifies to anti-colonialism, which is incompatible with the nature of its system. It merely indicates the desire of the United States to safeguard its

oil interests in the Sahara, its strategic bases and future in North Africa.

We constantly tell our people to be vigilant. Anti-communist intimidation is now one of the methods used by imperialism. Anti-communism is used as a cloak for imperialist penetration. Many nations know this to their cost. We shall resolutely combat anti-communism because it is detrimental to our national interests and to the unity of the Algerian and international working-class movement. We fully support the resolutions adopted by the Tangier Conference of the Three Trade-Union Centers of Maghreb* in October 1957. These resolutions stress the need to achieve the solidarity of the workers throughout the world, without exception, to strengthen the unity of the working-class movement. We likewise support Ferhat Abbas who, impervious to the anti-communist intimidation of the imperialists, said apropos of the Algerian resolution: "Everybody knows that we are not Communists. But we would rather be free Algerian Communists than remain under a foreign yoke."

For lack of other arguments, the French imperialists continually revert to the "bogey of communism." In foreign policy, it is used with an eye to intimidating some governments and enlisting their support for the Algerian war; for domestic purposes it is aimed at disuniting the patriots. The same arguments are used by leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and by some anti-communist governments. They do not, of course, say that the Algerian revolution is a "communist" revolution, but in exchange for their support of Algeria they would like to direct the provisional government, the National-Liberation Front (NLF) and the General Union of Algerian Working People along the anti-communist path.

Our stand on this question is clear. First, to become free Algeria should accept aid from wherever it comes — East or West — and reject it when it is accompanied by political strings running counter to the struggle for independence and sovereignty. Second, Algeria's political system is a matter for the Algerians themselves; it is they who will decide what institutions are good for them. Being consistent democrats, the Communists, like all patriots, will hearken to the voice of the people.

*Maghreb ("West" in Arabic), the name of the North-West African countries—Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.—Tr.

THE ALGERIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

The Algerian Communist Party, jointly with all the patriotic forces, is fighting for national independence. It has never concealed, however, that after winning independence and carrying through the national-democratic revolution, Algeria should advance towards complete liberation. The Communist Party considers that a socialist Algeria will be built in the future, an Algeria in which there will be no exploitation of man by man. It declared in March 1957: "We Communists—a small part of the people— want to build a socialist Algeria in peace, under the leadership of the working class, in alliance with the poor peasantry, with the forward-looking intellectuals and with the majority of the people. We want to build socialism, basing ourselves on the tested universal theory of Marxism-Leninism, applying it in the national conditions of Algeria."

But today Algeria is faced with the choice not between colonialism and socialism but *between colonialism and democratic national liberation*. That is how the Communist Party sees it; and for this reason it is sparing no effort in the common cause of national liberation. The Party's program on this question can be expressed in four words: independence, land, bread and peace. Independence is the basic condition for *all* other points.

1. National independence: Algeria shall become a single and indivisible democratic and social republic (including the Algerian Sahara) with its constitution, parliament, national flag and all other attributes of sovereignty.

Parliament shall be elected by a single electoral college, through universal and direct suffrage, with secret ballot. Freedom of opinion, speech, association and religion shall be guaranteed and respected. All Algerian citizens, irrespective of their ethnic and social origin, shall have equal rights and obligations.

Naturalized Europeans shall have the same rights and obligations as Algerians. Anyone wishing to retain French citizenship can do so, but then he will not enjoy the rights of an Algerian citizen. Agreements between France and Algeria will guarantee the rights and lawful interests of these French citizens and reciprocally those of Algerians residing in France.

2. A far-reaching agrarian reform could be carried out along the following lines; a) expropriation of land (with all property attached thereto) belonging to the colonist asso-

ciations, big colonists and the Algerian feudal-traitors; b) distribution of this land among the agricultural laborers, khammès,* poor and middle peasants. The NLA soldiers, families of landless and poor peasants and of those who fell in the liberation struggle shall be the first to receive land.

3. We declare that the French Government agreements with the oil companies shall be cancelled. We stand for gradual nationalization of our basic natural resources (alfa, cork, coal, phosphates, oil, gas, etc), for nationalization of the banks, public utilities, transport, etc.; for modernization and technical equipment in order to build industry—the economic foundation of independence; for control over foreign investments in order to avoid economic and, consequently, political dependence which would be detrimental to national sovereignty and social progress; for ending unemployment and raising living standards (minimum wage, housing, social legislation, etc.). We consider it necessary to draw up a plan to abolish illiteracy; introduce the teaching of the native Arab language as quickly as possible; train national technicians; democratize and “Arabize” the administration and, lastly, carry through sweeping reforms with a view to drawing women into the management of state affairs.

4. In foreign policy the main points of our program are:

—Settlement of the common problems with which history has confronted France and Algeria (economy, exploitation of the Sahara's wealth, language, the European minority in Algeria, and the Algerian workers in France) on the basis of free and equal relations and with respect for mutual interests; we shall strive to establish such relations and consider them useful.

—North-African unity on a federal basis (in the first place, immediate realization of the Tangier Conference decisions).

—Close alliance and co-operation with the Arab countries taking the path of unity.

—A policy based on the principles of the Bandung and Cairo conferences.

—Co-operation and friendly relations with all countries.

* * *

Before being outlawed in 1955, the Algerian Communist Party used all legal opportunities to mobilize the people for the struggle initiated by the first Moudjahiddines;** it called

upon its members to join the guerilla forces. When the Party was banned it formed its military organization, “Liberation Fighters,” which had not a few military operations to its credit. In 1956 the Party, striving for unity, dissolved this organization in agreement with the National Liberation Front; its members joined the National Liberation Army individually and in groups. By agreement these fighters, like all the NLA soldiers, obey the National-Liberation Front. Many of our fighters fell in action together with their nationalist brothers.

The Communist Party and the NLF also co-operated fruitfully in other spheres. Our Party intends to continue this co-operation, remaining independent organizationally and politically. On November 27, 1957, it called upon its members and sympathizers, and on the members of the Trade Union Amalgamation, to join the Union of Working People for the purpose of achieving working-class unity.

In the political sphere our Party constantly supports the NLF which is directing the struggle. This support is all the more solid because it has its source in the agreed program of the two organizations — *the basis of the political unity of the people* — and in their identity of views in the matter of immediate aims. The Front and the Party, naturally, have ideological differences; there can be different assessments of one or another aspect of the situation or of alliances; but unity gains in strength when opinions are expressed freely, when there is no silencing of the views of others and when all efforts are directed against the enemy. And so we find in practice *an alliance* between the National Liberation Front and the Communist Party.

We are supporting the provisional government in the struggle for liberation. We are helping to rally the masses around the government so that it can achieve this noble aim. Our Party has expressed the desire to join the provisional government, but so far it has been denied this. However, it does not make participation in the government a condition of its support. Despite the years of illegality, the war and the brutal repressions, our Party has carried on extensive work among the masses to raise the political, ideological and organizational level of the national struggle and to consolidate the people's forces. It also continues to win the workers of European origin away from reactionary in-

*Khammès—a sharecropper who receives only one-fifth of the crop.

**Warriors.

fluence and to draw the more class-conscious into the liberation struggle.

The Party has warned the patriots against harmful actions. It combats the illusions about the "anti-colonialism" of the U.S. rulers and the alleged liberal policy of de Gaulle. The Party has inculcated in the Algerian working class the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which is inseparable from the national interests. Our people see a manifestation of this internationalism in the encouragement from the international working-class movement and the Communist parties of the world. The Party has always combated the conservatives and dogmatists in its ranks who did great harm especially to its national policy; it is now combating the revisionists and opportunists who underestimate or deny the Party's role in the liberation struggle.

Some people in the national movement suggested that we should dissolve our Party in order, as they said, to work better for the common cause. But the four-year experience of the war has demonstrated that the Communist Party has always been a positive factor influencing the national-liberation struggle. No patriot can say that the existence of our Party has harmed the cause, the popular movement, the Algerian government or the war of liberation. The work carried out by our Party has helped to consolidate the political unity of the people; our support of the National Liberation Front has enhanced its representative character and its prestige in the eyes of the world. In our memoranda to the United Nations and in our appeals we nailed the enemy's lie alleging differences between the parties and discord among the patriots.

The merger of the *nationalist* parties into a single movement has not prevented the National Liberation Front from establishing mass organizations supporting its activities. The Union of Working People, established by the Front, upholds the national interests. The same can be said about the Union of Shopkeepers, the Association of Algerian Working People (in France), the Union of Algerian and Moroccan Students, etc. Each of these organizations defends the particular interests of its members. All have but one goal — independence. The founding of these organizations representing the sections and trends taking part in the national struggle, their unity based on a common platform while maintaining the independence of each, has furthered the development of the revolutionary forces and their movement in a single

direction (recall, for example, the patriotic strikes in 1957). The existence of an independent peasant organization would put the general movement on still more solid foundations.

Everything that goes for the mass organizations applies, but in a greater degree, also to our advanced national and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, which is the supreme expression of the present and future vital interests of the nation, and especially of the working class and the poorer peasantry. Dissolution of the Communist Party would, therefore, have adverse consequences for the entire national-liberation movement. This is not a question of trust or mistrust, as can be seen from our support of the Front and the provisional government in the war of independence. The existence of the Communist Party and its activity reflect the internal laws of development in Algeria; and an offshoot of this development is the working class, with its political and social organizations and ideology.

Any *organizational and political* strengthening of our Party signifies a greater desire for unity. Consequently, it means closer unity of the nation and a higher level of the struggle headed by the NLF. Any retreat by our Party would be detrimental to the national-liberation struggle. The existence of our Party, far from being an obstacle, imparts momentum to the liberation struggle.

* * *

Being the logical continuation of the struggle begun in the distant past, before the epic fight waged by Abdel Kader and the 1871 rebellion, the present Algerian revolution differs from the struggle of the past by its better political and military organization.

This revolution is not a riot or revolt of a particular province, region or part of the population. It is the cause of all the people and is developing on a national scale. It is led not by rival organizations or leaders. The National Liberation Army fights under a unified command, and the provisional government is the supreme expression of our revolution.

The Algerian revolution takes into account not only the experience of the national struggle, but also the international experience of revolutionary wars in the epoch of anti-imperialist and proletarian revolutions. And this experience is applied in the specific conditions of our country.

The Algerian revolution is not isolated; it

is an integral part of the world anti-imperialist movement including the popular liberation movements and the working-class struggle in the various countries against the exploitation of man by man. Our revolution enjoys the support of the vast majority of the people

of the world and has natural and loyal allies even in the country which is waging war against us.

And for this reason the Algerian revolution, despite the difficulties it has still to overcome, is bound to triumph.

At the Crossroads

(Reflections on the Meeting between Bevan, Nenni and Mendes-France)

Jean Kanapa

THE argument about the need for and the possibility of unity of the "Left" and, more generally, of all the democratic forces, is acquiring international significance.

It was not born of the caprice of publicists, but originated in the popular movement. The people are anxious to get out of the mess in which they have been landed by the monopoly bourgeoisie — and which is characterized by extreme polarization of wealth and poverty and by attacks against democratic rights. The suffering caused by the reactionary onslaught now under way in most West-European countries makes people ask: "What is the way out?" Their experience, as the facts prove, makes them more receptive to the meaning of the slogan of democracy and its basic content — active participation by the masses in the political and economic management of the country at all stages of its development.

The foregoing is true of France where the demagogic smoke-screen designed to cloak the efforts to step up reaction, establish arbitrary one-man rule and abolish democratic freedoms, is beginning to dissipate. It is true of Italy, where the reactionary attempts to launch an open onslaught encountered grave difficulties. It is true of Belgium where economic demands were advanced during the miners' strike in Borinage. It is also true of Greece where, despite repressions, it is the reactionaries who find themselves in a difficult situation. And, finally, it has a bearing on Britain, though from a somewhat different angle, where the Macmillan government, which cannot entirely ignore the demands of the people, has displayed a certain flexibility in carrying out the Atlantic bloc's imperialist policy, and this, too, has a significance for the democratic movement. In a word, in all these countries there is a growing desire among the workers, among an im-

portant part of the middle sections who only yesterday were disorientated, and, in some cases, among bourgeois (so-called liberal) circles, for a change in the political course, a change in favor of democratic progress.

This question of a democratic way out arises, and not infrequently with striking force, in altogether different conditions — for instance, in the national-liberation movement. The urge for democratic development is accompanied more and more by a struggle for genuine independence, against foreign imperialism. This is clearly manifest in the example of Iraq. But it is also typical of a number of Latin American countries, where the dictatorial regimes imposed by U.S. imperialism are becoming increasingly unstable; and also of the liberation movement in Africa. In the past, the national and democratic demands were closely interlocked. There are plenty of similar examples in history. In our time the new features are the participation of the broad masses in the struggle for these simultaneously national and democratic demands, and the worldwide scale of the struggle.

The international argument about the prospects for democracy is marked by the imprint of a very important factor. As matters stand, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union have, for the first time, placed on a real foundation the question of a new prospect for social progress: that is, the question of a democracy of a new type. There was a time when this prospect was only a theoretical problem. Today the brilliant propositions of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been implemented in a number of countries whose total population comprises one-third of mankind. This perspective has thus become a component of the argument opened up by history on the nature of a social system that is con-

sistent with the present stage of human development. It can even be said that, since bourgeois ideology is now no longer in a position to offer anything for the future and, in its desire to preserve the obsolete order of things at any cost, proposes conservative measures, this perspective has become the dominating element of the argument now occupying human thought.

The argument in question is by no means a mere comparison of ideas. It is *life* itself, a real contest of various social forces, a contest which is made up of numerous battles fought daily in all corners of the earth against exploitation and oppression, against the forces which seek to subordinate the masses to the rule of the past and to turn back the wheel of history. It is typical of this contest that in many countries the battle for social progress and genuine democracy is led by the organized working class, headed by strong Communist parties. The role of the Communist parties in the life of nations has grown to such a degree that no vital national problem can be solved in the interests of the people without them and, still less, against them.

This group of questions is stimulating collective thought, which has been enriched by the XXIst Congress of the CPSU. The various elements, traditionally though somewhat ambiguously known as the "Left," are showing concern over these problems and are discussing them. In this connection the recent meeting of Pierre Mendès-France, Pietro Nenni and Aneurin Bevan deserves attention. The French *L'Express*, the Italian *L'Espresso* and the British *Observer* have reported this meeting, which is both an expression and a component of the argument that is now justifiably perturbing the Left movement in the West-European countries. And we would like to share our reflections on this matter.*

We hasten to add that we are not doing this with the object of rejecting the views and proposals of the Lefts who do not regard themselves as advocates of Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, we wish to facilitate common thinking about the questions they have raised and to help find an acceptable solution to the problems which they have posed. We are deeply convinced that such joint thinking is necessary and that an agreed decision is possible.

*Many problems were discussed by Mendès-France, Nenni and Bevan. But we shall only touch upon a few of them. This does not mean that the remaining problems, particularly those of the underdeveloped countries, are not deserving of interest. Our view simply is that we should dwell on the most important, the key question.

What was the object of the meeting? It was arranged to analyze the situation in Europe and to discuss the prospects from the "Left" viewpoint. The concept of "Left" undoubtedly requires to be defined more precisely. For instance, we here have to do with the leader of the Italian Socialist Party, whose program calls for "the socialization of the means of production and the transformation of private ownership into public or collective ownership"; with a Left leader of the British Labor Party, who also thinks of himself as a Socialist, although his party has, to all intents and purposes, renounced its 1918 demand for "the collective ownership of the means of production"; and, lastly, with Mendès-France, the French Radical leader, who lays no claim to be a Socialist. No French Socialist leader sat at the side of the leaders of the two big Socialist parties — the Italian and the British. This in itself is significant and testifies to the out-and-out bankruptcy of the Mollet leadership of the French Socialist Party. It should also be said, for reasons not mentioned here, but which will be clear from what follows, that no Communists were present although they form an integral part of the Left. Thus the Bevan, Mendès-France and Nenni meeting proves, both by the composition of those present and the affiliation of those who were not, that there is what they call a "crisis" of the Left and, moreover, it affords evidence of their efforts, so to speak, to "find themselves."

The leaders began their conversations with an analysis of the postwar political situation in Europe. They noted correctly that during the war the "Rights . . . compromised themselves by collaborating with the occupying forces; . . . it can generally be said that it was the reactionary and conservative elements in the different countries that supported Hitler and his allies . . ." (Mendès-France). How is it then that these Right forces, discredited as they are in the eyes of the people in Western Europe, have come to power and are jeopardizing the very existence of classical bourgeois democracy? The reason as Mendès-France sees it, is the lack of experience, skill and ability of the Left leaders in the postwar governments. This explanation is clearly a superficial one. Nenni noted with regard to Italy that the "shift to the Right" took place in 1947-1948, with the breakdown of the military alliances and the beginning of the cold war. We think it appropriate to ask: who is to blame for the collapse of the alliances and who started the cold war? Nenni and Bevan subsequently

stressed the great responsibility resting upon American imperialism (while Mendès-France delivered an unconvincing speech in "defense" of the USA). "It would be a profound blunder to imagine," Bevan said, "that we look upon America as the savior of Europe. . . . In 1945, for example, we considered that America treated us outrageously. . . . America never recognized that after the world war the world was in an endemic revolution. All she wanted to do was to re-establish the same kind of society that existed before the war. . . . I took the view that American isolation was not the danger, but American intervention."

There is a *direct* link between the "shift to the Right" in Western Europe and the domination of American imperialism. The war caused no damage to American imperialism. It came out of the war safe and sound, stronger than its Western allies and even made a profit out of the slaughter. And the ambition to rule the Western world — an ambition nurtured even before the war — soared. The U.S. imperialists aimed at colonizing Europe, at "driving out" socialism. For this they needed to re-establish, and with the utmost speed, the "economic and social forces of conservatism and reaction that had been allied with fascism" (Nenni), that is, the big bourgeoisie. In a word, the "political change" noted by the meeting had class roots; to be precise, this was *the alliance between the American imperialists and the big bourgeoisie in Europe* in their class interests.

This class factor explains why, beginning with 1947-48, European governments were all characterized by "their inability to resolve pressing problems" — in France, that of "economic revival and revising our relations with overseas countries," Mendès-France remarked. Postwar experience has shown that the big bourgeoisie is incapable, *by its very nature*, of solving these problems in the interests of the people, for their interests are incompatible with its chief objective, namely, the pursuit of maximum profits. This condemnation of European capitalism emerges clearly from the interchange of views between the three leaders. Bevan was most explicit on this point: "The economic problems of Western society," he said, "are practically insoluble in the terms in which they (the Right theoreticians) are meeting them. What we in this country, for example, cannot forget is that for the last three years production in Great Britain has been stagnant. In the course of the last six months, it has actually declined. An enormous percentage of the

productive capacity of modern capitalism is now permanently unemployed." (Mendès-France: "Same thing in France.") Bevan: "Therefore this is the fundamental question. The apologists of the system (capitalist) cannot find any intelligible answer. . . . In America there are five million unemployed, and many underemployed. This situation is now being contrasted with what is happening in the communist world, where you have mounting production and economic buoyancy."

Bevan noted further that a lot of "gimmicks" were being tried out, of which the Common Market was one, to defer the catastrophe. But they were not a cure-all, and could only aggravate the problems — that of unemployment, in particular. The trio emphasized the fact that the international situation, which has taken shape as a result of the "policy of intimidation" and consequently the arms race in the imperialist camp, retards West Europe's economic development.

The question was then posed: What should the Left do to get the peoples of Europe out of this situation? Subsequently, summarizing the results of the meeting, Nenni replied: "The goal is to reverse the present orientation, an orientation that now turns towards economic reaction, nationalism and colonialism."

This brings us to the focal point of the debate. Two questions arise immediately: How is this orientation to be changed and turned Left? And what aims will the re-orientation pursue?

* * *

Comrade Togliatti made a highly important remark in commenting upon this meeting. When one speaks of Europe, he wrote, it is necessary to clarify the meaning attached to this word. Geographically speaking, Europe extends to the Urals. And since that is the case, it should be pointed out that "socially speaking Eastern Europe has now advanced. You can hold any opinion you like on what passed in Russia in October 1917, and in the subsequent 40 years, but in the long run you will have to admit that a more advanced social system exists there. . . ." So that, strictly speaking, Western Europe is "behindhand by a whole revolution," and it is to Eastern Europe and — more broadly — to the socialist camp, that the function of the leading force, not only in Europe, but in the whole world, has passed.

