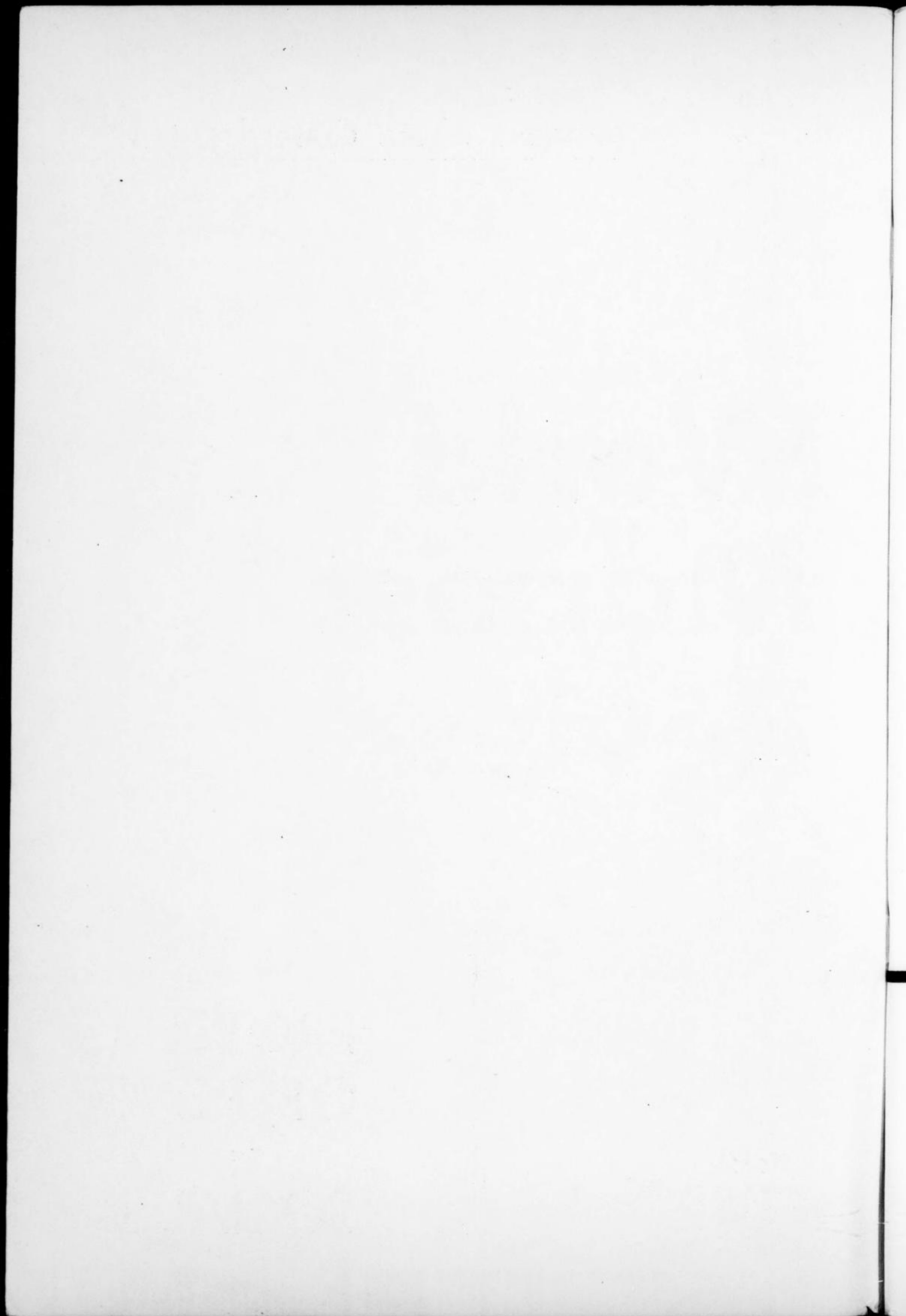


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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OF PEACE
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SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Peace Is Our Policy

Petre Borila

THE tireless efforts of the peace forces to ease tensions have led to a thaw in the international climate. The fact that the East and West have agreed to sit around the table is an important result of recent world developments.

Millions in all countries expect that the talks will put an end to the cold war. Let the Western leaders thrust aside the prejudices of the past and respect the popular will, and the result will be constructive solutions that will strengthen peace.

The peoples understand that peace will not come of itself, that it must be upheld in struggle. As they see it, the way to resolve the controversial issues lies through negotiation. They are attentively following the work of the conference in Geneva.

A feature of the international scene is that the West can no longer reject the peace proposals made by the socialist countries which are doing everything in their power to find ways and means of narrowing differences and reaching an acceptable agreement. Their policy derives from Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and political systems. The socialist revolution in Russia and the rise of the first socialist state were "the first victory in the struggle to abolish war."* This was really so, because a new society had arisen to which war is utterly alien. The winning of power by the working class first in one and afterwards in a number of countries of Europe and Asia has changed things fundamentally. We now see international relations of a new type. The aim of these relations is friendship and all-round co-operation and an end to predatory wars. The foreign policy of the socialist countries is organically linked with their social and political systems, with the socialist ideology which inspires their peoples. This policy is clear to all and enjoys the sympathy and support of millions in all countries because it has no aggressive aims and is designed solely to strengthen peace.

The proposals made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to end the cold war, normalize the international situation and establish mutual confidence have met with universal approval. These proposals are based on an objective and sober analysis of

social development. Time has confirmed the soundness of the point made at the XXth Congress of the CPSU that war is no longer inevitable. This theoretical and political conclusion was further developed by the XXIst Congress. The new balance of forces in the world, the progress made by the socialist countries and the prospects of their development enabled this Congress to declare that there will be a real possibility of eliminating war as a means of solving international disputes. For ages men had dreamed of abolishing wars and their disastrous consequences. Now mankind has reached the stage when this noble aspiration can become a reality.

A Real Possibility

The possibility of banishing world war from the life of society follows from the steady growth of the world peace forces and the success of the socialist world system. The competition between socialism and capitalism is decisively influencing the course of human development, stimulating the movement for peace.

Assessing the international position of the young Soviet Russia, Lenin addressed the IXth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in 1921 with these words: "Materially, in the economic and military sense, we are immeasurably weak, but morally — of course not in the sense of abstract morality, but in the sense of the correlation of actual class forces in all countries — we are stronger than all the rest."

If we examine the international position of the socialist world system, we will see at once the tremendous change in favor of socialism. Not so long ago there was a pronounced difference in the level of economic development between the USSR and the USA, the two countries which mankind sees through the prism of the crucial problem of our time — war or peace. For example, in 1913 American output per head of the population exceeded that of Russia for ferrous metals 12-fold, for coal 25-fold, for oil 6-fold and for electric power 19-fold. In 1920, Soviet Russia produced only one-fifth of the 1913 output of industry, while United States output had risen 50 per cent. The difference, though great, was not decisive, because very soon the new social system showed its vitality. Today overall industrial output in the

*V. I. Lenin, *The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*.

USSR is 50 per cent below that of the United States, and agricultural production 20-25 per cent less. In 1965 the Soviet Union will rank first in the world for physical volume of industrial production and by 1970, or even sooner, for volume per capita.

The socialist countries will make great strides during these seven years. In 1965 they will account for more than half of the world industrial output. Their growing economic power will lead to a new balance of forces, and the possibilities will be created for ruling out war as a means of settling disputes. This conclusion is also based on the growing role of the peace forces in shaping the destiny of the world. The socialist countries are confident that it is now possible to avert war. And when they will be producing the greater part of the world industrial output, the peace forces will be in a much stronger position to curb the bellicose imperialist circles. Such is the progress of history. Reference to this was made at the XXIst Congress of the CPSU: "The fresh successes of the socialist countries will serve to strengthen the world peace forces. The countries working for lasting peace will be joined by new countries. The idea that war is impermissible will take still stronger root in the minds of people. Backed by the might of the socialist camp, the peaceful nations will then be able to compel the militant imperialist groups to abandon their plans for a new war. In this way a real possibility of banishing world war from the life of society will be created even before the complete triumph of socialism, with capitalism still existing in some parts of the world."

However, we cannot overlook the danger of the imperialists' drive to war. Progressive people know that had the Soviet Union and the socialist camp been weak, the imperialists would have started another world war long ago.

The aggressive policy of the imperialists compels the socialist countries to strengthen their defense potential, and they have made great strides in this respect. In his concluding speech at the XXIst Congress Khrushchov said: "In point of fact, the Soviet Union today has the means to deliver a crushing blow to the aggressor in any part of the globe. After all, it is not mere rhetorical flourish when we say that we have organized serial production of inter-continental ballistic rockets. Nor do we say it to threaten anyone, but rather to bring clarity into the existing state of affairs."

Since the day when Lenin said that in the moral sense the young Soviet Republic, then economically weak, was stronger than all the rest, the forces of socialism, peace and democracy have grown immeasurably materially as well as morally. Notwithstanding the ideological sallies and slander of the imperialists, the prestige of the socialist countries among all peoples is unshakable. Striking evidence of this is the support accorded by the overwhelming majority of mankind for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Another objective factor making for peace is the growth of the liberation movement in the colonies. Most of the countries of Asia have already cast off the yoke of colonialism. And the day is not far off when all the countries of Asia and Africa will be free, when the countries of Latin America will gain genuine independence in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Many of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa have declared themselves against war. They are vigorously resisting imperialism and the cold war because peace is indispensable for preserving and strengthening their national independence. Their efforts for peace will grow and gain intensity because the imperialist powers, having lost their colonies and together with them bridgeheads, bases and cheap cannon fodder, have not yet relinquished the idea of imposing on them unequal treaties and pacts with a view to embroiling them in their aggressive designs. Rebuffing the imperialist encroachments on their independence, the young Afro-Asian countries support the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In the struggle to preserve world peace the two powerful movements of our time — socialism and national-liberation — form a united anti-imperialist front.

In the fight for peace a big role is played by the world-wide movement of peace partisans. It may be asked: why are the American policy makers so hostile to the world peace movement? From the standpoint of those who accept the peaceful declarations made by American statesmen the United States likewise strives for peace, but it does so in "its own way and by its own methods." In point of fact, the monopolies, those who make profits out of the armaments drive, bitterly resist every attempt to ease world tensions and reduce military expenditures, masking their aggressive designs with pacifist talk.

James Warburg, the American publicist, explained last March why the USA is not

"ready for peace" and why the U.S. rulers are opposed to a disarmament agreement. Should peace suddenly replace the cold war, he said, our country could be faced with a grave depression. A disarmament agreement today could be followed by economic stagnation tomorrow. Warburg's views on the consequences of U.S. militarization are not without interest. The American economy, he avers, cannot be called sound because it is based on a steadily growing spirit of grab, on the harmful cult of things becoming obsolete before they are worn out and, above all, on tacit recognition of the need to continue the cold war.

The manufacture of arms yields fabulous profits for the monopolies. In the postwar years from six to seven million have been employed in the war industry. In effect, this is a senseless waste of productive forces. Referring to the influence wielded by the modern "merchants of death" and their allies in the U.S. government, Paul A. Baran of Stanford University, writing in the *Nation*, pointed out that "genuine disarmament would undoubtedly have a highly unsettling effect on the American economy," but "to avoid unemployment by means of an armaments race represents the height of social madness."*

The working people in all countries know that the only way to ensure well-being is the socialist path of peaceful construction. This is the path of peace, not the path of war.

Peace Initiative and the Cold War

The current international situation is determined in large measure by the peace initiative of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries. The bourgeois press and Western statesmen have had to admit this. Speaking in the House of Commons on April 27, Aneurin Bevan said, apropos of the Foreign Ministers' and the Summit meetings, that East-West talks would be held exclusively on the Soviet initiative.

The policy of the socialist countries is reflected in the fact that in the Western countries a growing number of prominent politicians are abandoning the outmoded and unrealistic concepts of solving the German problem. Proof of this is the lively discussion of plans for easing tensions in Europe, on the "disengagement zone" in the heart of Europe and the reduction of armed forces in this area. The plan advanced by the Social Democratic Party in West Germany shows that the Social-Democratic leaders can no

longer disregard the response evoked by the Soviet and the German Democratic Republic's proposals for a German settlement.

The peace initiative of the socialist countries testifies to their desire to end the cold war. The XXIst Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union advanced as one of the principal tasks of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union the carrying out of a policy aimed at easing international tensions.

The cold war was launched by the aggressive Western circles headed by the U.S. imperialists, not by the socialist countries. The imperialists miscalculated when they thought that the Soviet Union would emerge considerably weakened from the Second World War and that the "American age," the age of U.S. world domination, would set in after it. On the contrary, the forces of peace, democracy and socialism have grown substantially. This explains why the postwar democratic order in the world is not to the liking of the imperialists and why they talk about "containing socialism." At the outset the U.S. rulers based their illusory calculations on the fact that the Soviet economy had suffered grave damage during the war. Another equally illusory and temporary factor in their calculations was the American monopoly of the A-bomb. From this standpoint Churchill concluded in 1945 that relations with the Russian people "can only be founded upon their recognition of Anglo-American strength."*

In January 1946 Truman in a special memorandum outlined America's new policy towards the USSR — the policy of "an iron fist and strong language."** The hope that this policy would be successful became the cornerstone of the imperialists' postwar "positions of strength," the source of the cold war. In March 1946 Churchill enunciated in Fulton the entire program of the cold war.

In his *Power and Diplomacy*, Dean Acheson, ex-Secretary of State, admitted that it was left for "western civilization of the twentieth century—and nowhere more than in the United States — to recapture the belief in unlimited objectives and unlimited force to achieve them."***

The resurgence of revanchism in West Germany and the establishment of a militarist Bonn state became one of the principal aims of the cold war sponsors. Bonn is against any settlement of major issues: disarmament,

*W. Churchill. *The Second World War*, Vol. VI, London, 1955, p. 429.

**H. Truman. *Memoirs*, Vol. I, New York, 1955, p. 552.

***Dean Acheson, *Power and Diplomacy*, Harvard University Press, 1958, p. 34.

*The *Nation*, March 28, 1959, p. 267.

collective security in Europe, a German settlement and other questions. Conscious that a revanchist policy is possible only in conditions of the cold war, it seeks to prevent any "thaw" in the international atmosphere.

The secret document — "Psychological Warfare, a New Branch of Warfare and Leadership"* — prepared last March by the West German Defense Ministry — throws light on the cold war concept of the Bonn government. Envisaging psychological warfare as a means of preventing relaxation of tensions and talks, and also as a means of preserving a "permanent absence of peace," the document points out that psychological warfare can at times, in the form of the cold war, take the place of a hot war.

How, then, can anyone speak about a "communist threat" to the West and allege that the "icy winds" of the cold war are controlled by the Soviet Union? The myth of a "communist threat" was invoked by the imperialists to justify the cold war and its grave economic, political and moral consequences for the working people. In the words of Mr. Zilliacus, M.P., "this policy is ideologically justified by confusing all forms of social unrest and anti-colonial nationalism anywhere in the world with communism."**

The ideologists of imperialism are finding it more difficult to continue the cold war, to bolster the allegations that the Soviet Union is preparing to attack the West, that popular action for democratic liberties, peace and socialism, as well as the struggle against the old and the new colonialism, are "communist subversion," "indirect aggression," etc. Many people in the West, including supporters of capitalism, are beginning to realize that it is not the socialist countries but the imperialist aggressive circles which threaten peace. In his *The Causes of World War Three*, G. Wright Mills, American professor of sociology, denounces the drifting towards and striving for war of the Washington oligarchy. "The only realistic military view," he writes, "is the view that war, and not Russia, is now the enemy."***

The cold war and the "positions of strength" policy pursued by the Western imperialists are the main obstacle to establishing a lasting peace. Having developed Dulles' "brinkmanship" to its logical conclusion, this policy has not fulfilled the expectations of its sponsors — the American imperialists — in-

asmuch as it has proved powerless to prevent the growing might of the socialist world system and the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa.

For imperialists the cold war is preparation for a hot war. This is clear from the foreign policy of the West: 1949 — establishment of NATO; 1950 — the predatory attack on North Korea; 1956 — the imperialist attempt to overthrow people's rule in Hungary and the aggression against Egypt; the U.S. provocations in the Taiwan Straits; the landing of American and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan; the building of military bases on foreign territory; repeated threats by the imperialists to use the A-bomb, and so on.

During its ten years of existence, the aggressive NATO organization has rejected everything proposed by the socialist states for the strengthening of peace and mutual confidence. The socialist states, nevertheless, are striving might and main to end the cold war and to stop the armaments race. They stand for discontinuing nuclear tests and banning atomic and hydrogen weapons; they are against building military bases on foreign territory, for using outer space solely for peaceful purposes and for eliminating the dangerous hotbeds of war.

Contrary to the assertions of Western propaganda the socialist peace initiative does not signify "material advantages" for anyone. It creates the conditions for ending the cold war, achieving disarmament and establishing international relations that would rule out war as a means of settling disputes.

The Socialist Countries

Advocate Negotiations and Agreements

An indisputable success for the socialist countries' policy of peace in conditions of the cold war was the recognition by the Western powers of negotiation as a method of settling international problems. Last March Prime Minister Macmillan endorsed the principle that "differences between nations should be resolved by negotiations and not by force" (Soviet-British Communiqué, March 3).

Many American newspapers wrote then that the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government has already yielded such an important result as the recognition by the Western powers of the need to settle controversies by negotiation, including top-level talks.

The reasonable proposals of the socialist states are aimed at "untying many knots" in international relations. The Soviet Union has tabled not a few proposals for a gradual re-

*For this, see *Neues Deutschland*, March 26, 1959.

**Konni Zilliacus, "Britain and Nuclear War," *International Affairs*, No. 11, 1958, p. 66.

***G. Wright Mills, *The Causes of World War Three*, London, 1959, p. 101.

duction of armaments, for complete and unconditional banning of all nuclear weapons, cessation of nuclear tests and the establishment of international control for preventing a sudden attack. The Warsaw Treaty countries have proposed a non-aggression pact with NATO. The Soviet Government has suggested that these organizations should insert articles in their treaties renouncing support for an aggressor.

The German problem remains the chief unresolved problem in Europe. The socialist countries are anxious to settle it in the interests of peace and of the German people. They are convinced that an agreement in Geneva on the two problems of the day — a peace treaty with Germany and the ending of the occupation regime in West Berlin — would be a solid basis for peace in Europe.

The draft peace treaty submitted by the Soviet Union combines measures ensuring the rights of the German people, their full sovereignty and peaceful democratic development with measures needed to maintain peace and security in Europe. "A peace treaty with Germany," says the Soviet Note (March 25) to the GDR Government, "would lead to a peaceful solution of all the issues associated with the German problem. It would be a big step towards mutual understanding, towards drawing the two German states closer together in the matter of establishing a confederation and would be the quickest way to the merger of both states." The socialist countries are of the opinion that rapprochement and agreement between the two states can be reached solely by the Germans themselves, without any outside interference.

The Soviet Government's proposal to end the occupation regime in West Berlin, this dangerous hotbed of the cold war, and to convert it into a free, demilitarized city, has been welcomed by all the socialist countries.

The socialist countries are persistently striving to end the nuclear tests. It is not their fault that the three-power conference in Geneva to end the tests has dragged on for months. The American Government at first approved the experts' conclusions, then reconsidered its decision and laid down new conditions for ending the tests, conditions which would enable the United States to establish bases for military reconnaissance in the USSR, to fly over Soviet territory. Conditions of this kind signify an attempt to obtain military advantages at the expense of the Soviet Union.

President Eisenhower's proposal to suspend tests on the surface of the earth and up

to a height of 31 miles, is not realistic. It would simply mislead the public since explosions underground and at high altitudes would continue. That is why peace-loving people approve Khrushchov's appeal to Eisenhower: "We should muster the strength of will and show appreciation of the need to conclude an agreement providing for the cessation of all tests of nuclear weapons — in the atmosphere, underground, underwater and at high altitudes."

The United States' position was explained in part by Henry Kissinger, American military publicist, in an article entitled "Nuclear Testing and the Problem of Peace" published in *Foreign Affairs*, the State Department mouthpiece. Kissinger voiced concern lest the stopping of the tests be followed by overall nuclear disarmament and lest the allies of the U.S. refuse to purchase atomic weapons for their armies. "For if a cessation of nuclear testing is a 'first step' to anything," wrote Kissinger, "it is to an increased campaign to outlaw nuclear weapons altogether." And further: "a complete cessation of tests will merely serve to shift pressures to the banning of nuclear weapons." In connection with the end-the-tests talks Kissinger stated that "influential groups in Britain argue for a unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons and considerable pressures exist in Germany against equipping German forces for nuclear war." Logically, this can be followed by a "demand that American troops withdraw since their equipment is so obviously nuclear."*

This is one reason for the unwillingness of the U.S. leaders to discontinue the nuclear tests. That is why they have declared that, according to "new data," underground explosions are more difficult to detect than had formerly been supposed. That is why, fearing the popular movement for banning nuclear weapons, the U.S. rulers are equipping the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons and building atomic rocket bases in the Western European countries. It will be appreciated that the advocates of the "get tough" policy need these hasty measures in order to frustrate the Geneva talks.

By pursuing a policy of peace, each socialist state makes its contribution proceeding also from its geographical position and national traditions. Since its foundation the Chinese People's Republic has favored friendly co-operation between Asian and African countries. This policy accords with the na-

**Foreign Affairs*, October 1958, pp. 8, 12.

tional interests of the independent Afro-Asian countries and of universal peace. People's China stands for an atom-free zone, a zone of peace in Eastern Asia and in the Pacific. Well-known are North Korea's initiative to unify the country and withdraw foreign troops from South Korea, and Czechoslovakia's proposal for strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence. A prominent place among the peace moves of the socialist countries is held by Poland's proposal to establish an atom-free zone in Central Europe. Acceptance of this proposal would also ease the situation of Western European countries which have been led into a blind alley by NATO's aggressive policy.

Together with the other socialist countries, Rumania stands for peace and co-operation with all states irrespective of their social systems. The Rumanian government, expressing the interests of the people, bases its foreign policy on fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on their friendship the underlying principles of which are proletarian internationalism, equality, mutual advantage and comradely assistance.

Rumania supports the Soviet proposals for a peace treaty with Germany and for ending the occupation regime in West Berlin. Believing that the question of unifying Germany must be solved by the Germans themselves, Rumania supports the proposal for a confederation of the two German states.

Widely known are Rumania's proposals on co-operation among the Balkan states. It should be noted, however, that while Rumania and the other socialist countries are working to consolidate peace, some Balkan states, yielding to imperialist pressure, are concluding new aggressive military agreements and are ready to have American nuclear-armed troops and rocket bases stationed on their territories.

Having established diplomatic relations and co-operation with a number of Afro-Asian countries, Rumania renders them effective aid in developing their economies and exploiting their natural resources. Rumania actively participates in the discussion of current international problems in the U.N. and in the other international agencies. Its proposal at the XIIIth session of the General Assembly on international co-operation in aiding the underdeveloped oil-extracting countries met with favorable response.

The Rumanian people are engaged in peaceful creative labor. A long-term economic plan for 1960-75 is now being drawn up. By

1975 the country will have achieved a high level of industrial development; the socialist reconstruction of agriculture will be completed in the next few years, and living standards will rise considerably. The Rumanian people's efforts to carry out this inspiring program are inseparable from their efforts for peace.

An analysis of the international situation leads to the conclusion that in view of the complete and final victory of socialism and all-out communist construction in the USSR, in view of the successes won by the socialist countries of Europe and Asia in building socialism, the objective prerequisites are being created for banishing war from the life of society. In these circumstances the tremendous importance of strengthening the might and unity of the socialist camp, and of the international communist movement stands out in all clarity. The socialist world system is the main obstacle to the imperialist war plans. This explains the frenzied imperialist campaign against the unity of the socialist world. The revisionists, for their part, distort and slander the peace policy of the socialist countries, especially of the USSR.

The Yugoslav revisionists minimize the war danger created by imperialism and deny the new, socialist international relations based on proletarian internationalism, fraternal assistance and all-round co-operation. The Yugoslav leaders deliberately confuse the community of socialist countries with a mere military bloc. For example, during his tour of Afro-Asian countries President Tito did not say a word about the imperialists, their extortionate pacts and military gambles. He was silent about the aggression of the United States and other colonial powers against Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan.

In effect, the Yugoslav leaders equate the policy of the socialist countries with that of the aggressive imperialist blocs. Vain attempts! The peace-loving nations, who are able to distinguish friends from enemies, know the decisive role played by the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in ending the imperialist aggression against Egypt; they know the fraternal and effective assistance rendered by these countries to Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan in frustrating the intrigues of the colonialists. The peoples of these countries value the disinterested aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist states in developing their economies.

The latter-day revisionists cannot become reconciled to the idea of unity, fraternal co-

operation and mutual aid between the socialist countries. They do not understand, or pretend not to, that the socialist camp represents a fraternal community of independent and equal nations, which is necessary for realizing their common interests in socialist and communist construction; that its strength is ensured by the firm loyalty of the respective Communist and Workers' parties to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The socialist states base their relations with other countries on the principle of resolving all issues by way of negotiation. They advocate broad economic and cultural ties on the basis of equality, respect for territorial integrity, independence and national sovereignty. Implementation of the program for build-

ing communism in the USSR and of the economic plans in the other socialist countries, and arising from this the confidence that peace will be preserved, greatly stimulates the working-class struggle for peace and opens up prospects for an all-round exchange between the nations. Political relations based on the principle of peaceful coexistence will become even more widespread.

The scales are now tipping in favor of the peace forces. There is a growing desire for peace among the peoples in the capitalist countries; the prestige of the USSR, People's China and all the socialist countries is rising to higher levels. The triumph of the policy of friendship and peaceful coexistence among the nations is in keeping with the aspirations of ordinary people all over the world.

German Militarism and How to Curb It

Otto Bauman

"Militarism, like a nightmare, weighs down on Europe. It has become a political and social force before which all culture recedes. Like a giant octopus, it fastens on the people, devouring their best forces and the life-blood of the nation."

(AUGUST BEBEL)

EVENTS of recent months have demonstrated that German militarism has become the main obstacle to international understanding and durable peace in Europe. To all the proposals for lessening tensions and preserving peace, the aggressive ruling circles in West Germany and their spokesmen—Adenauer, Strauss and Brentano—obdurately reiterate "NO."

The blind alley in which the foreign policy of the Bonn government finds itself has forced Adenauer to relinquish the Chancellorship.

This, however, does not remove the threat of German imperialism and militarism, nor does it abolish the danger of an atomic war, a danger that has its source in the atomic armament of the Federal Republic. The national and international responsibility of the German working class and the peace forces is such that, in the struggle against militarism in the Federal Republic, the "Adenauer era" must be ended once and for all, and the way prepared for a policy of lessening tensions.

With the new balance of forces in the world, the German militarists have no chance whatsoever of realizing their designs. And this is true not only in the event of war which could break out as a result of a provocation; it is no less true for the present. Even before it grasps the torch of war German militarism can be curbed by the peace forces led by the working class. The success of international conferences and of the cause of peace and European security depends in large measure on their resolute struggle.

U.S. aggressive circles did everything to stifle in West Germany the development which in East Germany ended in the abolition of imperialism and militarism. With the active support of the Western occupation authorities and behind the camouflage of false statements about decartelization, the monopolies have been preserved intact in West Germany; their economic and political power was restored and is growing year by year. The Federal Republic joined the European Coal and Steel Community — the economic

base of NATO and the Western European Union. Not a few of the advocates of admitting Federal Germany to NATO claimed at that time in France, Britain and other countries that this was the best way to curb and "democratize" German militarism.

Developments, however, have shown how illusory these calculations were. The German militarists have for long ignored the reservations in the Paris Agreements forbidding West Germany to possess atomic and nuclear weapons.

The incorporation of the Federal Republic into NATO has only added to the aggressive character of this bloc. This can be seen, in particular, from the resolution of the May 1957 session of the NATO Council which supported Bonn's program for "liberating" the German Democratic Republic. Of all the NATO member-countries only the Federal Republic makes official territorial claims. Foreign Minister von Brentano has repeatedly claimed in official statements that the Federal Government is the lawful successor to the German Empire which, he says, continues to exist within its 1937 frontiers. In other words, the Bonn rulers blatantly seek to annex part of the territories of Poland and the Soviet Union, absorb the GDR, and "establish a New Order in Europe." Federal Minister Oberlaender has repeatedly called for "a solution of the Sudeten-German problem in the spirit of Munich."

If the NATO partners of German imperialism imagine that they will be able to direct these expansionist claims to the East, they will simply repeat the blunder made in relation to Hitler, a blunder which was to prove fatal for the Western European countries. Without a doubt, the German imperialism of Adenauer is somewhat different from what it was under Hitler. But is it possible to underestimate the fact that the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Payments Union, the Common Market and the Euratom agreement simply establish the framework within which the German imperialists can legally, if one may say so, claim economic domination over their partners?

In seeking this, the German imperialists take as their starting point the positions they have already won. In foreign trade they are ousting British monopolies from their markets and are beginning to penetrate the sphere of interests of American monopoly capital. West Germany has become the creditor of many countries belonging to the European Payments Union.

From these positions the German militarists are making it increasingly clear that they have no desire to tolerate the secondary political role allotted them in Europe. In point of fact, developments indicate a change in the balance of forces in the Western European world and that German imperialism is ready to play the dominant role it played before.

While supporting the American plans for European integration, inasmuch as they are spearheaded against democracy and socialism, the Bonn rulers are seeking to subordinate these plans to their own interests, to use them with a view to achieving the leading role in Western Europe. With growing frequency the Bonn government essays to speak on behalf of all the members of the Western alliances, declaring that "the Europeans" (read: the West German monopolies) have their own interests which do not coincide with those of the Americans, and that, as Adenauer put it, "the nations of Europe should be conscious of their own strength and responsibility." These ideas were expressed in Bonn in 1956 and 1957 in connection with Adenauer's plan for a "European federation" headed by West Germany.

American imperialism, it goes without saying, is the chief instigator of an aggressive policy and military gambles all over the world. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the increased danger of German militarism, to fail to notice that in some instances it tries to surpass even the aggressiveness of its transatlantic partner. It is significant that in the military-strategic sphere the Bonn militarists are endeavoring to adjust the American "sword and shield" concept (according to which the Bundeswehr is assigned in NATO the role of "shield" — the shock infantry force) so that the "shield" should not be differentiated from the "American sword" (rockets with atomic warheads and aircraft). This is the aim of the Strauss military doctrine: the quality of the Bundeswehr equipment should have priority over quantity.

Do not the establishment of Bundeswehr bases in France, Belgium, Holland and Norway, the sallies of War Minister Strauss when he insists that the Bundeswehr should be given supreme command in the Baltic area and, in particular, over Denmark, and the advancement of Nazi generals to leading posts in NATO, demonstrate the Federal Republic's claims to military leadership in Western Europe? This tendency brings out sharply the antagonisms between the imperialists and exacerbates these antagonisms.

The militarists tell the people in Federal Germany that they want to restore Germany's grandeur and her international prestige. For consumption abroad they claim to be ardent defenders of the interests of Europe. They churn out statements about freedom and the Christian West. But to appreciate what they really mean it is necessary to turn to the "Joint-Stock Reference Book" (which is not printed for the general public) and to special bulletins. These list the enterprises claimed by the West German monopolies. Among these are 786 enterprises in the German Democratic Republic, 172 in Poland, eight in Czechoslovakia, and 28 on Soviet territory.

Despite the fact that not a few new personalities and slogans have appeared on the West German political scene, the policy of German imperialism is, in substance, the same as it was — anti-national, aggressive, reckless and criminal. If it appears in new forms this is only for the purpose of misleading the German people and the people of Europe.

German imperialism, which was late in emerging on the world arena, twice tried, by unleashing world wars, to redivide the world and to establish its domination.

As a result of the defeat of the Hitler armies and the destruction of the Hitler state, the sphere of domination of German imperialism on German territory has shrunk, and the question of ending militarist rule throughout Germany has been placed on the agenda. The clearer this becomes to the working class and the masses in the Federal Republic as a result of the latest successes of the peace policy and socialist construction of the Democratic Republic, and the less sure the ruling monopoly circles become of their ability to compete peacefully with the Democratic Republic, the more aggressive and reckless becomes the Adenauer-Strauss-Brentano clique who bank on civil war against the GDR and on an atomic war against the other socialist countries.

As stated above, in view of the present balance of world forces, the German militarists have not the slightest chance of conquering the GDR or winning a war of revenge. But the people in the Federal Republic as well as the people of Europe would be committing a grave mistake were they to believe that the German militarists soberly assess the new situation. At the moment the more aggressive militarist groups are even more blind in assessing the correlation of forces than the Kaiser and Hitler were in their day. No matter how hopeless the aims of these gentry may be, it would be dangerous not to see that

they are continuously seeking ways and means of initiating provocations to an extent which threatens Europe and the world with war.

West Berlin is a most dangerous breeding ground of aggression against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries. Weinstein, senior officer and political propagandist, brazenly stated in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* that the armed forces of the Federal Republic, particularly those in West Berlin, could initiate a conflict in such a way that the Bundeswehr would not be isolated and its NATO partners would have to join in.

In this way the German militarists refute the idea of the American military writer Kissinger concerning the much extolled "limited wars." In point of fact these theories, designed to befuddle public opinion, were shattered by the Suez and Lebanon events where there was an obvious danger of unlimited extension of so-called local conflicts. As applied to Germany, these theories are particularly dangerous. In the event of a military conflict on German territory where, in addition to the armed forces of the two German states, there are the forces of the Great Powers, the West German preparations now under way for an atomic and rocket war would, undoubtedly, result in a world conflagration.

The danger increases with the growth of the military and industrial potential of the Federal Republic which the militarists can use for their reckless ends. Compared with the other capitalist countries of Europe, the Federal Republic has the greatest industrial potential, surpassing Britain and France in the main branches of industry.

Concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few leading monopolies has become more pronounced. Whereas in 1954 companies with a capital exceeding 100 million marks accounted for almost one-third of the entire joint-stock capital, at the beginning of this year the figure rose to 46 per cent. Or, another fact testifying even more strikingly to the concentration of economic power. In 1938, 19 big monopolies controlled almost half the joint-stock capital of Germany, whereas at the end of last year the 17 big West German and partially-international monopolies owned over 78 per cent of the joint-stock capital of the Federal Republic. Last year the two biggest monopolies produced 87 per cent of the coal output. Some 28 million tons of steel were produced, i.e., almost 10 million tons more than in France and several million more than in Britain. The

break-up of the I.G. Farben concern into a number of successor companies does not mean that it has lost any of its power or aggressiveness. Together with the giants of the power industry—AEG and Siemens—with the steel barons headed by Krupp, and with the dominant banking amalgamations such as the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerz and Diskonto Bank — the I.G. Farben enterprises form an atomic cartel powerful enough to resolve financial, economic, and technological problems.

When it is said that in the postwar the German militarists have been lagging in the sphere of modern armaments, this is true only to a degree. Euratom and the military "Bonn-Paris-Rome triangle" have given them access to the research carried out in France. German V-rocket experts were provided with the opportunity not only to perfect these weapons in the United States, they largely directed this work. Many of them are now in the employ of the Bonn War Ministry, others are working in the West German war industry.

The German militarists are playing a growing role in the "Bonn-Paris-Rome triangle." For example, they have succeeded in getting the former head of the Imperial Research Institute (of which Goering was chief) and his assistants installed in the Institute of Rocket Engineering in France. The Messerschmidt, Heinkel and Dornier aircraft concerns have been restored and are closely interwoven. They are now state monopolies. When German firms completed the building of French and Italian aircraft models licensed to West Germany, they switched over to the production of American "Starfighters" and "Hawk" rockets. This shows the speed of developments in this sphere. Meanwhile, a number of German models have been designed. The Flick concern and the Bavarian motor works, for example, are producing rocket engines of their own.

There is no need to be surprised when one encounters names which featured in the Nueremburg trial! The tycoons of the Nazi war economy — Flick, Roechling, Krupp, Stinnes, Abs, Pferdmenes, Rohsch and men of their kind — still head war concerns and hold key posts in the economy.

The military program is being pushed ahead especially now, in view of the forthcoming international conferences. Every month Strauss is spending double the sum that Hitler spent monthly during his war preparations. The lion's share of his expenditure is channeled to the United States for rockets

and for meeting the costs of training Bundeswehr units in the use of atomic weapons.

That is why Strauss is able to boast that the Bundeswehr brigades trained for offensive atomic warfare will be in fighting trim by 1961. By that time the Bundeswehr will have increased from 200,000 to 350,000. A simple comparison of these figures with the strength of the Hitler army is of little use. What should be borne in mind is that the experience of German militarism and the Reichswehr is reproduced on a broader scale, since it is being built as a regular army. It is planned to train 120,000 officers. This alone shows that there can be no talk of limiting the West German army to the 12 divisions envisaged by the Paris agreements. The idea is to create the core of an army which can be quickly raised to 1,000,000.

The Bonn rulers have entrusted the key posts in the army to the people who have always been hangers-on of German militarism in its aggressive home and foreign policy. Has not Strauss declared: "There is not a single captain in the Bundeswehr who would not have served in the Wehrmacht."

Among the generals and officers are thousands of former SS-men. The General Staff, exhorted by Strauss to carry on the old traditions, consists of these elements. They are also to be found at NATO headquarters. The war criminals, who developed the Barbarossa plan against the Soviet Union, who attacked France, the Scandinavian and South-East European countries, participate in elaborating the Atlantic "strategy of moving forward." The men who worked out the "blitz" for Hitler are preparing for an atomic war which is to be started by attacking the Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. The idea is that already in the first phase the offensive will be carried forward to the Dnieper, the aim being to "integrate Europe as far as the Urals," as Halstein,* President of the European Economic Community, put it.

* * *

To the gamble of German militarism, which is reinforced by the atomic armament that is being forced ahead by Adenauer and Strauss, the working class and all the peace forces counterpose action for a new policy—for mutual understanding and peace, for a peace treaty. Consequently, the primary duty of the German working class, its parties and organizations, the duty of all patriots, is to halt the criminal actions of German militarism.

*At this writing there was doubt about Halstein's position in view of the charges in the Strack case which brought to light dirty intrigues among top-ranking officials in Bonn.

The social status of the working class makes it the main force in the fight for peace. The working class of the capitalist countries bears a two-fold burden: it is exploited by the capitalists and, as a consumer, suffers together with the other sections from rising prices for food and consumer goods. The two world wars have brought home to the workers that they and their families suffer most — shed their blood, lose their homes and are the first to experience the aftermath of inflation, starvation and intensified exploitation.

However, not only the need to protect the vital interests of the working people, but also its historic mission, oblige the working class to act as the main force in the struggle to lessen tensions. Its position as the producer of wealth and the concentration of labor in the large factories enable it to become the chief organizer in the struggle for peace.

The impressive demonstrations sponsored by the trade unions against the Bundestag decision on atomic armament, the protest strikes against the rocket bases in Dortmund, the refusal of the metal workers in Gelsenkirchen to manufacture weapons of war — all clearly indicate to the Bonn government that it will not get very far with its armament program against the unanimous will of the working class, that it will not be able to hurl its war machine against the Democratic Republic and other countries.

The militarists realize this and that is why their terror and propaganda are aimed at preventing working-class unity and the co-operation of its parties and organizations throughout Germany.

The process of fascization in West Germany is becoming more and more obvious. The attitude of Adenauer and his associates in connection with his nomination for the Presidency leaves no doubt of their intention to establish a dictatorship by the President, weaken the role of Parliament and exercise arbitrary rule by means of emergency laws, the Bundeswehr and the diehard Nazis.

The court trials of people who are opposed to atomic armament and war preparations, of people of diverse ideological and political views, are endless. The trial, recently begun, of Pastor Niemoeller and of Prof. Hagemann, former editor of *Germany*, organ of the Center Party, and one of the founders of the Christian Democratic Union, confirms the statement made by Dr. Heinemann, ex-Minister of the Interior and now Social-Democratic deputy: "Many people suffer from the delusion that courts try only Communists. The

range of people being punished is widening and extends to those who have never belonged to the Communist Party nor been close to it."

It can be said with every justification that notwithstanding all the attempts of the militarists they have not won the working class to their side. Together with the Communists, increasing numbers of Social Democrats, factory and office workers and trade unionists are calling for unity of the working class and the peace forces to halt the atomic armament and to curb militarism.

This shows that the idea of class solidarity is taking firmer root in the minds of the Social Democrats. This is the new feature. There is a growing awareness that the vital interests of the working class and its historic mission call for united and determined action against atomic armament; that only by engaging in this action can it show its full strength and rally all people of good will for the easement of tensions and for a peace treaty.

The example of the Democratic Republic helps the West German working class to understand that it will be able to secure a change in the Federal Republic's policy only by unity and by correctly understanding the aims of the struggle.

In East Germany, the working class, filled with a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the nation, has drawn conclusions from the country's history and from its revolutionary battles. The merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, on the basis of Marxism, into the Socialist Unity Party was an important step, the guarantee of future success. The working class has in this party a leader which has shown that the imperialist and militarist forces can be defeated, and which has charted the way to victory. Under the leadership of the Party the united working class, in alliance with the working people of town and countryside, with all the democratic and anti-fascist forces, has remained steadfast to the Potsdam Agreement. With the removal of the war criminals, monopolists and Junkers from power, imperialism and militarism were abolished forever.

The Democratic Republic, the first state in German history to inscribe peace on its banner, is blocking the path of German militarism to the East. Moreover, the establishment of this Republic laid the firm foundation for developing the struggle of the working class and all the peace forces against German militarism. The peace policy of the Democratic Republic coincides with the national interests and becomes an effective factor in the world

arena, especially in the Federal Republic. In this way the people of West Germany are becoming more and more conscious of the changed balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy and social progress.

Implementation of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, which formulated the principles of a German peace treaty and of a peaceful settlement for West Berlin, and which proclaimed the aim of overtaking and surpassing the Federal Republic by 1961 in the consumption of basic foods and manufactured goods per head of the population, will make a wider breach in the wall of prejudice and misunderstanding. Of course, it is impossible to demolish at once the wall erected by the militarists in the course of the prolonged and systematic propaganda campaign against the Democratic Republic. But facts are opening the eyes of the people and the change in outlook is becoming plainer.

The German militarists asserted that the Democratic Republic would suffer an economic crash. They predicted the stability of the "economic miracle" in West Germany and claimed that the armaments policy would ensure well-being for all. But the West German workers now see that, notwithstanding the war preparations, stocks of coal are piling up, blast furnaces are closing and textile workers are working short time. Meanwhile, salvation comes from the Democratic Republic in the form of orders for 4,000,000 tons of coal, large quantities of steel and textile goods. These orders could have been filled at once had it not been for the policy of cold war against the Democratic Republic. Renunciation of the bankrupt "positions of strength" policy would improve the conditions of the West German population, because a very small part of the monthly military expenditure would suffice to meet the demands of the Ruhr miners for shorter hours without a reduction in wages.

The militarists justify the armaments policy by invoking an imaginary "threat from the East." But the people of Dortmund, for example, see that the threat to their security comes not from the East but from the location of rocket bases in the vicinity of their city. From the East, from the Democratic Republic, the people of Dortmund have had thousands of examples of fraternal solidarity in the fight for peace and security, and from the Soviet Union proposals have come for a peace treaty with Germany.

Among the West German workers there is an intensified search for ways by which, in

keeping with their experience and that of the entire German working-class movement, it would be possible to curb the militarists. This has been the aim of Communist Party policy which is carried out in the spirit of the best traditions of the working-class movement.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the founders of the Communist Party, were staunch anti-militarists and regarded the anti-imperialist struggle as the chief task of the working class and its Party. In his *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*, Karl Liebknecht wrote that militarism "confronts the proletariat like a robber armed to the teeth, whose ultimatum is not merely 'your money or your life,' but goes beyond the morals of the robber because it demands both money and life."

Since 1945 the Communist Party of Germany, consistently anti-militarist, has fought first to implement the Potsdam Agreement and, after the establishment of the separate West German state, to prevent the revival of militarism, atomic armament and the inclusion of this state in NATO. Even the decision of the Federal Republic's Constitutional Court accentuates this aspect of activity, which in itself confirms that the Federal Republic regime, which seeks protection in banning the Communist Party, is, in essence, a militarist regime.

There has always been much in common between the policies pursued by the Communist Party and the stand taken by the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions in the struggle against militarism. A rapprochement of viewpoints on important issues of the day has been taking place of late, and the Social-Democratic plan for a German settlement is proof of this. Although the plan is inconsistent and contains incorrect propositions in some important paragraphs, it nevertheless represents the efforts of the peace-loving forces in West Germany, and of the working class in particular, to lessen tensions. It is the outcome of a prolonged struggle waged by the working people against militarism, a struggle in which the views of the Social Democrats and the Communists have coincided to some extent on a number of questions. Thus, for instance, in the Bundestag (1949-53) deputies of the two parties voted against ratification of the so-called European Defense Community agreements. The two workers' parties voted against West Germany becoming a member of NATO and against the military service law. Joint action by Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists was strikingly expressed in extra-parliamen-

tary activity, when the popular referendums showed that the masses decisively rejected the military service law.

Last year's Social Democratic Party Congress in Stuttgart could not but take note of these militant feelings which ran high during the fight against atomic armament in 1958. It condemned the decision adopted by the Bundestag majority to arm the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons and, faced with a threat to the very existence of the nation, summoned "all forces to oppose atomic armament." A similar point of view was expressed by the Central Board of West German Trade Unions and by individual trade unions. The scale of the movement against atomic armament can be judged also by the fact that many intellectuals participate in it: prominent representatives, for example, Hahn, Nobel Prize winner, Professor Born, Gerlach and thousands of other scientists and art workers who protested in joint statements against the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

There is hardly need to say that the Adenauer government has done its utmost to halt this movement. It should be said, too, that its further development and the achievement of more tangible results in uniting the peace forces were hindered by the actions of some of the Social-Democratic leaders. Despite the insistent demands of the majority of the Party membership and broad sections of the people, they at first acquiesced in the prohibition of the referendum on atomic armament and later endeavored to stop all struggle against atomic death. This attitude was adopted by Erler and Brandt who supported those in favor of barring foreign policy debates in the Bundestag. These people are now attempting to torpedo their own Party's plan for a German settlement. Inasmuch, however, as the plan meets with the approval of the majority of the Social Democrats and trade unionists, it has evoked not only a great response, but readiness to rebuff those who are trying to kill it.

Proceeding from the need to lessen international tensions, the plan goes into the question of a peace treaty with Germany. It recognizes the German Democratic Republic as a real factor, admits the possibility of forming a confederation of the two German states and contains a proposal to set up all-German bodies on an equal footing.

As we see, on some points the Social-Democratic plan coincides with the viewpoint of the Socialist Unity Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic. Thus real conditions obtain for meeting around the

table with the aim of reaching agreement. And this would be in line with the demands of the West German Social Democrats and trade unionists. The Social-Democratic workers have welcomed the plan, regarding it as an initial step by their Party towards joint action by the entire German working class which is becoming increasingly conscious of the need to rally all forces for the carrying out of this plan. The workers are demanding definite action from the Social-Democratic leaders, insisting that the multiform contacts between the Social-Democratic and trade union functionaries and the representatives of the Democratic Republic be developed further in negotiations between the leaders of the workers' parties.