It seems to us that this should be the point of departure in any search for the answer to the question: what are the perspectives and

the tasks of the Left in Europe? The three leaders evidently agreed that Europe's future does not lie in a shift "to the Right." It is clear that a "Right" solution, a big monopoly, reactionary bourgeois solution, is no solution at all, but an impasse. It is becoming increasingly difficult to deny that European development tends objectively towards a socialist future. Not only is this a problem that has been solved in a considerable part of Europe, it is one of the urgent needs of the social-economic development of Western Europe. The development towards socialism may, of course, be retarded. But the Communists do not conceal the fact that they want to accelerate the move in this direction. This, in any case, is inevitable. Mendès-France realized this when he said: "... Social progress is not only a moral necessity exacted by our concept of equality, our sense of justice and humanity; it has become an indispensable factor — simultaneously the objective and the motive force — of economic advance." This historical necessity, which derives from the interdependence between the development of the productive forces and social progress, is the objective source of the absolute confidence we have in the final results of our efforts. Not only is it the bedrock upon which the very existence of the Communist parties in the Western countries is founded, it is the source of their growing strength. And this leaves its imprint on many things, including the discussion of political problems; communism in twentieth century Europe is now a force exerting a definite influence on public opinion, and has become the focal point of political and ideological discussion among the masses.

That is why no serious analysis of the perspectives and tasks of the Left in Europe can be made unless it is recognized that, inasmuch as the battle for socialism is essentially a class struggle, on no account can the most cohesive and powerful section of the working class, that organized in the Communist parties, be ignored (unless defeat is desired). Such a "deletion," which Mendès-France and Nenni are obdurately insisting on, can only bring a smile in an age when the masses the world over know there is a country, a people, and a government fighting for the realization of the age-old dream of the oppressed — for communism; in an age when the XXIst Congress of the CPSU marked the beginning of a program envisaging an unprecedented leap forward in the all-round development of society, including the sphere of democracy. We say outright that a discussion

on socialism that disdainfully ignores the achievements of the socialist camp and the activities of the Communist parties — whose growing importance is the typical feature of the second half of the XXth century — cannot but be academic.

The approach taken at the interchange of views between Mendès-France, Nenni, and Bevan, does not allow of a correct reply to the main question troubling the "non-Communist Left." What is the chief reason for the relative weakness of the "Left," and why have they not yet effected the desired "shift in orientation"? As the London *Daily Worker* aptly pointed out, "the Right is certainly bankrupt, but it is also in office."

Why? Where else does the reason lie but in the malaise of the "Left" inasmuch as they persist in their anti-communism, in dividing the working-class and democratic forces!

* * *

The most negative aspect of the meeting between Nenni, Bevan and Mendès-France is their refusal to take into account the importance of the Communist parties representing the advanced and most militant section of the working class: their renunciation of joint struggle, even for aims which they themselves have framed. It was as if the sole aim of the meeting was to find a way of reviving democracy and social progress without the Communists. It was as if the three men were haunted by the outworn, bankrupt ideas of a "third force."

They are quite frank on this point in discussing the desirability of a new Popular Front at the present time. While highly assessing the merits of the Popular Front of 1936 (according to Nenni "an important event in political history"), they give the reasons for their negative attitude to this question now. In their opinion, the Communist Party played only an auxiliary role in the Popular Front movement in 1936 and was greatly outbalanced on its right flank, whereas now the "Communist Party would become the main link" in the Popular Front. A splendid evaluation of Communist Party policy, one that shows that it has won the confidence of the majority of the working class and a considerable part of the middle sections!

And it would appear that the logic of democracy requires this fact to be taken into consideration and corresponding conclusions drawn, namely: that the Communist Party be allocated the place it deserves in the union of democratic forces and, what is more, in the institutions of the Republic. They decided otherwise. "We need to find the neces-

sary big forces and, with this end in view, should win the men and women following the Communist Party. . . ."

There is no doubt that the Left's defeat in France at the hands of the neo-fascists in November 1958 disposed Mendès-France to entertain certain illusions about a possible collapse of the Communist Party. But four months later the municipal elections brought it remarkable gains, dispelled the illusions and compelled Mendès-France to look at things more objectively.

Is this to say that the fight for democracy is to proceed along the same lines as 1936?

It is perfectly clear that big changes have taken place since 1936, and they open up other prospects. The question nevertheless arises and the meeting posed it: how to revive a mass movement that would bring the Left to power, as was the case in 1936? Here the participants are most reserved. They either replied in generalities or dodged the answer: "What we need is explanatory work and patience."

And this is our reply: *only by uniting all the Left without exception*, by the union of all the democratic elements rallied around a united working class, the motive force of the nation, can such a mass movement be set up anew and popular enthusiasm aroused in the face of which reaction would be powerless.

In default of this, where can the democratic movement lead? Why do the three leaders refuse to ponder the point that cleavage in the Left, and what Bevan calls the "empiricism" of social democracy, but what, in effect, is opportunism, have helped the American imperialists in their efforts to halt the democratic movement in postwar West Europe? Why not recall the tragic consequences for democracy of the attitude adopted by the Right Social-Democratic leaders in France? "In my opinion," Nenni says, "the principal reason for the collapse of the Fourth Republic in France is to be sought in the Socialist Party's tactics of the 'lesser evil' and the 'path of least resistance.' The search for the 'lesser evil' often, if not always, means in effect, a policy of 'greater evil.' As the experience of France has shown, these tactics imply a rupture with the masses and turn the Socialists into champions of the policy pursued by their class enemies." Nenni justly stresses the responsibility of Guy Mollet and his henchmen; at the same time, however, he confuses the problem. It was not the "lesser evil" policy that made for their alliance with the reactionary bourgeoisie; rather, the reverse was true, it was precisely

because class collaboration was their main objective that they pursued this policy.

What are its typical features? Bitter anti-communism, indefatigable efforts to hinder the unity between Socialist working people and the Communists which alone can block the road to reaction. Guy Mollet has said that it was necessary to bring de Gaulle to power in order to "save democracy," which, he alleged, the Communists were menacing. De Gaulle represented the "lesser evil." But what really happened? The Gaullist reaction did not "save democracy," but it did bring about the establishment of military dictatorship. At the same time the Communists proved to be the best defenders of democracy. We are sure that the working people of France and other countries will not forget this lesson. The recent municipal elections in France proved this, and it would certainly be unrealistic of the Left leaders to ignore the lesson. Because unity was the leading idea in the French Communist Party's struggle for the revival of democracy, it led to a new development — a considerable number of Socialist electors cast their votes either for the single Left lists which included the Communists, or for the Communist list. Because the electors understood the true class roots of anti-communism, they refused to allow it to determine their decision and so once again gave the green light to the Left.

And by acting in this way they braved the interdiction of their leaders. This did not make them any the less socialist, they kept their own ideas on the prospects of and the ways to social progress, which differ from those of the Communists. But they knew that there was no point in discussing any of these prospects or in investigating any of these ways, unless joint effort cleared the road to the country's development along democratic lines. And this goes not only for France. Even if due regard is taken of the fact that the situation in Italy differs profoundly from that in France, and that it would never occur to anyone to identify Nenni's attitude with that of Guy Mollet's supporters, it is still difficult to comprehend what additional "effectiveness" Nenni's renunciation of political unity with the Communists will bring into the struggle for broadening democracy. It is still more difficult to understand why, recognizing as he does the need for *trade union* unity, he fails to see the advantages of *political* unity.

And indeed can we be sure of success in the working-class struggle for economic demands unless these are accompanied by

action for the political changes that ensure this success? Before the war the French working class won a 40-hour working week, but the capitalists subsequently abolished this economic gain. Many industries and transport were nationalized as a result of the struggle waged by the French working class, both before and after the war, but the big monopolies, albeit indirectly, recovered the nationalized industries, for they have a firm grip on the state. We are far from believing an economic struggle to be pointless but experience has shown the truth of our theory — that only political changes can safeguard the gains won in an economic struggle by the working class, the small peasants and the middle sections.

It is, therefore, extremely dangerous and contrary to the dialectics of life to separate the economic from the political struggle, to separate trade union unity from political unity. Trade union unity is, indubitably, very precious to the working class, but it does not run counter to united political action by the different trends in the working-class movement; quite the reverse, it offers this unity a living basis, proves that unity is possible at all levels of the working-class movement. When we are assured that trade union unity alone suffices for the working class, we feel compelled to recall that the experience of the working-class movement shows that this is not so. Assertions of this nature are akin to the anarcho-syndicalist trends which obtained during the initial stages of the working-class movement. Avowedly scorning political struggle, the anarcho-syndicalists, in the long run, doomed themselves to sterile sectarianism. Nenni believes that he is "strengthening the socialist movement" in Italy by rejecting political co-operation with the Communists for whom socialism, as everyone knows, is a sacred aim. Is it not obvious that this attitude does not strengthen even the democratic movement generally, to say nothing of the socialist movement.

Nenni and Bevan want socialism for their countries. Mendès-France has no objection to having it for his. They all believe that the struggle to establish socialist rule should be carried out within a "democratic framework" and by "democratic methods." They want to save their countries from civil war. Is there any need to say that the Communists want exactly the same thing? Civil war is no obligatory element in the Communists' program, and the working people have never waged one for their own pleasure. It is the bourgeois

sie that start civil war. Hence, the best means of avoiding such war is to make the popular movement so powerful by uniting all its forces, that reaction would be demoralized in advance and deprived of its ability to resort to force.

The participants in the meeting want socialism to guarantee "the free development of democracy and the respect of individual liberties," hinting that it is in this that they differ from the Communists who, they say, are not so much concerned with these values. We could, of course, easily answer by pointing to the functioning of socialist democracy in, say, the Soviet Union; there is no difficulty in proving that it really is the highest type of democracy. But we will answer them in another way: not only do we think that socialist society — which one day will be established in France, Italy and other countries—will possess characteristic features deriving from the peculiarities and traditions in each country, although in principle the basis everywhere will be the same; not only do we think that the experience of the countries which have left us behind on the highroad to socialism will favorably influence the formation of these features, that it will help us to take due regard of the lessons, and to avoid repeating mistakes and thus save time on the journey to progress; but we are convinced that *these features* stem, and to no small degree, from the present struggle. In other words, it is *right now*, in the joint struggle, and thanks to the joint struggle for the revival of democracy and its continuous development, that there will emerge certain features of the society that all progressive people wish to build, all those who honestly call themselves Socialists and who believe that history has placed socialism on the agenda. What the society of the future will be like will in large measure depend upon the joint struggle we wage for democracy now, in our day, provided, of course, that it really is a joint struggle.

The Communists have said long ago, and they still believe this to be true, that in the conditions now obtaining in Western Europe, no one party can resolve the problems confronting its country. And, at the same time, to think that the path of progress can be traversed in union with all democratic forces, but without the Communists, that is, without the working-class vanguard, the hard core of the nation, means to labor under an illusion. It is just as unrealistic to reduce — as Nenni and Mendès-France do — the problem of a democratic way out of the situation in

Italy to an allegedly "obvious alternative: either Christian Democracy, or — your (that is, Nenni's) candidature." The truth is that such a narrow understanding of the alternative can lead to an impasse and play into the hands of the forces systematically opposing economic and social progress. The real alternative lies elsewhere: either Christian Democracy and the people who support it, or an alliance between the Communists and Socialists. A Left movement represented only by the Italian Socialist Party stands no chance of victory, but if it draws in all forces, including the Communist Party, then it will be invincible. Anti-communism is becoming historically pointless and attests to an unwillingness to face realities. "Historical development, which some people flatter themselves they have succeeded in averting, is necessary and inevitable. The working class and its Party will acquire greater weight in the country's political life." (Maurice Thorez.)

Mendès-France and Nenni realize this only too well when they speak of the change in the balance of forces since the Popular Front of 1936. But they are trying to sow seeds of doubt as to the Communists' intentions and are hinting that the latter are demanding leadership of the democratic movement. We must say outright: we do not claim the right to lead the democratic movement for the very simple reason that political leadership cannot be demanded, it has to be won before the eyes of the masses in the struggle for common aims; there is no other way. In the course of the struggle the masses themselves will decide who is playing the firmest and most consistent part in it, and who should be the political leaders. No decision by any leading center can replace, anticipate or reject the judgment of the masses. What party inspires and rallies the people to fulfil a jointly drawn-up program of agreed changes with the most consistency, effectiveness and disinterestedness? This is the question that is being posed in connection with the extension of unity between the various trends and parties interested in these transformations — and not the question of administrative leadership and simple "absorption" by one trend of all the rest. "In waging this struggle" (for democratic regeneration), said G. Pajetta on March 9 at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party, "we reject the talk about the leading role of this or that party. Not words, but correct policy and action are required to carry out this func-

tion. We were the first to declare that we cannot demand any prerogatives, any formal sanction; we are satisfied when others, too, begin to stir."

Yes, the only real question is that of honoring obligations undertaken jointly in the interests of the people. Events have proved that the Communists have never gone back on their pledges. Commenting on the demand for guarantees, expressed by Nenni during the talks, Togliatti remarked that after World War II the French and Italian Communist parties "displayed their readiness to participate in a movement that did not go beyond the confines of traditional democracy and that respected parliamentary institutions." Nenni admits this, and justly said, in connection with Togliatti's comment: "I would add that they (the Communists) not only talk, but act precisely in this way, which is even more important."

We never tire of repeating that it is precisely today in the common struggle that the contours of the future will emerge. The transition to socialism, including the peaceful path, undoubtedly presupposes the express and decisive condition of the political leadership of the working class headed by the Communist vanguard. Some petty-bourgeois elements and, occasionally, individual workers under their influence, will vacillate in the face of this prospect, will seek to avoid this qualitative change, although it is in their fundamental interests. There is no Chinese wall between the struggle for democracy and the advance towards socialism. "This movement is not divided into absolutely unconnected stages. Everyday life raises the problems and democracy will thus be consummated in socialism. . . . We should be able to see things in their movement. Then we shall get to understand each other better and be able to frame a joint program and decide on a common plan of action to re-establish and regenerate democracy — this will create the most favorable conditions for the march towards socialism in a peaceful way." (M. Thorez.) This will not yet be socialism, but it will open up the prospect of far-reaching changes in the present hard lot of the working masses and middle sections. This perspective is set forth in the declaration issued by the Communist parties of France and Italy. It is, in short, to isolate the big bourgeoisie and break up the reactionary bloc under monopoly-capitalist control.

To curb the trusts and monopolies and safeguard the state apparatus against their encroachments is the simple aim that the

"Left" should set itself if it wants to have any real prospects and to fulfil the task of democratic regeneration. And, indeed, it is the monopoly structure of the economy, so typical of Western Europe, that explains the insolence of the reactionaries; that permits encroachments on democratic, including parliamentary, institutions; that underlies the cold war and the preparations for anti-Soviet aggression. Aneurin Bevan appears to admit this when he said that the Socialists were under a delusion if they imagined that democratic institutions could be safeguarded so long as economic power remains in the hands of private capital. Especially, we add, in view of the fact that it has attained such a degree of concentration and some monopoly groups have acquired such immense power that the nation cannot breathe freely. To re-establish democracy where it is violated (as in France) — is the first victory which we must win over the monopolies; to restrict the power of the monopolies will be the next essential step to extending democracy.

Discussion on the first stages of this perspective and a corresponding agreement are certainly possible now.

We are by no means inclined to underestimate the importance of the talks between the three spokesmen who met to discuss the destinies of the Left in Europe. We shall never "frown" on discussion of this kind or qualify it as academic. But it should be said that the Left will gain little from meetings of this kind so long as they persist in ignoring the importance of and the essential part played by the most reliable, resolute and militant detachment of the democratic forces — of that big segment of the working class and working people generally who have reposed their trust in the Communist parties. Commenting on the talks, Comrade Togliatti said: "Only a radical, political turn in the direction of resuming the struggle to safeguard democratic gains, of a progressive march towards socialist reforms, can restore to the West European countries their role of vanguard leader. Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are the main obstacles to these objectives. Let the Left have the courage to break these chains and the road will be clear. We welcome conferences, meetings, discussions, for they help to make this truth more obvious."

In practice, be it in France, Italy or Belgium, the contours of a force that breathes life

into the democratic perspective are already becoming clear — the union of the various democratic trends in the common struggle for definite aims, the working-class unity which cements it. This alliance will be forged in struggle. After the talks, the *Express* editorial, as if to offset the statements of the three leaders, emphasized that "the Lefts, whoever they are . . . will rally and defend themselves jointly, will find the way to unity, because for them this is a matter of life and death. Everything else will come even easier than could be expected. It is not in discussions on program and agreements that they unite, but in the heat of struggle against the age-old, common and well-known political opponent who relies on his money and strength."

Yes, the essential and cardinal point is struggle, the movement of the masses united in action against the exploiters and reactionaries. It is out of this movement that the elements of unity emerge, in it are jotted down the first rough notes for the common program of the march towards a regenerated, broadened democracy. Only its lessons and the problems and demands which this movement advances will infuse meaning into joint discussions by the Left and make them effective. The glow of life is to be found only in real struggle. Revealed in the course of this struggle is the *practical divergence* between the attitude of certain leaders who resort to delay every time the question turns on unity, and the increasing rapprochement of the left trends based on joint mass action. It is equally clear that anti-communism, which explains these delays, or "a-communism," as some shyly call it (already a sign of diminished confidence), often obliges their advocates to renounce their own views and results in their lagging behind the mass movement.

The genuine democrat cannot but be glad that the Communists are sparing no effort to step up the struggle for the regeneration and broadening of democracy, for greater mass activity within this framework. They want to make this struggle so powerful that leaders calling themselves Left would, under its impact, realize their responsibility. And this in turn will compel them to help in broadening the mass movement, uniting all Left trends without exception, and establishing an alliance of Left forces which will make a "democratic alternative" possible and inevitable.

Who Benefits from "People's Shares"?

I. Macek

ON JANUARY 2, 1959, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* featured an interview of its Bonn correspondent with Lindrath, Minister of Finance, on the subject of denationalizing the state enterprises through the medium of "people's shares." "First," said the newspaper, "Preussische Berwerke und Huetten A.G. (Preussag), then Volkswagenwerke and Howaldtswerke Hamburg A.G. and, lastly, Vereinigte Industrieunternehmungen A.G. (VIAG) — such is Dr. Lindrath's plan for the complete or partial denationalization of the state enterprises."

According to a rough estimate, the capital of these firms is in the region of one billion marks. If we bear in mind that the total capital of the state enterprises in Federal Germany stands at 3.3 billion marks,* this would imply that about one-third is scheduled for denationalization. This, clearly, presupposes a general drive against state ownership.

Denationalization, also by way of "people's shares," is being effected in a big way in Austria.

The bourgeois press, naturally, lauds these plans as a step in the direction of "people's capitalism" in West Germany and Austria. Bourgeois economists and reformists of all hues claim that denationalization through "people's shares" makes the "anonymous" state property the "real" property of the working people. The simple act of buying a "people's share," it is claimed, makes the worker a "joint owner" of a factory; his income is equated with that of a capitalist, with the result that capitalism becomes "people's capitalism" or a form of "socialism."

There are even bourgeois politicians who pose as champions fighting against capitalism and, in particular, against state capitalism. For instance, Chancellor Raab declared recently: "We reject the capitalism of the old pattern and we are also against state capitalism. But if we must have capitalism, then let it be *people's capitalism*. Everyone should take part in increasing the social product as a *proprietor*. People's shares will enable citizens to become joint owners of the country's large industrial enterprises. . . ."

The underlying idea of capitalism evolving into socialism as a result of the workers' becoming shareholders is the "old" bourgeois theory of "democratization of capital," suggested towards the end of the last century by Bernstein, the father of revisionism, in his *Problems of Socialism*.

Since then this theory, sometimes in its own name and more often under various pseudonyms, has served as an ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie. Exposing this theory early at the beginning of the century Lenin wrote: "The 'democratization' of shareholding, from which the bourgeois sophists and the opportunists, 'would-be' Social Democrats, expect (or say that they expect) the 'democratization of capital,' the strengthening of the role and significance of small-scale production, etc., is, in fact, one of the ways of adding to the power of the financial oligarchy."† Time has confirmed the correctness of Lenin's view.

In many capitalist countries the theory of "democratization of capital" is embodied in the policy of selling "people's shares" to workers. Because of the profound influence exerted by socialism and its achievements in the USSR and in the People's Democracies, the bourgeoisie are trying to cloak the reactionary essence of their economic policy in flowery phrases about the welfare of the people; in some cases socialist terminology is also employed. But let us turn to the facts and see what the "people's shares" (much publicized in West Germany and Austria) really represent, who benefits from them and from the denationalization realized through the sale of "people's shares."

* * *

At the end of last year the Bonn Government decided, through the issuance of "people's shares," to denationalize Preussag — one of the oldest state-owned companies, which includes coal, lead, zinc and potassium mines and oil-extracting enterprises. By the end of March 300,000 "people's shares" had been issued at the nominal price of 100 marks each. The idea was to raise the company's capital from 75 to 105 million marks.

**Wirtschaft und Statistik*, May 1957, p. 274.

†*Neue Tageszeitung*, February 17, 1959.

†Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1947, p. 60.

The shares are called "people's" because they will be sold to citizens with annual incomes up to 16,000 marks.

This decision will enable the group of capitalists who manage Preussag to squeeze out of the working people, for whom these shares are intended, a minimum of 30 million marks. This is an extremely profitable operation for the real owners of the company.

If this capital had been obtained through a bank credit, the Preussag management would have had to agree to the bank's terms and pay a fairly high interest charge. Issuing shares is a convenient form of obtaining millions of marks by utilizing workers' savings. It is profitable because: first, it does not presuppose the return of the money received from the sale of shares and, second, it enables the capitalists to pocket a large sum in the shape of founders' profit. The difference between the nominal price and the selling price of "people's shares" alone will yield the Preussag management from six to nine million marks.

In sanctioning this undertaking, the Federal Government is least of all concerned about the welfare of the people. Freed from the need to subsidize Preussag and the other enterprises subject to denationalization, it will be able to divert the "saved" funds to military purposes.

As for the small shareholder, he is likely to find himself in a difficult situation. His scanty savings, now invested in shares, will be "frozen" and no longer available in case of need. The share, usually bought by instalment, can be sold only after all the payments have been made. But who can guarantee that by that time the price will not have fallen?

The bourgeois press claims that after buying shares the Preussag workers, as equal "co-owners" of the company, will run it jointly with the real owners. But is this so? There is a stipulation that no one can buy more than five shares. This means that if each buys five shares there will be 60,000 small shareholders who, in practice, will have no say in the company's affairs. It is not the number of shareholders but the value of their capital that is decisive. In reality Preussag will be managed by the same people as before.

N. S. Khrushchov aptly remarked on the "rights" of the worker-shareholder: "When crisis symptoms appear, the real owners take these 'masters' by the ear and throw them out of the enterprises in which they hold shares. The shareholder then joins the many-

million army of unemployed. He takes his place in the queue, waiting for fortune to smile on him again, until he gets a job in order not to die of starvation and to save his family."

What guarantee is there that this will not be the fate of the Preussag worker-shareholders?

With the first flutter on the stock exchange the "people's shares" in Preussag will be pocketed by the financial magnates. To be precise, they will be bought up by the Warburg Bank which controls Preussag financially. And in the long run, the company itself will be swallowed by the American Kuhn, Loeb and Co. which owns the Warburg Bank.

Perhaps the 60,000 small shareholders will become rentiers and be able to live on dividends? Five shares can, at best, yield no more than 50 marks a year in dividends, and these will hardly turn the worker-shareholder into a co-owner of Preussag or a rentier.

Even some Right Social-Democratic leaders — zealous advocates of private enterprise — are dubious about the "people's shares" "diffusing ownership" and bringing gains to the working class. For example, Heinrich Deist, one of the economic experts of the Social-Democratic Party, justly holds that "people's shares" "shackle the workers to the enterprises" and give rise to "privileged sections among them"; they will not, he says, promote deconcentration of property. "On the contrary," Deist continues, assuming the present plans are realized, the people's share will be merely a speculative article, since the initial price of the shares is low and with time the difference will be pocketed by somebody else. This counteracts a widespread diffusion of property. . . ." Deist makes the point that the "shares will be of no interest to people with low wages because these people, living in want, cannot afford to wait until the slip of paper acquired by them reaches the necessary level."*

Perhaps things are different in Austria? Lest there be any doubt on this score, let us take a look at the results of the sale of the "people's shares" in the Kreditanstalt and Laender banks. In 1957 there was an issue of shares to the value of 300 million schillings. Capitalists netted millions through share manipulation. Although the shares were distributed for sale to the workers, the banks issuing them are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The result was that the low-priced shares, from 500 to 1,000 schillings, accounted for a

*Die Welt, January 12, 1959.

mere 7.5 per cent, while the subscription to shares of 10,000 schillings and upwards claimed 62 per cent.

How are we to explain the reluctance of the working people to buy these shares? First by the fact that they haven't the necessary savings. But suppose they had savings; it would be unprofitable and risky to invest them in shares. By buying a "people's share" in one of these banks, the worker would qualify for a dividend of 4.4 per cent — approximately the same or even less than the return for depositing his money in a savings bank or buying government bonds. In addition he risks losing his hard-earned savings.

Even those behind the idea of "people's capitalism" cannot deny that the "people's shares" are not a sound way of keeping savings. For example, Withalm, State Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, admitted that the "people's shares" do not guarantee the return of money on demand and an appropriate income. He suggested that with the issue of shares a special body should be set up, which would guarantee them against depreciation through stock-exchange manipulations and save the joint-stock companies from ruin. In an article entitled "The People's Share Is Not an Article of Speculation" he writes: "This aim can be attained only if someone is charged with the task of maintaining, if possible, a more stable stock-price through purchase and sale. A bank with a good reputation should be made responsible for this."*

This is tantamount to an admission that "people's shares" guarantee neither the safety of the worker's savings nor the possibility of redeeming them on demand. As for a special bank which would guarantee the prosperity of enterprises issuing "people's shares," experience has shown that under capitalism not even the most reputable bank or state agencies can give guarantees to any joint-stock company for the simple reason that they cannot overcome the spontaneously operating laws of capitalism. The talk about guarantees is demagogic and fraudulent.

The question, naturally, arises: if the sponsors of "people's shares" themselves express grave doubts with regard to the soundness of the undertaking, how can the working people believe in the "people's shares" and risk their savings on them?

* * *

The denationalization now realized through "people's shares" has also another reactionary aspect. To appreciate this, one should

take into account some of the features of the nationalized sector in Austria and West Germany. In Austria, this sector was considerably extended and consolidated as a result of the defeat of fascism in the war. This was done by way of nationalization of steel plants, iron-ore and coal mines, and of the three big banks which owned about ten per cent of the share capital in industry. At present the state owns over 23 per cent of stock capital in industry. Another ten per cent is controlled by the nationalized banks. The nationalized enterprises employ about 25 per cent of the industrial workers; in 1956 they produced 26 per cent of the country's industrial output.

In West Germany, the state-capitalist sector has its own history. After the war it, too, was extended. At present the state share capital accounts for 13.9 per cent of the total. The state owns mainly mines, transport facilities and power stations.

The working people regarded nationalization as a basis for democratization. Under mass pressure, the demand for nationalization was included in the programs of the Social-Democratic parties in the German Federal Republic and in Austria.

Of course this nationalization should not be overestimated. Since it was carried through by the bourgeoisie, the latter, naturally, tried to derive the maximum benefit from it. The war-ruined enterprises were restored at state expense. The Austrian bourgeoisie did not invest a single schilling in the rehabilitation and re-equipment of the nationalized enterprises; the state spent 13 billion schillings on this work mainly through taxation. The low prices fixed by the West German and Austrian governments for the products of state enterprises enable the monopolies to purchase cheap raw materials and electric power. Thus the nationalized sector, state-capitalist in character, is a source of enrichment and a convenient way of redistributing profits in the interest of big capital.

Yet the nationalization is a positive factor. The state enterprises function in conditions of greater publicity than those that are privately owned. In certain circumstances this can be used by the workers in the struggle for their rights. In Austria, the workers employed in the nationalized enterprises secured higher wages and bigger allocations for housing and other social needs. Nationalization is, in a way, an obstacle to the penetration of foreign capital.

Beginning with 1956 the Austrian and then the West German bourgeoisie began to de-

*Oesterreichische Monatshefte, No. 2, 1958, p. 4.

nationalize state industry and launched an all-out offensive against the nationalized sector. The "people's share" was declared the appropriate form of denationalization. The People's Party (a bourgeois party in Austria) frankly stated: "The more the state owns directly or indirectly in any country, the more important is the function of the people's share in the denationalization. He who really wants denationalization must stand for the people's share."* In Austria, the Ministry of State Property, headed by the Socialist Waldbrunner was first discredited, then liquidated and control of its enterprises transferred to a specially created company under the leadership of the People's Party. This "reorganization" gave a free hand to the bourgeoisie in denationalizing state enterprises. A special committee was set up in Bonn to "protect" federal property; this committee began to carry through a vast program of denationalization.

These reactionary measures are rushed through with all haste. We have already mentioned the Federal Government's plans. Having little faith in the success of this campaign, its organizers decided to set the entire propaganda machine in motion and to organize a "total" operation for its realization. As Lindrath stated in the press, the entire staff of the credit system was enlisted for getting subscriptions to the Preussag "people's shares." The first Preussag shares were offered for sale on March 24 and it is hoped to complete the subscription in seven or eight weeks. Considerable importance is attached to this campaign, since its experience will be taken into account during the denationalization of Volkswagenwerke, Howaldtswerke Hamburg A.G. and, in particular, one of the three largest FIAG concerns which includes a large number of state enterprises. On February 26, *Industriekurier*, organ of the West German monopolies, devoted a special issue to the campaign, in which government leaders and industrialists lauded the "advantages" of denationalization of the federal property through "people's shares." This sudden interest in the public welfare makes people ask, who will be the gainer — the monopolies or the people?

In addition to the sale of Kredistanstalt and Laenderbank shares, the Austrian monopoly bourgeoisie began to denationalize the enterprises which after the defeat of Hitler Germany were controlled by the Board of Soviet

Property and later, in 1955, transferred by the Soviet Government to Austria under the state treaty.

These denationalization measures are a link in the reactionary onslaught against the economic and democratic gains won by the working people in the struggle against monopoly capital and fascism. The monopoly bourgeoisie of other European countries are closely watching these maneuvers, conscious that they are, so to speak, "the first attempt," which will be followed by a large-scale attack. The Austrian and West German bourgeoisie feel that they have now got on to their feet, having restored the war-ruined enterprises at state expense. The big monopolies of these countries are no longer satisfied with indirect pocketing of the huge profits extracted from the state enterprises. They want to gather in all profits directly. Many of the state enterprises are highly profitable. For example, Kreditanstalt and Laenderbank net a profit of 24-27 per cent on their capital. In 1955 the profits of Laenderbank and Kreditanstalt amounted to 68 and 132 million schillings respectively. This both attracts and repels the bourgeoisie. It attracts because the titbits cannot but whet its appetite. On the other hand, the nationalized sector repels the bourgeoisie for the simple reason that, as Marx pointed out in his day, the bourgeoisie are cautious of even bourgeois nationalization. They perceive in state-capitalist property an encroachment on the principle of private property. And if this sector develops successfully, despite the fact that monopoly capital often places it in a difficult position, it follows that the bourgeoisie have every reason to believe that the success of this sector undermines the principle of private property, that it is a kind of Trojan horse in their camp. The prospering of the nationalized enterprises makes nonsense of the myth about the superiority of private enterprise. The London *Economist* aptly remarked that "the success of the Volkswagen firm is a continual mockery of arguments about the value of public as against private ownership..."* The progress made by the nationalized sector detracts from the prestige of private enterprise and is indisputable proof that the contemporary productive forces are in need of public management. The working class and the working people are becoming increasingly aware of this and so the bourgeoisie are becoming more alarmed. "The fact that a large

**Wirtschaft*, July 18, 1957.

**The Economist*, May 18, 1957, p. 582.

and important sector of the economy is nationalized and doing well," wrote Fuernberg, Secretary of the Austrian Communist Party, "is regarded by the bourgeoisie as a potential danger. They fear that the idea of transferring all the big enterprises to the state will be regarded as possible and useful not only by the working class but also by broader sections. That is why the bourgeoisie have launched a frenzied campaign to discredit the nationalized industry that they are managing. They want to raise barriers to further nationalization and, provided the political conditions are favorable, pave the way for denationalization."*

In the guise of "people's capitalism" and "people's shares" and through denationalization, the West German and Austrian monopoly bourgeoisie are plundering the national wealth. This facilitates the penetration of foreign, chiefly American, capital into West Germany and Austria.

It is not fortuitous that it is the enterprises in which foreign capital has an interest that are being denationalized first. For instance, not only the German bourgeoisie but General Motors Corporation as well are interested in the projected denationalization of Volkswagenwerke, one of the biggest automobile firms in Europe. Of the total share capital (500 million marks) small, or "people's," shares will be issued to the value of 125 million. The remainder will be big shares which people who depend on earnings cannot afford to buy. And so, an enterprise founded in 1937 on money subscribed by the public will be transferred to private capital. What is more, there is every reason to suppose that American capital will do everything to appropriate this enterprise and thus eliminate a rival.

The Austrian bourgeoisie are most zealous in clearing the way for foreign capital. Instead of utilizing the enterprises handed over by the Soviet Union in 1955 to reinforce state ownership and the national economy, the Austrian Government plans in the near future to denationalize most of them and thus facilitate the penetration of foreign capital.

By the beginning of 1959 a part of the national property, to the value of three billion schillings, had been returned to the former private owners in West Germany. In many cases the denationalization was effected through the medium of the "people's shares."

In the enterprises subject to denationalization, especially those which belonged to the

Board of Soviet Property, exploitation is being intensified, wages are reduced and working conditions generally worsen. The various amenities in the factories are abolished on a variety of pretexts, while workers not to the liking of the new masters are discharged.

It is not fortuitous that the People's Party is accelerating these measures right now. It banks on making political capital out of this, holding that the demagoguery around the "people's shares" will strengthen its position in the forthcoming general election.

Thus the denationalization promotes: first, the concentration of financial and economic power in the hands of a numerically small group of big monopolists; second, creates favorable conditions for intensified penetration of the national economy by foreign capital; third, undermines the economy of the countries practising denationalization, cutting into sound sources for financing the state budget and, consequently, adding to the tax burden in order to make good the deficit in the state budget; fourth, facilitates the capitalist onslaught against the democratic and social rights won by the working people during the struggle against fascism and reaction.

The working class in West Germany and Austria is strongly opposed to the denationalization. When the workers in the Volkswagenwerke learned about the projected denationalization of their plant, they staged a one-hour strike in protest. The denationalization has been denounced also by the trade unions. When the Metal Workers' Union polled the workers of Volkswagenwerke on their attitude to the denationalization, 73 per cent of the personnel expressed opposition to it.*

The Communist parties of the German Federal Republic and Austria are heading the working-class struggle against the denationalization. As for the Social Democratic leaders, they, unfortunately, only in words and only rarely, express doubt about this reactionary policy. In fact, they have capitulated to the bourgeoisie on this issue despite the objective opportunity to resist the latter.

The Austrian and West German Social-Democratic parties are silent about their promises to protect the state property. In its new draft program the German Social-Democratic Party proclaims that "private property in the means of production is entitled to protection and assistance."

* * *

Thus the hue and cry of bourgeois propa-

*Weg und Ziel, No. 6, 1958.

*Neues Deutschland, July 15, 1957.

ganda about "people's shares" is least of all concerned with the people's interests. It is a cloak for a renewed drive to strengthen the positions of monopoly capital, to intensify

the exploitation and robbery of the working people. In the long run it is detrimental to the national interests of the countries whose governments pursue this policy.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Socialism on the March

THE Polish United Workers' Party held its Third Congress over March 10-19. Founded in December 1948, the past ten years of its activity are but a stage in the rich, almost eighty-year-old history of the Polish working-class movement.

The continuity of tradition of this movement, which ever since its inception has been closely linked with the revolutionary working-class movement in Russia and Germany, is symbolically expressed in the fact that among the 1,431 delegates at the Third Congress were 304 former members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League and of the Communist parties of other countries, and 289 who fought in the resistance during the Nazi occupation, including 198 former members of the Workers' Party (predecessor of the United Workers' Party) and of the People's Guard and Army. But this continuity was reflected above all in the Congress discussion and decisions, which mirrored the achievements of the past 14 years in building socialism, and fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

The Congress summed up the results of the five years since the Second Congress (March 1954) which marked a change in the methods of socialist construction. Of great significance for charting the new political line of the Party, for strengthening its contact with the masses and with the socialist camp and the international working-class movement, and for rectifying the past mistakes, was the Eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee in October 1956. In the main, the steps taken by that meeting were in the same direction as those undertaken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union both before and after its Twentieth Congress. The meeting, it will be recalled, elected a new leadership, headed by Comrade Gomulka, and launched the struggle to strengthen the Party and to overcome the revisionist, dogmatic and sectarian tendencies. From the standpoint of their importance, the decisions adopted at this meeting were equivalent to those of a congress.

Each of the subsequent meetings of the Central Committee (the IXth, Xth, XIth and XIIth) furthered the process of consolidating and enhancing the leading role of the Party among the people. Whereas formerly the Party had not rebutted in fitting fashion revisionist and even outright anti-socialist views propounded throughout 1956 in the press, on the radio and at meetings, after the Eighth plenary meeting these views began to be combated on a growing scale. The dogmatic and sectarian tendencies displayed by some of the speakers at the Central Committee meetings were overcome, because the further march of events corroborated the correctness of the new Party line.

The Third Congress was an expression of the consolidation that has taken place. The discussion, the unanimous adoption of the main documents and election of the new Central Committee all testify to the unanimity achieved.

The Congress simultaneously focused attention on a number of weaknesses in Party work, particularly on the ideological front. The social sciences have a special task to perform. For despite the successes this is still the most backward sector. The Party cannot be indifferent to the philosophical, sociological, economic and other views circulating in the country. It has supported and will continue to support Marxist scientific research. It is necessary to introduce obligatory courses on philosophy and political economy in all higher educational establishments. While the Party stands for freedom of scientific discussion and ensures conditions of work for non-Marxist scholars, it will not tolerate views hostile to socialism, nor will it put up with pedagogical activity or scientific publications being used for attacks against the socialist system.

The Congress thoroughly discussed the policy of the Party in the sphere of culture. Some of our professional workers still display revisionist and bourgeois-liberal tendencies. The influence exerted by these people led to the appearance of a series of anti-socialist works, and to some literary organi-

zations insisting on their publication. In these conditions the main task of the Party on the cultural front is to get rid of these anti-socialist and revisionist tendencies once and for all, and to see to it that all creative activity is based on the outlook and method of Marxism-Leninism. In this sphere the Party is exercising its leading role by inspiring the ideological content of creative work and by popularizing those cultural values which serve to develop and deepen socialist consciousness among the people.

While emphasizing the success achieved in combating revisionism—the main danger—and also dogmatism, the Congress declared that the Party will further strengthen its ideological and organizational unity, and launch an all-out ideological offensive. Socialist ideas are called upon to illumine our path and win the hearts of all working people.

The relations between state and church occupied an important place in the reports and in the discussion. The Party is steadfastly implementing the principle of separating the church from the state. Ensuring freedom of worship and putting an end to intolerance in relation to both believers and non-believers, the Party and the Government do not interfere in the affairs of the Catholic church. By the same token we cannot allow any church interference in state affairs, nor will we tolerate reactionary and anti-socialist activity on the part of the clergy, or any violation by them of state laws and regulations. Last September the state organs, supported by the public, put an end to the attempts by some sections of the clergy to violate the secular character of education and to go beyond the confines of teaching religion. But some representatives of the church have not drawn the lesson from this. Mention was made at the Congress of attempts by the clergy to break the laws concerning public organizations, publishing and building rights and currency regulations. Warning the church leaders against any repetition of these offences, the Party is anxious to establish between the state and the church correct relations, based on the church confining itself to purely religious affairs.

The Congress was a powerful demonstration of the internationalism of the Polish working class, of the unbreakable friendship of our people with the Soviet Union, People's China, our neighbors—Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic—with all the socialist countries; of the solidarity of our Party with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and all champions of peace and socialism, with the national-liberation movement against colonialism.

The presence of representatives of the fraternal parties from 44 countries, their greetings and the

ovation accorded them, were a striking manifestation of international solidarity. The Congress fully supported the peace policy of the Soviet Union and, in particular, its proposals for a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the Berlin problem. The delegates noted with gratitude the fraternal support of all the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, in strengthening and defending our Western frontier along the Oder and Neisse, as a just and final frontier. Considering it necessary to secure the final, formal recognition of this frontier by all the Powers, the delegates condemned the revenge-seeking claims of the Bonn militarists.

The Congress also condemned the Yugoslav revisionists, and stressed that the growth of revisionist tendencies in the Yugoslav League of Communists is bound to take the League into the social-democratic movement. The United Workers' Party, like all the other parties of the international communist movement, maintains no party links with the League; but it has not lost hope that the League will return to the communist movement.

The Congress adopted the directives for the development of Poland's economy for 1959-65, which will be decisive for further economic progress and socialist construction. Industrial output will rise by approximately 80 per cent, that of agriculture by 30 per cent. During 1961-65 the national income will show a 40 per cent increase, with the average incomes of wage and salaried workers and of peasants rising 23-25 per cent, and a 33-35 per cent increase in consumption. By 1965 Poland will have a coal output of 111-113 million tons, 27 million tons of brown coal and nine million tons of steel; generation of electricity will reach 43-45 billion kwh; 73 per cent more machines will be produced compared with 1960, while output of the chemical industry will be more than doubled. In the five years dwelling-space to the extent of 3,200,000 rooms will be built in town and countryside.