What is the common feature of the demands advanced by the workers and the trade unions, the decisions of the supporters of the "against atomic death" movement, the Social-Democratic plan, and the statements made by patriotically-minded sections of the intellectuals and bourgeoisie? All are permeated with the desire to ease tensions. And so in its manifesto entitled "For a New Policy, for Relaxation of Tension and Peace"* the Communist Party of Germany has advanced the demand for a change in the policy pursued by the Federal Republic. To the question, where should the relaxation begin, the Communist Party replies: "Atomic armament of West Germany should cease; rocket launching sites should be dismantled. Foreign troops should be withdrawn from Germany. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty member-states should sign a non-aggression pact. West Berlin, instead of being a hotbed of international tension, should become a demilitarized free city."

Relaxation of tension demands, further, that the Federal Republic recognize that two independent states exist on German soil, to end the "cold war" and cease espionage, sabotage, provocation and war propaganda against the Democratic Republic. This would create a favorable climate for successful negotiations and the signing of an agreement between the Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic which would contain a mutual undertaking not to use force or weapons of wholesale annihilation and provide also for the limitation of conventional arms. Thus the opportunity would arise of forming a confederation of both German states and the first step would be taken towards reunification, towards securing a durable peace for the Germans and for all Europeans.

*Neues Deutschland, May 3, 1959.

Not only would the conclusion of a peace treaty write *finis* to the Second World War, it would end once and for all the possibility of the German militarists repeating their criminal acts. That is the principal aim of the Soviet Draft Peace Treaty.

Adenauer and his group are misleading many people by affirming that a peace treaty cannot be signed until Germany has been reunited. Those who have taken the path of atomic armament and who have blocked the way to reunification are now donning the guise of worried "patriots," talking interminably about the danger of perpetuating the division. But the truth is that given a peace treaty, with no atomic armament and with German militarism curbed, all the obstacles to reunification will be swept away. After the conclusion of a peace treaty it will be easier for the German people to achieve rapprochement and mutual understanding between the two German states and, having formed a confederation, to bring about reunification in real earnest.

The All-German Workers' Conference in Leipzig and the Congress of Young Workers in Erfurt, the numerous statements made by the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Center, the slogans carried in many places by workers during the May Day demonstrations and meetings — all testify that the working class is becoming more and more conscious of the need for a peace treaty.

Increasing numbers of people from all walks of life — people whom the working class is acquiring as allies — are, likewise, in favor of a peace treaty. Thus the Dortmund Congress of Opponents of Atomic Armament stated in a decision adopted by more than 700 delegates that the conclusion of a peace treaty would signify that the demands of the Congress had been won. The "Fraenkische Kreise" — an association of cultural workers in the Federal Republic — has declared that a peace treaty would guarantee that scientists and cultural workers would be able to work in peace. Industrial and business circles in the Federal Republic talk about the opportunities which would open up for the expansion of civilian industry, for trade with all countries on the basis of mutual benefit and the most-favored-nation principle.

The reason why workers and peasants, members of the professions and the bourgeoisie, despite their different views, are drawing one and the same general conclusion, is explained by the fact that a peace treaty is the key to the solution of problems of vital importance for all Germans, whose interests un-

doubtedly coincide with those of all peoples.

The prospects of the masses in West Germany becoming deeply conscious of this, of successful efforts being made by the working class and peace forces to lessen tensions and conclude a peace treaty, are now better than at any time in the past.

Internationally, the aspirations of the German people coincide with the efforts of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries whose powerful and constantly growing forces are working to avert war.

The efforts for a peace treaty are made easier by the fact that with the new balance of forces in the world the extreme aggressiveness of the German militarists and their frequent provocations are causing anxiety and, at times, arousing opposition even among ruling circles of the NATO countries. The differences between Bonn and London have grown in the past few months. Denmark is resisting Strauss' claim to leadership. And although de Gaulle and Adenauer have been embracing each other, the fact cannot be concealed that there is in France, in addition to the Communist Party, a broad front of former Resistance fighters and a number of bourgeois politicians (including some in the government) who are against linking their country's destiny with those who organized the massacre in Oradour.

The working class is exerting a decisive influence on developments, first and foremost because it is the ruling class in the Democratic Republic and, as such, defends through its government not only its own interests but those of the nation as a whole. This force will decide the destiny of Germany in the interests of peace when working-class unity has been established in the Federal Republic and when, as proposed by the Socialist Unity Party and the Amalgamation of Free German Trade Unions, working-class organizations will co-operate closely throughout Germany.

The peace forces in West Germany are growing, and their growth will be still more rapid when the Communist Party succeeds in giving more resolute and effective guidance to the peace movement. It is a question of gaining time in the conflict with the militarists. The working class and the masses should, by their activity, forestall them.

* * *

In the struggle against militarism, for relaxation of tensions and for a peace treaty, the German working class relies on the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all European countries and, first and foremost on the

support of the socialist countries, for whom the cause of peace and socialism is inseparable. The German workers feel this support every day in the peace-loving foreign policy of the governments of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland—the countries against whom West German revanchism is spearheaded. They realize that the working people of such a great and powerful country as the Soviet Union have the necessary means to defend their security against any encroachments not only by German militarism but of its American ally. The working people of Germany are beginning to realize that if the government of the Soviet Union so insistently seeks a peace treaty, it is not because it is concerned solely with the interests of its own country, but because it defends the common interests of the working people of Europe and, not least, of the German people who in the event of an atomic war would be annihilated.

At this critical hour the German working class is more conscious than ever of the fraternal solidarity of the working people in Western Europe. The Communist parties of Western Europe are pressing for joint action by the working class and all peace-loving forces in support of the peace treaty. We recall the statement on the German question made by the French Communist Party on March 2. Rejection of an alliance with the Bonn revenge-seekers, it says, and French aid in obtaining a peaceful German settlement would open up vistas for genuine Franco-German reconciliation.

The trade unions of Europe are giving active support to proposals for a peace treaty. At the 19th Session of the Executive Commit-

tee of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Warsaw last April a special statement was adopted on Germany to the effect that the Berlin question should be decided by peaceful means and that the Four Great Powers should sign a peace treaty with Germany. The Western Powers and the Bonn Government should recognize the German Democratic Republic on whose territory the Potsdam Agreement is being consistently implemented. "To achieve these aims," the statement says, "the mobilization of and joint action by the working people and trade unions of Europe are possible and imperative."

An important measure in uniting the European working people was the Goerlitz (on the Oder-Neisse border) conference of European trade unions and working people (held in May) for a peace treaty with Germany, disarmament and prohibition of atomic armament. At this conference, which was called on the initiative of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, the delegates expressed their complete solidarity with the German working people and trade unions in their struggle. The conference sent a delegation to Geneva to submit a memorandum to the Foreign Ministers' conference in which the latter were urged to make every effort to initiate an era of peace. It also decided to hold between May 15-June 15 this year a European peoples' month of joint action for peace.

The class solidarity of the people of Europe with the German workers and their joint efforts are a guarantee of success. And the closer this unity, the more quickly will German militarism—the most dangerous enemy of the security of the European nations—be dealt a crushing blow.

Problems of War and Peace and the Position of the Socialist International

Harry Pollitt

THERE can be no doubt that problems of War and Peace will occupy an important place in the deliberations at the forthcoming Congress of the Socialist International in Hamburg in July. The leading bodies of the International will have to face up to the responsibilities devolving on them from the desire of the peoples to preserve peace and avert a nuclear war.

Nor can there be any doubt that the future of this body will be shaped by the attitude taken by its leaders to these problems.

It will not be amiss, therefore, to recall what happened to the old Second International at the time of the First World War.

I am old enough vividly to remember the high hopes which many workers placed upon the Second International because of some of its decisions on militarism and the danger of international conflicts. To read extracts from the Stuttgart Congress resolution of 1907 and the resolution of the Copenhagen Congress of 1910, and to contrast them with the terminology of the present Socialist International, is itself a salutary reminder to all class-conscious workers as to how far reformism has gone. Peace supporters cannot but feel profound alarm at the stand adopted by the present Socialist International on the question of War and Peace.

"Wars, therefore, are part of the very nature of capitalism," the Stuttgart resolution said, "they will cease only when the capitalist system is abolished or when the enormous sacrifices in men and money, required by the advance in military technique, and the indignation called forth by armaments, drive the peoples to abolish this system."

"For this reason, the proletariat which contributes most of the soldiers and makes most of the material sacrifices, is a natural opponent of war, which contradicts its highest goal—the creation of an economic order on a socialist basis which will bring about the solidarity of the peoples . . .

"If a war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the coordinating ac-

tivity of the International Socialist Bureau, to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider the most effective, which naturally vary according to the sharpening of the class struggle and the sharpening of the general political situation.

"In case war should break out anyway, it is their duty to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

The International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910 adopted a similar resolution.

The policy of mass opposition to imperialist war was perhaps best described in the famous resolution adopted at the 1912 Basle Congress of the Second International, which stated: "The Congress therefore appeals to you, proletarians and Socialists of all countries, to make your voices heard in this decisive hour! Proclaim your will in every form and in all places; raise your protest in the Parliaments with all your force; unite in mass demonstrations; use every means that the organization and strength of the proletariat place at your disposal! See to it that governments are constantly kept aware of the vigilance and passionate will for peace on the part of the proletariat! To the capitalist world of exploitation and mass murder, oppose in this way the proletarian world of peace and fraternity of peoples!"

The events leading up to the First World War in August 1914 and the collapse of the Second International are well known, as is the complete betrayal of all the promises and policies contained in the above quotations.

Excuses, of course, were not wanting for the treachery. They ranged from the German Social-Democratic leaders' plea of defense against tsarist Russia to that of the Right-wing leaders of the British Labor Party who said that the issue was the defense of democracy against the militarism of the Kaiser.

In effect, the International, poisoned, as Lenin said, by opportunism, broke up into social-chauvinist parties which warred against each other.

The attitude of the Second International after the First World War does not call for much comment, because it was all of a piece with what followed from its collapse in 1914. The remnants were gathered together finally in 1923, and in the main on all the decisive issues of those times, the Second International followed closely the line of the respective capitalist classes in the various countries.

It did nothing concretely to prevent the rise of fascism in either Germany or Austria. It rejected the proposal of the Communist International in 1934 for a United Front against fascism; it supported the pernicious policy of non-intervention in Spain in 1936; it hindered the organization and extension of the Popular Front during the critical years of its struggle against fascism and it failed completely seriously to oppose and carry through a mass campaign against the treacherous Munich Pact, the last milestone on the road to World War II.

Immediately after the Second World War the dominant Social-Democratic leaders did all in their power to prevent any merging of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties whose members in continental Europe had drawn closer as a result of their united action in the resistance movements and their common desire for the creation of single Marxist parties.

In this connection it should be said that the leaders of the British Labor Party worked to prevent the formation of united parties, particularly in France, Italy and Norway. In my view we would have had a completely different international situation from 1946 onwards if these disruptive efforts of the British Labor leaders had not, unfortunately, been successful.

Alongside the activity we have just described, strenuous efforts were made by the various Social-Democratic leaders (and none more so than by the British) to revive in a new form the remnants of the old Second International. After initial conferences, these leaders and their parties finally found it possible to organize in Frankfurt in July 1951, the first Constitutional Congress of the body now known as the Socialist International.

It is claimed in the 1956-57 Year Book of the Socialist International that it is now comprised of 39 member parties, representing an aggregate membership of 10,405,639, with an

overall voting strength of more than 66 million.

Identified also with the Socialist International are the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe; the International Union of Socialist Youth; the International Council of Social Democratic Women, and the International Union of Social Democratic Teachers. There is also an Asian Socialist Conference composed of eleven Socialist parties in Asia.

It is clear from this that in the capitalist world the Socialist International plays a powerful but retarding role inside the international labor movement, as any careful study of its activities since its formation in 1951 will prove.

It is not my purpose to make a detailed analysis of the policy of the Socialist International and its affiliated parties on all international issues. I shall confine myself to a few examples of its attitude to the questions of war and peace, and the dangerous results with which this attitude is fraught for the working class.

Its resolutions on these problems are a mass of ambiguities. For example, take the following excerpt from the Declaration which it adopted at its first Congress in Frankfurt in 1951: "Democratic Socialists recognize the maintenance of world peace as the supreme task in our time. Peace can be secured only by a system of collective security. This will create the conditions for international disarmament. The struggle for the preservation of peace is inseparably bound up with the struggle for freedom. It is the threat to the independence of free peoples which is directly responsible for the danger of war in our time." The relevant phrase here is "the struggle for freedom," and behind this lies acceptance by the top leadership of the philosophy of the Cold War.

Later, at its Stockholm Congress in 1953, the Socialist International in its resolution on the International Situation, adopted a statement in which the following reference to Peace appears: "Congress declares that peace, which has been threatened primarily by Soviet expansionism, can only be brought about by tenaciously conducted negotiations."

The reader will notice not only the deliberate ambiguity of this statement at a critical moment in the struggle for the maintenance of world peace, but how it also equally deliberately placed the responsibility for the tense international situation that then prevailed on what is alleged to be "Soviet expansionism." Completely ignoring the aggressive war policy of the Anglo-American bloc,

and the constructive peace and disarmament proposals which have been consistently made by the Soviet Union, it follows the line of the imperialist powers.

This attitude of the leaders of the Socialist International, we are convinced, is not that of large sections of the membership.

Big sections of the rank and file of the Socialist International have time and time again demonstrated their opposition to the nuclear war preparations, to the H-bomb tests, to rearming West Germany, and their desire to see immediate disarmament, cuts in the excessive military expenditure and to end the association with NATO.

It has been this pressure of the rank and file, particularly in the West European Social-Democratic parties affiliated to the Socialist International, which has compelled its leaders to pipe a different tune.

The resolution adopted by the Brussels session of the General Council (June 12-14, 1958) on collective security and disarmament said that the Socialist International welcomed the idea of a Summit Conference and supported the proposals for the suspension of nuclear tests (regarding this as a first step towards a comprehensive disarmament agreement and cessation of the production of fissile material for military purposes). This resolution was a step in the right direction. But, although it was adopted at the time of the tension in the Middle East, it said nothing about the withdrawal of American and British troops from this region of the world. It did, however, contain a recommendation about disengagement in Europe, but this, it would seem, is explained by the desirability of "a change of the present situation in the countries in Eastern Europe through progressive development."

Thus, despite certain positive features included under the pressure of the masses, this resolution is also politically directed against the socialist countries. And it is doubtful, therefore, if it has in any way furthered the cause of peace.

The tragedy is that while the masses cry aloud for peace, there is on the part of the Socialist International no united policy for peace, and no effective mass campaigning even for its own demands.

Whenever life calls for action, say, for effective campaigning work for the freedom and independence of Algeria, and for the defense of democracy in France, the Socialist International is powerless, and the working-class forces which it represents are not brought into action. Is not this reminiscent of

what happened to the Second International in 1914?

The present international situation is tense and serious—we have seen how far the imperialists will go in their tactics against socialism and against the national independence of Lebanon, Jordan, Algeria, Cyprus, Quemoy, Congo and Nyasaland. We are witnessing the rise of a series of reactionary military dictatorships in Pakistan and Thailand, whose avowed aim is to fight communism—a development that should cause all lovers of peace and democracy the most grave concern.

The attitude of the Socialist International creates obstacles in the way of uniting the efforts of the working class, and of all working people in the fight for peace and freedom, against reaction and the big business offensive. Contrary to the facts of life and to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world, its leaders shun effective struggle for these aims—common to all democrats—because anti-communism and hatred of the socialist countries signify, willy-nilly, acceptance of the Dulles invention of "Soviet aggression."

But the situation demands the most patient and painstaking efforts to try to achieve united action on genuine peace policies by all governments. And we are convinced that this can be done once the conviction of their necessity is achieved.

The people, in their desire for effective action to safeguard peace and democratic rights, urgently feel the need for unity. And the clear-cut, principled policy of the Communist parties, consistent champions of the interests of the working people, furthers the realization of this desire.

Examples are not wanting of the need for unity proving stronger than the prejudice. A case in point is the Socialist Party of Japan, one of the influential parties in the International, which has actively joined in the fight for peace and for prohibition of atomic weapons, for non-participation in the military blocs and for repeal of the military agreements with the United States. This Party takes a realistic view on the role of the Chinese People's Republic in the world, and stands for immediate normalization of relations with it and for unrestricted trade with all countries. And despite the anti-communist phobia of some of its leaders, it can be said that nowadays the Socialist Party of Japan is in closer co-operation with the Communist Party. This has enabled the two parties to

advance joint demands and, on more than one occasion, to register substantial success in combating the attempts to change the electoral system, to encroach on trade union rights and on peasant interests.

Another example was the clearly defined tendency towards unity between the Socialists and Communists in the municipal elections in France, which resulted in considerable gains for the democratic forces. The sanctions taken by the Socialist leaders in relation to their rank-and-file members were powerless to prevent many of the Socialists from aligning themselves with the Communists in the electoral struggle. By uniting with the Communists and voting for them, the rank-and-file Socialists delivered a blow to the "systematic anti-communism of their leaders" (Jacques Duclos).

We have recalled what has happened in the past, culminating in two dreadful world wars and the appalling sacrifices of the colonial peoples fighting for their independence from imperialism, so that it may strengthen our resolve to avoid anything like this in the future, and to do so through the united strength and activity of the entire international labor movement against the warmongers at a moment in history when nuclear weapons threaten the world with frightful devastation.

We are convinced that such a response can be won, and we know of no better way of formulating this decisive issue than was blazoned forth to the workers of the world in the editorial in the first issue of *World Marxist Review* in September 1958:

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

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

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

In writing this article we have but one aim: on the threshold of important gatherings of the councils of the Socialist International to remind its leaders of their responsibilities, of the need for a rational and objective approach to the vital questions of war and peace, for a constructive policy in keeping with the interests of the working class and of the peoples of the world.

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Development of Inner-Party Democracy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

V. Churayev

THE inner life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, like that of any other Marxist-Leninist Party, is a reflection of the character of the Party as the champion of the working class and the working people. The Leninist principles of democratic centralism, the basis of the structure and inner life of our Party, are of a universal character. These principles mirror the specific features of the working-class movement—a high degree of organization and discipline, the activity and initiative of those fighting for the new society. But, being universal, the principle of democratic centralism is manifested in concrete forms which depend upon the conditions under which the Party works and upon features peculiar to the particular stage of development it has reached.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks deriving from the new historical period, which the Soviet Union has entered—the period of all-round building of communism—presupposes that the leading and organizing role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will increase in all spheres, and that inner-Party democracy will develop. The Resolution of the XXIst Congress of the CPSU says: "Of great significance in improving the organizational work of the Party and mobilizing the masses to carry out the tasks of communist construction is the consistent application of inner-Party democracy and the development of criticism and self-criticism as a powerful means of overcoming shortcomings and achieving a further advance."

Communism can be successfully built only if the broad masses consciously participate in this work, if their initiative is developed. That is why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union draws all its members into activity, encourages the working people to take a greater part in the management of the state and in economic and cultural construction.

Much has been done in the Party organizations in the past few years to develop inner-

Party democracy. The Central Committee of the CPSU has consistently pursued a policy of fully re-establishing the Leninist norms of Party life, which in the last years of Stalin's life were not infrequently violated. We can now see clearly what a favorable effect the decisions of the XXth Congress have had in raising the level of the organizational and political work of the Party, on the growth of the activity and initiative of the Party members in the political, public and industrial life of the country. A fresh spirit has been infused into the Party organizations.

Party bodies have begun to place more reliance upon the opinion of the membership, to seek their advice on the most important questions. The Central Committee, regional and territorial Party committees regularly hold conferences in which workers in industry, building, agriculture and education participate. Of great importance are the appeals by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to such groups of the working people as cattle-breeders, cotton-growers, miners, builders and metalworkers. We would also recall such facts as the enlisting of Communists and non-Party people into the work of drawing up plans for the country's economic advance, into the discussion of problems concerning the reorganization of the management of industry and construction, the further development of the collective farm system, the reorganization of the Machine and Tractor Stations, of the educational system and other measures.

Striking proof of the activity of Communists and non-Party people is provided by the nationwide pre-Congress discussion of the theses of Khrushchov's Report on the target figures for the economic development of the USSR for 1959-1965. More than 968,000 Party and public meetings were attended by over 70 million people. All in all, 4,672,000 comrades spoke at these meetings, tabling criticisms, amendments and suggestions. More-

over, newspapers and magazines, radio and TV stations, and Party and government bodies received over 650,000 letters and articles, more than 300,000 of which were published.

The restoration in the past few years of the practice of acquainting the membership with all important Party decisions, and the circulation of Central Committee letters among Party organizations are manifestations of Party democracy. This is the practical implementation of an important Leninist precept: ". . . More light, let the Party know everything. . . . More confidence in the independent judgment of the whole mass of Party functionaries. . . ."* To be well-informed on Party affairs helps to increase activity, heightens the conscious attitude of the members and contributes to improving Party work.

Enhanced Activity of Communists and Party Organizations

A specific feature of inner-Party life is that Party members are taking a much more active part in discussing and carrying out the tasks of economic and cultural construction, than was the case in the past. This active participation of the membership in elaborating Party policy, solving all questions of Party life and carrying out decisions expresses the constructive character of Party democracy.

Exceedingly favorable conditions for the development of Party democracy were created by extending the rights of the Union Republics and the local Party and government bodies. "In the past, elements of administrative influence on the work of industrial enterprises and agriculture predominated among us," N. S. Khrushchov said. "The Party, the trade unions, and the Young Communist League were not as active as they could have been. Now, with the decentralization of industrial management, the guiding of industry and construction has been transferred to the localities, closer to the plants and to the building-sites. So the influence exerted by the Party, trade union and Young Communist League organizations on the work of enterprises has grown incredibly. These organizations are now more active, are displaying greater initiative, and their sense of responsibility for the fulfilment of plans has grown." The Party organizations can now press for solutions on the spot, and not only can they draw the entire collective into the discussion of questions, but see to it that the proposals drawn up are carried out collectively.

*V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 7, p. 99.

The XXIst Congress emphasized that the success of the plan for communist construction will be decided in the enterprises and on the building sites, on the collective and state farms and in the scientific establishments. This enhances the role of local Party committees and of the branches. What is new in this sphere is that the Party organizations do not simply carry out assignments from above, they are bolder in displaying initiative, more insistently seeking reserves and energetically popularizing advanced experience. This is the result of their increased independence, their heightened sense of responsibility for the progress of communist construction.

Numerous examples of the work done by Party organizations in all spheres of production and spiritual life demonstrate Party democracy in action.

The Directives of the XXth Congress stipulated, for example, that a new blast furnace—the biggest in Europe—would be built in Chelyabinsk. Even before work began on it the Chelyabinsk Regional Party Committee took measures to ensure that the job would be at the center of attention of the entire region. Over a thousand young people came to work on the building site at the call of the Young Communist League.

About 100 plants, including many in the Chelyabinsk Economic Area, were engaged in manufacturing the equipment, and the Regional Party Committee saw to it that its organizations in these enterprises kept their eye upon how the orders were being fulfilled. Some enterprises arranged to have worker-correspondents and organized inspection groups, whose findings were published in the press.

If difficulties cropped up, or if the possibility appeared of completing a job ahead of schedule, the regional and urban Party committees called conferences of, and consulted with, builders, designers and operators. Members of the regional and urban Party committees were frequent visitors at the production sites, while eleven Party organizations with 155 Communist builders and assemblers worked on the job. Questions of major importance were discussed at their joint meetings. Thanks to the fact that not only executives but numerous activists participated in the search for resources, the completion date was modified twice and eventually the furnace went into commission 75 days before the scheduled date.

This experience is being spread to other places, and there are good prospects that this approach will be developed still further. When

discussing production questions, the Party organizations always seek to utilize local resources to the utmost. They feel responsible for fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the plans. And this high sense of responsibility gives birth to manifold proposals which demonstrate that the question has been approached from the angle of the national interests and shows that the local Party organizations, too, are taking an active part in the life of the country as a whole.

To cite an example. The Party organization of the Electrostal Works near Moscow is in favor of the plant being reconstructed, and this it calculates will increase steel output 3.2 times as against the 1.7-2-fold increase envisaged in the draft seven-year plan. The increased capacity will mean that there will be no need to bring electric steel into the capital from other regions, and that all metal waste in the machine-building works in the Moscow Region will be used up. The elimination of haulage of metal from place to place will mean an economy of 100 million rubles a year for the state.

When drafting its seven-year plan the Gorky Automobile Plant intended by 1965 to increase the output of cars by 44 per cent. The Party organization in the plant called upon the collective to examine the plans for the reconstruction of the shops and their equipment with the latest machinery and the modernization of the lathes, as well as the plans to improve skills and raise labor productivity. The proposals made will enable the plant to increase output by 50 per cent.

Realization of the proposals advanced by the Nizhni-Tagil metalworkers for the mechanization and automation of industry will mean a higher metal output and will enable 2,600 workers to be transferred to other enterprises.

The rights of the Party branches have been extended; in tackling economic questions they are making full use of these rights, while being guided by the interests of the country as a whole.

It is not only in the towns that their role has been enhanced. The same can be said of the villages. In recent years big changes have taken place in the rural Party organizations. The amalgamation of collective farms and, particularly, the reorganization of the Machine and Tractor Stations have favorably affected the numerical growth of Party organizations. In the Russian Federation alone the year 1958 saw an increase of 108,000 members, 80,000 of whom came from the MTS. Party organizations are now larger, their activities have been stepped up noticeably, and

they are exerting an active influence on all aspects of collective-farm life.

In a number of regions in the South, the Central Black-Earth Belt, the Volga area and Siberia, where the collective farms are large and diversified, the Party organizations have changed beyond recognition. The number of branches with from 26 to 50 members has almost doubled, while those with from 51 to 100 members have increased 3.5 times. Party committees uniting the branches in the work teams and on stock-breeding farms have been set up in the bigger organizations.

The practical significance of the changes stands out clearly from the example of Stavropol Territory. In 1953, out of 406 collective-farm Party branches in this territory, 217 had not more than 15 members and only three had over 50. With the amalgamation of the collective farms, there are now 149 branches in the territory, of which 72 have from 50 to 100, and 20 over 100 members each.

The branch on the Stalin Collective Farm in the Nevinnomysski District unites 164 members. Its committee deals with production matters, and pays particular attention to the work of the school, medical establishments and shops; it organizes political and cultural-educational work among the people. Party meetings are held about once in six weeks. Much of the Party work has been transferred to the work teams. For example, the Party branch of the No. 4 work team, with 25 members, is closely linked with the collective farmers and enjoys prestige among non-Party people. Meetings which, as a rule, are open to non-Party people, regularly discuss among other matters the most pressing production and every-day problems. The Communists are active in the most difficult sections and are known there not only as good workers but as diligent agitators, organizers of emulation, and contributors to the wall newspaper. Last year the work team harvested up to 23.6 centners of wheat from each of 1,400 hectares.

In view of the enhanced role of the collective-farm Party organizations, there has been more criticism of those secretaries and district committee functionaries who, when they come to the collective farms, try to reach decisions with the collective farm chairmen alone, bypassing the Party organizations. Most of the collective-farm branches are living a busy life and exerting a healthy influence on production.

The heightened role of the urban and rural Party organizations is shown in the fact that their political work is conducted in the light

of the economic tasks, that they now deal with a broader range of problems.

The Party committees devote much of their attention to improving the conditions of the people; this applies particularly to housing, public catering, urban improvements and the work of cultural establishments. The reorganization of public education now under way is also a focal point. Millions of Party members and non-Party people are participating in this work.

That is why Party organizations are displaying greater initiative in their activities, and new forms of mass-political work have appeared. These forms cannot be devised in an office; they emerge from life, thanks to the creative power of the masses.

A recent decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On the state of mass-political work in the Stalino Region, and measures to improve it" noted that agitation among the masses in connection with the XXIst Congress has become more topical and concrete. At many plants and in the collective farms the Party organizations rely on inspection groups checking up on labor organization and conditions in the factories. An important role is played by the permanent production meetings, economic and production-technological conferences, best work-team days and mutual verification of how socialist emulation pledges have been fulfilled. Much is being done in generalizing and introducing the experience of innovators in industry and agriculture.

In educating the youth in the spirit of the revolutionary and labor traditions of the working class a big role is played by meetings arranged in the enterprises, on collective farms, in offices and educational establishments with veterans of the October Revolution and the Civil War, participants in the Great Patriotic War, and people well-known in industry and agriculture. Exceedingly popular among the workers and collective farmers are talks, lantern lectures, films, satirical leaflets, the special programs on what is known as the "miners' TV," the evening universities (where people broaden their knowledge of art and literature) and many other kinds of mass-political work. The Central Committee has drawn special attention to the need for intimate talks with people at work and at home, talks that help clarify the pressing problems of the day and enable the Party to react at once to the needs of the population.

The participation of the members in the many forms of work of their Party organiza-

tions attests to the steady development of inner-Party democracy. This is seen first and foremost in the practical work of Party members as the masters of their organizations.

The Leninist Principle of Election and Accountability

Communists attach the utmost importance to the standards of inner-Party life, standards elaborated by Lenin, which enable them to exercise their rights and solve all problems of Party life.

The democratic character of Party organization, Lenin pointed out, is expressed in the fact that "all Party business is conducted, directly or through representatives, by all the members, on an equal footing and without any exception; all functionaries, all leading bodies and all offices are subject to election, obliged to report on their work and can be replaced."*

These Leninist propositions are contained in the Rules of the CPSU, the basic law of Party life. All leading bodies from top to bottom are subject to election and are accountable. The Party cannot tolerate a situation in which workers, no matter what post they occupy, infringe upon the principle of election and accountability, substitute commands for persuasion, and endeavor to impose their will on the membership. The fact that the Party committees are subject to election and accountable shows that the members are the real masters in the Party.

With the development of inner-Party democracy interesting phenomena are to be observed in the election of the leading committees. The members are elected by secret ballot. But does the ballot exhaust all the possibilities of complete electoral democracy?

Some are of the opinion that electoral democracy necessitates that the ballot list contain more candidates than are needed for the given committee. Otherwise, they affirm, the voters will have a limited choice. Others, citing examples from experience, point out that not infrequently the secretary of a Party Committee receives two or three votes less than the other candidates, with the result that a district committee secretary, a good and active worker, enjoying prestige in the organization, is sometimes not elected.

Can we consider it democracy when a few impose their will in this way on the overwhelming majority of the delegates? Cases are on record when, after the results have been announced, delegates to district confer-

*V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 11, p. 396.

ences have insisted on the vote being taken again since the best men were not elected merely because a few voted against them.

The question of how many candidates should be entered on the voters' list is decided by the meeting and by it alone. In the recent period growing importance has been attached at meetings and conferences to the practice of considering the candidates on their merits. Communists know from experience that real democracy does not consist in putting more candidates on the list than will be actually elected, but in the fact that the members should have the opportunity of openly and freely expressing their will, of giving thorough consideration to the nominees and of electing the most worthy among them. When, as a result of a full discussion of the candidates, the meeting or conference unanimously decides who should be included on the ballot, this unanimity is evidence not only of the cohesion of the Communists, of their political maturity and readiness openly to criticize the shortcomings of any functionary, but is a manifestation of genuine inner-Party democracy.

A feature of the pre-Congress conferences was that higher demands were made on the leaders. Delegates severely criticized functionaries who were poorly versed in economics, who had inadequate contact with the masses and who did not fight tenaciously for what was new and advanced. At the Verkhne-Ketski District Party conference in the Tomsk Region, for instance, the District Committee's first secretary was criticized for not knowing how matters stood on the collective farms, for not selecting cadres properly, for having a passion for meetings and producing reams of written directives to the detriment of organizational work among the people. The result was that he was not included in the list of candidates for the new district committee. The secretary of the district Party committee was rejected as a candidate at the Kumenski District conference in the Kirov Region, although a Regional Party Committee representative recommended that he should be retained in his former post.

These facts show that since the XXth Congress, the Party organizations have been consistently implementing Lenin's principles of inner-Party democracy, developing criticism and verifying the work done; they show, moreover, that greater demands are being made on Party functionaries, that those who are not up to the required standard are being replaced by better people.

The Party takes great care of its functionaries. To do Party work properly, political and practical experience is needed. The transmission of experience from functionary to functionary and a correct combination of old and young cadres are extremely important factors. For this reason the CPSU disapproves equally of excessive fluctuation and of excessive permanence of cadres. The conditions now obtaining for the promoting of people are entirely different from what they were say 10 to 15 years ago or, particularly, during the transition to socialism. Nowadays the opportunities for promoting functionaries are boundless.

The Party numbers among its members over 2,300,000 experts in the various branches of culture and the national economy. Between the XXth and XXIst Congresses the number of members with a higher and secondary education rose by 633,000. The cultural level of the population, and of the Party membership in particular, has risen tremendously. There is greater unity between the Party and the people, who are actively supporting and implementing its policy. These factors, naturally, have created new possibilities for the growth of functionaries.

Bourgeois propaganda delights in spreading cock-and-bull stories about a "hard-core ruling section" in the USSR and in the CPSU in particular, which rules the roost both in the country and in the Party. This anti-communist slander obviously aims at sowing seeds of mistrust among the masses towards the leaders, to make out that leaders do not come from the people but are, in fact, an "elite," and so once again to calumniate socialist and inner-Party democracy.

But the changes that are taking place in the composition of the functionaries clearly show that this composition is constantly being renewed, that new people emerge from the rank and file, people whose diligence and fidelity to the common interests have won them recognition, that functionaries who fail to stand the test give place to those with a feeling for the new, who are closely linked with the masses, and who are capable of organizing them.

Party functionaries are promoted from below. Elections in the primary organizations are held every year, with the result that from 30 to 40 per cent of all the secretaries are replaced. Many, because of their good work, are promoted to more responsible jobs; those who fail to do well are replaced by more capable people. It would be more to the point to speak of an excessive fluctuation of these

functionaries rather than of an immutable "secretary section."

There are facts galore to show how people are developing in their practical work. Here is one. In the Party organizations of the Adamovski (virgin lands) district in the Orenburg Region, young Communists three years ago were usually spoken of in the following words: "They are the people who have come here to develop the virgin lands." Now they say of many of them: "These are the people who have been developed by the virgin lands." One of their number is V. Haritonov who came to the virgin lands three years ago. At first he worked on a building-site in a state farm, then as a tractor driver and later was made a team-leader. Now he heads a section. He finished an evening school and is now taking a correspondence course in an agricultural college. Not long ago he was elected secretary of the Party organization on the state farm. It is from people of this kind that the functionaries of the primary Party organizations are replenished.

What about changes in the composition of the Party bodies at higher levels? Considerably more workers and collective farmers have been elected at the recent conferences to district and urban Party committees. At each election (which takes place once a year) the composition of these committees is renewed by 25-30 per cent.

The incorrect practice—quite frequent in the past—of candidates to Party committees being nominated according to their posts in management, has been less and less in evidence in recent years; if a person occupied a leading post he was bound to be elected to the district or urban Party committee. This is no longer the decisive factor. Nowadays, regardless of their official post, the most active and principled Communists are elected, men who can do the most good there; in particular, greater numbers of advanced production workers are being elected.

Data on the length of service by secretaries of district and urban Party committees illustrate how the functionaries at district level are constantly being renewed. Of the first secretaries of the rural district committees in the RSFSR, for example, 34.1 per cent are men with from one to three years' experience as secretaries, 22.5 per cent with from three to five years' experience. And only 0.8 per cent have been more than ten years on the job; 19.4 per cent of the secretaries have occupied this post for less than one year. Approximately the same percentages hold good for the secretaries of urban Party

committees and other groups of functionaries. Of the department heads in the regional and territorial Party committees, 46.8 per cent have from one to three years' experience of this work; 9.3 per cent have been working in that capacity for 5-10 years, and none for more than ten years. Cadres for promotion to Party, economic and administrative work at regional and Republican levels are drawn from those who have done Party work at district and lower levels.

The composition of regional and territorial committees, likewise, strikingly reflects the democratic character of the Communist Party, and shows how numerous are people of diverse professions and experience among those who head the bigger Party organizations.

The Chelyabinsk Party organization has over 110,000 members. The Regional Committee comprises 115 members, among whom are three collective farm chairmen, seven collective and state farm team-leaders, two tractor drivers, five turners and fitters, a teacher, a swineherd, three combine-operators, a milkmaid, a carpenter, four smelters, three engine-drivers, a tool-shop adjuster, two miners, a sheet-metal worker, two doctors, an electric-welder, two excavator operators, four military men, secretaries of district committees and primary Party organizations, economic executives, trade unionists, government workers and others.

The composition of other regional and territorial Party committees is of the same widely-representative democratic character. These leading bodies are schools in which leaders of statesmen level are trained.

The Central Committee of the Party, the focal point of the best Party and administrative workers, people with considerable practical and political experience behind them, is not immutable in composition. It is enriched at the Party congresses by fresh blood. In connection with the strengthening of collective leadership, the Central Committee of the CPSU was enlarged at the XXth Congress. At the XIXth Congress, 273 persons were elected to the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Committee; at the XXth Congress, 318. Of these, 35.6 per cent were elected to the supreme Party bodies for the first time at the XIXth Congress, and 41 per cent at the XXth Congress.

Thus, from top to bottom, at all levels of the Party, there is a constant and healthy replenishment. New and capable people are brought to the fore and promoted; the activities of all functionaries are brought under

the control of the membership; each man is given a job in which he can make the most of his abilities. And this is not the result of occasional campaigns, it is the natural manifestation of inner-Party democracy.

It is characteristic of democratic practice in the CPSU that for some years now not a single regional Party committee secretary has been removed from office by the Central Committee of the CPSU. Plenary meetings of regional Party committees themselves assess the work of their secretaries and decide whether or not they should continue to hold their jobs. This year, for example, the plenary meeting of the Moscow Regional Party Committee relieved the Regional Committee's first secretary of his duties. A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan relieved of his post the first secretary of this committee. Trenchant criticism is a feature of these meetings; it helps not only to disclose shortcomings, but is in addition a powerful means of training personnel.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the correct selection of functionaries, people capable of handling the tasks facing the Party and country.

Fulfilment of the seven-year plan necessitated, the XXIst Congress of the CPSU emphasized, that the "selection and training of functionaries be improved; we must promote to responsible positions people who are well-trained and principled, who have a feeling for the new, who will give all their strength and knowledge for the benefit of the people, who will introduce Bolshevik ardor into the work and be implacable towards shortcomings. It is essential to promote young functionaries more boldly and to give them an opportunity to display their ability in practical work." This policy is a concrete manifestation of Party democracy, which is unthinkable without steady promotion of new people.

Collective Leadership, the Party Apparatus and the Activists

The re-establishment of the principle of collective Party leadership from top to bottom has invigorated the activity and initiative of the membership, has revitalized the inner life and enhanced the role of the elective bodies. According to the Rules of the CPSU, plenary meetings of the Central Committee must be held at least twice a year. Thirteen plenary meetings of the Central Committee have been held since the XXth Congress (between February 1956 and January 1959). These meetings reflect the experience of the masses and

express the collective wisdom of the Party. The democratic activities of the Central Committee have their impact on the methods of work of all Party committees and primary organizations.

It should be said that there are now no instances of regional or territorial Party committees failing to hold plenums according to schedule. The rules provide for plenary meetings to be held at least once in four months. But the tendency now is to hold them more frequently. The Leningrad Regional Committee, for instance, held seven meetings in 1958, the Gorky five, the Sverdlovsk six, and so on. Cases of infringement by district committees are now few and far between. But it is not only a matter of the collective-leadership bodies assembling regularly. In the past the agenda of these meetings was not infrequently confined to discussing the decisions adopted by the higher-level committees. Now, in addition, the meetings discuss problems posed by the lower bodies, as well as pressing local matters advanced on their own initiative. Here are some of the problems discussed by the plenary meetings of the Artemovski District Party Committee in the Lugansk Region, and at meetings of the Party active: work of the primary Party organizations in two pits; the initiative displayed by Nikolai Mamai's team of miners; the organizational work in the primary Party organizations and measures for improving it; selection, allocation and training of leading personnel; measures to improve the public services; mass-political work in the district, and so on.

In this district, as in many others, a great deal of preparatory work precedes a plenary meeting. Before discussing the work of the Party organizations in the two pits, the District Committee commissioned a group of 25 — District Committee members, secretaries of primary Party organizations, Party experts (engineers and technicians) — to spend some time at the mines in order to study on the spot problems connected with the fulfilment of the state plan; they investigated the manner in which the Party work was conducted, sought to eliminate shortcomings and helped the Party bureaus to work out practical measures.

This custom of preparing for plenary meetings and meetings of the active is now practised by many regional and district organizations, with the result that problems are discussed more thoroughly and efficiently and the adopted decisions are precise and to the point.

The activity of the members and the sense of responsibility of the committees and functionaries have been furthered by reducing the number of full-time workers—a policy consistently pursued since the XXth Congress. It goes without saying that without what we call the Party apparatus, without those specially engaged in organizing Party work, there can be no Party. The experience of the CPSU and of the entire international communist movement attests to this. Lenin, as we know, began to build the Party by molding a core of professional revolutionaries. But the role of the Party apparatus and its size depend upon the conditions and the tasks confronting the Party.

In any circumstances the apparatus has always personified the organizational principle of the Party; the apparatus sees to it that Party directives are carried out, that Party policy is implemented. A sound apparatus consisting of the most experienced and competent political workers closely linked with the membership and with the people generally is an essential condition for success. But the responsible role devolving on functionaries who devote themselves wholly to Party work does not mean that they should be too numerous. Their number can diminish as the activity of the members increases, as the personnel in economic, educational and public spheres becomes more skilled and experienced. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that a Party apparatus working under conditions of class struggle during the transition to socialism is one thing; it is altogether different in the period when the country is developing under socialism and marching to communism. Increasingly, the conditions are being created in the USSR for the steady reduction of the Party apparatus, and this reduction is taking place. In recent years, despite the considerable numerical growth of the membership, the personnel of the Central Committees of the Parties of the Union Republics and of the regional committees has been reduced by some 40 per cent; the personnel of district and urban Party committees has also been cut down. The abolition of the political departments on the railways has likewise resulted in the Party staffs being reduced. At present only 8.8 per cent of the primary Party organizations have full-time secretaries; in the remainder the secretaries are employed in production or office work.

Party duties are performed by the members elected to the various committees or by those who carry out the assignments of their

organizations. Millions of members work as propagandists, agitators, editors of wall-newspapers, etc. Many are also members of trade union bodies and hold elected posts in the numerous public organizations.

The Party's Contact with the Masses is the Basis of Inner-Party Democracy

The Communist Party acts as the organizer in building the society in which the socialist state will be replaced by communist self-rule, when all the people will take a direct part in the conduct of public affairs. Building the communist society and extending democracy are inseparable, while the period of all-round building of communism, upon which the USSR has now entered, means another stride forward in the development of socialist democracy. The Resolution of the XXIst Congress states that "now the main emphasis in developing the socialist state should be all-round extension of democracy, with all citizens encouraged to share in the management of economic and cultural affairs and the conduct of public affairs." The Party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, develops socialist and inner-Party democracy.

The participation of the membership in the direct conduct of Party affairs will acquire still greater importance as time goes on. It can be said that with the extension of democracy in the Party, its inner life will increasingly become the prototype of communist self-rule, while the importance of the style of work of the Party organizations, as a model for the state and public organizations, will grow.

The Party's contact with the masses, the fact that it is the Party of the people, is one of the solid bases upon which inner-Party democracy will develop. This contact with all sections of the people is growing all the time, and particularly so in the recent period. Lenin said: "In order to serve the masses and express *their* correctly-understood interests, the vanguard organization should conduct all its activities among the masses, absorbing from them all the best forces without exception, verifying at each step, carefully and objectively, whether contact is being maintained with the masses, whether it still exists."* The CPSU is constantly guided by this Leninist principle.

An important condition for cementing the contact between the Party and the masses is the proper allocation of the Communists. The Party's influence on the masses largely

*V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 19, p. 368.

depends on where the members work, among what groups of working people their activities lie. At present 62 per cent of all the Communists are engaged in production, that is, are working in industry, agriculture, in transport and on building sites.

Compared with the situation that obtained before the XXth Congress, the number of Communists working in these spheres has risen by 452,000. Significant changes have taken place in the allocation of the Communists engaged in agriculture. At the end of 1958 more than 3.5 million Party members were working in agriculture—nearly 700,000 more than in September 1953, and 450,000 more than before the XXth Congress. About 63 per cent of the members and candidate-members of collective-farm Party organizations work in the key branches—crop cultivation, livestock-raising and market-gardening.

Fourteen per cent work in educational, public health, scientific and cultural establishments.

The bourgeois press asserts that nearly all the Party members occupy some administrative post or other and that they work chiefly in the sphere of management. Naturally, in such a vast country as the Soviet Union, with its comprehensive economy, ramified educational and cultural institutions, and its numerous public organizations, the Party cannot but assign a certain number of its members for work in administrative and economic bodies and in public organizations. All in all, about 15 per cent of the membership works on the managerial side of industry and agriculture, in administrative, Party, trade union and YCL bodies and in the numerous public organizations. This percentage covers all employees, as well as maintenance and similar personnel. What is more, the percentage is falling steadily, since the managerial apparatus at all levels is being reduced with the result that considerable numbers are being transferred to production.

The ardent desire of the best representatives of the working class, peasantry and the intellectuals to join the Party testifies to the intimate ties between the Party and the masses, to the prestige enjoyed by it.

As of January 1, 1959, the CPSU had 8,239,131 members; 395,935 new members were admitted last year, and 1,023,626 since the XXth Congress.

The finest sons and daughters of the people are joining the Party; 62.2 per cent of those admitted in 1958 were workers and collective farmers. Larger numbers of engineers,

technicians, agronomists, stock-breeders, teachers, doctors and other experts have joined the Party in the past ten years. These comprised over 62 per cent of all the employees admitted in 1958. The number of members and candidate-members in the Union Republics has increased in the past few years. More young people are joining. In the past three years some 675,000 YCL members have been admitted to the CPSU, while over six million boys and girls joined the Young Communist League in the same period.

These figures testify that the Party has drawn still closer to the people, that it has extended and strengthened its contact with the masses.

Inner-Party democracy is developing parallel with the democratization of the methods of Party leadership, and with the enhanced role of the public organizations. The Central Committee recently recommended that all Party organizations follow the example set by the Stalino Economic Council, of reporting from time to time to the factory and building workers on the activity of the Council. Moreover, it stressed that the leaders of bodies and departments responsible for education, public health, trade and the communal services should appear frequently before the people and tell them about the work of their particular enterprises. The Party's practice of consulting with the people directly, the nationwide discussions of questions of state importance and the steady elimination of the practice of Party organizations taking upon themselves work that comes within the province of government and public organizations: all these features, now typical of the methods of Party leadership, demonstrate the unity and multifariousness of the developing democracy in the USSR, both inner-Party and socialist.

The more resolutely the fight is waged against conservative elements, against those who fail to understand the spirit of the times and who tend to pull backwards, the more Party democracy will develop. The smashing of the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich, Bulganin and Shepilov has had a great impact on the democratization of Party life. This group of factionalists wanted the Party to go back to the incorrect methods of leadership condemned by the XXth Congress. It opposed all the steps taken by the Party, including those to re-establish the Leninist standards of Party life, and obstructed the extension of the rights of the Union Republics and regions, an extension determined by economic development and of tre-

mendous significance for the further growth of democracy. It opposed measures to reduce the state apparatus and to combat bureaucracy.