Thanks to the reserves disclosed during the pre-congress discussion, the Congress endorsed higher targets for a number of industries than those envisaged in the Central Committee's draft. Discussion of these questions will continue simultaneously with the detailed elaboration of the Five-Year Plan.

The Congress stressed the significance of economic, scientific and technological co-operation with the socialist countries, particularly co-ordination and specialization of production. Of particular importance will be the aid of the Soviet Union for the development of our iron and steel plants, thermal and hydro-power stations, oil, copper-smelting industries and natural gas resources.

After discussing and endorsing the directives on agricultural policy adopted by the XIIth plenary meeting of the Central Committee, the Congress reaffirmed that the sole perspective for Polish agriculture was socialist reconstruction, to be carried out by way of developing producer co-operatives, with strict observance of the voluntary principle. This task is to be tackled in a way that will avoid even a temporary lowering of output. The mistakes and the incorrect administrative methods in organizing co-operatives that occurred before 1954 were detrimental to our national economy and resulted in political complications. The situation changed after the Second Congress, and particularly after the Eighth C.C. meeting: forces and means were centered on overcoming the disparity in industrial and agricultural development. For this purpose use was made of the reserves still obtaining in the individual sector of agriculture, and conditions were created for strengthening the socialist sector. Some people, especially bourgeois commentators, believe that the retreat in developing the co-operatives and the dissolving of many of them were the result of Party policy. The truth is that the retreat was caused by the pressure of anti-socialist elements at a time when the Party was not strong enough to counter this pressure.

The main obstacle to the co-operative movement is the low level of co-operative consciousness among the peasants who are tied to individual farming and are not yet convinced of the superiority of large-scale co-operative farming. Needed in this respect is painstaking explanatory work on the part of the United Workers' Party and its ally—the United Peasants' Party—and also of the peasant organizations, as well as the living example of model, well-organized and highly profitable state farms and producer co-operatives. It is likewise essential to develop the lower forms of co-operation, in particular associations that would help the peasants to acquire the habit of joint farming.

The network of these associations, which have long traditions in our countryside, is growing. They show concern for the expansion of agriculture, organize various forms of joint labor, educate the individual peasant in the spirit of collectivism, and simultaneously they supply the organizers. These developments will contribute to the accelerated reconstruction of agriculture along socialist lines.

We must aid the existing co-operatives and make them examples that will inspire the peas-

ants to form new co-operatives. Most of the co-operatives are now achieving better results—particularly in crop raising—than the neighboring individual households, and their incomes are growing year by year.

In order to achieve the increased output envisaged by the Congress the Government will give every assistance both to the state farms, to the old and new co-operatives and to the individual farmers. The correct policy of contracts and purchasing prices has paved the way for making all branches of agriculture more remunerative. This strengthens the confidence of the peasants in the Party and in its plan for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

With a view to training skilled personnel for all branches of the economy, we plan substantially to enlarge the network of schools of all types and at all levels. While ensuring a high level of education, the schools should at the same time educate the young people in the spirit of socialist ethics, loyalty to socialism and understanding of the laws of its development; they should explain the importance of the socialist reconstruction of our country, inculcate conscious discipline and the feeling of responsibility.

Certain changes were made in the Party Rules, reflecting changes in inner-Party life and in the methods of work since the Second Congress. The purpose of the changes is to raise the demands made on Party members, to ensure fuller realization of the principle of democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy, and to strengthen the unity of the Party. The Rules envisage the formation of Party groups on a residential basis with a view to conducting mass activity among the population.

The Congress recognized as groundless and incorrect the theses advanced at the First Party Congress in 1948 concerning a Right nationalist deviation in the Party, and annulled the corresponding decisions. Actually, this point had been decided previously by the Eighth C.C. meeting in 1956.

The Third Congress marked the culmination of the period when, after the Eighth plenary meeting, the Party rallied round its general line and combated the revisionist, dogmatic and sectarian tendencies. At the same time it marked the launching of a socialist offensive on the political and ideological fronts, of intensified economic activity by the masses.

Stefan Jedrychowski

France: Gains for the Communist Party

THE gains registered by the French Communist Party in the recent municipal elections are beyond doubt. This can be seen from a few figures. In the Seine Department (including Paris) the Party polled 94,588 more votes than in the 1953 municipal elections, and 108,801 more than in the 1958 general election. In the departments of Pas de Calais, Haute Vienne and Gironde, in towns with a population in excess of 9,000, the Communists polled 120,774 votes in the 1953 municipal elections, 113,823 in the 1958 general election and 134,934 votes this time.

This shows that the people are studying and approving the policy and tactics of the Party. The working class and its Party, undoubtedly, are the main opposition force attracting the republican and national forces seeking a common way to the regeneration and extension of democratic liberties.

In this respect it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the numerous joint lists of supporters of the Republic in the second round of the voting. Any number of facts testify that conditions are ripe for forming a united front against the rule of big business. The working class is fighting on an increasingly broader scale for its rights, particularly for higher wages, against attempts at cutting wages by reducing the hours of work, against the dismissals and the encroachments on social insurance. Unity is being forged not only between the branches of the trade unions of different trends, but at the national level also. Organizations of the most varied kind are joining the struggle waged by the working people; this struggle is assuming diverse forms: bigger strikes, public meetings, demonstrations and deputations to the government. The action against the employers is simultaneously directed against the government which is pursuing the policy of big business. In the peasant organizations there is growing discontent with their leaders who covertly support the government.

The encroachments on democratic liberties are causing indignation not only among the workers, but also among lawyers, teachers, journalists, municipal councillors, university professors, etc. The demand to negotiate peace with Algeria is expressed in various forms. Quite frequently it is voiced by trade unions of different trends on behalf of the working people. In some departments the demand is advanced at meetings of peace supporters. The action taken by several hundred officials now in Morocco in favor of negotiations attracted considerable attention.

Big mass actions were held by the ex-servicemen—for the first time in our history hundreds of thousands of ex-soldiers denounced the policy of big capital and its government.

These examples of growing mass struggle entitle us to say that *a united anti-monopoly front is taking shape*. It should be recalled that not so very long ago, after the referendum and the general election, the reactionaries and the Right-wing Socialist leaders, delirious with joy, roared about the destruction of our Party.

In this complicated political situation we began our annual card exchange campaign. At the beginning of the year the Central Committee announced that membership stood at the level of the end of 1957. Boldly and persistently the Party worked to strengthen its ranks. *L'Humanite* cited dozens of examples of workers, young people and intellectuals joining the Party. "Recruit the bold" was the feature of this campaign.

Towards the end of January the first results were ascertained: 10,000 members had joined the Party. And in the first three months of the year another 20,000 joined; 250 new branches have been formed. But while these figures attest to the soundness of the Party, the political necessity and the great responsibility devolving on it call for still greater strength and for more Party branches.

Now a XVth Congress recruiting campaign is under way. Meetings are being held in the Party organizations devoted to the results of the municipal elections, and those who voted for the Communist candidates are invited to attend. Usually after these meetings many apply for membership. The federations are taking measures to admit new members and form more branches, particularly at points of production. These measures are to be completed before the XVth Congress.

The campaign for strengthening the Party is furthered by the discussion in the branches, with the participation of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of the draft theses of the Central Committee. This broad exchange of views will further consolidate the ideological, political and organizational unity of the Party. The theses lay bare the petty-bourgeois roots of the insignificant group of revisionists who failed to stand up to the difficulties of the struggle. The class enemy tried to deliver a blow both from the outside and from within. But those who took the way of factional activity were exposed and expelled. It is necessary to finish with the still existing reformist and overtly revisionist views, particularly on questions concerning the development of capitalism, unity and alliances,

democratic centralism, and also on the colonial question. The theses dwell also on the sectarian and dogmatic trends which still hinder the resolute prosecution of a policy of broad unity and the alliance of proletarian, democratic and national forces. The struggle on two fronts—against revisionist opportunism and against sectarianism—will make it possible to achieve still greater success in organizing united action by the masses.

Aware of the gravity of the situation facing us, we never forget that the monopoly government

may try to strike a blow at our Party. But the mass movement makes it much more difficult to make these attempts. The best way to win victory over the monopoly government is to strengthen the Party, strengthen its ideological, political and organizational unity, and to wage a resolute struggle for united activity by the masses. The XVth Congress of the Party will devote itself to this grand task.

Georges Brichot

For Better Inner-Party Work

The following is a summary of the resolution endorsed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq: "Deepening the Political Consciousness and the Organizational Training of Party Functionaries and Members."

SINCE the successful Iraqi Revolution of July 14, 1958, the numbers joining the Communist Party have sharply increased. The working people enthusiastically hail the ideas advanced by the Party, and highly appreciate the sacrifices made by the Communists in the struggle for the people's cause.

The Party leadership has rejected the sectarian suggestions that admittance to the Party should be discontinued, and has put forward the slogan: "Build more Party branches." New branches have been formed in every town and rural area. They have been joined by many who before the Revolution, during the terror, were friends and supporters and who are active now under the new regime.

Summing up the results of the work for building more branches, the Central Committee noted with satisfaction the rapid numerical growth of the Party. However, the important tasks facing the Party and the fact that after the Revolution its organizations had to concentrate on the fight against the conspiracies of imperialist reaction and on solving other pressing problems, prevented the branches from paying adequate attention to the education of the new members. Thus a contradiction emerged between the quantitative and qualitative growth of the Party. It was joined by many revolutionaries full of enthusiasm and vigor but lacking the necessary experience and training. Consequently, although the experience of the Party as a whole and its qualifications for leadership are greater than ever before, the quality of many of its organizations, which have grown numerically, declined somewhat.

In order to resolve this the Party leadership deems it necessary, on the one hand, to concentrate less on the numerical growth of the organ-

izations and, on the other, to pay more attention to improving their quality.

A decision was taken partially to stop recruiting new members for two months in order to give more time to ideological and educational work, to deepening political consciousness and to strengthening the branches organizationally, especially the new ones.

Admittance of workers employed in the big factories and of poor peasants will continue on an even bigger scale than before. The temporary cessation of recruitment from other walks of life does not signify relinquishing the slogan: "Build more branches." The branches have grown enormously, but compared with the political influence and prestige enjoyed by the Party their numerical strength is not very great and does not correspond to the sweeping revolutionary upsurge in the country.

"There are some who erroneously believe," the Central Committee resolution stresses, "that the admittance only of workers employed in the large factories and of poor peasants signifies that the Party is flooded with petty-bourgeois elements, and that the temporary restriction of recruitment will solve this problem. But our Party is far from being flooded with petty-bourgeois elements: it consists mainly of workers and peasants and working people generally. Priority admittance for workers from the big factories and for poor peasants will improve the social composition of the Party and strengthen its organizational and ideological basis among the broadest and most revolutionary sections of the people.

". . . The fact that the Party has become a great force is due primarily to the trust which the people repose in it, to its close contact with

the masses. The Party needs the ever-growing confidence of the masses and the growing solidarity around it, the solidarity not only of the workers in the big factories and the poor peasants, but of all workers and peasants, students and intellectuals, office employees and artisans, of all sincere men and women in Iraq. While suspending temporarily the recruitment of people from other walks of life, the Party at the same time insists on its members' extending contact with these strata, improving work among them, convincing them that the Party has not neglected them and will never neglect them, but, on the contrary, has drawn closer to them."

Advancing the call for "qualitative and quantitative development of the branches" the Party leadership has announced the following tasks:

1. *Political training*: stepping up ideological work in order to explain both the main and the secondary political tasks facing the Party (the fight against imperialism as the main objective of all our political work, the Party's attitude to the question of the unity of the Arab countries, the National Front, the present stage of our national movement, democratic liberties, etc.). It is essential that all the branches should not only study and be able to apply the policy of the Party, they should take a more active part in its elaboration. Study should help the members to become leaders of the masses (modest, close to the masses and well aware of their needs and aspirations; leaders who teach the masses and learn from them, and who have the trust and respect of the masses, but not bureaucratic "leaders" — conceited, heedless of the views of the masses and whose understanding of political leadership consists in issuing commands). Working in this way the Party will take an important step towards strengthening its ideological unity, it will deal further blows to the opportunists and be more vigilant in relation to them, and will become an invincible force capable of defending and developing the gains of the Revolution.

Raising the level of political consciousness, above all the class consciousness of the Party, the resolution goes on, is the most important of all inner-Party problems. "We must resolutely combat all tendencies and views which deny the importance of political education and, for some reason or other, tolerate political illiteracy and empiricism. It would be erroneous to believe that now, after a successful revolution, we no longer need pay serious attention to Party education. Today, compared with the pre-revolution period, the conditions of our struggle are at once simpler and more complex. They are simpler because the people have rid themselves of the terror and of the rule of imperialism and feudalism, but in many other

respects they are more complex, and particularly for our Party which, to a greater degree than all other parties, has a sense of responsibility and readiness to sacrifice."

2. *Organizational training*: acquainting the membership, particularly the new comrades, with the organizational structure of the Party and the basic principles of Leninism, namely:

—Criticism and self-criticism as the first and main condition and a tried means of correctly solving the inner-party contradictions, of rectifying mistakes and shortcomings.

—Democratic centralism. This principle does not permit any slackening of centralized leadership in the Party as a whole or in its individual organizations, nor does it permit violation of the democratic rights of the committees, branches or individual members (the extent to which democracy is applied should not be at variance with the conditions in which the Party works).

—Collective leadership. In the work of the Party committees there should be a constructive spirit and free exchange of views for the purpose of studying, collectively and exhaustively, all questions which should be resolved by the committee as a whole and not by any individual. This principle makes it incumbent on the leading bodies to respect the viewpoints of all members, to take cognizance of sound opinions and useful suggestions, and to give all members the opportunity to take part in working out policy.

—Strict observance of the Party rules and discipline, absolute fidelity to its policy, resolute struggle against carelessness, bureaucracy and breaches of discipline, merciless struggle against all liberal and bureaucratic tendencies and views, in fact against everything that weakens Party discipline, vigilance and firmness in relation to any action incompatible with absolute fidelity to the Party.

—Building the Party on a branch basis requires that all members, especially new ones, should realize that a branch is not a group of individual members loosely connected, that it is a Party body, just like any committee, which, being in direct touch with the non-Party masses, is called upon to take all Party instructions to the masses and play an active role in carrying out its policy. The development of the Party depends primarily on the development of its branches.

3. *Overcoming organizational difficulties*. We have, the resolution says, a small number of comrades who are fulfilling or are ready to fulfil their Party duty and their obligations but who cannot enjoy their rights as Party members, either because they are isolated from their organizations for reasons which do not depend on them, or because of other reasons. The Party declares that

it is proud of these comrades, they should be given every opportunity to enjoy their rights, and should be involved in inner-Party work in conformity with their training and abilities.

We have, too, a small number of comrades who do not fulfil their Party obligations. We must guide their work and help them to change their attitude. Constructive criticism should be furthered and adequate measures taken against those who, in practice, show no desire to change their attitude to Party obligations.

Some of our Party committees have become bogged down in routine matters. They deal with many matters which are not their concern at all. And this weakens their role as the leading and guiding bodies.

Overcoming the organizational difficulties is closely linked with the qualitative growth of the

Party, which will help strengthen the entire Party apparatus and facilitate promotion of new cadres.

In its resolution the Central Committee outlines specific measures for improving Party work. These include weekly seminars throughout the Party in every branch and in every committee; short courses (weekly or ten-day) for the members of Party committees and branch organizers, drawn particularly from among the workers and peasants; strengthening the committees.

The Central Committee underlined the need for steadfast struggle against imperialism and its stooges, against conspiracies, for struggle to preserve and develop the gains of the Revolution, to safeguard the rights of the masses and ensure satisfaction of their demands, to improve inner-Party work, combat erroneous views and eliminate shortcomings.

Soviet Worker-Peasant Newspaper Correspondents

THE institution of worker-peasant newspaper correspondents is one of the striking manifestations of socialist democracy, testifying to the genuinely popular nature of the Soviet press. The correspondents take on these tireless and often exacting duties of their own free will, motivated solely by their sense of the public interest. They work not for the sake of remuneration, and not because of any compulsion: the impelling force is the prompting of the heart. They are, then, genuine people's correspondents.

The rich history of this unique institution dates from the time when the Communist Party was in its formative stage. A feature of the *Iskra*, of the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletarii* and *Pravda*, was that for the first time workers took part in producing them. "That literary men and literary men only" (in the professional sense), Lenin wrote, "can run a paper successfully, is nonsense; on the contrary, the newspaper will be vital and dynamic only when for every five leading and permanent contributors there are five hundred or even five thousand workers who are not professional newspapermen."

After the October Revolution the institution developed rapidly. A wide network of correspondents' groups was set up, and meetings and congresses were held regularly. The best Party functionaries and outstanding writers were assigned to the worker correspondents in order to aid them in their duties.

With the development of Soviet society the importance of organizing and convincing the masses

grew and with it the role of the press. Overall newspaper circulation is at present about 62 million (it was 48.7 million two years ago). The 858 journals published in the country have a circulation of 26 million. The most important thing, however, is that the press has a mass basis in the sense that millions participate in its work.

The congresses and conferences of worker-peasant correspondents in the republics, regions, towns and districts, as well as conferences of the voluntary correspondents who contribute to the trade union paper *Trud*, the youth paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, *Sovietskaya Rossia*, *Gudok* and others—held shortly before the Twenty-First Party Congress—demonstrated the growing activity of the correspondents and the interest shown by the masses in developing the press.

During the public discussion of the target figures for the Seven-Year Plan the editorial boards of newspapers, journals and of the radio programs received over 650,000 letters and items with suggestions concerning the plan; of these more than 300,000 were published. Since the Party Congress the correspondents have been reporting how its decisions are being implemented, are helping to disclose untapped reserves, popularizing the best examples of the communist attitude to labor, combating survivals of the past, etc.

For the purpose of helping their voluntary correspondents to acquire know-how, many editorial offices arrange special courses for them. In addition to schools, where the period of study is more or less lengthy—usually for one year—many

offices regularly arrange seminars for their correspondents.

The correspondents are aided by publications issued specially for their use. The journal *Worker-Peasant Correspondent* features articles, aids and personal experiences. Articles on the "Art of note-taking," "Newspaper language," "How to write for a newspaper," "How I work on an article," "Sub-editing an article by a worker-peasant correspondent"—all are read with interest, and the journal is very popular.

The monthly bulletin *Worker Correspondent*, issued by *Trud* is now in its second year. Its editorial staff acquaints the correspondents with its plans. The bulletin also features contributions by the correspondents. A similar bulletin, *The Railwayman Correspondent*, is published by *Gudok*.

Another feature of the work of the voluntary correspondents is the worker-peasant council attached to the editorial board of the newspaper and to some of its departments.

A council of this kind, for example, attached to the industry-transport department of the *Taganrogskaya Pravda*, consists of 22 workers, including a steelmelter, blacksmith, metal-roller, locomotive driver, foreman, engineer, turner, technologist, designer, architect, builder, economist, Party and trade union functionaries and representatives of the main enterprises and organizations in the town. Discussing the department's plans, the council makes useful proposals and suggests topics for articles. But the council is not merely a consultative body—its members make their own contributions, they verify the facts contained in the letters to the editor and enlist contributors.

Recently such forms of mass activity as "raids" by correspondents have become popular. The purpose of the "raid" is to examine and elucidate a particular problem pertaining to production and the conditions of the working people.

Not long ago a "raid" was made on the large Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Plant to discover further possibilities for effecting economies. The three thousand correspondent "raiders" probed the plant thoroughly with a view to establishing cases of wasteful expenditure. The "raid" resulted in 4,500 proposals being submitted. These were taken up the moment the findings of the "raid" were published. *Trud* conducted a "raid" for the

purpose of verifying fulfilment of the collective agreement in a number of plants. The Moscow regional paper *Leninskoye Znamya* carried out an investigation of complex mechanization and automation in enterprises.

In addition to the "raids," popularity is enjoyed by worker-correspondent "posts." These are seen most frequently at construction sites and on the sectors engaged in important work.

The Communist Party does everything to encourage the voluntary correspondents; it criticizes the shortcomings holding back the movement. The Central Committee of the Party has recommended that regular meetings of worker-peasant correspondents should be convened regularly throughout the country, as well as meetings in the enterprises, on construction sites, in transport and on the collective and state farms; it has recommended further, that training of active correspondents should be arranged by the editorial offices of the newspapers and journals, and at the main enterprises; that those worker and peasant correspondents who have demonstrated journalistic ability should be promoted to full-time newspaper work.

Party organizations have been requested to help the editorial boards in arranging readers' conferences, contributors' conferences, "raids" and public investigations; they have been requested also to give better guidance to the wall-newspapers and factory papers. Elections for the editorial boards of these papers should be held annually at workers' meetings.

The Central Committee considers that all newspapers and journals should give more space to the contributions sent in by workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. Letters which for space or other reasons are not published, should be systematized and brought to the knowledge of the appropriate Party, administrative and trade union organizations. These organizations will periodically discuss the information supplied by the editors, and take the necessary measures.

After the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU the worker-peasant correspondents at their regional and district meetings discussed the tasks confronting the press in conditions of all-out communist construction.

V. VLADIMIROV

Progressive Juntas in Costa Rica

AMONG the organizations upholding the interests of the people of Costa Rica an important place is held by the progressive juntas elected all over the country at meetings of the residents of the particular city block, village or township. These juntas head the mass actions for local demands (school building, water supply and sewage, electricity, urban improvement, etc.). These demands are submitted to the municipalities and to the central government. The juntas are united front organizations, rallying people of different political convictions.

On this vital sector of the popular struggle our People's Vanguard Party (Vanguardia popular) works for the realization of two aims of cardinal importance: strengthening the united front and extending the functions of the juntas. The Communists try to ensure that the meetings to elect the juntas should not degenerate into political meetings of certain parties, but should be genuinely representative of the residents of the particular locality. The Communists make clear that they have no desire to dominate the juntas. Whenever Party members are elected to leading posts, this is the unanimous decision of the meeting; they themselves insist that the leadership should be representative of all parties and political trends. By their sincere desire for unity and their defense of the people's interests the Communists help to strengthen the united front.

Everyday life prompts the juntas to extend the sphere of their activity. Here are some examples. All the juntas in San José, capital of the republic, resisted the attempts of the bus companies to raise fares. The juntas summoned the people to action which at times developed into sharp struggle. Buses were wrecked at the bus stops. As a result the companies had to back down and the movement rose to a higher plane: from the stage of local demands the juntas passed on to united action by the citizens of the capital. This initial experience of unity led to the merging of the juntas into the National Federation of Progressive Juntas. Then followed new actions, which also extended beyond local boundaries and grew into nationwide anti-imperialist struggles. The Federation is resisting the plans of the government to hand over a cement factory and the limestone deposits to a North American monopoly. In this it has the support of all the progressives in the country. The proposal was made that the factory should be transferred to an independent national enterprise. The case was taken up in the Legislative Assembly which approved the popular demand and enacted a law to safeguard the national wealth.

The National Federation followed this by launching the most significant of the nationwide anti-imperialist actions held in recent times. This is organizing the masses against the "Compania Nacional de Fuerza y Luz" (the title is a screen for the U.S. "Electric Bond & Share") which wants to increase the electricity rates. Action is organized under the slogans: "No increase in rates! Reduce them! Nationalize the electric power system!"

On Independence Day, September 15, 1958, the Federation held a united front rally in front of the President's residence. Attended by a crowd of several thousand, the gathering was addressed by leaders of varying political views, including the Chairman of the People's Vanguard Party. The President, who consented to speak, promised to submit a bill on the nationalization of the power industry.

The reactionary press is working up a frenzied campaign aimed at breaking the united front and ousting Communists from the juntas. Most of the juntas, however, are rebuffing this onslaught. The few which at first yielded to the pressure realized their mistake and remained in the Federation, which is being strengthened by the adherence of new juntas. Thus, the juntas are becoming increasingly important as organs of the popular struggle for both local and general national-liberation demands.

They give expression to pressing demands and for this reason they have the support of the masses. That is why the enemy attempts to intimidate the people by screaming that the juntas are tools in the hands of Communists, meet with failure.

The prospect for a national-democratic front is now brighter. The trade unions are restoring the unity which was disrupted in 1948. Considerable headway in this respect has been made by the workers on the banana plantations. In the trade unions our comrades are doing everything to cement unity and to prevent any rupture with the unions affiliated to ORIT.* The Communists call for unity in the fight for higher wages, maintenance of the social insurance system, against the rising prices and increased charges for communal services, etc.

Although after ten years of underground work our Party cannot as yet function openly as a political party, its members work legally in the trade unions and in the other organizations of the working people. Actually only one ban remains in force—the ban on contesting elections. Unable

*Inter-American Regional Organization, member of the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

to nominate our own candidates, we supported the Republican candidates in the elections for the Legislative Assembly. This frustrated the attempts made by the reactionaries to secure a majority, and enabled our Party to establish contact with the local organizations of the Republican Party with whom we fought jointly in 1943 and in the 1948 civil war.

The fact that the Right wing of the National Union Party, which is the party of President Echéandi, was prevented from gaining control of the Legislative Assembly was of no little importance. The National Liberation Party (formed during the civil war of 1948) and the Republican Party, which to a considerable degree are repre-

sentative both of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, need mutual support in the Assembly. This facilitates the task of rallying the progressive forces in these parties. The People's Vanguard supports the Left trends in the two parties, helps them in every way and, simultaneously, combats the Right tendencies.

The differentiation of forces in the country is growing apace. We are under no delusions about the difficulties. Our Party is working steadfastly for the unity of the progressive and democratic forces, to develop this unity into a nationwide movement for the triumph of peace and democracy, for national independence.

Jorge JIMENEZ

Short Notices

Albania

STUDYING THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY

GROUPS to study the history of the Albanian Party of Labor have been formed in factories and offices and in the agricultural co-operatives. The history of the Party is one of the subjects taught in all institutions of higher learning. The study program covers the main stages of development of the communist movement in the country. The first stage (1917-39) deals with the working class and communist movement prior to the founding of the Communist Party. The Albania of those days is characterized as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country whose economy was dominated by foreign capital. Under the impact of the October Revolution, Marxist-Leninist ideas began to make headway, and the first communist groups arose—the basis of the future Communist Party.

The second stage—1939-41—witnessed the founding of the Party. The factors which gave rise to the Second World War, and the popular resistance to the fascist invaders are examined. Attention is focused on the ideological and organizational principles of the Party, on its program and tactics in the liberation struggle.

"The Communist Party in the struggle for liberation and for people's rule" is the title of the section dealing with the third stage—from November 1941 to November 1944. The basic elements in this stage are the Party's struggle to rally the people into the united national-liberation front; the national-liberation councils as organs of the uprising and of autonomous rule in the liberated regions; the work carried out by the Party to

build the national-liberation army. The historic victories of the Soviet Army over the Hitler hordes and the struggle for the complete liberation of the country are likewise closely studied.

The next stage—1944-48—is covered in the section "The Communist Party in the struggle to rebuild the country and to carry forward the revolution." This period saw the completion of the people's democratic revolution, important economic changes, including the land reform and the rehabilitation of the war-devastated economy.

In the initial stage of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, people's rule was the specific form of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants which subsequently, with the revolution entering upon its second, the socialist stage, became proletarian dictatorship.

The last part of the program deals with the victories won by the people under the leadership of the Party in socialist construction; a point is made about the all-round fraternal aid from the socialist countries, particularly from the Soviet Union; the attempts by the Yugoslav revisionists to interfere in the internal affairs of Albania are exposed.

To facilitate the work of the students, the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee has published the first four booklets as aids to study. Another two will appear shortly; these and other materials will be used as a basis for a text-book on the history of the Party.

Denmark

SUPPORT FOR THE PAPER

AFTER the Communist Party of Denmark held its Twentieth Congress, reactionary newspapers and bourgeois politicians boasted that the financial difficulties experienced by *Land og Folk* testified to a crisis in the Party. The boast has been refuted by the results of the fund-raising

campaign conducted by the paper on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The Central Committee of the Party issued an appeal for 200,000 kroner for the paper. The Party membership and many sympathizers took part in the campaign. Veteran workers donated part of their modest pensions, while young workers collected scrap-metal and sent the proceeds to the fund. Groups of women prepared needle-work articles for bazaars and auctions. Many donated paintings and other valuables. Owners of orchards and kitchen-gardens donated fruit and vegetables. Youth organizations arranged theatrical performances and film shows. But the greater part of the money came from the factories and construction sites.

The overall result was that by the date fixed, over 270,000 kroner had been collected.

The success of the campaign for the *Land og Folk* testifies to the stronger positions won by the Communist Party after the defeat of the revisionists at the Twentieth Congress, to active support for the Party by broad sections of the working class.

Canada

MARXIST STUDY CENTER

A MARXIST Study Center has been established by the National Executive Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party. The Center will conduct systematic theoretical studies in the sphere of the social sciences, with a view to preparing materials for publication, for Party education and raising the theoretical level of the membership. In addition, the Center will produce materials of a short-term character for the daily work of the Party.

This is the first Marxist theoretical study center in Canada. It will be made up of research workers with special interests and qualifications in specific fields. It will have special committees on history, economics, culture and education. In the sphere of history, along with completion of the first part of the *History of the Canadian People*, a series of papers is envisaged concerning the more recent period. A volume of Selected Works by Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Party, is being prepared for publication. In the sphere of economics, the main questions to be studied are state-monopoly capitalism and the conditions of the working class in Canada. The committee on culture will make a critical study of radio and television—the basic means of mass propaganda. A pamphlet on the Canadian educational system will be published. A library and archives are being arranged, as well as a translation bureau which will make available the wealth of materials at the disposal of the

international communist movement. The secretaries of the special committees, together with their members, compose the Center which, located in Toronto, will have Corresponding Members throughout the country. It will hold regular sessions monthly, and seminars on important subjects will be arranged from time to time.

As stated in its inaugural resolution, the Center will establish fraternal communication with similar centers in other countries.

At its founding meeting Leslie Morris, veteran of the Canadian communist movement, was elected chairman, and W. Sydney, secretary of the Center.

The Party regards the formation of the Center as a first step towards what it hopes will become a permanent institution with suitable facilities for creative Marxist studies.

Norway

PREPARING FOR COMMUNAL ELECTIONS

IN CONNECTION with the forthcoming elections to the communes (local government bodies) the Communist Party has issued an appeal to the working people of the country.

The appeal says in particular that the people are gravely concerned about the present foreign and home policy of the government. Flouting the will of the people the government intends to open the gates to the West German militarists. Military spending swallows about one-quarter of the budget, i.e., one billion kroner. And this when the country is facing a crisis, when instead of the high standard of living and full employment promised by the Labor leaders, unemployment and prices are soaring, while purchasing power is shrinking.

For this reason, the appeal says, more and more people are insisting that Norway should withdraw from NATO and replace its dangerous bloc policy for an active policy of peace and international security. Workers, trade unionists, small peasants and fishermen are voicing protests against the policy pursued in the interests of capital; they want a policy of social changes.

The Communist Party is the only party in the country whose stand both in foreign and home policy is in complete accord with the demands and aspirations of hundreds of thousands of the working people. It urges them to rally still closer for the following main demands:

—Ensure full employment through extensive building of industrial enterprises, institutions, roads and other building work; bigger financial allocations for the communes; no annulment of collective agreements; nationalize banks and insurance companies; more trade with the Eastern countries.

—Raise real wages, ensure stable prices, reduce rents, and abolish taxes on food. Build more homes and bring order into the state bank in relation to granting credits and subsidies.

—Restore the old working class tax slogan: "More taxes at the top, less at the bottom!"

—Radically change the state budget mainly by cutting military spending and changing the tax policy.

The Party calls on all its organizations and all its members to fight for these demands, to reinforce the ranks of the Party, ensure a bigger circulation for the Party press and achieve the greatest possible success in the September elections.

Indonesia

THE MASSES TAKE PART IN THE PARTY'S FUND-RAISING CAMPAIGN

THE call of the Central Committee to the members, candidate members and sympathizers of the Communist Party, and to the working people of Indonesia, to participate in the campaign to collect money for the Sixth Party Congress has met with a good response throughout the country.

The varied and often original ways in which money is being collected testifies to the initiative of the people, to their confidence in the Party.

Everywhere the campaign is combined with some practical aim. For example, in some districts in Central Java boar hunts are organized, and the money raised by the sale of the boars, which are a menace to the rice fields, is sent to the Party. The Kertosono (East Java) Party branch organized a frog-catching campaign—frogs are a popular dish in the area.

To date quite a significant sum has been collected for the Congress.

The Tropodo branch in the town of Sidoradjo has organized a "banana leaf campaign." In Surabaya, the members and candidate members of one of the organizations abstained from smoking for one day with the result that the sum of 725 rupees was donated to the fund.

Amateur art groups give impromptu performances at places of work and on market squares. The actors tell the people about the forthcoming Congress and ask for financial contributions.

While the campaign is in full swing in all districts, the Party headquarters is flooded with postal orders from all parts of the country for the Congress fund. A special column in the Party's daily newspaper, *Harian Kakjat*, contains the lists of contributors and the amount donated.

Switzerland

PARTY CONGRESS SOON

THE Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor to be held in Geneva in May will discuss the report on the political situation and tasks of the Party, the draft Party program, and the preparations for the general election.

Also down for discussion is the struggle against atomic armaments. In this small country which is threatened by no one, almost half the budget is swallowed up by military expenditure. Moreover, the government is planning to spend even more on atomic arms.

The draft program drawn up by the Central Committee has been discussed in all Party organizations and a number of suggestions and amendments have been submitted. These, too, will be discussed by the Congress. When the Party was founded in 1944, it did not adopt a program. And although subsequently many policy concepts were reflected in the resolutions of its congresses and conferences, the absence of a program meant that the Party did not have a clear perspective. This will now be remedied.

The general election, scheduled for October, is much in the news. At present the Party has four representatives in the National Council (chamber of representatives). It is faced with the task of stepping up the struggle to regain and extend democratic rights. The Party enjoys only a formal legal status, especially in the German part of the country. It is denied halls for public meetings, civil servants are prohibited from joining the Party, and a veritable terror reigns in the factories. Communists are not allowed to hold leading positions in the reformist trade unions. Things have gone so far that hotel-keepers in Berne, the capital, refuse rooms to the Party's M.P.'s, while the parliamentary bureau declares that it cannot afford them any facilities for the night.

The forthcoming Congress will help the Party to improve its work among the masses.

Documents

Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of Six West European Countries

On April 1 and 2 a meeting was held in Brussels of representatives of the Communist parties of the six member-countries of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market: the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy and Luxemburg.

After discussing the sources and aims of the "United Europe" policy, the consequences of the European Coal and Steel Community and of the Common Market which affect the six countries, the meeting issued the following statement:

NEW facts testify daily to the anxiety felt by the working class and the people of our countries, imperilled by the European and Steel Community and the Common Market. We foresaw these consequences and denounced them at the time.

The changes that have taken place in the conditions of the workers and the people generally prove irrefutably that the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market are instruments for implementing the policy of monopoly capital, which seeks to intensify still more the exploitation of the people, to dominate the economy and aggravate international tension, and restore aggressive German militarism.

* * *

In the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market the monopolies have forged highly efficacious instruments for accelerating concentration in the main branches of the economy and for adapting the economic, social and political structure of the respective countries to their interests.

This means that the monopolies now have new levers for lowering the living standards of the working class and the people of the six countries, for retarding progress and curtailing the rights of the labor and democratic forces. They are now better equipped to combat the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, to pursue more actively their policy of plunder in Africa and to oppose both the movement for relaxing international tension and the real possibilities for coexistence and peaceful cooperation among the nations.

The European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market also enable the monopolies and the big capitalist landowners to shift the

burdens of the crisis affecting most capitalist countries on to the shoulders of the non-monopoly sections.

This policy, dictated exclusively by the drive for maximum profits, is manifested particularly in the general onslaught against living standards, wages, social gains and rights; it leads to dismissals and the closing of pits and factories.

The capitalists in each of the countries have turned down the demands of the working people. While claiming that each country is faced with growing competition, it was they in fact who decided to establish the Common Market and, what is more, they are linked by mutually protective cartel agreements.

Handicraftsmen and the small and medium employers see that their economic independence is being whittled away, that the tendency to oust them completely is becoming more pronounced.

In agriculture this policy and the policy of the big capitalist landowners are accelerating the process of concentration. They are widening the gap between agricultural prices and those of manufactured goods, which continue to soar. Rising taxes, rents and other costs threaten the existence of hundreds of thousands of small and middle-sized farms and are the cause of the exodus of farm laborers from the countryside. In a number of countries the rural proletariat, subjected to still more ruthless exploitation, and suffering from unemployment, is forced to leave the villages.

This policy is the cause of the economic decline of whole regions; it also aggravates the uneven character of economic development to the detriment of the stricken areas.

Lastly, this policy creates a threat to democratic and trade union freedoms, to workers' rights; it

is aimed at abolishing or restricting the powers of parliaments and of all democratic institutions.

It saps the pillars of national independence at which U.S. imperialism has already struck; it favors the domination of the monopolies and aids and abets the resurgence of German militarism.

* * *

The hard facts of life refute the claims of those who spread illusions and seek to prove that "European integration" will help to raise living standards, ensure full employment, abolish crises and further the cause of peace.

The firing of miners and iron and steel workers and the threat hanging over all the other workers in these industries reveal the true meaning of the European Coal and Steel Community.

The entry into force of the Common Market cannot but aggravate the situation generally; instead of the Europe of the peoples, as promised by some, a Europe of the trusts is being created before our eyes.

In all the countries of "Little Europe" power is, at present, in the hands of governments which have removed from their midst all political groupings other than avowed Rightists; whereas in 1947 it was the Communist ministers who were ousted from the governments, today the Socialist ministers have been replaced everywhere by reactionaries and clericals.

Thus, the rule of the monopolies and international cartels which refuse to share power with anyone, even for appearance's sake, is confirmed; pursuing their selfish interests they are seeking to implement directly their aggressive policies in all spheres of activity.

* * *

One of their principal objectives within the framework of the American-dictated NATO policy in Europe—based economically and politically on the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market—is to accelerate the resurgence of German militarism and, through Euratom, help to equip it with atomic weapons.

The installation of rocket-launching sites has intensified the danger which threatens Europe and peace.

The working people are forced to bear the burden of the immense military expenditure, which adds to their hardships and retards the economic and cultural progress so vital to the future and prosperity of the nations in this part of Europe.

At the same time, in the Soviet Union, in People's China and in the People's Democracies everything is being done to raise living standards within a short period of time, to reduce the hours of labor and make work easier, to maintain peace—the cherished aspiration of all peoples.

To the cold war policy the Soviet Union counterposes—as was recently affirmed before the whole world by the XXIst Congress of the CPSU—its socialist foreign policy: coexistence, peaceful competition and disarmament.

* * *

In the six countries the workers are waging a united struggle for better conditions and against the consequences of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market.

The meeting hails the workers of Borinage, who by a united effort organized a powerful movement to combat the consequences of the European Coal and Steel Community. It calls upon the working people of all countries to uphold the working class of Belgium and to display solidarity with it.

The meeting also hails the working people who, following the example of the Ruhr workers, the Galileo workers in Florence, the Italian farm laborers and the Fives-Lille workers in France, joined forces and fought to defend their right to work and for better conditions. All forms of struggle and every action by working people of all views help to realize, develop and extend united action by the working class.

The middle sections of town and countryside are conscious of the need to combat the onslaught of monopoly capital. In some instances they have already initiated organized action in defense of their interests and democracy.

All in all, this fosters the growth of opposition to big business by the various economic, social and political groupings.

In this way favorable conditions are being created for united action by the working-class political and trade union organizations and also for an alliance with the other democratic forces in the six countries to combat the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market, to work for new perspectives and for a new political orientation.

The Communist parties, conscious of the decisive role of the working class—the champion of the national interests and of peace and democracy—solemnly call on the Socialist parties, on all trade union and democratic organizations in the six countries to fall in line with the wishes of the working class, the working peasantry and other sections of the people—victims of the monopolies—and to form alliances for action against the policy of big capital.

The alliance of the monopolies and militarists should be countered by coordinated action by the workers and the masses. Unity is vital to success and can be achieved.

The meeting believes that the aims could be formulated as follows:

Maintenance and improvement of living standards—the basic condition for developing the home market in each country — which presupposes an end to dismissals, abolition of part-time unemployment and keeping the pits and factories open; the right to another job in the event of dismissal and the creation of more jobs; maintaining and raising wages; meeting the demands of the part-time and wholly unemployed; maintaining and extending the social gains; reducing the hours of labor without reducing wages; defense of the rights of the immigrant workers; defense of the small and medium farmers and of the legitimate interests of the small and medium employers and traders.

These aims can be achieved by extending joint action by the masses and their organizations. Such action would also help to rally the political forces capable of compelling the monopolies to make concessions, thereby making possible the regeneration of democracy and far-reaching social changes.