The Party denounced these people, exposed them as dogmatists caught in the vise of old ideas and divorced from the Party and the people, as conservatives obdurately clinging to outlived forms and methods of work that had nothing in common with the forward movement to communism. Moreover, the Party showed that this anti-Party group had revised vital propositions of Marxism-Leninism and was, in effect, revisionist.

In extending democracy, the Party has to overcome not only conservatism and red tape, it has to put right those who identify democracy with anarchism, those who would not

be against using democracy to weaken discipline and leadership.

Democracy and centralism are inseparable, and the more democracy develops the greater the importance of organization and well coordinated work, and the greater the demands on the leading bodies which are called upon to guide and organize the growing activity of the masses. Never has the inner-Party life of the CPSU been so vigorous as it is at the present time; never before have the initiative and activity of the members been given such scope. This splendid process, characteristic of the period of the gradual transition to communism, signifies a further consolidation of the Party, the strengthening of its unity and cohesion, the heightening of its leading role.

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

Rodney Arismendi

(A Study of the Liberation Movement in Latin America: Part II)

WE are not arguing about the services of the national bourgeoisie, but are concerned with the tactics of the proletariat.

The delusion under which V. Trias suffers has carried him a long way. "The national bourgeoisie," he says, "are the *product* and, in the final analysis, the tool of imperialism. Up to a certain point imperialism gains from the development of the national bourgeoisie. But it never will tolerate their appearing in the capacity of new rivals on the world market, nor will it consent to their being anything but suppliers of raw materials. The national bourgeoisie themselves pursue the cardinal aim of their class—the amassing of profits. Eventually the time comes when they have to make the choice: either *resolutely struggle* against imperialism, or else enter into alliance with it and the latifundia oligarchy with the object of exploiting the people. *Whatever the hopes of success of the first utopian alternative, the second has definitely always been the more advantageous undertaking.*" (Our italics.—R.A.)

As we see, Trias concludes by virtually recommending to the national bourgeoisie the "more advantageous undertaking," that is, to sell themselves to the imperialists. Objectively, this is dangerous advice.

Latin America's history furnishes no grounds for believing in the possibility of a "resolute struggle" (in the sense of a consistent revolutionary struggle) under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. It is equally true that in the cruel past the bourgeoisie have often joined forces with the feudalists and imperialists against the proletariat, peasants and radical petty bourgeoisie. Our differences, then, do not consist in estimating whether the national bourgeoisie can fulfil an important historical, leading and independent role throughout Latin America—in some cases it probably can—but as to whether the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, and rallying the masses of working people and patriotic intellectuals around itself, will be capable of turning to account the antagonism between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism, in order to rouse them or at least part of them to struggle, or secure their benevolent neutrality.

*Continued from our No. 5, 1959.

Our views on this question were set out in the report to the XVIIth Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay in connection with the discussion that took place between the Socialists and ourselves. We said then that our concept derived from "five conditions, which exclude the reformist idea of class collaboration." These are: 1) the leading role of the proletariat, achieved through the guidance of its Party; 2) the concept of the national-liberation revolution as being the first stage in the transition to the socialist system; 3) a worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the national front, and not an alliance between the workers and the national bourgeoisie; 4) a policy of alliances, the policy of "unity and struggle," to use Mao Tse-tung's expression, that is, alliance to win common aims, and struggle for working-class principles; 5) the building of a strong working-class party, a party that is revolutionary in theory and organization.

Clearly, we are not saying that there is only one side to the question. This is evident from the way we have posed the question above—a way which we have never concealed. For example, capitalist development in South America, which aggravates the contradictions with imperialism, presupposes acute class struggle, a struggle which is now actually being waged on the political, ideological and economic fronts. This, in its turn, intensifies the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie, the tendency of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie to resort to perfidy and, in many countries, their bellicose anti-communism.

Can we forget that strikes and other forms of action were first undertaken by the workers in the main South American countries more than fifty years ago? That some workers' organizations were affiliated to the International in the second half of the nineteenth century? That strikes were fought in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay as early as 1905 in solidarity with the Russian revolutionaries? That Communist parties were founded in many of our countries soon after 1917?

Without going into history, we simply wish to record that the proletarian class struggle with the bourgeoisie is of relatively long standing. And that is why the national and the big bourgeoisie in most Latin American countries are endeavoring—a feature typical of them—to use the trade unions and other working people's organizations for their particular purposes, a fact that is evident, first and foremost, in the ideological field. We see that the Batllists (Uruguay), the Radicals (Argentina) and the Mexican Revolution Party* are

concocting, for the purpose of swaying the masses, national-reformist doctrines which deny the independent role of the proletariat and deny the class struggle. In the thirties Haya de la Torre, taking advantage of the militant sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie, enunciated a "new doctrine." He borrowed the "revelations" of the European revisionists to deny the need for proletarian parties in Latin America, to deny the leading role of the proletariat. "Marxism," he affirms, "has been put in cold storage by the Communists." Hence he speaks about "overcoming" Marxist teaching just as, in his time, Marx overcame Hegel. And this mission has been undertaken by Haya de la Torre who, having attached geopolitics to Marxism, and seizing on Einstein's theory of relativity, produced the "brilliant" "historical space-time" theory!!! We have neither the space nor the time here to bother with Haya de la Torre, the more so since we did this in a pamphlet published in 1946.** We shall take up one question only—the intention to found a party of the "different classes" in the shape of APRA, not unlike the "united front," which, however, is no longer a "united front," a party in which the proletariat is relegated to the role of the horse and the bourgeoisie to that of the jockey. Aprism, which arose as a petty-bourgeois movement, is now becoming the party of the big bourgeoisie, as is evident from the attitude taken by its leader Haya de la Torre. And it is a historical curiosity that in Latin America, where classical (revisionist and Bernsteinian) Social Democracy succeeded in establishing groups only in Uruguay and Argentina, particularly in the latter, with Juan B. Justo's*** help, Aprism is trying to talk in the language of "revised Marxism." It would not be amiss to recall here that Lenin gave one of his earlier works the subtitle: "Marxism as Reflected in Bourgeois Literature."

Many ideologists of the Mexican big bourgeoisie use pseudo-Marxist language; Frondizi flirted with it in one of his now-repudiated books; in Argentina it is also used by some renegades from *Revista de Historia* (Historical Journal) now in the service of the big

*Now the Constitutional Revolutionary Party; the ruling party in Mexico formed by President Cardenas and led at first by the national bourgeoisie, it now expresses the interests of the big bourgeoisie.

**R. Arismendi, *The Philosophy of Marxism and Signor Haya de la Torre. On a Theoretical Mystification*, Montevideo, 1946.

***Juan B. Justo (1865-1928), prominent leader of the Socialist Party of Argentina who tried to replace dialectical materialism by positivism, and the theory of class struggle by the liberal-bourgeois conception of evolution.

bourgeoisie. This undoubtedly goes to show that a sharp class struggle is being waged in the ideological sphere, that efforts are now being made by the national and the conciliatory big bourgeoisie to bring the proletariat under their sway.

We would add yet another consideration. Whereas in Europe the bourgeoisie have tamed the trade unions with the help of the Social Democrats and later of the Catholic Church, the national and the big bourgeoisie in Latin America try to install their own people right inside the trade union movement. Two main variants of this policy are worth noting. The first, Peronism in Argentina, utilized the government apparatus, which was built on the fascist corporate model, to establish its own "trade union activists" and spread its ideological influence among the workers. Of a somewhat different kind was the transition from the Vargas* movement to the Trabalhista Party in the trade unions of Brazil. The second is that partial or predominant leadership of the trade unions is exercised by representatives of the so-called democratic parties of the national bourgeoisie and the conciliatory big bourgeoisie (the Figueres Party in Costa Rica; APRA in Peru; the Liberals in Colombia; "Accion Democratica" in Venezuela, and so forth). In Bolivia, a wing of the ruling "National Revolutionary Movement" heads the trade union center. A similar picture is to be observed in other countries, but not in Chile, Uruguay and Ecuador.

In studying the question of unity the Communists cannot afford to overlook this fact. On them devolves the highly responsible task of freeing the proletariat from bourgeois influence. This can be achieved if the people's experience is augmented by ideological work. And this task can only be solved in the process of the struggle to achieve unity against imperialism and the venal ruling classes.

Peculiarities of the Latin-American Bourgeoisie and the Danger of Exaggerating Their Independent Role

The example of Asia and Africa, where many countries under bourgeois rule have entered the "peace zone," is having a positive influence on the national consciousness of Latin Americans. But an illusion is being sustained—the idea that it will be easy to achieve a Latin-American Bandung in which broad social forces will participate. In speak-

ing of an illusion, we have no desire to rule out the perspective of popular joint action on a large scale; quite the reverse, possibly the events in Cuba, Venezuela and other countries have placed this kind of action on the agenda. What we mean is that a simple, automatic transference of the Afro-Asian reality, a slightly modified imitation of it, results in over-estimating the big bourgeoisie's ability to participate in the anti-imperialist struggle, in forgetting that the main way out of the situation lies through a popular front — the working class, peasantry, students and other patriotically-minded intellectuals, politically active groups of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the more progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie. The masses have participated in all the major events in Latin America. This powerful force should not withdraw into itself; it should try to win the sympathy of the national bourgeoisie. And only a united front can lead to deeper changes in the balance of political forces.

Nothing will be solved by imitating the Afro-Asian experience, although this example is a powerful spur to our patriotic movement. Apart from a basic similarity between our two Continents—the countries of both are or were dependent upon imperialism—some essential differences exist, the most important being that the Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic all belong to the socialist camp, plus the proximity of the Afro-Asian countries to the Soviet Union.

There are a number of other differences. Most of the Asian countries won political independence after the Second World War as a result of prolonged and heroic struggle against imperialist invaders. The Latin American countries on the other hand achieved political independence for the most part during the first half of the nineteenth century. In this sense the national factor, which undoubtedly exists in Latin America and is now stronger, is reflected to a considerably less degree in the attitude of the national bourgeoisie.

That is why "nationalism" manifests itself differently here. In many of our countries "nationalism" was the banner borne by the landowners and big capitalists, who combined it with an attitude that was reactionary, anti-working class and, in some cases, pro-fascist. The so-called liberal bourgeoisie, having had closer association with the evolution of bourgeois democracy, came to the fore as a national-reformist bourgeoisie, favoring the expansion of the national industry, protection

*Getulio Vargas—ruler of Brazil from 1930-1945, and 1951-54. Vargas placed the trade unions under direct state control. His supporters formed the so-called Workers' ("Trabalhista") Party, now mainly the party of the national bourgeoisie and the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

and the establishment of a state economic sector; on the whole, however, they did not pursue a decisive policy of expropriating imperialist investments (with the exception of Mexico where under Cardenas the oil industry was nationalized; as for Bolivia, she nationalized her tin industry but granted oil concessions to the United States, a fact which reaffirms the correctness of our point; moreover, the ruling party in Bolivia began as a Right-wing nationalist party). Many countries have begun to exploit their natural resources along state lines, but they are not pressing for restitution of the property already held by the imperialists. In Uruguay, for example, the state sector is very considerable and consists of various enterprises. Only transport and public utilities were left in British hands for a long time, and it was only after the Second World War, when the British imperialists no longer opposed the take-over, that they were nationalized. The workers and the people as a whole were the decisive factor in securing the nationalization of the meat-packing plants, while the big bourgeoisie eagerly sought for a settlement with the U.S. imperialists. In many countries the political spokesmen of the bourgeoisie confine themselves to demands for heavier taxation of the imperialist monopolies and do not insist on the nationalization of their enterprises.

Generally speaking, capitalist development in Latin America is more considerable than in Africa or Asia (a comparison with India is of interest and illustrative). But this one-sided development has left its imprint on the process of the stratification of the bourgeoisie.

The term national bourgeoisie in socio-political literature usually implies that part of the bourgeoisie which is not connected with imperialism and opposes it. Big trading (comprador) and intermediary capital, which sells the goods of the imperialist monopolies on the home market and opposes any kind of economic, and particularly industrial, development, is regarded as the anti-national bourgeoisie. *Both these propositions are fundamentally correct, but they are inadequate for defining the situation in most South American countries.* And not merely because they are schematic, or fail to cover the various forms of capital; these propositions do not suffice, because they proceed primarily from the alignment of socio-economic forces that obtained at the end of the Nineteenth Century and which, possibly, held good up to the First World War, but certainly do not mirror the important processes of the past 40-45 years. For this reason these propositions do

not reflect the changes and differentiations that have taken place among the Latin-American bourgeoisie.

The peculiarities of the bourgeoisie's historical development disappear here and the scheme in question merely serves to salve our conscience, while political forces suddenly begin to act in a most unexpected manner, like a machine that has ceased to function properly. Although we cannot use the same yardstick everywhere (the peculiarities of the bourgeoisie in various countries correspond with the degree of capitalist development and its specific features, and also derive from the political regimes), we believe that in South America the numerous modifications do not affect the substance of the matter. The gradually increasing process of differentiation of the bourgeoisie into big and medium went on in many countries during the First World War, in the thirties' and throughout the Second World War. A section of big capitalists was formed who were connected with the banks, large-scale import trade and some big industrial firms enjoying strong government support, as well as with a number of establishments of a speculative nature. The big merchants (importers), who put capital in industrial undertakings and acquire influence in them alongside the old owners, and the big landlords who invest part of their profits in the numerous banks that spring up, as well as in profitable industrial concerns, are associated with this section. Big industrialists and merchants, who cannot make the profits they would like and invest them in their own firms because of the limited home market (they made good money out of the wars, but the restricted home market hampers extended reproduction), are beginning to buy latifundia or unite with the latifundists in joint stock companies, while in some cases they lease estancias (big ranches). In many Latin American countries, this section of the local big bourgeoisie, whose way of life is not unlike that of the big bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries, *have concentrated the greater part of the trade, bank and industrial capital in their hands.* A glance at the composition of the boards of banks, trading and industrial companies and some of the agricultural associations, furnishes convincing proof of this.

Since the Second World War still greater concentration of industry has been taking place, accompanied, on the one hand, by the extension of the enterprises held by the big capitalists and, on the other, by the winding up or the bankruptcy of many medium-sized

industrial enterprises. We cite a couple of examples: in Uruguay three per cent of the capitalists own 55 per cent of the capital; in Colombia, according to M. Torres, six per cent of the industrial enterprises account for 21.5 per cent of all the workers.* The Program of the Communist Party of Chile clearly shows the economic strength of the social section in question. After the Second World War, through credits and investments (in the so-called "mixed" enterprises), imperialism, first and foremost North American, strengthened its ties with certain groups of big industrialists with influence among this section of the bourgeoisie.

The medium bourgeoisie, who invest their capital mainly in industrial enterprises, constitute another and important section of the bourgeoisie. They are numerous, and although none too strong economically, there are instances of their owning whole industries. When we speak of the national bourgeoisie, we have in mind mainly this section.

Since the Second World War the big bourgeoisie have been the mainstay of U.S. imperialism in certain Latin American countries. In the past few years they differentiated into *big capitalists who have sold themselves to imperialism*, chiefly North American (i.e. big capitalists, directly connected with international monopolies and controlling big newspapers and journals in many countries), and the *conciliatory big bourgeoisie*. The capital of the latter is invested mainly in industrial enterprises or in industries that suffer most from the ruinous unequal trade with the North American imperialists. In the not too distant past these forces dreamt of "maximum industrialization" with Washington support.

Another point. In most of the Latin-American countries there are no classical political parties of the national bourgeoisie. Some parties, Uruguayan Batllism, for instance, were national bourgeois parties during the first decades of the Twentieth Century, but later they became fundamentally different due to the socio-economic changes, and are now parties of the big bourgeoisie, despite the fact that the national and petty bourgeoisie predominate in this or that wing of them. The inconsistent agrarian reforms and the bourgeoisie's deliberate delay in implementing them are the reason why the landowners belong to these parties. This is not to say, of course, that the differentiation of forces and the formation of this or that wing are

ruled out in these parties; on the contrary this process can, and should, develop.

For these reasons *the conciliatory big bourgeoisie are today the most influential political force in many Latin American countries*; and this is an obstacle to the broad development of the patriotic movement. Tactically the interests of the proletariat may coincide—as they sometimes do—with those of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie, but it goes without saying that any far-reaching anti-imperialist and democratic gains will be won independently of them.

A united front imperatively calls for determined action by Latin America's very numerous middle sections which provide large numbers of fighters; outstanding among these are the students and other sections of the patriotic intellectuals. A failing of the democratic movement is the gap between the organization of the working class and the weakness of its contact with the peasantry, and the fact that the intermediate urban sections are not solid enough in their support of the proletariat. Joint large-scale action by workers and students is undoubtedly of great political importance. And we hold that the best antidote to any exaggeration of the role of the bourgeoisie in Latin America consists in extending and broadening the popular united front. The awakening of the countryside, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, and the rallying of the middle sections around the proletariat will orientate the national bourgeoisie and guide them in deciding on the path to take.

III

Some Features of Socio-Political Thought in Latin America

We can without difficulty follow how the Latin American reality described above is reflected in socio-political literature.

A book by Juan Jose Arevalo, ex-President of Guatemala, appeared recently. Together with J. Arbenz, Arevalo is one of the most prominent leaders of the democratic movement in his country. Only a prejudiced person could assert that as a theoretician Arevalo has Communist sympathies. This is obvious to anyone who has read his books, in which he sets forth his ideology and substantiates it philosophically. He calls it "spiritual socialism," an ideology which, from the Marxist viewpoint, can hardly be called socialism. On reading Arevalo's latest book, however, there can be no doubt that, having learnt from

*M. Torres, "Monopolies and U.S. Imperialism in Colombia," Journal *Documentos Politicos*, Bogota, No. 12, 1958.

the Guatemalan tragedy* and rendering tribute to the saying that life is the best teacher, the author has adopted an absolutely unequivocal position on that major question in our countries — the attitude towards U.S. imperialism. *The Fable of the Shark and the Sardines*, a book whose style is excellent and polemical, develops this theme from an angle that has helped many Asian statesmen to understand that their peoples' striving for independence is incompatible with imperialist domination. This is not a question of moral or political flexibility, but one of a clear-cut concept of the irreconcilable antagonism between imperialism and the enslaved countries. Arevalo exposes the farce of Pan-Americanism by using examples from the past and present.

But his book does allow a comparison to be made between the author's stand and the points of view which are characteristic of the conciliatory big bourgeoisie. A typical example of this viewpoint can be found in *Combate*. The political influence and the continental ties of the men behind this journal, are such that they warrant consideration.

Combate claims to speak for the continent; it calls for a "united front for freedom, justice and international solidarity" (fine words!). The first issue opens with pronouncements by R. Betancourt, who condemns the anti-Nixon demonstrations in Caracas. His views are prefaced by an editorial setting out *Combate's* attitude: "The Board does not agree with some aspects of U.S. foreign policy, namely: support for certain dictatorships, the tolerant attitude towards so-called corporation diplomacy, neither does it approve of the despatch of U.S. marines to bases in the Caribbean in retaliation for the disturbances against Nixon . . ." It nevertheless shares Betancourt's views. This quotation is interesting in that it shows that the journal does not agree with *certain features* of U.S. policy—with the cruder features that arouse popular indignation; but its protest is reduced to a mere demand for "better treatment."

A speech made by Figueres ("You can't sneer at foreign policy") in June 1958 to the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee and published in the same issue, is characteristic of this attitude. He gave the reasons for Nixon's poor reception in Latin America. The Costa Rican ex-President expressed confidence that the legislators present, many of them scions of the sixty families, or their henchmen, would not take him for an abominable "Red," such as Sandino or Arbenz.

He—Figueres—was a witness who merited implicit trust.

His speech, however, gave a colorful picture drawn from life, one depicting the criminal policy pursued by the U.S. imperialists in Latin America; plunder of the natural riches, extortionate trade, support for tyrants who rose to the surface on the crest of the wave of anti-communist crusades, of the hunger and backwardness throughout Latin America, which by some infernal alchemy are turned into dollars . . . In brief, Figueres spoke the truth! "When any of you legislators call this 'collaboration against communism', then 180 million Latin Americans feel they want to spit," he said.

His facts were a terrible indictment, but Figueres hastened to add that he was speaking as one of the family rebuking a relative for not observing the rules of nicety . . . He spoke with all the more gusto because the breach of the rules had a direct relationship to Figueres himself — *that of prices!* "The recent reduction in the price of coffee," he announced, "is costing Latin America a billion dollars a year."

"Let not the enemies of the United States rejoice," emphasized Figueres (did he have in mind the anti-imperialists?). "If my views are expressed vaguely, . . . my intentions are absolutely clear: *it's a family matter, pure and simple.* I refer to the family of American republics!" (Our italics.— R.A.)

Without beating about the bush Figueres declared: "You are now in a state of cold war. Once we begin to doubt your intentions, we shall lose faith in mankind . . . *Whether you're right or whether you're wrong, we shall always be with you.*" (Our italics.— R.A.)

No clearer view on U.S. policy in South America is to be found in any pronouncements by a spokesman of the Latin American bourgeoisie, although Figueres reduces everything to political errors, without touching upon the essence of the relations between North and South America. The longing to throw himself into Washington's embrace is clearly perceptible in Figueres' speech! "If Latin America aspires to advance under a fair and mutually beneficial understanding with the USA, it must be solidly with it in the fight against Russia, against penetration through the channels of the international communist movement."*

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

*The U.S. intervention in Guatemala in 1954.

The Uruguayan professor Arturo Ardao noted in an interesting study* that in all his works Figueres refrains from mentioning "Pan-Americanism." Despite his loquacity, he is silent on the cardinal question of relations with the USA. The quotations cited above explain why. That Figueres (and Betancourt and Haya de la Torre) abandoned Guatemala at the critical moment is most illustrative.

Ardao's views are not Marxist by a long way, but with great perspicacity he pinpoints Figueres' differences with the U.S.—primarily around export prices (although, as we shall see later, he does not forget about capital investments). "The major problem in our inter-American relations," Figueres says, "is the economic problem of prices for our goods." This idea, without touching upon the dangerous subject of Pan-Americanism, runs through all his speeches and is accompanied by assurances of loyalty to North American world strategy. So what do we get? They are ready to barter our country and the whole Southern Continent for higher prices! That, doubtless, was how the rulers, who offered to the invaders soldiers, bases and raw materials, reasoned at the time of the "Korean boom!"

Historians and political economists, however, demonstrate that non-equivalent exchange is inherent in imperialism and that, as Lenin said, it is useless to talk about morals with those who trade in people.

On the matter of investments, Figueres advises the USA to invest capital in the Latin American countries! Behind this utopian advice lies the treacherous idea of "complementarism" about which Haya de la Torre spoke as far back as 1945:

"We should not think that we can create a world of our own. Agriculture in the South and industry in the North complement each other. The ties between industry and consumption are indissoluble. The mines and blast furnaces should comprise a single economic entity." (Quoted from Ardao.)

That is the essence of Pan-Americanism, a manifestation of world capitalist reality in the era of imperialism! Morgan and Rockefeller uphold the same thing, except that they do so from the other end and in a less confused manner than Haya de la Torre, who speaks of "democratic inter-Americanism without empire," but they attach the same practical significance to it.

And this world reality has given rise to the great national and nationalistic storm in the so-called underdeveloped countries, that

is, in the colonies, semi-colonies and countries dependent upon imperialism.

It is natural, that with such views Senor Figueres, like Haya de la Torre and others, cannot be anything but anti-communist. The first thing that strikes one in *Combate* is the desire to make it as anti-communist as possible. We mention this not because we wish to induce Figueres & Co. to become communist sympathizers. A sense of humor tells us how ludicrous such hopes are. We regard the anti-communism of Figueres in the light of the national liberation tasks, that is, we judge leaders from the standpoint of the historical destiny of their class—the class of the Latin American bourgeoisie, whose countries are groaning under the yoke of U.S. imperialism. "I am a citizen of the Banana Republic," Figueres writes. Undoubtedly his loyal statement of unconditional support for the USA on an international scale and die-hard anti-communism at home weaken the anti-imperialist struggle, leaving loopholes through which the enemy can penetrate.

A contribution made to the journal by L. A. Monge, a former Latin American trade union boss who allocates dollars and distributes anti-communist proclamations, is a striking example of this. He holds up Bourguiba as an example to be followed in Latin America. According to Monge, what is needed is, first, bourgeois leadership of the trade union center and, second, nationalism, which "bars the way to communism." "New nationalist movements," it is said, "will dispel any doubts regarding their willingness to join the free Western world."*

Why have we devoted so much attention to this question? For the simple reason that we have been presented with the opportunity—since the question concerns the Latin American bourgeoisie, who are addicted to deliberately cloudy thinking—to disclose the views peculiar to the conciliatory big bourgeoisie. As an individual, Figueres has more negative features than other political leaders of his ilk.

Ardao cites this pronouncement by Figueres: "The first thing that binds me to the United States is my love of it. I am bound to North America by family and cultural ties. I have tried to master English and have read, I think, more in English than in Spanish. When I go from one part of America to another, I often think I am an American with two homes, one in the town and the other

*Arturo Ardao, "The Ideas of Figueres," *Nuestro Tiempo*, Montevideo.

*Monge quotes from a statement made by Bourguiba, President of Tunisia (according to the journal *Foreign Affairs*).

in the country . . . In this sense I seem to be a North American citizen who knows our country in the South well, loves it and is indignant at the indifference our fellow-countrymen display towards us . . ." Ardao then adds: "That is why he defends the Puerto Rico Statute . . ."

Of course, in evaluating an entire social stratum, we need not take the North American cultural make-up of Figueres into account, especially as many spokesmen of this stratum are much less North American than Figueres; but such duality and constant vacillation between conciliation and narrow national interests are typical of this part of the Latin American bourgeoisie as a political trend. In my view we must take a definite stand on this question. Who can guarantee that given certain turns in the struggle we might not join forces with Senor Figueres and his like? But it would be wise to remember that Figueres is much more inclined to fight against us.

We should thus have a clear conception of how far we can broaden the proletariat's tactical alliance in each given instance. Sectarian narrowness should be avoided, but we must not commit the sin of being trustful to the point of suicide.

Thus we see that there are two sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie, *one of which declares, together with Arevalo, its determination to combat imperialism and struggle for liberation*; the other, siding with the *Combate* group—although it can hardly be ranked among the treacherous—does not merit the designation of a bourgeoisie favoring national liberation. It hurls imprecations at Washington and pleads with it just like a peasant beating his saint for not sending rain . . .

The growth of the popular patriotic movement in South America will without doubt impel ever new forces—also among the national bourgeoisie—to militant action. The patriotic movement will be able to utilize any contradiction; moreover, the rudder of national independence in this swiftly flowing current can be held only by those who really wish to rid their country of U.S. imperialism.

IV

Conclusion

The situation in Latin America, the growing desire to step up the mass struggle and to find forms of alliance with the national bourgeoisie call for an appreciation of the

need to educate the proletariat in the spirit of socialist, and not bourgeois-democratic, ideas. The establishment of the class independence of trade unions and the heightening of the role of the working-class Party are the main conditions for the solution of this task.

Various social classes, tending to alliance against imperialism and reaction, are taking part in the national-liberation movement; they pursue a variety of aims and have a variety of ideologies. Only the proletariat advances socialist aims. In this sense each class or social section appraises events differently, although their interests coincide at a certain stage of the struggle against the common enemy. Thus it is necessary to do more to educate the proletariat and the masses in the spirit of internationalism, particularly now, at a time of patriotic upswing and alliances with nationalist trends. Even the approach to relations with the socialist camp is different with the proletarian and the patriot in general. From the national point of view, which is shared by all patriots, these relations signify their resistance to imperialism, mutually advantageous trade, and so forth. The proletariat, furthermore, sees here a manifestation of the class struggle on a world scale, a struggle that is being waged against the exploiters, an expression of the classless future of mankind. At the same time the defense of the national economy from imperialism cannot, for the working class, signify a weakening of the class struggle or a vindication of capitalism. Capitalist development in the colonies and the dependent countries is no longer buttressing the capitalist world system; but from this it is a far cry to the conclusion that the class interests of the proletariat coincide with the development of capitalism. It is not the proletariat's mission to be the midwife of capitalism. Marx, who ridiculed the feudal socialists and the other utopians, the anarchists, for instance, for seeking to retard the development of capitalism, and whose *Communist Manifesto* specially noted the historical role of capitalism in the struggle against feudalism — showed at the same time that capitalism was born in the blood and filth of colonial plunder and the expropriation of small producers. Marx gave the working class a clear concept of its historic mission. Who will venture to affirm that when Lenin, countering the Narodniks, proved the inevitability of the development of capitalism, these arguments could instil into the proletariat, fighting for democracy, the idea that its task was to be the midwife of that capitalism!

In other words, the joint defense of the home industry from imperialism requires, now more than ever before, a heightening of the class consciousness of the workers, educating them in the spirit of ideological and organizational independence, upholding their demands and applying their specific methods of struggle. The introduction among the proletariat of apologist ideas concerning capitalist development can only lead to reformism and alienate the more militant sections of the proletariat from the Communists.

We have set out a few of the problems calling for a well-considered and collective solution, which the experience of the Latin American revolution poses before the Communists. Our hope is that this article will be a modest contribution to the discussion on this subject. And if it can lay claim to no other merit it at least has that of calling things by their real name.

Montevideo, January 1959.

Reflections on the Philosophical Views of Georg Lukacs

Bela Fogarasi

REVISIONISM, ever since its birth, has always been diametrically opposed to Marxism in philosophy. In distorting Marxian economic and political doctrine, the revisionists have always endeavored to refute dialectical materialism and replace it with the trend of the day in bourgeois philosophy. Lenin had this to say about philosophical revisionism: "An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-materialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism—this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism in political economy, in questions of tactics and in philosophy generally, both in epistemology and in sociology."*

The Marxist-Leninist teaching is a harmonious entity. That being so, the revisionist views counterposed to its economic science, its teaching on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and sociology, signify a departure from dialectical materialism.

On the whole we can say that the philosophical and political manifestations of revisionism are interwoven. But it should be noted that revision of the philosophical concepts of Marxism has always been used to buttress the political views of the revisors.

Any philosophy is partisan because ideology always originates from given social, i.e. class, relations. It is bound up, if not directly then in a roundabout way, with the class struggle and, consequently, with politics.

When we speak about the influence exerted by the political outlook of the philosophers

on their philosophical views, we by no means wish to belittle the dangerous role of philosophical revisionism in the matter of politics. The tie-up between philosophical theories and the contemporary class struggle should be borne in mind in analyzing the philosophical pronouncements of the revisionists.

Philosophy, in addition to reflecting the interests of certain classes, is designed to serve the classes which gave birth to it. As a world outlook and methodology it has always been a weapon not only in purely scientific debates but also in the political struggle waged by the classes.

An essential element of modern philosophical revisionism is the principle of *ideological* coexistence. Basing ourselves on Lenin, we say that coexistence between the socialist and capitalist *economic* and *political* systems does not imply recognition of peaceful coexistence between their *ideologies*: that Marxist-Leninists must combat bourgeois ideology. Revisionism, on the other hand, advocates ideological coexistence. This tendency finds expression, in a specific form, in the works of Georg Lukacs.

Since Marxism-Leninism has become the dominant ideology in the socialist countries, philosophical revisionism appears there chiefly in the guise of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It uses Marxist-Leninist phraseology and tries to prove its adherence to Leninism by quoting from Lenin. This is done, however, for the purpose of obscuring the anti-Marxist views of revisionism.

*V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, p. 337.

Philosophical revisionism is expressed in a variety of forms. In Hungary, naturally, we turn first of all to the views of Georg Lukacs whose social and literary work extends to politics, philosophy, aesthetics and literary criticism. Lukacs's political, ideological and philosophical views are interwoven and interdependent, and for this reason his political mistakes cannot be separated from his philosophical views; and, vice-versa, his philosophical views cannot be examined in isolation from his politics.

The anti-Marxist and anti-communist character of Lukacs's political attitude was clearly revealed during the counter-revolution in October 1956 and by his evaluation of it as a "popular revolution." This circumstance alone necessitates his philosophical works being examined from the standpoint of their relationship to his political ideas.

There are, of course, contradictory points in Lukacs's works. But on the whole his philosophical views *have never been entirely Marxist; he has never taken a firm working-class position either in policy or in philosophy.* Lukacs has dithered both in theory and practice and has tended to vacillate in a bourgeois-liberal way. True, there was a time when it seemed that Lukacs was drawing closer to Marxism-Leninism, but he long ago parted company with it both in politics and in philosophy and switched to revisionism. He accepts dialectical materialism in principle but in practice he pushes *materialism* almost into the background. The key principles of Marxian philosophical materialism play but a minor role in his works, whereas a definite stand on these issues is the first duty of the Marxist philosopher. It follows, then, that the political bankruptcy which he displayed in 1956 was the outcome not of an accidental error but the result of his entire previous socio-political and scientific activity.

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As a political figure, Lukacs discredited himself during the counter-revolution and after it. In this case the political aspect of the question is quite clear. But in what light his works on philosophy, aesthetics and the history of literature are to be assessed is something that is far from being clear to all. Many people tend to make a sharp distinction between his political role and his philosophical views, tend to see a consistent application of Marxism in his philosophical works, while negatively assessing his political attitude. This is a profound mistake. Here we shall try to assess his philosophy, without reviewing his

works on the history and theory of literature and his literary criticism.

We shall deal with the major philosophical works published by Lukacs in the last twenty years:

1. *Der junge Hegel und die Probleme der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft* (The Young Hegel and the Problems of Capitalist Society), written between 1934 and 1942 and published in Zurich in 1948.

2. *The Crisis of Bourgeois Philosophy* — a symposium of essays and lectures (Budapest, 1948).

3. *Die Zerstörung der Vernunft* (The Destruction of Reason), published in Berlin (1954) and under the title *The Dethronement of Reason* in Budapest (1955).

Der junge Hegel, a historical monograph, was at one time favorably reviewed by critics claiming to be Marxists. While we readily attest to some of its positive features, we cannot agree with the uncritical appraisal of it by some reviewers. The work contains a number of grave errors which Marxist criticism cannot ignore.

The essence of these mistakes is that Lukacs excessively idealizes the philosophical views of the young Hegel. While it is true that in the early works of Hegel conservatism is less manifest than in the subsequent ones, it is indisputable that conservative tendencies run throughout his philosophy. Hegel, as we know, was a philosophical idealist. Lukacs, while not disputing this, attaches little importance to it.

According to Hegel, Lukacs tells us, "man becomes a man thanks solely to his labor." But what is overlooked here is that Hegel reduced all labor to an abstract spiritual labor. In Hegel's view, he continues, "man in the process of labor acquires a deeper knowledge of the laws of nature and compels nature to work for him." But here, too, Lukacs again overlooks Hegel's purely idealistic concept of the process of knowledge as the development of the absolute idea. While expounding Hegel's views, Lukacs quotes from Marx with the sole purpose of bringing Hegelian idealism closer to Marxism instead of developing, on the basis of a Marxist criticism of Hegel's idealism, a dialectical and materialist stand on these views.

Lukacs does not even try to do this, though a study of the young Hegel's philosophical views can, in our opinion, achieve its aim only if it contributes to a correct interpretation and assessment of Hegel's philosophical system. It is important to stress this because incorrect explanations (whether deli-

berate or not) of the relationship between Marxism and Hegelianism have long been the soil on which anti-Marxist conceptions flourished.

For Lukacs, Hegelianism was the philosophy of the French Revolution and he attaches great importance to this in the work of the young Hegel. Certainly, the French Revolution influenced German classical philosophy and literature; but this influence was much more complex and contradictory than it appears in Lukacs's work. Hegel, it can be said, sympathized with the French revolution to the extent that it destroyed feudal institutions. But his attitude to it was also negative because it could be instrumental in destroying the bourgeois order then taking shape in Prussia and which he supported with all his heart.

Although the book is devoted to the young Hegel, the author should have disclosed this contradiction in Hegel's philosophy; but he did not do this. One aspect of Hegel is lauded, the other, the conservative aspect, is overlooked. It is inexcusable for an author of a monograph claiming to be a Marxist estimate of Hegelianism to become so infatuated with the young Hegel as to forget about the Hegel who wrote the *Philosophy of Law* and the *Philosophy of Religion* in which his reactionary conclusions are plain for all to see. This is a one-sided and distorted view of Hegel.

We shall not dwell on the other points in this monograph which merit criticism. We think it necessary to stress merely that this idealization of Hegel, the uncritical approach to his philosophy is an old Lukacs defect, one of the defects which later paved the way to his anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist conceptions.

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Let us now turn to the works written by Lukacs after 1945. It is necessary to dwell in more detail on these works because, in our view, an analysis of them will show that Lukacs's going over to avowed revisionism and his attitude in 1956 were not something casual or episodic, but rather the inevitable outcome of his earlier views.

In 1948 Lukacs published a symposium of articles and lectures entitled *The Crisis of Bourgeois Philosophy*. For him this crisis is that imperialist philosophy seeks to overthrow, debunk or, as he puts it, "dethrone" reason. This "dethronement" of reason, we are told, provides a basis for fascist ideology. His point is that bourgeois philosophy is becoming more and more a philosophy of ir-

rationalism and that the latter is a typical expression of fascist ideology.

Lukacs's way of contrasting reason with irrationalism is fallacious, because it pushes into the background a more important and substantial contradiction, that between *materialism and idealism*, the struggle between the two main parties in philosophy.

This, of course, does not imply that we belittle the negative role of irrationalism in modern philosophy, or, even more, that we do not recognize the need to combat it. It is important, however, to stress that irrationalism represents a *trend in philosophical idealism*. In itself the attitude of irrationalism, abstracted from the context of idealism, cannot be the key question of philosophy, as Lukacs suggests. The basic ideological contradiction in our times is that between the sole scientific world outlook, of dialectical materialism, and the unscientific world outlook—reactionary idealism in all its forms. Lukacs devotes hardly any attention to this boundary line between the parties in philosophy.

Lukacs's distortion in dealing with irrationalism is that he characterizes it as anti-dialectical. He loses sight of the idealistic nature of irrationalism. When he contrasts "reason" to irrationalism, he understands "reason" as being a dialectical method. But he forgets that the dialectical method can be based on idealism, as was the case with Hegel, and on philosophical materialism, as is the case with Marxism. Thus, in Lukacs's work the idealistic basis of irrationalism disappears and no distinction is made between idealist and materialist dialectics. In general he substitutes the question of methods of knowledge, regardless of their materialist or idealist basis, for the fundamental question of philosophy—that of the primacy of matter or of thought. The whole history of philosophy is regarded by him as a struggle between the dialectical and metaphysical methods, while the struggle between materialism and idealism—the essence of philosophy—is reduced to an insignificant appendage to the difference between methods of knowledge.

Because of Lukacs's erroneous view on irrationalism and its role, his analysis of modern bourgeois philosophy is, in many respects, one-sided and incorrect. He loses sight of the fact that a feature of modern reactionary philosophy is not only irrationalist tendencies but also attempts at combining reason with irrationalism, reason with faith.

The symposium deals not only with bourgeois philosophy. In his paper "The Aristocratic and Democratic World Outlook" (read at the International Philosophers' Congress in Geneva, 1946) Lukacs expounded his views on ideological coexistence. He sees the problem of present-day European development not in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between capitalism and socialism, but between reactionary (or aristocratic) and democratic Europe. The basic aim, as he sees it, is to renew and maintain the wartime alliance of the anti-fascist countries which he understands as an ideological alliance. "The *ideological* content of the fight of 1941 should be renewed." It is necessary, he says, to restore the alliance between socialism and democracy. "This alliance is the intrinsic meaning of the *ideology* of 1941." (Our italics—B.F.)

Moreover, Lukacs claims that socialist and bourgeois democracy will, as they develop, coincide. Socialist democracy is thus identified with bourgeois democracy. This tendency is clearly seen from his statement: "It would be catastrophically incorrect to speak about a parting of the ways between Eastern and Western democracy. The real issue is to transcend these false dilemmas of the pre-war period." Lukacs advocated similar views at a time when the People's Democracies were taking the socialist road, when the "Western democracies" were falling under the influence of American imperialism and taking the path of "cold war" against the socialist countries.

These arguments are profoundly wrong. For Lukacs the goal is the fight for democracy, and for bourgeois democracy at that. He isolates this fight and even counterposes it to the struggle for socialism.

The fight for democracy in the capitalist countries has always been the primary duty of every Communist. But it has never implied a halt at "the crossroads," i.e., renunciation of the struggle for socialism. On the contrary, from this follows the need for the Communists to combine the fight for democracy with the struggle for socialism. The Communists resolutely fight for democracy and peace because this corresponds to the vital interests of the masses and simultaneously contributes to the struggle for socialism.

Lukacs's phrase: "the alliance of socialism and democracy" conceals the fundamental antithesis between socialist and bourgeois democracy. He incorrectly describes the anti-Hitler coalition as some kind of *ideological alliance* between socialist and bourgeois de-

mocracy. The aim is to substantiate his basic revisionist idea of "ideological coexistence."

At first readers understood the ambiguity of these formulations in the sense that Lukacs for tactical reasons used an "above-class language" when talking to Western bourgeois intellectuals. Then in 1956, however, it turned out that from the program of coexistence between the socialist and the bourgeois ideologies he had drawn conclusions for his political activity, finding himself finally in the camp of the avowed political revisionists.

There is a close link here with Lukacs's concept that the basic social contradictions are not those between capitalism and socialism (which are also the basic ideological contradictions of our time), but between fascism and anti-fascism. In a word, Lukacs slurs over the fundamental difference between socialist and bourgeois ideology and theoretically projects an imaginary possibility of "peaceful coexistence" between them.

To avoid any misunderstanding it should be emphasized that we are certainly not criticizing Lukacs for counterposing anti-fascism to fascism, for calling for anti-fascist struggle. That is not the object of our criticism (are not the Communists the most consistent fighters against fascism?): it is Lukacs's erroneous concept of the anti-fascist struggle.

His main mistake is that he substitutes the contradiction between fascism and anti-fascism for that between capitalism and socialism and fails to see class antagonisms within the anti-fascist movement. This is confirmed, to a greater or lesser degree, by the above-mentioned statement about "the alliance of 1941" and, more clearly, by his latest pronouncements. For instance, in his paper "The Struggle between Progress and Reaction in Modern Culture" (June 1956) Lukacs develops the idea that after Lenin's death the strategy of the Communist parties was determined not by the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, but by "the contradiction between fascism and anti-fascism."

This incorrect view found expression in the *Autobiographical Supplement* published in Japan and reprinted by French, Italian, Yugoslav and other newspapers. "The victorious completion of the war," he writes, "changed the situation radically. . . . It seemed to me that a new period had set in when, just as during the war, the possibility arose of creating an alliance of all the democratic, socialist and capitalist forces in the struggle against reaction. . . ."

And so according to Lukacs, at times communist strategy is determined not by the

contradiction between capitalism and socialism but between fascism and anti-fascism. The anti-fascist movement, in his view, loses its class character and evolves into a "general democratic struggle" which embraces even "the capitalist forces." The standpoint of class struggle disappears completely. Lukacs ignores the fact that bourgeois reaction appears today not only in the form of naked fascism but also in the form of bourgeois democracy; that the struggle against all forms of the reactionary dictatorship of monopoly capital is not reduced to abstract anti-fascism in ideology but requires joint, militant action by all genuinely democratic forces; that the leading role of the working class is the guarantee of the success of the movement against fascism and for peace. "Anti-fascism" becomes a mere phrase if these factors are not taken into account.

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Lukacs goes even farther in seeking a philosophical justification for views which are essentially revisionist. This is the aim of the above-mentioned *Destruction of Reason*. In form, it is a monograph on philosophy from Schelling to our day. Its real aim, however, is to show the philosophical background to Hitler fascism and to provide the partisans of "peace and progress" with a definite ideological and political program and political tasks.

The historical part of his book is exceedingly rich; but this does not make up for the groundlessness of its basic conception.

In the preface we read: "The stand for or against reason simultaneously determines the philosophical essence of philosophy and its role in social development." (Hungarian edition, p. 4.) Developing this idea, Lukacs reduces partisanship to the question: is the philosopher for or against reason? The subject of the monograph, according to the author, is the development of German philosophy from Schelling onward. According to Lukacs, German irrationalism reached its logical end in Hitler.

In reviewing *Destruction of Reason* we should say that it repeats the same philosophical and political mistakes which we mentioned above when analyzing *The Crisis of Bourgeois Philosophy*. Here, too, instead of real links, Lukacs advances artificial schemes and abstract conceptions, piling up contradiction upon contradiction. What we get, in sum, is that the future of mankind depends on the fate of irrationalism. Lukacs examines the social role and the partisanship of

philosophy solely from the standpoint of the philosopher's being for or against reason. But the class content of philosophy is not exhausted by being for or against reason. The conflict can be correctly understood only if the question of the struggle between materialism and idealism is posed correctly. Sometimes Lukacs takes this into account, but does not attach decisive importance to it. The result of his abstract posing of the question of reason and "non-reason" is that the category of reason is left hanging in mid-air and becomes an auxiliary of "ideological coexistence."

In this book, too, Lukacs overestimates the philosophical role of irrationalism in the ideology of fascism. Irrationalism is one of the factors of fascist ideology, but to say it is the decisive one would be an absurd interpretation of fascism. It was not irrationalism but racism and the notorious geo-politics, serving the aims of imperialist aggression, and other fascist theories, which played the chief role in the propaganda with which Hitler fascism fed the masses.

At the same time it should be stressed that though irrationalism is certainly a reactionary trend, it does not necessarily lead to a Hitler fascism or to fascism in general. The phenomenalist irrationalism of Husserl has had much greater influence among non-fascist bourgeois philosophers than it had among philosophers in fascist Germany. The irrationalist theory of existentialism and other idealistic philosophical trends noted for their irrationalism and alogism do not necessarily lead to fascism either. Sartre cannot be called a fascist ideologist though he, as far as we know, has not yet renounced existentialism. Because irrationalism is a reactionary trend it does not follow that any and all irrationalism leads to fascism.

We see then that Lukacs's train of thought is misleading, both as an ideological rebuff to fascism and in combating irrationalist philosophy in general. It hinders any differentiated approach to and criticism of irrationalist trends.

The decline and fall of Hitlerism are identified with the destruction of irrationalism. "Since Hitler suffered political and military defeat not because of separate, accidental mistakes, but by virtue of the very essence of his system, so irrationalism as an ideology, which found its form in Hitlerism, also perished for the same reason" (p. 587). Thus the incorrect conclusion is drawn that irrationalism perished as a consequence of the fall of Hitler. This is the logical sequel to his incorrect assess-

ment of the relationship between irrationalism and fascism.

In point of fact, irrationalism as a reactionary and pseudo-scientific philosophy was refuted and exposed by Marxism long before the fall of Hitler. Experience shows that, although fascism suffered defeat, the bourgeoisie uses irrationalism against Marxism and socialism even today. So long as capitalism exists at least in some part of the world, the bourgeoisie will always direct irrationalism against Marxism and dialectical materialism. It is not difficult to see that when Lukacs tries to explain Hitlerism by irrationalism he turns the question upside down. It is true that irrationalism was one of the ideological weapons of fascist policy, but it was far from being the only one. Its utilization should be explained on the basis of fascism; but no Marxist can explain fascism by taking irrationalism as the starting point, which is exactly what Lukacs does.

It should be noted in passing that, in practice, the bourgeoisie is most "rationalist." This feature of bourgeois psychology was noted by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*. The bourgeoisie, they wrote, "has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation."* It is necessary to distinguish between bourgeois "reason"—the "reason" of the imperialist bourgeoisie—and the true reason of those classes in modern society which are fighting against the imperialist bourgeoisie, for progress and socialism. This, of course, does not alter the fact that the imperialist bourgeoisie makes full use of irrationalism to further its interests.