This new policy could ensure more stable economic activity in each country and, consequently, full employment and better conditions for the working people. It could ensure considerable cuts in military expenditure, abolish all discrimination in international relations, favor the development of trade and other economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit. It would re-establish and guarantee the independence of each country and contribute substantially to the cause of peace.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the establishment of a disengagement zone

in Europe would be an important step towards relaxing international tension.

The working class and other sections opposed to the policy of "Little Europe" are developing the thought, which the Communist parties of the six countries feel should be publicly proclaimed, namely, that "it is necessary to put an end to the European Coal and Steel Community and to prevent realization of the Common Market."

The view is expressed by the broad public and in political circles that the present policy cannot be continued any longer, that changes must be made and that the agreements on the European Coal and Steel Community and on the Common Market should be annulled.

The meeting considers that on this basis meetings could be arranged and agreements reached by all those who are dissatisfied with the existing situation.

By uniting, the workers and the democratic forces will be able to strike a decisive blow at all the opponents of progress, democracy and unity among all the nations of Europe.

Fraternal co-operation of the peoples will pave the way to a better life in conditions of peace and democracy.

* * *

The Communist Party representatives attending the fraternal meeting, which in their view was most fruitful, decided to hold further consultations and to coordinate their activities.

Reviews

Socialist Co-operation of Nations

ECONOMICALLY, the socialist world system is a powerful force. The socialist countries extend over one-quarter of the earth's surface, and their population comprises one-third of mankind. They have 54 per cent of the world reserves of iron ore, some 30 per cent of the coal, over 20 per cent of the oil, about 70 per cent of the potassium salts. They account for over one-third of world industrial output, about one-quarter of the pig iron and steel, half the grain and 43 per cent of the cotton.

Co-operation of the fraternal countries in the framework of the socialist world economic system is not something that has been finalized in all respects. It is a new feature in international rela-

tions, which continues to develop as the building of socialism goes on in the twelve countries of Europe and Asia.

That is why the joint work* on the laws of development of the socialist world economic system, and the summarizing of the experience of socialist construction in the separate countries, is of great interest, both theoretically and from the standpoint of practice. The symposium under review has been prepared for publication by the Institute of Economy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR at the request of a conference of economists of the socialist countries. Among the authors of the

**Socialist World Economic System*, Moscow, Gosplanizdat, 1958, 559 pp.

17 articles in the symposium are prominent economists of these countries.

Only one question, the formation and evolution of the socialist world economic system, is reviewed here, a question which has been given great prominence in the symposium.

* * *

The emergence of socialism onto the world arena and the rise of the socialist world economic system are features of modern development. As early as 1920 Lenin drew attention to the need to take into account the "tendency towards a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations according to a common plan, which tendency is already quite clearly revealed under capitalism, and should certainly be further developed and fully consummated under socialism."*

The objective prerequisites for the rise and development of the socialist world economic system are studied in a number of articles, among them "The Significance of the Triumph of Socialism and the Building of Communism in the USSR in the Formation and Development of the Socialist World System" by K. Ostrovityanov; "Specific Features of Socialist Construction in the Chinese People's Republic" by Yui Huan-yan; "Socialist Industrialization — Basic Condition for Building Socialism in the Polish People's Republic" by B. Minc; "Czechoslovakia's Part in the Division of Labor and Economic Co-operation Between Socialist Countries" by V. Kaigl; "The Role of the Industry and Foreign Trade of the German Democratic Republic in the Socialist World Economic System" by H. Kohlmey; "Building of a Socialist Economy in the Hungarian People's Republic" by I. Friss; "General Laws and Specific Features of Socialist Construction in the Various Countries" by L. Gatoski.

The vital importance of uniting the efforts of the peoples in socialist and communist construction find theoretical substantiation in the Leninist proposition on the general laws governing socialist construction in countries with differing historical, economic and other conditions. The symposium confirms the truth of this proposition; its vitality and truth have been verified by the experience in socialist construction and the practical work of nearly one billion people who have satisfied themselves that they must build socialism together, in one friendly family, and not by being isolated in their national "apartments." And this experience makes nonsense of the harmful preaching of dissociation in building socialism, voiced by the modern, primarily Yugoslav, revisionists, a dissociation which would weaken the socialist world system as a whole and each socialist country taken separately.

*V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 31, p. 125.

Among the main conditions for the rise and development of a socialist world economic system are: public ownership of the means of production in all socialist countries, their common state and social systems, and unity of aim — the building of communism. Relations between the socialist countries are based upon proletarian internationalism and fraternal mutual aid; they have a single ideology — Marxism-Leninism. "The main features and laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union . . . are of common importance for the socialist revolutions and socialist construction in other countries. China, too, is marching along the road mapped out by the Great October Socialist Revolution," states the article on the "Specific Features of Socialist Construction in the Chinese People's Republic" (p. 169).

The book correctly points out that socialism opens up broad vistas for the people's aspiration to economic rapprochement and union, and at the same time creates progressive forms of co-operation that are free of the evils and contradictions of capitalism.

Lenin pointed out that the economic union of peoples under capitalism is effected by oppression and exploitation of the less developed countries by those which are more developed. The union of the peoples in the socialist world system is based upon mutual confidence and voluntary agreements, on equality and respect for sovereignty. This union constitutes an economic, political and cultural community of socialist countries.

The socialist world system includes countries at various stages of socialist construction whose economic development is at different levels. A socialist society has already been built in the USSR and extensive building of communism is now under way. Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have entered on the period of completing the building of socialism, other People's Democracies are nearing this objective. The articles on socialist construction in Rumania ("Turning Rumania from an Economically Backward into an Industrial-Agrarian Country" by N. Constantinescu); Korea ("Building Socialism in the Korean People's Democratic Republic" by Li Men So); Albania ("Development of the National Economy in Albania" by H. Mara); the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—give many facts and examples which confirm a phenomenon which is natural in the relations between socialist countries and unthinkable in conditions of capitalism—where an advanced, powerful state renders disinterested aid to the economically underdeveloped country to end, for all time, its age-old backwardness and to build a modern industry and agriculture.

The Soviet Union, the most powerful socialist state, renders great help to all the socialist coun-

tries. It supplies complex industrial equipment which is an important and, for certain countries the decisive condition for their industrialization. In 1958 the Soviet Union delivered industrial equipment for 478 enterprises in the People's Democracies. The 211 plants being built in China with Soviet aid comprise the core of industrial construction in the country. Between 1950 and 1955 the Soviet Union delivered to Poland equipment for 42 industrial enterprises. It delivers equipment and is helping to modernize and build 56 enterprises in Rumania and 39 in Bulgaria. All in all, about 500 industrial enterprises are either being designed, built or have already been built with Soviet aid in the People's Democracies. They will annually produce 15 million tons of steel, 22-23 billion kwh. of electric power, about 120,000 tons of copper, over 850,000 tons of nitrogen fertilizer, 55,000 motor vehicles, about 40,000 tractors. The other socialist countries are also helping each other.

In the light of these and many other facts brought out in the symposium, the fabrications of the Yugoslav and other revisionists about the nature of relations between the socialist countries as being allegedly relations of inequality, "hegemony" and "subjugation," are obvious, as is the hopelessness of their attempts to sow mistrust among the socialist countries and, in particular, in relation to the Soviet Union. The USSR, like any other country in the socialist camp, seeks no advantages for itself in this community. Each state, including the Soviet Union, regards the building of socialism in the other fraternal countries as its own vital affair, rendering these countries selfless, all-round help. In the socialist world system, the economy of former backward countries is developing at a more accelerated rate than that of the industrially advanced countries which are also advancing at a rapid rate. In 1958, for instance, the volume of industrial output in the socialist camp exceeded the pre-war (1937) level fivefold. In Czechoslovakia it was exceeded 3.3-fold, in the GDR more than 2.5-fold, in Hungary more than four times, in Poland more than 5.5-fold, in Bulgaria about 9-fold and in Albania 18-fold. Thanks to co-operation and mutual help the former industrially backward socialist countries have become industrial and industrial-agrarian countries.

Thus, in the socialist world system we see new objective laws of development. The law of unequal development, which determines relations between capitalist countries, has given place to the law of planned proportional development, which is realized through mutual help and fraternal co-operation in the form of an international socialist division of labor, specialization and the co-ordination of production. Proceeding from these new laws of development in the socialist world system,

N. S. Khrushchov drew an important theoretical conclusion to the effect that all socialist countries would pass to the higher phase of communist society more or less simultaneously.

The socialist world system has now entered on a new stage which is characterized by the fact that the USSR has embarked upon its seven-year plan. The Chinese People's Republic, where a mass movement has been launched to achieve a "big leap," has made tremendous headway. The working people in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other socialist countries are making determined efforts to fulfil their plans ahead of schedule. The power of the socialist system is growing to an unparalleled degree. The socialist countries have entered on the decisive phase of the competition with capitalism. In industrial per capita output the socialist world system, taken as a whole, has already overtaken the capitalist world system. Today the task is to tip the scales in world production in favor of the socialist system as against the capitalist system, to surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in productivity of labor and in output per head of population, and to attain the world's highest standard of living. The socialist countries have everything needed for this task. The articles of the symposium correctly emphasize that this is not resolved by each socialist country on its own, but is the *common task of the whole socialist camp*.

* * *

The objective laws which conditioned the rise of the socialist world economic system also determine its further development. A number of articles contain information on how economic bonds were established and developed among the countries which have stepped out on the socialist road, how on the basis of these relations the socialist world system was formed and how economic relations are developing now.

The socialist world system covers both distribution and production. Historically, co-operation among the socialist countries began to develop in the sphere of production—in the form of co-ordination and the specialization of separate branches of the economy. Co-operation in the sphere of distribution is linked with co-operation in the sphere of production.

Up to 1955 economic co-operation between the USSR and the People's Democracies took the form mainly of goods exchange, initially under yearly agreements and, subsequently, for increasingly longer periods. The socialist world market came into being. Foreign trade is now an important form of economic relations among the socialist countries. Most of their foreign trade is carried on with the other socialist countries (from 60 to 100 per cent in the People's Democracies, and up to 80 per

cent in the USSR). With the changeover to long-term planning, conditions were created for the development of numerous forms of economic co-operation in production.

Alongside growing trade relations, scientific and technical co-operation (exchange of technical specifications, business trips by experts, training of cadres, co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, etc.) has also become an important factor.

Exchange of technical documentation and experience has made it possible to start production of new items before the time scheduled, at less cost, and to build new industries. Poland, for example, has developed her automobile, tractor and ship-building industries on the basis of the technical documentation received from the Soviet Union. The latter in its turn has borrowed Poland's know-how in the coal industry. The USSR has shared its experience in manufacturing equipment for the oil industry with Rumania. The specifications and technical assistance supplied by the USSR have enabled China to master hundreds of new types of products in the machine-building, metallurgical and other industries, while the Soviet Union is applying Chinese experience in producing silk-weaving machines.

The reciprocal granting of credits on favorable terms is another important form of co-operation which develops parallel with trade. The credits are used for the purchase of industrial equipment, raw materials, etc. Thus in the postwar period, the USSR alone has granted the People's Democracies credits amounting to over 28 billion rubles. The conditions under which credits are granted have nothing in common with conditions in capitalist countries where strings are attached to the credits, accompanied by interference in the internal affairs of the debtor-countries, by attempts to make them dependent upon the creditor. In the socialist system the only aim pursued is to help the friendly countries to grow economically and consolidate their independence.

Free financial and economic help is another form of economic co-operation. The socialist countries, for example, have given substantial aid to the Korean People's Democratic Republic which, as is known, suffered severely during the war against the American interventionists. The USSR granted the KPDR one billion rubles, China 800 million yuans. Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria have also rendered substantial aid, as can be seen from the article by Li Men So. Considerable aid was also rendered to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as well as to Hungary which suffered as a result of the 1956 counter-revolution.

Co-operation in production is acquiring increasing importance; international socialist division of

labor and its higher forms — specialization and co-ordination of production — are being applied to an increasing extent. A number of articles, particularly V. Kaigl's "Czechoslovakia's Part in the Division of Labor and Economic Co-operation Between Socialist Countries," and A. Loshchakov's "Economic Co-operation Between Socialist Countries at the Present Stage," dwell on the important new features deriving from the international socialist division of labor. The question of building this or that industry can thus be posed in a new way. Relying on the all-round help accorded by the USSR and other industrially-developed socialist countries, the socialist states no longer need to establish all branches of industry, including heavy industry. Each country develops, first and foremost, those industries for which it has the most favorable natural and economic conditions. "Utilizing the Soviet Union's experience," writes N. Constantinescu, "the Rumanian People's Republic, like the other People's Democracies, does not need to develop all branches of heavy industry. Taking into account the industrial might of the socialist countries, we can found and develop primarily those industries for which we have the most favorable natural and economic conditions."

The socialist international division of labor and the co-ordination of production permit a more rapid growth of productive forces, contribute to their national distribution, and eliminate unnecessary parallelism in the manufacture of certain types of products. In the long run, this leads to raising the technical level considerably, increases the productivity of labor, cheapens production and makes for better utilization of production capacities. In the conditions of the international socialist division of labor each country participating in the regulated exchange of manufactured goods, semi-manufactures and raw materials, obtains all that is necessary for the development of its economy, and, at the same time, has a stable market for its goods.

The international socialist division of labor, specialization and co-ordination have given rise to another form of co-operation — joint industrial construction. The symposium cites a number of examples of this kind of co-operation. Thus, Rumania, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland are together building a cellulose mill in Rumania; Rumania and Hungary are jointly modernizing a soda works in Ocna-Mures, and utilizing natural gas resources, etc. Agreement has been reached between the countries concerned on the building of a pipe-line from the USSR to Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR and Hungary.

Many examples are cited of the growing co-operation in the new division of labor, co-ordina-

tion and specialization. Czechoslovakia, for instance, with due regard to the requirements of other socialist countries, is expanding her machine-building industry; Rumania — the oil and gas industries; Hungary—the bauxite-aluminum industry; the GDR — the precision-instruments, optics and chemical industries. Co-ordination and specialization are being implemented primarily in the machine-building industry.

These developments have necessitated more attention to long-term planning, to economic plans for 10-15 years ahead, plans which take into account the potentialities of each country and the interests of each. The co-ordination of these plans is yet another form of co-operation between the socialist countries.

* * *

The rise of the socialist world system, its development and consolidation are of immense international significance. This system has substantially extended the sphere of operation of the economic laws of socialism, which are now applied regularly and consciously throughout the socialist system. It is no longer affected either by the spontaneous laws of capitalism or its attributes — unemployment, crises, rivalry, expansion and wars.

The Economic Mutual Aid Council formed in 1949 has the object of organizing planned economic co-operation between the socialist countries. Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia are member-countries. Representatives of the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are observers on the Council and its organs. At a meeting in May last year, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Council's

member-states and of the Eastern People's Democracies unanimously expressed their readiness and determination to consolidate co-operation among the socialist countries.

It is noteworthy that when the Council was established it was declared that it was an organization open to other European countries which shared its principles and desired to participate in extensive economic co-operation with its member-states. This shows that the socialist countries do not refuse to co-operate with the capitalist countries, but, on the contrary, seek to extend this co-operation. They carry on extensive trade with the capitalist states. An article entitled "Economic Co-operation of the Socialist Countries at the Present Stage" and a number of others, give numerous facts demonstrating that the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and other socialist countries render disinterested assistance to many Asian and African countries, and develop with them not only trade but other economic relations — credits, scientific, technical, etc. This aid is essential in strengthening the economy and independence of the underdeveloped countries.

The book shows that the growing might and unity of the socialist countries is important for the development of modern society in the interests of peace and mankind.

While noting the usefulness of the symposium, which contains interesting information and makes important generalizations, we cannot fail to note that the abundance of subjects did not, in a number of cases, permit its compilers to go deeply enough into certain theoretical problems of the development of the socialist world system. In the light of the present tasks, there is an urgent need for new theoretical works on this subject, works which would analyze the experience and prospects of the socialist world system. S. VISKOV

Affluence, For Whom?

*The label may be different
but the wine is the same*
RABELAIS

"ISN'T it about time to change the label?" thinks the insolvent businessman, besieged by creditors. In point of fact, this is exactly what the numerous bourgeois ideologists and reformists are doing in searching for an attractive name for capitalism. And their efforts are but further proof of the extent to which the capitalist system has irreparably discredited itself in the eyes of the masses. "People's Capitalism," "Welfare State," "The Free World," "Western Civilization" — quite a sizeable list of pretty-sounding synonyms

for capitalism — and now there is a new one, the "Affluent Society," to which John Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard Professor and economic adviser to the National Committee of the U.S. Democratic Party, has recently given currency.

For half a year now Galbraith's *The Affluent Society** has been one of the twenty best-sellers in the capitalist West; it has been published in Britain and lauded by the bourgeois press.

To what does the book owe its success?

It is artfully written and the publishers frankly set out to make it a best-seller. The author's man-

*John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1958, 288 pp.

ner of confusing elementary problems of political economy is not wanting in originality, and he writes entertainingly in seeking to make the reader believe his talk of "improving capitalism." The secret of its success, however, lies not so much in the author's personal qualities as in the fact that the book appeared in mid-1958, at the peak of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, at the time of the Congressional elections in the USA. Galbraith seemed to have the answers to the worries of millions of ordinary people in the West, particularly in America: how to get out of the crisis, do away with inflation and unemployment and achieve economic security. And the reply to these "confounded issues" came in the form of a theoretical substantiation of the Democratic Party's election program.

I

For ten years now, according to Galbraith, capitalism in the USA and Western Europe has been an "affluent society." The chief mistake made by the politicians, economists and ordinary people in the West is, in his view, failure to recognize this gratifying truism and clinging to old yardsticks in taking stock of the new society, to the prejudices that have come down from the past century.

The author is enraptured by the "affluent society" he has discovered in capitalism. He assures the reader that this society is free from economic crises, that the law of the concentration of capital no longer operates and that inequality no longer obtains. In trying to depict the vices of capitalism as virtues, he demagogically asserts that if any social problems as, for example, unemployment, insecurity, inflation, poverty, etc., still exist in his Promised Land, they are all the natural consequences of the general affluence and can be easily remedied. Throughout the book Galbraith tries to convince the reader that under capitalism, particularly in the USA, the hazards of the future "increase only in the sense that people have more to lose" (p. 87). "Now goods are abundant," he goes on to say. "More die in the United States of too much food than of too little" (p. 97). "The effect of increasing affluence is to minimize the importance of economic goals. Production and productivity become less and less important," he says (page 114). And this is coolly stated about the United States, a country in which, notwithstanding its vast national wealth, 25 per cent of all families, according to the Labor Research Association, are officially admitted to be on the borderline of poverty; in which 15 million houses, i.e., one-third of the total housing resources, are unfit for habitation; in which over 1,500,000 farmers were ruined between 1930 and 1955; in

which the number of families existing on relief has risen from 3,170,000 in 1956 to 5,230,000 early this year. While millions of families are in dire need, Galbraith speciously declares: "But in a world where production is no longer urgent we can obviously view an increase in voluntary idleness with some equanimity . . ." (p. 229.)

Galbraith's attitude to Marxism is another example of the demagoguery to which he resorts to win the reader's confidence. Assuming a semblance of objectivity he opens the chapter on Marx with an appraisal: "Nothing has ever been so badly understood as the influence of Marx. That he seized the minds of millions is, of course, agreed. But it is widely supposed that Marx's influence ends with these faithful . . . Marx profoundly affected those who did not accept his system. His influence extended to those who least supposed they were subject to it . . . Thus all American thought has been deeply influenced by a Marxian view of imperialism" (p. 54). But his only purpose in making these remarks was to avoid being accused of prejudice against Marxism. For he follows this up by attempting to ascribe to Marxist influence the enforcement of anti-trust laws in the USA, the sharpening of the class struggle, the rise of classes in the USA as well as even the causes of economic crises. And he concludes that the fundamental vices of capitalism will vanish once Marx's influence has been overcome.

Galbraith, like many other bourgeois economists, no longer ventures to ignore Marx or to reject him outright. This fact is symptomatic in itself. While agreeing to recognize Marx "as a critic," bourgeois economists zealously endeavor to refute his prediction that socialism will replace capitalism; allowing that Marx was "right on some things" in his analysis of the evils of XIXth century capitalism, they are even more eager to belittle the significance of Marxian analysis of modern moribund capitalism. Bourgeois economists like Galbraith, resort to the following subterfuge: arbitrarily seizing upon concepts here and there in Marx's writing concerning the phenomena and processes typical of the epoch of rising capitalism (for example, the employment of child labor, free competition, the negligible intervention of the bourgeois state in the economy, etc.), they then declare that these phenomena are no longer typical of contemporary capitalism. These attacks on Marxism are, it goes without saying, made with worthless weapons. Marxists have consistently opposed the automatic application of the laws of pre-monopoly capitalism to modern state-monopoly capitalism, neither do they claim that the tendencies peculiar to imperialism hold good for the capitalism of the days of manufacture. Marxism calls for a profound an-

analysis of reality. Many of the concrete phenomena of capitalist society in Britain of the mid-XIXth century do not obtain in U.S. capitalist society of the mid-XXth century. But this in no way affects the applicability of Marxism in analyzing present-day conditions in the United States and other capitalist countries. For Marx's discovery of the basic laws and tendencies of the capitalist mode of production (anarchy of production, cyclical character of production, concentration of production and property, the source of surplus value, the absolute and relative impoverishment of the working people, etc.), retain their validity for contemporary state-monopoly capitalism, inasmuch as it continues to be capitalism.

Despite Galbraith's assurances that crises can be averted in his "affluent society," it is a fact that in the postwar period alone the U.S. economy has experienced three grave recessions — in 1948-49, 1953-54, 1957-58, when industrial output fell by 10.5, 10.2 and 14.3 per cent respectively. Although the author assures the reader that there is no longer any concentration of production and property in the USA, the facts prove the opposite to be true: the share of 200 big corporations in total sales rose from 37.7 per cent in 1935 to 40.5 per cent in 1950 and 45.5 per cent in 1955.* Nor is the question of whether there is a trend in the USA towards the social polarization of capitalist society, also discovered by Marx, solved by sophisticated arguments, on which Galbraith is so keen, but by objective analysis of American reality. And this analysis shows that compared with 1929, corporation profits had, by 1952, risen by 304.4 per cent, the income of non-corporation, non-farm enterprises by 239.9 per cent, wages and salaries by 228.9 per cent and farm income by 168.3 per cent.**

Speculating on the relatively high standard of living in the USA, Galbraith deliberately ignores the extremely favorable conditions under which American capitalism has developed, conditions which must be taken into consideration if we are to have a correct conception of this standard of living. American capitalists have taken every advantage of: 1) the opportunity to plunder the riches of a whole continent and, subsequently, of the entire Western Hemisphere; 2) the vast saving in reproduction of labor power thanks to the fact that more than 40 million immigrants from Europe came into the country; 3) the fact that for almost a century there has been no war in the country and that they have fabulously enriched themselves from the two world wars; 4) the superprofits obtained from exploiting Negroes, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the additional profits from unequal commodity exchange with other

capitalist countries, their position as the exclusive supplier of arms to these countries. Thanks to the unevenness of social development, industrialization in the United States, in contrast to that of Western Europe, took place on the basis of the experience and technical achievements of other countries and was accompanied by a relatively lesser degree of freezing of capital already invested in industry; reliance on the vast domestic market enabled the USA to be the first country in the world to start mass production of standardized goods.

But Galbraith does not confine himself to bypassing these facts. He endeavors to depict the standard of living enjoyed by the privileged minority as that of the majority, or of all the American people. If, for example, we take the so-called Heller budget (budget for a working-class family of four, which is just a little higher than the official subsistence minimum established by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics) as a yardstick, we shall observe the following somewhat unattractive picture:

Year	Heller Budget (in dollars)	Average yearly wage in the manufacturing industry (in dollars)	Wage percentage to budget	Yearly deficit (in dollars)
1939	2,340	1,370	58.1	— 970
1944	2,964	2,396	80.9	— 568
1945	3,075	2,308	75.0	— 767
1948	4,111	2,815	68.5	—1,296
1949	4,040	2,856	70.7	—1,184
1953	5,405	3,728	68.9	—1,677
1956	5,593	4,170	74.6	—1,423
1957	5,832	4,284	73.4	—1,548

To cover this growing deficit the U.S. working people, more so than in any other capitalist country, are obliged to do overtime to earn extra money: in 1956-57, 31.8 per cent of all the employed worked overtime and, furthermore, 5.5 per cent held more than one job; members of workers' families also have to look for work on the side. Nevertheless the majority of American families had incomes that were lower than those of the Heller budget during the postwar period when, according to Galbraith, the "affluent society" arose; in other words, they were deprived of the blessings which are officially regarded as comfort.

Capitalist development in the USA, including the postwar years, confirms the Marxist-Leninist teaching on society and refutes Galbraith's invention of an "affluent society." The capitalist mode of production has outlived itself in the USA; no longer is it able, even during economic booms, to make full use of labor power, production capacities, or agricultural land. During the 1957-58 recession, there were 5 million jobless, and industry as a whole was working to only 75 per cent of capacity,

*V. Perlo, *Empire of High Finance*, N.Y., pp. 21-22.

**V. Perlo, *The Income 'Revolution'*, N.Y., 1954, p. 50.

with the automobile and iron and steel industries to barely 50 per cent.

II

The Affluent Society is not Galbraith's first book. He has already proved himself an apologist of monopoly capital in earlier works (*American Capitalism*, *The Great Crash*, 1929, etc.), so that he can now afford the license of criticizing the existing state of affairs in minute doses, in the hope of winning over the reader. But all he does is to condemn, timidly, the "great store" ascribed to personal needs to the detriment of public needs in roads and post offices, schools and scientific developments. "Vacuum cleaners to ensure clean houses are praiseworthy and essential in our standard of living. Street cleaners to ensure clean streets are an unfortunate expense," says the author. "Partly as a result, our houses are generally clean and our streets generally filthy . . . The investment in the refinery is an unmitigated good . . . but the training of the scientists and engineers . . . is widely regarded as a burden" (pp. 105, 213). A consequence of this scorn of the interests of society as a whole, the author complains, is that in the very same year that "the Russians launched the first earth satellite we launched a magnificent selection of car models. . . . As matters now stand, we have almost no institutions that are by central design and purpose directed to participation in modern scientific and technological progress and its large-scale application" (pp. 274-276).

This sort of Philistine criticism is, of course, just water off a duck's back as far as monopoly capital is concerned, for it amounts, in effect, to a mere reiteration of superficial and generally-accepted liberal criticism of individual manifestations of the capitalist system. The author could not care less about seeking out those really to blame for the glaring contradictions in his "affluent society." It is not, in his view, private ownership of the means of production nor the capitalist system as such, but the "conventional wisdom" of all people that is the root of the problem. And he takes up arms against this "conventional wisdom," i.e., the force of habit, conservatism in theory and practice, against the desire to cling to the old truths which no longer have any meaning in the new conditions. And Galbraith's real aim emerges—to lay the blame equally on all sections of the U.S. people for the evils of the capitalist system and the economic policy pursued by the bourgeois state, and to represent criticism of capitalism as "self-criticism" by the American people, to conceal the fact that the convenient scapegoat, "conventional wisdom," is intended to

screen the class consciousness of the capitalists (with which they indoctrinate the people by means of a huge propaganda machine), their selfish interests and scramble for profits.

Through 200 pages Galbraith rages against "conventional wisdom" but his vehemence is nothing but a façade. And instead of the torrent of "constructive proposals" (as always unrealizable under capitalism!), which the reader was expecting, he is offered a few drops. These, it is true, have been laboriously gathered into a measuring glass—for they might evaporate on coming face to face with hard reality—labelled with a mystic "CGC" and proclaimed as a panacea for all the social illnesses which may beset the notorious "affluent society." But on testing they are discovered to be no more potent than the "elixir of life" with which the alchemists of the Middle Ages enticed the senile monarchs.

CGC merely stands for Cyclically Graduated Compensation. As we have observed, Galbraith maintains that permanent unemployment is not only inevitable but, in certain measure, even desirable in the "affluent society." The important thing in his view is to forestall the discontent unemployment instils in the millions of people who have lost all means of subsistence, and to appease yet other millions who have no confidence in the morrow. With this aim in view, he suggests that besides the existing system of unemployment benefits paid by the local authorities in small sums to insured workers, and even then for a limited period (about 26 weeks), there should be state compensation to all unemployed for as long as the unemployment continues. The rate of the compensation, says the author, should be graduated according to the level of employment in the country: when there is "full employment" (as he calls the period when unemployment does not top the 2 million mark!), the compensation should be paid in the amount of half the difference between standard unemployment compensation and the individual's last wage; when the unemployment passed 3 million, the payment would rise to two-thirds and at four million to a peak of four-fifths of the difference, etc. (cf. p. 233).

Galbraith's logic is thus very simple: the greater the number of people discontented with the existing system, the higher the compensation should be to keep the discontent in check. The reason for his "generosity" is also clear—better to keep a few million jobless at the expense of the state, i.e., of the taxpayers, than to run the risk of social upheavals through mass discontent with the existing system and government.

Considering the CGC to be the magic key to the solution of all social problems in the "affluent society," Galbraith intends it to kill two birds

with one stone: 1) to suppress the demand for full employment, *a demand he himself admits to be unrealizable under capitalism*; 2) to exert pressure on workers and make them more docile when business is good, when the CGC rate is low. "At full employment," the author states, "the economy is patently unstable. Prices move relentlessly upward. But if production is much below the full employment level, a drastic reduction in income is visited on those who are unable to find jobs. This is taken as a serious indication of economic failure, and is. With CGC we widen the band within which the economy can function." (p. 235.) At the same time, since private enterprise has failed to resolve the problems of general education, scientific and technological development, social security and public health, Galbraith suggests that they should be passed over to state management and financed from the budget. He also suggests that public works should be encouraged in order to increase employment and enlarge the market for private concerns.

But where is the money for these measures to come from? Prejudice, Galbraith urges, should be dropped, there ought to be no concern about budget deficits, now chronic in the USA, nor about the size of the national debt. The state and society as a whole can, in his view, live on credit just as well as the millions of Americans who buy cars, refrigerators, furniture, etc., on the instalment plan. It is true that the "instalment plan" prospering of millions of families ends, during periods of recession, in forced mass sales of their property; hence it is apparent that a state living on credit has no alternative but periodically to declare itself bankrupt. Galbraith, however, for reasons which are easy to understand, prefers not to go into details. . . . But he does mention in passing that taxes will in all probability have to be raised. In a country where direct taxes swallow the lion's share (up to 30-40 per cent) of the working people's income, he recommends that indirect taxes, the most discriminatory form of taxation the brunt of which is borne by the masses, should be raised!

Generally speaking, deficit budgeting is a mysterious ingredient in Professor Galbraith's prescriptions. He clutches at it, like a drowning man at a straw, for a solution of the unresolved contradictions of his "affluent society." Either a budget deficit, or a revolution! — is how he scares his opponents.

It is common knowledge that the widening gap between the purchasing power of the working people and production capacity is the concrete expression of the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system, a contradiction discovered by Marx—that between the social nature of production and the private mode of appropriation. This

contradiction inevitably results in periodic economic crises of overproduction and in enterprises continually operating below capacity, in mass unemployment and in the impoverishment of the working people, *for production under capitalism, contrary to Galbraith's assurances, is not intended to satisfy the requirements of the masses, but to make profits*. This contradiction, as developments have shown, can only be eliminated by the socialist reconstruction of society, through the socialization of capitalist property. The author, however, seeks to make the reader believe otherwise and proposes that the basic contradiction of capitalism be removed through a budget deficit. And he writes: "This point is one of considerable importance to Marx and even more to his followers. Were it possible to prevent depressions by compensating for the deficient purchasing power of the worker with (say) public spending, then capitalism might be workable. *Instead of revolution there would be a budget deficit* (my italics—K.B.). Every acute Marxian has seen the danger and denied the possibility of such an easy escape" (p. 53).

Galbraith's reasoning reminds us of the notorious Law, XVIIIth century banker and adventurer, who persuaded the French government that all social contradictions could easily be eliminated by recourse to financial machinations. The Law experiment, as is known, cost the country dear; and although it resulted in a really colossal budget deficit for France, it did not save the Bourbons from the popular revolution. The author may cherish as much as he wants the hope that his "radical" proposal has sown confusion among Marxists. However, it is not Marxists, but bourgeois governments who fear a budget deficit, combating it as the Eisenhower administration is doing, desperately yet unsuccessfully.

III

Galbraith's program is quite clear. To the workers by hand and brain, workers who comprise the bulk of the population in his "affluent society," he promises chronic unemployment and meager benefits, wage and price control, higher taxes, renunciation of the struggle for economic demands and so forth. He is far more generous towards the capitalists and the monopolies—for them, in his "affluent society," there will be no economic crises but firm government orders; no direct taxes on profits but indirect taxes on the consumer; no social upheavals but a mere budget deficit. Thus the "affluent society," as conceived by the author, will be a hell for the working people and a paradise for state monopoly capital.

The trouble, however, is that the author's program is not only profoundly reactionary but chi-

merical, for it tries in vain to cure the deadly ills of capitalism through financial policy. His "Cyclically Graduated Compensation" is an attempt, on a nationwide scale, to redistribute the incomes of the working people. Suggesting that this compensation be paid out of the state budget, i.e., in the final analysis, by the taxpayers in the lower income brackets, the author sidesteps the fact that purchasing power cannot be raised by taking money out of the pockets of those in jobs and putting it into the pockets of those out of work. This will not abolish the causes of economic crises of overproduction under capitalism. Galbraith's demands that a budget deficit should not be feared and that inflation should be averted, are equally demagogic, for they are incompatible. And, how can these two go together when both ways of covering budget deficit—emission of notes and loans—inevitably result in inflation; in the former case directly, owing to the increased amount of money in circulation in relation to the mass of goods; in the latter case indirectly, owing to the enormous growth of the national debt, the interest on which will eat up an ever-increasing part of the budget.

Apparently Galbraith realizes that his program has little appeal for the masses of the American people. For, endeavoring to divert the working people from joint class struggle for their vital demands, he holds out, in one of the final chapters of his book, the bait of the prospect of individuals gaining entry into the ranks of the engineers, technical experts, professionals, production managers and organizers who, in his view, comprise the "New Class" replacing the capitalists. The unreality of this prospect, however, is clearly revealed in recent works of some American sociologists, according to whom this social section (and by no means an imaginary "New Class") servicing the capitalists is, in the main, recruited from the propertied classes, and certainly not from workers, office employees or farmers. (See W. L. Warner and J. Abegglen, *Big Business Leaders in America*, N.Y., 1955; M. Newcomer, *The Big Business Executive*, N.Y., 1955, and others.) The Soviet statistician, A. Boyarsky, refuting the theory of "social mobility" upon which Galbraith speculates, has shown conclusively that, even if we proceed from the data furnished by the adherents of this theory, the chances of a worker's offspring entering the "higher" brackets of the capitalist world is, at the best, one in 16 generations or twice in a thousand years! (See *Problems of Philosophy*, 1958, No. 5, pp. 71-72.)

That is why one cannot but agree with the evaluation of *The Affluent Society* made by Louis Fleischer, a progressive American journalist. Emphasizing that the book does not so much dispell

illusions as it substitutes "more sophisticated illusions," Fleischer says: "Certainly capitalism has developed the instruments of production to the point where plenty can be produced, poverty can be abolished; and mankind can truly liberate itself. But these goals are not yet realized—the second less so than the first, the third least of all. And their realization is prevented not by the 'conventional wisdom,' but by the capitalist mode of production . . . And offsetting the TV sets and electric refrigerators, American workers have more insecurity than ever — continuing economic insecurity, political insecurity in a decade in which the spirit of the defunct McCarthy still casts a pall over the labor movement, and above all the universal personal insecurity of the age of the rampant H-bomb . . . Capitalism does not and cannot make the right to labor a reality. Socialism can and does. Galbraith, refusing to accept this basic position, is driven by his own sophistication to open advocacy of a very reactionary position on the right to work." (*Political Affairs*, November 1958, pp. 57, 59, 61.)

The Affluent Society is a typical fruit of vulgar political economy in the epoch of imperialism. Refusal to criticize the economic vices of the capitalist system, substitution of apologetics for unbiased research, and the inculcation of reformist illusions — all these are features of the book. There can be no better characterization of Galbraith's political views and sympathies than his open condemnation of those economists who, under the pressure of public opinion, oppose the rule of the monopolies; and his satisfaction over the fact that in the relationship of businessmen to economists in the United States the former waspishness has gone, resulting in a "notable rapprochement." Galbraith is, in effect, trying theoretically to substantiate the endeavors of those monopolists who preach the myth of "social partnership between labor and capital," and urge greater bourgeois state intervention in the economy with a view to gaining complete control over the state apparatus. It is their interests that are upheld by the Democratic Party, whose economic adviser Galbraith is, and which also have the support of the trade union bosses.

Thus Galbraith's book is in itself a notable illustration of the fact that modern, vulgar political economy is, in effect, an apologia of the economic policy of monopoly capital. Now that peaceful competition between the two systems is entering a new and decisive phase, Galbraith's talk about "the affluent society" under capitalism is trivial indeed! *The genuine and not the illusory affluent society will be communism, which will translate into reality the supreme principle of social justice*

— “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.”

When the new Soviet plan is realized, real incomes of the working people will increase by 40 per cent, taxes will be abolished, the shortest working day and week will be introduced, dwelling space will nearly double, while social welfare, education, science and culture will develop to an

extent unthinkable under capitalism. Who then will be attracted by the “cyclically graduated compensation,” by a dubious comfort on the instalment plan system, by a lifetime of credit! The power of attraction of communist ideas will become so great that no new label of “the affluent society” kind will be of any help to monopoly capitalism.

K. BRUNTON

“Wissen und Tat” *

THE Communist Party of Germany is indeluctable because it is inseparable from the working class and embodies the future of the nation. Hitler came and went, but the Communists have remained. Adenauers come and go, but the Communists will remain.” This is what West German Communists said in August 1956 in response to the reactionary Karlsruhe Court decision to ban their Party.

More than two-and-a-half years have passed since then, and it has been demonstrated time and again that the Bonn authorities are powerless to stop the Party’s activities. *Freies Volk*, the Party’s central organ, and papers published by local Party organizations appear illegally, but with their former regularity. Newspapers and leaflets, carrying the Communist message, pass from worker to worker in the factories. The Party’s monthly theoretical journal *Wissen und Tat* occupies an important place among these publications.

Small in size, it contains a wealth of matter pertaining to the various aspects of German life, important international problems and the theory and experience of the communist movement. Its sole aim is to help the working people in West Germany to understand where their real interests lie, to find the right road to peace and socialism, to help the working class overcome the split in their ranks and unite around the Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The journal analyzes the specific features of the West German economy and the essence of the Bonn political regime. In an article entitled “The CPG’s 40 Years of Struggle Against Imperialism and Militarism” (No. 12, 1958), Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, points out that, notwithstanding the Potsdam Agreement, “the concentration of capital and production in the Federal Republic is greater than it was under Nazism.”

Articles by A. Meling entitled “Present Level of Concentration of Production and Capital in

West Germany” (No. 5, 1958) and “Aggravation of Imperialist Contradictions in the ‘Common Market’ ” (No. 2, 1959), analyze this situation.

The data furnished by the author enable him to conclude that ten large concerns (the Thyssen group, the Krupp concern and others) are the real masters of West German industry. They are the owners of enterprises producing 94 per cent of West Germany’s steel, 95 per cent of her iron, 75 per cent of her coke, etc.

Thus the economy continues to remain in the hands of a small group of imperialist tycoons. The American monopolies, having substantially increased their investments in West German industry in comparison with the prewar period, played a decisive role in resurrecting German imperialism.

As German imperialism grew, so did its appetite. In 1957 it succeeded in getting the embargo on the export of capital raised. The creation of the Common Market was also a convenient channel through which it could penetrate into the economies of other countries. Already in 1957 the Communist Party had declared that the establishment of the Common Market and the increased export of capital signified that German imperialism was emerging as a “colonial power of a new type.”

The journal shows that economic expansion goes hand in hand with the militarization of political life. Under the Potsdam Agreement all military and semi-military organizations were to be abolished and militarist and revanchist propaganda prohibited. The Bonn government, however, did not carry out these provisions, but confined itself to banning the Nazi party formally. Today more militarist journals are being published than in Hitler’s time. But the Communist Party, the only party consistently upholding the Potsdam principles, has been banned.

The interests of the working class and of the majority of the people in West Germany are far from coinciding with those of the capitalists and the Bonn state. “Bread instead of guns and rocket bases!” “Schools and hospitals instead of barracks!” — these are the slogans of the work-

**Wissen und Tat*. Zeitschrift fuer Theorie und Praxis des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus (“Knowledge and Action.” Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism)—theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Germany.

ing people. *Wissen und Tat* stresses the main task of the Party — unite all the working people and lead their struggle against the monopolies and the Adenauer regime. To fulfil this task working-class unity is essential.

But the way to success is blocked by ideological and political trends claiming to represent the working people and at the same time aspiring to the role of a "third force," trends that are still quite influential in West Germany. The most important of these are political Catholicism and Right-wing Socialism. Differing outwardly, they are united in declaring that they are above the struggle between capitalism and communism. In point of fact, however, they bring confusion into the ranks of the supporters of peace and socialism, and disrupt the working class ideologically, politically and organizationally in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Hence the Communist Party is combating both the open advocates of capitalism and these false friends of the people. This is done in various ways, due regard being paid to the differences among them.