An incorrect interpretation of the relationship between fascism and irrationalism is something more than a philosophical mistake. To irrationalism, which means the destruction and dethroning of reason, Lukacs counterposes the "rule of reason." Just as between 1933 and 1945 he proclaimed that the struggle against irrationalism was the basic question of anti-fascism, so in the postwar period he advanced "defense of reason" as the basic ideological and political task. Thus he again substitutes idealism for materialism. These idealistic deductions are, both in theory and practice, the logical outcome of his philosophic concept of *Destruction of Reason*.

Lukacs recognizes that the peace movement has other practical tasks, but towards

the end of the book he reduces the defense of peace to "defense of reason." "The triumph of reason on earth" and defense of peace are, in his opinion, inseparable. In effect, he identifies "defense of reason" with defense of peace. Consequently, the task of the peace movement, in his view, is to rally intellectuals in the name of reason against irrationalism which, he holds, is the basis of the world outlook of fascism and imperialist aggression.

This way of posing the question, and this program, turn upside down the relationship between being and consciousness, between basis and superstructure. "The very existence of the peace movement," says Lukacs, "is of historical significance for human thinking: the defense of reason by a mass movement" (p. 669). This makes a myth of reason.

According to Marx, theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses. But Marx had in mind *theory* and not "reason" in general. He implied the theory of scientific socialism and not reason in the amorphous form in which it appears in Lukacs's works. The defeat of irrationalism as an anti-scientific ideology means victory for dialectical materialism and Marxist-Leninist theory.

Lukacs turns the peace movement into a myth when, obscuring its actual aims, he declares it to be "a revolt of the masses against folly." He says nothing about peace being in accord with the interests, aims and sentiments of the vast majority of mankind, about the necessity of waging the fight for peace not only in the sphere of pure reason, but also in the life of the people. A "revolt of the masses in the interests of reason"—this and similar formulations are incorrect and misleading, despite their poetical grandiloquence. For instance, his interpretation of the anti-war movement as the defense of reason is pure philosophical idealism, because he takes as his starting point not the real, practical movement of the masses but thinking, reason. This is a kind of Hegelianism as a result of which the real relationships are turned upside down and reason becomes the main motive force of history.

The category of reason, as employed by Lukacs, is strongly reminiscent of Hegel's idealism, both in form and content. Thus, like Hegel, Lukacs speaks about the "immanent reason" which is found in the "self-development of society and history" (p. 98). In another place Lukacs says: "The further development or the destruction of reason is now, from the standpoint of a world outlook, the main arena of the conflict between progress

*K. Marx and F. Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, p. 47.

and reaction" (p. 72). But, can the stand "for" or "against" reason *in itself* determine alignment with the progressive or with the reactionary forces, as Lukacs supposes? Did not Marx combat similar views when in an afterword to *Capital* he criticized Hegel for turning the process of thinking, or "reason," into an independent object, whereas in reality "the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."*

This concept of Lukacs shows how far he is removed from those fundamental principles of materialism which he so often proclaims in words. It also shows that his pseudo-dialectical method, the artificial formulas of which take the place of reality, has nothing in common with Marxism. Lenin in his day pointed to this mistake. In a critical note in the journal *Communism* he saw the basic mistake of an article by Lukacs as precisely this: "The Marxism in it is purely verbal; the difference between the 'defensive' and 'offensive' tactics is artificial, there is no concrete analysis of the clearly defined historical situations. . . ."** These words throw light on the incorrect methodology that is characteristic of Lukacs.

On the plea of upholding reason Lukacs sets forth in detail in *Destruction of Reason* the concept of "ideological coexistence" which he outlined earlier in *The Crisis of Bourgeois Philosophy*. Developing the views contained in his paper on "The Struggle Between Progress and Reaction in Modern Culture"*** (June 28, 1956), Lukacs, in October 1956 put forward an anti-socialist program of political action which led him into alliance with the revisionist traitors.

* * *

As we have already said, many believed that Lukacs's political mistake in 1956 had nothing to do with his philosophy and that in

discussing the latter, one should not talk about his attitude to the counter-revolutionary putsch.

In our view such a separation of policy and philosophy is absurd, especially in relation to an author who has always linked his philosophical views with political problems and who draws from his philosophical works far-reaching political conclusions of an obviously revisionist nature. The works published by Lukacs since October 1956 reinforce this conviction. Take, for example, his *Wider den missverstandenen Realismus* (Against Misunderstood Realism, Hamburg, Classen Verlag, 1958). This work shows that Lukacs still adheres to his revisionist views on aesthetics, literature and international politics.

In this book, and in autobiographical articles published in 1957-58 in the capitalist press, a nasty taste is left by the arguments which Lukacs uses to justify his attitude during the period which he describes as "Stalinist," when, in his words, he could not frankly expound his views and masked them by using quotations from Stalin. In the *Autobiographical Supplement* we read: "In the past period I voluntarily subordinated all my views . . . to the requirements of the time. . . . That is why I had to wage guerilla warfare for my scientific ideas; I made the publication of my works possible because I filled them with quotations from Stalin, etc., expressing my opposite standpoint cautiously, to the extent that this was possible. . . ." (*France-Observateur*, September 25, 1958.)

In making these admissions Lukacs wants to testify before a certain public that his revisionist views are the fruit not only of the present. This, then, is the boast of the philosopher who claims to be a Marxist! Certainly it shows the extent to which he has become bogged down in revisionism, how he adapts himself to the arguments of bourgeois and revisionist circles in the West. And revisionism, as so many examples show, is the way to the camp of the enemies of the working class.

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

**Lenin, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 31, p. 142.

***Published in Budapest in 1956, reprinted in the German magazine *Aufbau* in the same year.

State-Monopoly Processes in the U.S. Economy

Victor Perlo

The Editorial Board requested Victor Perlo, the well-known American economist, to elucidate specific features of state-monopoly processes in the U.S. economy. His contribution on the forms of state intervention in the economy and on some of the problems that have consequently arisen in the American labor movement is published below. The Editorial Board invites comrades studying capitalist economy to participate in discussing, in this Journal, the problems of state-monopoly capitalism in the capitalist countries.

I

Development of State-monopoly Capitalism in the United States

STATE-MONOPOLY capitalism is an exceedingly complex and multiform phenomenon. To study it properly we must determine, clearly and exactly, the range of problems that require to be examined.* This article examines particular features of state-monopoly capitalism in the United States.

State-monopoly capitalism first appeared as a major economic factor in the United States during World War I. It dwindled in importance during the 1920's, but expanded again during the economic crisis of 1929-33. State-monopoly capitalism became particularly comprehensive during World War II. It receded somewhat thereafter, but soon began to develop again, with the cold-war militarization of the economy and the Korean war. Today every major business has manifold government connections, and there is scarcely a transaction without government involvement in one or a number of ways.

The state intervenes in the economy in many ways. One type of state-monopoly capitalist arrangement seeks to advance the interests of monopoly capital as a whole. Another is on behalf of a particular monopoly or group of monopolies. The former type is more pronounced in time of a major war or economic crisis, when the monopolies require

subordination of the interests of particular trusts to their common objectives. Thus, during World War II regulation in the United States was centered around war economy, aimed at ensuring adequate supplies of materials and scarce items for the armament industries. Price controls and limited rationing of consumer goods also appeared. Along with this hundreds of billions of dollars were channeled from the masses to large corporations through armament orders. Otherwise state arrangements in the interests of a particular monopoly or groups of monopolies are most prominent.

Each concrete form of state intervention shows that the capitalists seek to counteract a particular contradiction of capitalism. But the overall effect is to deepen the old contradictions and create new ones.

II

Forms of State Regulation in Industry and Agriculture

There is much less government ownership in the United States than in other industrially advanced capitalist countries. American monopolies are stronger than their foreign imperialist rivals. Therefore fewer sections of monopoly industry have had to be bailed out of difficulties to the extent of government purchase of the enterprises. Also, the working class does not have a strong socialist movement, which sometimes has to be appeased by nationalization of particular industries.

As we know, it is only in extreme cases that the capitalists agree to the nationalization of particular industries. Like evangelists fighting sin, the capitalists combat any government operation which interferes with

*Numerous discussions of state-monopoly capitalism have often failed to give a correct definition of the economic sphere of state-monopoly relationships. In our view a good definition of the economic aspect of state-monopoly capitalism is contained in the October 1958 issue of *World Marxist Review* where the economic content of state-monopoly relationships is shown to be a complex system under which monopoly capital uses the bourgeois state in its own interests. It includes, in the main, state property, state consumption, government control and regulation.—Author's note.

private profit-making. The Hoover Commission for reorganizing the government was supposed to streamline things and make them more economical. Instead it scoured every corner of the vast government bureaucracy to find operations out of which some capitalist could make a million. The Navy had a paint factory to supply its ships. Close it down! Military bases have post exchanges where soldiers can buy incidentals. Turn them into private concessions!

At the same time state control and regulation are common in certain branches of industry and agriculture.

The big monopolies, primarily the oil trusts, are major beneficiaries of the special forms of state-monopoly capitalism. This is scarcely surprising in view of their enormous political and economic power.

The governments of most oil-producing states establish percentages of capacity to which the wells are limited. The leading oil companies have the major say in setting the quotas. The Federal Government and these companies coordinate the quotas among the states.

In effect, the government becomes the mechanism through which the cartel arrangements of the oil companies are enforced. The private companies pretend to be subjected involuntarily to this form of state regulation, although the real relationship has been exposed many times, and not only by progressives. The companies need such tricks in order to cater to the anti-trust traditions in America.

The oil companies, more than any others, are beneficiaries of special tax provisions. They pay less than half the rate of income-tax assessed on corporations generally, thus retaining unusually large funds for accumulation, which helps them to expand more rapidly than many other industries.

During recent years the government has been regulating oil imports, through definite quotas for each importing company. Initially, this appeared as a concession to those oil interests without foreign holdings. But facts reveal that it is not stopping the gradual displacement of domestic by imported oil. It is designed to minimize the danger of a break in prices on the home market, and to prevent outsiders from taking a major share of the import business.

Government regulation also includes special measures to aid "sick" industries, those which are losing business. For example, American shipyards cannot compete with those in many other capitalist countries. American

oil companies and shipping companies have their tankers and freighters built in Japan, West Germany and other countries with a lower wage scale and, as in Britain, greater efficiency in ship-building. The U.S. government therefore subsidizes domestic shipyards. Under pretense of providing a military reserve, the government pays very high prices for obsolete vessels "traded in" if the owner will build a replacement in an American yard.

State-monopoly capital has penetrated into agriculture too. The government is making an attempt to influence agricultural development and thus to alleviate the incredible contradictions of American agriculture. The state-monopoly measures — to implement which over \$6 billion have been allocated this fiscal year — include a government-managed limitation on acreage for specified crops, price-fixing at the processing level which keeps up prices, dollar lending and purchasing operations with surplus crops, massive dumping in foreign countries. Local government-enforced arrangements for dairy products, fruits and other items supplement these federal methods. These measures are to increase the profits of the rich farmers, the farmer corporations and the food-processing corporations, while rapidly squeezing the weaker farmers out of production.

With all their variety, these regulatory measures have the common aim of consolidating the power of the monopolies, of increasing their profits at the expense of the working class, and redistributing a part of the surplus value in favor of the powerful monopoly groups at the expense of smaller capitalists and weaker monopoly groups.

III

War Economy and "Big Business"

The most intensive and massive development of state-monopoly capitalism in America is in war preparations. Here the merging of government and private capital is even more intimate than during past major wars. The \$40-odd billion of annual military spending is the most colossal grab-bag for corporate giants in all history.

Capital in the munitions industries receives twice the rate of return obtained on capital in civilian industries. Of course, only the most powerful financiers, well-connected with government circles, can become established as prime armament contractors.

A new wrinkle in the relations between the armed services and the monopolies has come to the fore in recent years. The former are

turning over to private corporations the operation of major sections of the military establishment. Thus, the testing of missiles at Cape Canaveral, Florida, is handled by the companies which manufacture the missiles.

The General Dynamics Corporation boasts of its expanded role in the new supersonic delta-wing B-58 bomber. In partnership with the United States Air Force, it is responsible for the whole system of production and testing of planes and is coordinating the work of 5,000 scientists, engineers and technical experts, and also of 8,500 companies producing raw materials and spare parts.

The Telephone Trust (A.T. & T.), the largest corporation in the world, plays a major part in the war industry. In 1957 Western Electric, the manufacturing subsidiary of A.T. & T., sold \$660 million in Nike missiles and other munitions to the armed forces, 12 times as much as in 1950, and one-fourth of its total sales.

The columnist Drew Pearson asserts that 14 A.T. & T. officials are in the Defense Department, ranging from Deputy Secretary down.

The enormous radar defense systems which span the North American continent are built by private contractors, A.T. & T. included. The SAGE system* which combines observation of hostile aircraft and shooting of anti-aircraft missiles in an elaborate computer-controlled network, is being constructed largely under the control of the Telephone Trust. Large parts of this installation are not even turned over to formal armed forces ownership, but are held by the Telephone Trust on a leasing arrangement through which it will be guaranteed hundreds of millions of dollars yearly. Pearson claims also that A.T. & T. is now getting \$2.4 billion for the SAGE system which, because missiles are replacing bombers, "may be out of date before it is complete."

The A.T. & T., through the Sandia Corporation, a subsidiary of Western Electric, operates the key Atomic Energy Commission installation in New Mexico which develops, designs and tests nuclear weapons. Thus, the weapon tests so widely opposed here and abroad are under the operating control of the largest monopoly in America, and serve its profit interests.

IV

Some Features of the Export of Capital

American imperialism best exemplifies the characteristic of capital export becoming ex-

tremely important as distinct from the export of commodities. The profits of American monopolies derived from foreign investments are several times greater than those realized through export of U.S.-produced goods. The large corporations derive about one-fourth of their total profits from foreign investments, about equal to the amount they derive directly from military business.

There has been a corresponding development of state-monopoly capitalist forms in this area. U.S. government intervention in the affairs of other countries on behalf of its foreign private investors surpasses that of any other capitalist state, whether one speaks of economic arrangements or military-political intervention.

Government foreign investments exceeded \$17 billion by the end of 1957. These capital investments are used to give economic and political leverage to private investors, buttressing private investments nominally worth \$37 billion and actually at least \$62 billion. An important point is that the government also provides foreign investors with guarantees against certain types of losses and special tax arrangements.

The foreign "aid" program is very important to American private investors. Some \$50 billion of "grants" have been made since World War II, mainly armaments and defense support for allied governments. These billions provide direct markets for U.S. suppliers, and create a climate salutary to American investors but pernicious to the exploited populations.

U.S. economic expansion and the methods developed in this field are meeting increased resistance from the peoples of the world, especially in view of the growing flow of genuine aid by the USSR and the other socialist countries to the economically underdeveloped countries. In this situation the U.S. imperialists are searching for more effective state-monopolist forms of economic expansion. Says *Business Week*: "... this is the only way to lick the development problem and to meet the Soviet economic offensive effectively." There is a proposal that private firms should take over part of the job for the development of underdeveloped countries under contracts with the U.S. government.

A "perfect" solution! The foreign investor will get a guaranteed superprofit, just like the armament contractor. But pity the foreign country whose resources will be exploited under such monopoly-government agreement.

*Semi-Automatic Ground Environment.

V

Can Monopoly Capital Influence the Capitalist Cycle?

One of the complex and important problems of economic theory is that of the influence of state-monopoly capitalism on the economic cycle. Ever since the 1930's the financial oligarchy has been trying to prevent or limit economic crises of overproduction.

During the 1920's state-monopoly capitalism was well developed in Western Europe, but did not prevent the most disastrous economic crisis ever known. Intensive government activities in Europe and the United States could not bring about a full recovery prior to World War II. Since World War II, in view of the growth of the concentration of capital and of state-monopoly capitalism, the monopolies' economic and financial power has become considerably greater in the United States, and they have been much more determined than hitherto to prevent crises. Yet in spite of their efforts there have already been two "recessions" and one full-fledged crisis (1957-58) in the United States.

But it would be wrong to conclude that monopoly capital cannot influence the course of the capitalist cycle. A number of Marxists, including myself, have unduly belittled the effectiveness of state-monopoly capitalism in this area.

Even in the period of competitive capitalism, capitalists took measures to counter economic laws harmful to their profits. With an instrument such as the capitalist state, the monopolies have obviously even more effective means of protecting their profits and influencing the objective processes of capitalist reproduction. Sometimes the monopolies and the capitalist state under their control have temporary and partial success in combating the crisis. Therefore government anti-crisis measures must be examined concretely and carefully in order to be able to obtain a balanced perspective of capitalist economic development, to foresee the possible zig-zags and turns in this development.

What anti-crisis measures does latter-day U.S. capitalism take?

1. Increasing armament orders and thus expanding the government market by which the monopoly-bourgeoisie seek partially to replace a failing private market. Use of armaments spending as the main anti-crisis measure was openly proclaimed by the Administration in 1958.

Some bourgeois economists recommend public works spending as an anti-crisis

measure, but actually this is of minor importance in modern capitalist America. This is mainly due to the fact that public works call for state interference with private monopolies and the levying of taxes on some monopoly groups, thus curtailing their profits. Crisis or no, the finance oligarchy always fights against "excessive" public works spending, especially those which provide social benefits to the people. Spending for armaments is another matter. Militarization of the economy brings the capitalists enormous profits and, moreover, does not interfere with any private business. Hence the popularity of the arms drive among the monopolies, although differences of degree do exist.

2. Utilization of credit. It is reasonable to regard the entire U.S. system of money and credit policy as a more or less integrated state-monopoly structure. The Federal Reserve Banks, which constitute the central banking system, are mixed state-private institutions. Government and private credit institutions are generally so intertwined that it is difficult to draw a line between state and private cartel measures.

Credit availability has a short-run effect on personal consumption, private investment, and local government investment. So financiers have an influential weapon in credit control. But capitalist production cannot permanently be maintained by always increasing credits. To attempt this would lead to inflation, over-stocking, wholesale defaults, and huge losses to the bankers. Hence the frequent shifts in policy between "tight" and "easy" money, the former precipitating a crisis when it is ripe, while the latter under favorable circumstances may help to bring about a temporary revival. Easy money policies were effective in 1954-55 and in 1958. But the backlog of debt from the previous years was so great that the bankers felt impelled to start "tightening up" already in 1958.

3. Actions to shift taxes from the capitalists to the workers, thus stimulating capital investment. This measure, which has been most customary in the postwar period, helps raise the rate of profit, the major aim of state-monopoly regulation. The 1954 Revenue Act revision cut taxes on the wealthy by \$5 billion, helping stimulate the sharp surge in capital investment. Influential sections of the finance oligarchy pressed for a similar move in 1958. However, there was no major cut because of Administration fears that labor pressure would result also in a cut in taxes on workers.

There are some who believe that business declines can be checked by virtue of the fact that unemployment insurance payments rise and income-tax payments fall when workers also lose their jobs. So the drop in their consuming power is less than the fall in their wages. In my opinion, this factor played only a secondary role in checking the 1957-58 crisis. The impact of unemployment insurance and similar measures on the cycle of capitalist reproduction is incidental. They are a forced capitalist concession to the workers, and are not part of the conscious attempts of big business to influence the cycle of capitalist reproduction.

It should be said in conclusion that the monopoly-controlled state cannot heal the incurable ailments of capitalism or free capitalist reproduction from contradictions. In the final analysis state-monopoly capitalism aggravates the contradictions in the capitalist economy, contradictions which are the cause of economic crises.

VI

The Working Class and Reforms

The rulers of America try continuously to persuade the working people that state-monopoly measures are somehow in the people's interests, instead of being in the interests of the monopolies. The right-wing labor leaders, and the Democratic Party politicians who rely on labor votes, are trying to get the workers to believe that the strengthening of the U.S. capitalist economy is for the good of the working people. This approach is possible because ever since the 1930's unemployment has been a major fear of the workers. It is understandable therefore that workers should be lured by anything that promises to avoid a crisis. But such promises can never be kept.

Current among the workers is the line that armament contracts mean jobs. The right-wing labor leaders, who advocate higher military budgets and more public works, are in large measure to blame for this. The reactionaries, on the other hand, advocate higher military budgets and less public works. Collaborating with reaction on the former issue, the reformists contribute to reaction's victory on the latter.

Despite the attempts to bribe the workers with the lure of armaments jobs, the majority of them are increasingly expressing their opposition to the disastrous foreign policy of the imperialist ruling circles. However, the

right-wing labor leaders have so far succeeded in preventing the conversion of this peace sentiment into a powerful organized peace movement.

The influence of the American working class's economic struggle on the development of the capitalist economy is a most important question. When workers demand higher wages the monopolists shout that this will force a depression. Labor leaders claim that it will bring prosperity. Actually it will do neither. Capitalism will not rid itself of the objective laws inherent in it, laws that determine the antagonistic character of capitalist development; therefore, the concessions won by the workers will have little influence on the course and the change of phases of the cycle. This does not mean that the working-class struggle for higher wages and reforms is something insignificant, of second-rate importance. The economic struggle, being an important means of improving workers' conditions, is inseparable from their political struggle.

It is a school of class education of the proletariat, enhances its organization and strengthens its militancy.

What should be the approach to reforms?

1. Reforms and concessions are worth fighting for if they benefit the workers and the people generally as against the monopolies, regardless of whether they involve state intervention, and regardless of what their effect may be on the capitalist cycle.

2. Reforms and concessions are worth fighting for if their aim is peace and disarmament — the most vital need of the world today — and struggle against war preparations and the imperialist plunder of the peoples.

3. Particular forms of state capitalism can, it seems to us, be used in the interests of the working people, given a different political balance of forces. For example, state ownership is now being used against the people and to strengthen monopoly profits. But the opposite situation is possible, where the masses can benefit from state ownership and the monopolies lose. So the people should fight for state ownership where that can advance their interests as against the monopolies. However, such state ownership should not be confused with a measure of socialism.

A peculiarity of the American scene is that alongside the most far-flung development of private and state-private monopolies, the United States has laws which forbid monopolies altogether — the Sherman Anti-Trust Act

and the Clayton Act. The futility of these laws is common knowledge. A year's appropriation for the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department is \$3.8 million. The appropriation for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of the same Department, which persecutes progressives, is \$102 million. The monopoly-dominated government only goes through the motions of enforcing the law against monopolies. But it is not ruled out that with an improved balance of political forces, substantial concessions in the struggle against mono-

poly capital could be won through the instrumentality of these laws.

This fight is vital to the working people. It must be revived on a more developed scale than formerly, in line with the particular traditions of anti-monopoly struggle in America. But concessions won by the workers are not socialist gains or part of the transition to socialism. They are relevant to the fight for socialism only insofar as they are used in educating and organizing the masses to that end.

Social-Democratic "Socialism" in Sweden

Fritjof Lager

The 70th anniversary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party was celebrated in April this year. The anniversary celebrations were attended by leaders of the European Social-Democratic parties and of the Socialist International, including Gaitskell (Britain), Ollenhauer (Federal Germany), Andersen (president of the Socialist International), Gerhardsen (Norway), Tanner and Fagerholm (Finland), Kreisky (Austria), and Brandt (Mayor of West Berlin).

The visiting leaders lauded Sweden as a country of socialism, as a model of the application of the reformist theory of the evolution of capitalism into socialism without revolutionary upheavals and without proletarian dictatorship. Gaitskell, for example, speaking in Stockholm on April 19, said: "It can truly be said that you have established here a Welfare State which is not only the envy of Europe but an example to many other countries and many other Social Democratic Parties." But let us turn from the pompous jubilee speeches to reality. Is it true that Sweden is a country of socialism? Let us see.