The journal carried articles by Otto Rheingold and Heinz Mormann on the social theory of Catholicism which, the authors say, "is an important part of the ideology of West German imperialism," the "ideology of the mortal enemy of the German working class." Rheingold points out in his article (No. 1, 1958) that in the past few years the Catholic social trend, which has the support of the Church and Adenauer's party, has acquired considerable influence in West Germany. Numerous organizations, particularly worker and youth, have been set up under church auspices to disseminate this teaching. With their help the imperialists are trying to penetrate into the working class and, particularly, into the trade unions, with the object of sowing ideological confusion there. There is complete accord between the Catholic and Evangelical churches on most issues.

The arguments advanced by the ideologists of Catholic socialism concerning the non-class "social commune" are, as the journal illustrates, identical with the fascist teaching on the "people's commune." The Catholic social teaching is, in affect, the ideological preparation for turning West Germany into a clerical-fascist state. The leaders of the Christian Democratic Union, who use church dogma in their propaganda for atomic war, are the most zealous advocates of atomic armament. Certain theologian-moralists even say that the H-bomb is perfectly "moral," the finger of the Lord warning that the impending Day of Judgment is at hand.

Another political and ideological trend, claiming the role of the "third force," is Right-wing Social Democracy. The CPG's attitude towards it is shown in a number of articles.

The Communist Party regards its main task to be the establishment of working-class unity of action. True to Marxism-Leninism, the CPG is resolutely combating the opportunism of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders on theoretical and tactical issues, and, at the same time, is advocating rapprochement with the rank and file and functionaries of the Social Democratic Party; it is waging a struggle to liberate them from opportunist influence. "Social-Democratic workers have nothing in common with the German imperialists," states the Resolution of the tenth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPG, "and everything unites the Communists and Social Democrats . . . We must help them, through comradely discussions, to understand the mistakes their leaders are making, to overcome the influence of anti-communist propaganda and to find the way for joint working-class struggle."

Many West German workers, peasants and intellectuals, are anxiously asking: is there a party that can lead Germany out of the impasse, that can indicate an acceptable way to peace and disarmament, to democracy and social progress, to national unity? And among growing numbers of working people the conviction is growing that that party is the Communist Party. The CPG, as the journal demonstrates, offers the West German people a clear-cut program: in home policy — banning of militarist and revenge-seeking organizations and war propaganda, prohibition of atomic armament and reduction of the armed forces, transfer of monopoly power to the people, making the Federal Republic a peace-loving, democratic state; in foreign policy — withdrawal from NATO, rapprochement with the German Democratic Republic through confederation, establishment of friendly relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The Communists are resisting any lowering of living standards, fighting for free trade with all countries, and increased trade with the GDR.

From the materials published in the No. 3, 1958, and No. 3, 1959, issues, we see that the German Communists are conducting extensive explanatory work among the youth. Young workers are ruthlessly exploited in the FRG. In the mining industry, for instance, the Nazi labor laws are still valid. Under these, 14-year-old workers receive only 40 per cent of the rate paid to adult workers, 15-year-olds 50 per cent, and so on. Only a worker of 20 years of age is entitled to the full rate. The result is that, notwithstanding the fact that young miners account for 54.5 per cent of the coal produced, they receive only 38.1 per cent of the wage bill. Fighting for the rights of young people, the CPG has advanced the slogan "Equal pay for equal work" and is calling for new, progressive legislation.

The Party devotes a great deal of attention to work among the intellectuals. In an article by O. Baumann entitled "The Free Professions and the Fight Against Atomic Rearmament of the Federal Republic" (No. 9, 1958) figures are cited showing that intellectuals in the FRG form a considerable group. The article expounds the Marxist concept of the role of the intellectual in society. The author likewise cites a number of facts testifying to the increasing activity of the intellectuals in the struggle against atomic armament.

Through their journal the West German Communists inform the working people of the progress of socialist construction in the Democratic Republic. A number of articles deal with socialist democracy in the GDR, demonstrate its superiority over bourgeois democracy, show the role played by the people's councils, the initiative of the working masses in building socialism in the GDR. Advocating a democratic solution of the German question and combating the Bonn govern-

ment's reactionary policy, the Communist Party of Germany, as we can see from the articles published in *Wissen und Tat*, fully approves and upholds the foreign policy pursued by the Democratic Republic, a policy which is in the interests of all Germans.

We could mention other major problems which have found reflection in the journal: the exposure of revisionism in the working-class movement; proletarian internationalism; utilization of the lessons of the Communist Party's struggle against fascism, and others.

Communist Party influence is growing (despite the ban). The West German Communists consider it to be their task to utilize all legal means, and, by strengthening their illegal organizations, make the Party capable of stepping up the struggle of the working class and the masses against atomic armament, for a peace-loving, democratic, united Germany.

O. WALBAUM

Letters and Notes

Class Struggles in Italy

(Letter from Rome)

NOT for many years has Italy witnessed such a powerful wave of strikes and other actions by the working people as in recent months.

A bitter struggle flared up in all the main spheres of economic and social life, involving *some eight million working people of all categories*—workers, peasants and middle sections. They rose in defense of the right to work, just remuneration, for development schemes in their towns and regions.

What are the main reasons for this struggle? The reason is that the organic defects of the present social and economic structure of the country have become more pronounced, the standard of living has declined. Towards the end of 1958 and at the beginning of the current year the economic situation in the country deteriorated under the impact of the recession in the United States, and chiefly as a result of the policy of the monopolies and the government in aligning themselves with the Common Market.

"Throughout Italy," said Comrade Togliatti in February, "a new situation is taking shape, the underlying element of which is the beginning of a crisis in our economy."

The official figures are eloquent. In eleven months of 1958, compared with the same period for the

previous year, output of the iron and steel industry declined as follows: steel—7.6 per cent, rolled metal—7.9 per cent and ferro-alloys 19.23 per cent. A decline of this nature in a country like Italy, where industrialization and steel consumption are at a very low level, clearly points to a dangerous trend. House-building, too, fell off considerably and it was officially announced that the number of unemployed at the end of the year exceeded the two-million figure. In eight months of 1958 as compared with 1957 the cost of living rose 7.5 per cent, thus wiping out the wage increases won in the course of a long and stubborn struggle. Between June 1957-June 1958 real wages and incomes in agriculture dropped by 0.5 per cent; in industry—3 per cent; in transport—2.9 per cent; in trading enterprises—2.5 per cent and in the civil service—7 per cent.

In other words, big business is on the offensive, seeking to place the burden of the recession and the consequences of the Common Market on the working masses.

In examining the background to the strikes, it should be borne in mind that the present upsurge is taking place after the 1954-57 period which was a period of relatively good business and of the crafty practice of "human relations"—an expres-

sion of the so-called "neo-capitalism" which, it is alleged, is capable of solving social problems and establishing "co-operation" between labor and capital.

What are the main features of the recent class struggles in Italy?

Firstly, the militancy of the working people, the broader scale of their struggle, the enhanced prestige of the class trade unions, and the greater confidence reposed in them by the masses. It is not fortuitous that the unions have strengthened their positions, as is evident from the results of the last factory committee elections.

Secondly, the countryside, too, is in ferment. The masses of farm laborers and sharecroppers have joined in the movement. The struggle has also had an impact on such important sections as the smallholders and farmers—who until recently were the main forces used by the monopoly groups for their maneuvers, and who formed the mass base of the Christian Democratic Party.

Thirdly, the struggle has been joined by the civil servants who have never fought so actively as now, by road transport employees and car owners, who have never before participated in it.

Fourthly, the struggle, particularly in defense of the right to work, enjoys a solidarity on the part of the various social strata such as has not been seen in the entire postwar period. Shopkeepers, professional people and students, all marched in the large demonstrations with the working people, upholding their rights. Special mention should be made of the solidarity shown by the students who sided with the strikers for the first time. This gives the lie to the "students' political apathy" concept, and testifies to their growing class consciousness and their desire for unity.

Fifthly, an important step was made towards united action by the General Confederation of Labor and the Catholic and Social-Democratic trade unions thanks to the clearly expressed will of the working people for unity, and to their militant action.

Because of the direct link between the economic situation, including the consequences of the Common Market agreement and the policy of the government which, more and more, runs counter to the basic interests of the people, the latter began to rise above the arguments about the labor agreements and above the secondary aspects of the actions. The movement reached the stage of more resolute demands for economic and social reforms, for a new, anti-monopoly line in economy and politics.

The mass actions resulted in many categories of workers winning wage increases, in curtailing the dismissals and in gaining recognition of the right of those dismissed to get jobs elsewhere; it

also secured a number of substantial changes in the draft laws submitted to parliament.

Moreover, the struggle had a tremendous impact on the entire relationship of political forces and was the main reason for the fall of the Fanfani government. Now, under the new, Right-wing Segni government, the class struggle is deepening the crisis in the Christian Democratic Party and among the bourgeois forces generally, on the one hand, and, on the other, is making growing numbers of people more conscious of the need for a new political majority and for essential changes in policy and in the economy.

From the standpoint of their content, these actions can be divided into two categories—struggle for the renewal of the labor agreements and higher wages, and struggle for the right to work and for fuller employment both in town and countryside.

Hundreds of thousands in industry and in the civil service fought for the renewal of the labor agreements and higher wages. Their numbers included railwaymen, post and telegraph workers, road transport workers, builders, sugar-industry workers, the medical profession, seamen, university tutors, and others. After a stubborn struggle 36 categories of workers — all in all, 1,200,000 people — secured renewal of the agreements; wage increases averaging 6.5 per cent were won.

In the first months of the current year the struggle was joined by 400,000 textile workers and one million metal workers. Simultaneously government employees (clerks, railwaymen, post and telegraph workers) continued the fight.

Of particular importance was the general strike of the textile workers (98 per cent), and not only because of the numbers participating. It was the first nationwide strike of textile workers since 1953 (paralyzing many factories which had not known a strike since 1914); the strike extended even to non-union factories; organized jointly by all the textile unions it demonstrated a greater maturity in putting forward demands, both economic and political.

The struggle was particularly stubborn and grim in the towns and regions threatened with growing unemployment.

The first round of dismissals (in the first half of 1958) when several thousand had either lost their jobs or had been given notice, was followed by another (at the end of the year) affecting 15,000 workers. This round struck an even heavier blow because it involved primarily the big enterprises in areas where these are the source of subsistence for the workers.

It is noteworthy that at least 60 per cent of those dismissed at that time were employed in the state enterprises in the central and southern parts of the country. Launching a combined attack, the

monopolies and the government want to bring the country's economic structure into line with the requirements of the Common Market, i.e., to raise productivity, reduce costs and concentrate investments in those enterprises and areas which ensure maximum profit. This is resulting in capital leaving the economically backward regions, in the closing of the so-called "non-profitable" enterprises, in the switching of finance earmarked for the state enterprises and for the industrialization of the economically backward regions, particularly in the south, to the enterprises and industries owned by monopoly capital. This policy hits the workers, the middle sections, small and medium producers, in fact the entire population of towns and regions.

Instances of severely curtailed production have been observed in 28 provinces.

The workers offer stubborn and not infrequently successful resistance to this policy in the form of strikes, meetings, demonstrations and taking over of enterprises; sometimes these actions lead to severe clashes with the police.

At the Galileo optical plant — the main enterprise in Florence — the management announced that 530 workers would be fired. The announcement, naturally, caused indignation. Three thousand downed tools, marched through the streets and called upon the trade unions, political parties, clergy, shopkeepers, students and the rest of the population to support their action. The representatives of all parties in the provincial council expressed their solidarity with the strikers; a meeting was attended by the deputies, the councillors of the municipalities and the provincial council. Spokesmen of the Communist, Socialist, Social-Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties decided on joint action to save the economy of the area. In January the workers took over the plant, and a general strike commenced in the city. Shopkeepers, university professors and lawyers expressed their solidarity. The strike was joined by the students of some colleges and, later, because of the discriminatory measures taken against them, by all the students. The students, too, marched in a demonstration and sent a deputation to the prefecture. Such action had never been seen in the city before. This was followed by a day of struggle and solidarity throughout the region. Eventually, by a decision of the court, the workers were ordered to leave the plant, and were forced to submit. However, the city was again paralyzed by a general strike and demonstrators again filled the streets. Police were sent against the people. The clashes that followed lasted throughout the day, and there were dozens of injured on both sides. At the height of the struggle the Archbishop could be seen in the streets trying in vain to restore peace; he, too, condemned the police meas-

ures and aligned himself with the strikers. The outcome was that the number of dismissals was reduced considerably.

At a textile factory in Nocera Inferiore (South Italy) 1,500 workers (almost 40 per cent of the personnel) received dismissal notices. This sparked off a general strike in the town, and the workers took over the enterprise. The provincial federations of the Communist, Socialist, Republican, National-Monarchist and Radical parties adopted a joint resolution demanding that the government should undertake industrialization in the south and put an end to the dismissals. Here, too, the clergy supported the strikers. A delegation of educational workers and students travelled by bus from Naples in order to express their solidarity with the workers holding the enterprise. A general solidarity strike was announced in Naples, too. But before the strike started, the news arrived that the dismissed workers would be given jobs elsewhere.

The firing of 430 workers at the Spoleto coal mines caused a general strike. It was organized by the city committee on which all parties and trade unions were represented. The municipal councils of Spoleto, Terni, Perugia and Narni sponsored demonstrations throughout the region; the lawyers' curia called on all lawyers not to attend the courts, while the shopkeepers' association decided to close all shops during the demonstrations and strikes.

In Ragusa (Sicily) the dismissal of 53 oil workers by the Gulf Oil Corporation was followed by a demonstration of hundreds of students; in many shops the owners put up posters and slogans in the windows expressing support for the strikers.

Similar student-worker solidarity demonstrations took place for the first time in Genoa, Ancona, Siena and other cities.

In the Grosseto province where the Montecatini Trust decided to close a number of mines, to discharge 800 miners and to cut wages by 40 per cent in the other mines, the miners conducted a two-week strike underground. The working people in two provinces — Siena and Grosseto — took part in the solidarity strike.

Powerful strikes against dismissals, bad conditions and high prices — nearly all organized jointly by the trade unions of various trends — were held in some 20 provincial centers and in a number of smaller towns.

The ferment in the countryside is also significant. Agriculture is in the throes of a severe crisis which is aggravated by the fact that Italy with her backward economic structure cannot compete with her Common Market partners whose agriculture is more developed and better equipped. The landlords and monopolists want to grab the plots of hundreds of thousands of tillers, to abolish many small and middle peasant households — in

this way they seek to accelerate the process of capitalist concentration in agriculture.

Some four million farm laborers, sharecroppers (demanding reconsideration of lease agreements) and small peasants have joined in the fight. Since October 1958 there have been about 500 demonstrations against the government tax policy. In 23 provinces big struggles of farm laborers took place in defense of the right to work, which was infringed upon by the abrogation of the law that guaranteed them 12 million working days annually.

Worthy of note is the powerful upsurge among the small peasants who are protesting against rising taxes and deductions for social insurance and pensions, against the lower prices for grain.

The struggle is supported by the urban middle sections and clerical workers. When the government rejected their demands for salary increases the civil servants held a series of general strikes.

Attempts have been made to force car and motorcycle owners to pay for road improvements. The extra charge for petrol established during the Suez crisis is still retained, and another fuel tax has been introduced. The reaction to this was a series of protest demonstrations and meetings in bigger towns where cavalcades of thousands of cars and motorcycles drove through the streets.

The government has introduced new traffic regulations which, while benefiting FIAT and the other monopoly associations producing motor vehicles, are detrimental to the small and medium enterprises. All road transport workers opposed the new regulations by declaring a five-day strike — cavalcades of lorries came to a standstill on the highways, in the ports and at railway stations, with the result that some 86,000 firms, owning 485 thousand lorries and employing over a million workers, were paralyzed.

The success of the strike struggle has strengthened the trade unions. In the elections for the factory committees held last year at 2,653 enterprises with 985,335 workers and office employees, the nominees of the General Confederation of Labor obtained 441,547 votes and 58 per cent of all seats. Thus, compared with 1957, the GCL has increased its seats by 2.5 per cent, while the Catholic unions lost about 4 per cent of their votes. The number of votes for the Social-Democratic unions likewise dropped.

The elections held in some of the big industrial enterprises at the beginning of the year also indicated further success for the GCL. Of particular importance were the victories won at the Olivetti enterprise and at others which had been held up as models of "paternalist" organization and were known for their policy of dividing the

working people, a policy spearheaded against the class trade unions and class ideology.

The masses are becoming increasingly aware of the interdependence of the economic situation and the political line of the country. It should be said that whereas a few months ago it was only the Communist Party that opposed and exposed the Common Market, today this opposition has spread.

Thus, the struggle waged by the working people is exerting an ever growing influence on the political situation. The fall of the Fanfani government and the crisis in the Christian Democratic Party can be traced directly to mass resistance and the conflict between government policy and the interests of the middle sections and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie.

The advent of the new Segni government, the first government since the war overtly under the thumb of the Right parties, has intensified the class struggle.

Objectively, there is now in Italy a new majority which recognizes the need for democratic regeneration. In dozens of communes and in Sicily a new alignment of political forces including Communists, Social Democrats, Catholics, Liberals and representatives of the petty and middle bourgeoisie has taken shape.

Anxious to extend this majority on a national scale the Communist Party at a plenary meeting of its Central Committee in March this year laid down 10 points of a program of action in keeping with the main demands of the working people and democratic public opinion. The program envisages struggle 1) for higher wages and salaries, to defend the liberties of the working people and trade union rights; 2) to safeguard jobs and for fuller employment; 3) for a policy of industrialization and expansion of state industry in the interests of the people; 4) for extensive public works; 5) for full employment in the countryside; 6) in defence of the smallholders suffering from the consequences of the Common Market, the agrarian crisis and the new levies; 7) for the demands of the middle sections and the working people which should be satisfied by the government; 8) to safeguard and extend local autonomy; 9) for national and international action against the Common Market; 10) for a policy of international co-operation and peaceful co-existence.

This program derives from the struggle now under way and corresponds to present-day reality. It can become the rallying point for the workers, peasants, the middle sections and petty and medium bourgeoisie in order to ensure the turn against the monopolies that is indispensable for the political, economic and social regeneration which is the pressing need of Italy.

MARIO VALENTI

NEW BOOKS

Below are listed a few of the many interesting Marxist works that have been published recently. The list will be continued in forthcoming issues of the magazine.

(Titles of works in other languages are given in English)

- B. Bozhinov. *Rise and Development of Socialist Property in the People's Republic of Bulgaria*. Sofia, Science and Art, 1959, 167 pp.
- J. Bruhat. *History of Indonesia*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1958, 128 pp.
- Problems of Communist Construction in the USSR*. Materials of the Session of Social Science Departments of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow, Academy Publishing House, 1959, 434 pp.
- G. Kallai. *For Socialist Culture*, Budapest, Gondolat kiado, 1958, 238 pp.
- D. Carter. *Rising World*. Toronto, Northern Book House, 1959, 89 pp.
- J. Kelen. *Socialist Movement among Teachers in Hungary. 1900-1920*. Budapest, Kossuth könyvkiado, 1958, 232 pp.
- V. Codovilla. *The Frondizi Plan Through the Prism of the International and Home Situation*. Buenos Aires, Ed. Anteo, 1959, 72 pp.
- Rumanian Workers' Party—Leader of the Masses in Building Socialism. (1951-56)*. Bucharest, Ed. Politica, 1958, 75 pp.
- J. R. Campbell. *Some Economic Illusions in the Labor Movement*. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1959, 68 pp.
- J. Marinello. *Marti, American Writer*. Mexico, Ed. Grijalbo, 1958, 333 pp.
- Materialist Dialectics and Problems of Our Socialist Construction*. Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1958, 160 pp.
- Materials on the History of the Bulgarian Communist Party*. Sofia, BCP Publishing House, 1958, 392 pp.
- E. Modrzhinskaya. *Against Bourgeois Falsifiers of Marxism*. Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1958, 96 pp.
- M. Naszkowski. *Uneasy Days. Memories of the Thirties*. Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1958, 344 pp.
- S. Strumilin. *Building Communism*. Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1959, 104 pp.
- G. Trevisani. *Small Encyclopaedia of Socialism and Communism*. Milan, Ed. Il Calendario del Popolo, 1958, 736 pp.
- C. Hermansson. *Concentration and Big Enterprises*. Stockholm, Arbetarkulturs foerlag, 1959, 266 pp.
- C. Zetkin. *History of the Proletarian Women's Movement in Germany*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 246 pp.



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