IN a way Swedish Social Democracy holds a special place among those Social-Democratic parties which still play a significant role in political life.

Ever since the founding of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party in 1889, the well-known Gotha Program has served as its ideological basis. Throughout its history, this party has been dominated by revisionism, while Bernsteinism has been its main principle. Its leaders have long since buried genuinely socialist principles. Proletarian ideology was replaced by petty-bourgeois ideology which denies class struggle in modern capitalist society and advocates peace between capitalists and workers.

The Social Democratic Party is the largest party in the country, having 803,000

members (the population of Sweden is over seven million).

A feature of its organizational structure is that some of the trade unions are affiliated to the party (affiliated trade union members comprise about half the membership). The question of affiliation is decided at trade union meetings by majority vote. The affiliated union pays an annual fee for each member. The latter receives a party stamp which is affixed to his union card. Union members are free to contract out by submitting a written declaration to that effect. But few are bold enough to express such opposition both to the ruling party and to the trade union.

Thus, the Social Democratic Party exercises complete control over the central body

of trade unions with their 1,500,000 members and, moreover, holds strong positions in the central body of the unions catering to office workers (350,000 members). Both the union center and its 44 affiliated unions are controlled by the Social Democrats. The unions, then, are the main mass base of the Social Democrats, the main source of their voting strength in elections for the Riksdag and the local government bodies (landstings and municipalities).

The party has support also in a ramified network of other workers' organizations, in the co-operative movement, particularly the consumer and building co-operatives. Through the national Co-operative Union it controls the Folksam insurance society.

Since 1932 the Social Democrats have headed practically all the governments formed jointly with one or more of the bourgeois parties. There was a short break in the summer of 1936 when, mainly for tactical reasons during the election campaign, the Social Democrats left the formation of the cabinet to its future coalition partner — the Farmers' Union (Center Party) which expresses the interests of the big landowners. At present the country has a Social-Democratic government.

The program of the Social Democratic Party says: "A society exerting its influence on the productive forces, the working people having a say in ownership, planning and equality of citizens — this is what guides Social Democracy in its aspirations. Such are the guiding lines of the socialist system."

This policy was to be realized by having a majority in the Riksdag and by heading the government; this would enable the Social Democrats to exert an influence on economic life and to ensure full employment and higher living standards for all. Since the Riksdag and the government determine the scale and form of taxation, the Social Democrats would endeavor, their leaders averred, to equalize incomes and the property status of the population. In this way the illusion was created that social equality would be attained, and currency was given to the idea that class antagonisms would become milder and milder until, eventually, they would disappear and be replaced by "social harmony."

Such was the promise. How has it been fulfilled? Let us examine the results of the "socialization" carried out by the Social-Democratic leaders under the most favorable conditions over a period of twenty-five years.

Contrary to their assertions, the facts of economic life clearly indicate that Sweden is dominated by monopoly capital and that the general laws of capitalism apply in full measure. The rate of concentration of capital and production in Sweden throughout the past twenty-five years is approximately the same as in the other industrially developed capitalist countries. At present about 80 per cent of output is produced in 4,000 big and medium-sized enterprises out of the total of 79,000. Each of 200 large enterprises employs upwards of 500 workers.

The greater concentration of production has added to the role played by monopoly capital which holds the key positions in industry. This is particularly so in the ball-bearing industry monopolized by the SKF company, and in the electro-technical industry where the ASA and Eriksson monopolies account for three-quarters of the output. Six companies produce 80 per cent of the steel, 8 companies two-thirds of the cellulose, 4 companies own 80 per cent of the shipyard capacity, and so on.

In the largest companies 91.5 per cent of the shares are owned by persons whose annual incomes exceed 50,000 kronor, whereas the annual wage of the skilled worker amounts to 12-15,000 kronor. Out of the 200 big enterprises in the country, the decisive control in 150 of them is held by two or three (sometimes by one) shareholders.

Concentration of the banks has taken place with ever greater intensity. The 30 commercial banks of 1930 had shrunk to 16 by 1955, while their capital and operations had increased substantially. At present the country's finances are virtually controlled by three big banks which possess over two-thirds of the total commercial bank capital. Bank capital profoundly influences the economic life of the country. By means of share purchases and through interlocking interests the financial barons control industry.

Thus, while a concentration of capital unprecedented in the history of capitalism in Sweden has taken place during a period when the Social Democrats have been at the helm of state, the state sector has not expanded one iota. The state sector is represented chiefly by the hydro-power stations, mainly servicing the monopolies, by defense-industry plants, transport facilities and communications. Moreover, the bulk of these enterprises had become state property long before the Social Democrats gained the decisive say in Parliament. Only one large undertaking — the mixed state-private iron ore

mines in Kiruna — has been nationalized. Actually this was foreseen in the natural resources agreement of 1906. It could have been taken over as early as 1936, but the government delayed doing so until 1956. The result of the delay was that instead of the 140 million kronor compensation assessed for the stockholders 20 years ago they pocketed 900 million. Apart from these mines, which were bought out on the initiative of the Communists, only one big state-owned iron and steel plant has been built in the past twenty-five years. At the same time an aircraft factory, previously state property, has become a mixed private-state company.

The communal enterprises provide, in the main, services for the population. The role of the co-operatives is insignificant.

So that in the spheres of production and distribution as a whole, one cannot but notice that the share of the state, communal and co-operative sectors is as negligible now as it was before; far from occupying key positions, they are of secondary importance.

Planned economy in the interests of the working people — the pet theme of Social-Democratic propaganda — is nothing more than empty words. There can be no talk of "planning" that goes beyond the framework of state-monopoly regulation carried out on the insistence of big capital. The Swedish economy is organically linked with that of the capitalist world system and is largely dependent on the capitalist world market. It is subject to crises and recessions (crisis symptoms were observed last year) in the same way as the economy of any other capitalist country.

For some considerable time there has been state regulation in agriculture with a view to fixing the crop area, output of animal husbandry products, and prices.

In the thirties, as a result of the acute agrarian crisis, tens of thousands of farmers were ruined and abandoned their land. State regulation became a permanent feature in agriculture. It was stabilized and strengthened during the Second World War when the provision of home-produced food became the main concern of the government.

After the war state regulation was preserved in some parts of the country, but in the interests of the monopolies and the big landowners. The state organs assist in channeling man-power to the expanding branches of industry. Agriculture is dominated by landlords and big farmers; smallholders suffer through taxes and price policy in addi-

tion to other forms of exploitation. The situation in the countryside is characterized by an agrarian overpopulation. About half of the farms (50.8 per cent) are small enterprises (with plots ranging from 0.2 to 5 hectares) possessing 12.9 per cent of the cultivated land, whereas the big farms (50 hectares and upwards), comprising only 2 per cent of the total, account for 20.9 per cent of the crop area — the most fertile land. Official statistics note a considerable reduction in the number of smallholders. For instance, between 1940-50 their number declined from 391,000 to 337,000.

This shows that there has been no radical change in agriculture and industry during the 25 years of Social-Democratic rule. Agriculture continues to develop along capitalist lines, and while, on the one hand, we see a growing concentration of agricultural production, we see, on the other, the steady ruin of the smallholders.

There has been no radical change in the class structure of society. As in the past, the employers remain employers, bankers remain bankers, the landlords are still with us, so are the merchants, and the rentiers remain the same old coupon-clippers. And, as heretofore, the workers remain workers. Small wonder therefore that the financial oligarchy has never expressed any undue worry or dissatisfaction over the fact that the government is headed by Social Democrats who are building "socialism."

Nor has big business any reason to fear that in the future its rule may be wrecked by the Social Democrats. The present party leader, Prime Minister Erlander, has declared that his Party has had no intention of nationalizing the chief means of production. On the contrary, he has stressed that the concept of nationalizing the big enterprises as a condition for the building of socialism, is "an obsolete and unnatural idea" completely out of touch with the times. It is immaterial who owns the enterprise, says this leader, whether it is a capitalist or society (Swedish Social Democrats usually substitute "society" for "the state").

The bourgeois bureaucracy, too, has no worry about its future. Throughout the period of Social-Democratic rule no major changes have been effected in the state machinery. The system and the principles governing the selection of top-ranking officials are to all intents and purposes the same. This is evident from the research carried out by Uppsala University. In 1927, 77 per cent of the top officials in the administration were

recruited from the bourgeoisie (a mere six per cent of the population); 20 years later this figure rose to 80 per cent. The respective figures for people of working-class origin were 2.7 and 1.1 per cent for 1927 and 1957. The conclusion drawn from these figures was: "With regard to the origin of the government officials, Swedish society of the forties and throughout the entire postwar period reveals a class structure similar in many respects to that obtaining prior to the rise of democracy and parliament."*

The preservation of the old system of student examinations and, in some cases, of academic examinations determines the leading role of representatives of the privileged classes in the administrative machine, and is a barrier to entering the government service. Only an insignificant minority (less than one-tenth) of the students come from the working class, whereas more than half the students are of bourgeois origin. Employees of the Foreign Office and the diplomatic service are selected from the same strata as before the advent of Social-Democratic rule. Many Foreign Office officials are recruited from the aristocracy.

The swollen military administration is now more influential. Its influence can be measured by the military expenditures which in 1938 claimed 15 per cent of the budget and twenty years later 25 per cent.

When speaking about "Nordic socialism" and citing Sweden as an illustration, the Social-Democratic propagandists are unable to offer any convincing proof of tangible changes either in the economy or in the government apparatus. They prefer to laud the relatively high standard of living of the Swedish workers, boasting that for every 1,000 people there are 100 motor-cars, over 300 telephones, 325 radio sets, etc. They talk about the social gains won by the people and claim that unemployment has been abolished and welfare attained for all.

It is a fact that the people of Sweden have a fairly high standard of living. But in saying this, we must make a correction to the average index of material benefits, bearing in mind the class character of their distribution. While, for example, there is more than one car for each bourgeois family, most working-class families are without cars. According to the latest official figures, 3 per cent of the population owns half of the property subject to taxation, 27 per cent owns the other half, while the remainder of the

people, i.e., 70 per cent, owns no taxed property at all. The same picture could be observed 40 years ago. So neither the predominance of Social Democrats in the Riksdag and in the government nor the policy of their pet "social equality" has changed anything in this respect.

The basic tax policy of the Social Democrats also testifies to the utter failure of the "equality theory." Direct taxes which affect those with big incomes, are reduced, whereas the communal taxes, paid by all taxpayers and primarily by the working people, are soaring. This, in particular, is due to the fact that the Riksdag and the government are shifting the expenditure on some social needs from the state to the communal bodies. Lastly, indirect taxes on consumer goods are rising. These account for half of the state revenue. In other words, government expenditure on social needs (pensions, relief, etc.) is largely paid by the masses, while the employers' contribution is becoming smaller.

The standard of living should be regarded first of all as the outcome of the fact that for 150 years Sweden has not suffered from war and has not been occupied, that her industry possesses rich raw material and power resources. During the First World War non-belligerent Sweden piled up profits mainly by trading in military material; from a country importing capital she began to export capital. Sweden was not affected by the disastrous consequences of the Second World War and her bourgeoisie became richer. Although after the war her industry was somewhat worn out, it was effective enough in the conditions of the acute shortage of goods suffered by all belligerent European countries. Swedish iron ore, newsprint, timber, machinery, electrical equipment, etc. were in demand in war-devastated Europe. An advantageous geographical location and cheap transport also accounted for the strong positions of the Swedish bourgeoisie on the capitalist world market. Foreign trade, like the exploitation of the working people, was a source of profit. In short, the Swedish bourgeoisie are sharing in the imperialist superprofits accruing from the war-devastated countries, from the colonies, etc. Substantial investments abroad also bring in both superprofits and currency.

At the same time the working class has won a number of important gains. Old-age pensions, for example, have been increased, there is security, though not complete security, during illness, and unemployment

*Sten-Sture Landstroem: Svenska ambetsmans sociala ursprung. Statsvetenskapliga foereningen Uppsala, 1954.

benefits are now paid. School books and lunches are free of charge, at least in the towns and industrial settlements. The state now pays family allowances. In the past 20 years considerable progress has been made in housebuilding (although in the bigger towns there is still a housing shortage), and rents have been reduced. The law forbidding evictions was of great importance during the acute housing crisis.

These reforms, however, do not extend beyond the confines of capitalist society. It is noteworthy that most of them have been introduced with the support of all or, at any rate, of one bourgeois party. In any case, they did not put up any particular resistance.

The major gain of the Swedish working class during the war and in the immediate postwar years was full employment. Those employed on piece-work took advantage of the shortage of manpower to secure a better rate for the job. Workers paid on an hourly basis and those employed in state, communal and other enterprises earned more by working overtime or by holding two jobs. Their increased earnings, it should be said, were secured as a result of severe overstrain. More women were brought into industry. Such are the factors which accounted for the rise in the standard of living.

Comparing living standards in Sweden and in the other European countries, we should not forget that we are dealing, on the one hand, with a country which did not suffer from war, and on the other, with countries that did suffer from the war and from the Nazi occupation.

Full employment, however, could not continue forever. In recent times the number of unemployed has grown, while part time employment is now quite common.

At the beginning of the year there were 73,000 registered unemployed. If to this figure we add those not registered and the unemployment among the youth, the actual number will be much greater. At present, with a total of slightly more than a million industrial workers, one out of twelve to fourteen is out of work.

The right to work is not guaranteed. In this respect the position of our worker is exactly the same as that of his class brothers in the other capitalist countries. Nothing prevents the capitalist from stopping, curtailing or expanding production in his own interests. The only thing the Social-Democratic leaders have succeeded in changing is that the employers have undertaken to warn the authorities beforehand of their intention to

close an enterprise. But they are not held responsible when they do not comply with this obligation. The right to work, to guaranteed employment, is now, as before, the main demand of the workers.

Social-Democratic propagandists usually operate with average indices of consumption which, as we stated above, do not show the actual picture of consumption by the working class. At the same time they keep silent about the actual position of the working masses — the growth of unemployment, intensification of labor resulting in overstrain and increased occupational sickness and accidents; the increase in female labor (women receive much less than men for the same work); the lack of means which prevents workers from giving their children a higher education and the benefits of culture; the setting of the pension age at 67 years, which for many workers turns the right to a pension into a fiction.

Reviewing the work of the Social Democrats who have headed the government for a quarter of a century, we can say that throughout this period no fundamental change has taken place either in the economy, in the class structure or in the administrative apparatus of capitalist Sweden; the capitalists remain undisturbed and, being the decisive force, control the economy and the policy of the country.

Those who depict Sweden as a "socialist" country often declare that all her citizens are guaranteed political rights and freedom of the press, association and assembly. But for none of these can the Social-Democratic government claim the credit. Political rights, universal suffrage, etc., are gains won by the workers at a time when the Social Democrats were a parliamentary minority. This holds true also for the other democratic rights and liberties. Modern democracy in all its complexity does not go beyond the framework established by bourgeois liberalism. To this it should be added that, being the usual democratic and constitutional rights current in the other bourgeois democratic countries, they are in no way to be credited to the services of the Social-Democratic leaders.

As to the restrictions affecting the practical use of these rights — far from having been changed for the better, their number has actually increased under Social-Democratic rule. Now as in the past, freedom of assembly is restricted because of the shortage of premises. With Social-Democratic connivance, the laws and regulations res-

tricting the right of trade unions to organize strikes have been preserved and even amplified.

In the matter of freedom of the press, we will notice that, as before, it is determined by the will of the publishers. It is true that there is no censorship, but no one can compel the owner of a printing shop to publish a pamphlet against his will. In recent years the printing business has undergone a rapid process of concentration. The big publishers are making short shrift of their smaller rivals. Circulation, particularly of newspapers, is gradually becoming the prerogative of the big publisher. The degree of rivalry between the publishing houses can be seen from the example of *Morgon-Tidningen*, central organ of the Social Democratic Party which, after 73 years of publication, went out of business last October because of financial difficulties.

The working-class movement exerts little or no influence on radio and television which are controlled by people either hostile or indifferent towards it. It is noteworthy that the half-hour review of the May Day celebrations which had been broadcast for many years was cut out of the program in 1958. The workers' demonstration got only brief mention in the news.

Since freedom to write and to publish is often referred to as an attribute of Social-Democratic "socialism," it will not be amiss to take a look at it as it appears to bourgeois and Social-Democratic newspapermen. Here is a quotation from Karl Fredriksson, the last chief editor of the recently closed *Morgon-Tidningen*: "I work for a paper in which I can write as I please. But should the idea come into my head to write something not very nice about the government, the leadership of the party, the central trade union body, or about someone advertising detergents, then my own instinct warns me, saying very convincingly: you should not write anything to the detriment of these friends of yours who provide you with your bread and butter."

U. Wikman, foreign political editor of one of the biggest dailies, upon relinquishing his post a few years ago, said: "As a rule, the owner of the paper and the editor 'consult' one another about political articles and settle matters between them; in some cases the owner reserves the right to consult the editor, or the latter reserves the right to have a special opinion. But the meeting between owner and editor is like that between the fox and the cock. The cock, probably,

would say: 'After the meeting the crowing will still be done by me.' The meeting, of course, is accompanied by a complete understanding on both sides that while the fox can take the cock by the throat, the cock cannot do that to the fox."

We see, then, that no matter how carefully we analyze economic relations, the system of government or the constitutional rights of the citizens, we will not discover any socialism in the Sweden of today. The socialism of Social Democracy is an illusion, a myth invented by international reformism. Profound structural changes are needed in Sweden's economy, such as socialization of the key industries and abolition of the monopolies, and, on this basis, the building of a planned national economy. This would result in a much higher standard of living, in real full employment, and in genuine democratization of the social and political system. This is the goal for which the Swedish Communists are working. The Social-Democratic leadership and government, on the other hand, have demonstrated their inability and their unwillingness to follow this path.

It would be wrong, of course, to infer from this that as things are the working class is indifferent as to who heads the government — the Social Democratic Party or the Right bourgeois parties. It is easier for the working class to influence home policy when the Social Democrats are in office. And the fact that for many years there has been a Social-Democratic government is also of great importance in such an essential matter as foreign policy.

When the Second World War broke out, the reactionaries tried to embroil Sweden in war and tried hard to get her to relinquish her traditional neutrality. Such forces were to be found also among the Social Democrats. But the supporters of neutrality proved stronger; the struggle waged by the workers and peasants to maintain neutrality had its impact on the government's policy — Sweden did not become embroiled. After the war the government pursued a policy of non-participation in military alliances and blocs, and resisted the repeated and frantic efforts of the ultra-reactionary bourgeois circles who demanded a new foreign policy, that Sweden should join the blocs formed in the West by the imperialists, that she should have atomic and rocket weapons, etc.

It goes without saying that the carrying out of this policy and the influence which the masses can exert on it are facilitated by having a Social-Democratic government. It

is also easier for the working people to uphold the reforms enacted by the Riksdag against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

In determining its attitude to the Social-Democratic government, the Communist Party bases itself on the interests of the working people. Briefly, its attitude is this: the Communists support the government against the attacks of the Right bourgeois parties, and they support the official foreign policy of the government — no participation in military alliances, and neutrality. But in doing so, the Communists also criticize the government for its inconsistent implementation of this policy, for the increased military expenditures and for its hostile attitude to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The Social-Democratic leaders regard neutrality and non-alliance as rather loose concepts. For example, they claimed at one time that the formation of "volunteer" units for war against the Soviet Union, granting passage to German troops and arms en route to Finland and Norway, and selling military strategic material to Germany, etc., were not at variance with neutrality.

These leaders have been hostile to the Soviet Union and Soviet power ever since the October Revolution. When the Russian workers took power into their hands, their action was enthusiastically hailed by the Swedish workers. But the Social-Democratic leaders in the main adopted a sharply negative attitude to the Soviet government. The degree of hostility varied, depending on the international climate, but essentially their attitude has never changed. It is not precluded, however, that the international prestige of the Soviet Union and the pressure exerted by the Swedish working class will force these leaders to change their attitude in one way or another.

These leaders are, in equal measure, hostile to the socialist countries of Europe and Asia. They maintain that any system of government is better than that existing in the socialist countries. In 1948 when the people of Czechoslovakia crushed the reactionary attempts to restore the capitalist system, their action was regarded as an encroachment of democracy. On the other hand, when after the war the Yugoslav leaders established close contact with the United States and other capitalist countries, the Swedish Social Democrats immediately renounced their negative attitude to that country and co-operated with the Yugoslav leaders. The fact that in 1956 they described the counter-

Revolution in Hungary as "a fight for freedom" and lamented its defeat needs no comment.

The Social Democratic Party is a party of various trends. Its members can be monarchists or republicans, idealists or materialists, believers or atheists, bourgeois liberals or socialists. Yet its leaders adopt a consistently hostile attitude towards Marxism. Anyone adhering to the Marxist outlook is immediately suspect and at the first sign of activity runs the risk of being isolated and even expelled. Any "deviation" towards Marxism is cut short with all severity. Even association with the Left Union of Swedish Women, an organization affiliated to the Women's International Democratic Federation, is incompatible with membership in the party. The Social Democratic Youth Union forbids its members to attend the international democratic youth festivals.

There are severe restrictions in relation to Communists in the trade unions, who are not allowed to hold leading posts. There have been instances where trade unions having a communist majority have been dissolved, and the Communist members expelled. The Social-Democratic leaders do everything to keep the Communists out of a number of posts; some enterprises deny employment to Communist workers.

The tactics and methods of work of the Social-Democratic leaders changed radically with their advent to power in 1917-19. They have described this development as the period of the "democratic revolution." Whereas previously the party leadership rallied the workers to fight for certain reforms through parliament, after the "revolution" they retreated more and more from joint struggle with the masses, and turned to parliamentary combinations and compromise. Action by the masses is regarded as undesirable and is suppressed. The struggle of the working class for higher wages is opposed by the government, while the interests of the working class conflict increasingly with those of the Social-Democratic leadership. This is the background to the growing conflict between the leaders and the majority of the rank and file.

The Communist Party, pursuing a consistent policy of labor unity, appeals first of all to the broad sections of the Social-Democratic rank and file. The Communists support all reforms which benefit the working people. They hold that the present struggle for reforms can become the basis for unity bet-

ween the Social-Democratic and Communist workers and between the organizations of the two parties.

The Communists have demonstrated the sincerity and seriousness of their intentions. An example of this is the Communist-sponsored struggle for pensions for all factory and office workers at the expense of the employers. This struggle is now in its decisive phase. The pension reform is furiously opposed by the bourgeois parties. After a preliminary referendum in the autumn of 1957, and under the pressure of the masses, the government decided last spring to dissolve the Second Chamber of the Riksdag because they were afraid that the elections would return a Chamber in favor of the pension reform. The Communist Party decided, in order to ensure a majority for the Social-Democratic candidates, not to nominate candidates in a number of constituencies. This was a step towards the realization of the pension reform. The policy proved to be correct — the elections gave the reform supporters a majority, though an insignificant one, in the Second Chamber.

The joint struggle for the pension reform brought the Communist and Social-Democratic workers closer together, especially in the

trade unions, where they discuss issues and reach agreement for joint actions. While it would be an exaggeration to say that there is now genuine unity of action between Communists and Social Democrats, it would be equally wrong to underestimate the importance of these first steps towards unity on a platform of common struggle against the capitalists.

The conditions being what they are, the Communists are trying to establish united action on pressing political issues, such as support for the government against the attacks of the Right bourgeois parties and support for its foreign policy, as well as on wage issues and other matters. These developments hamper the actions of that part of the Social-Democratic leadership which endeavors at any cost to isolate the Communists from the masses and to split the working-class movement. By raising issues which rally all the workers, it is possible to lay the basis for unity of action. With unity achieved the Swedish working class will become stronger and more resolute in its desire to abolish the rule of big capital which the Social-Democratic leadership has been tolerating and living with for the last quarter of a century.

French Youth and the Algerian Tragedy

Paul Gillet

LAST December the parents of Pierre Guyot, a French soldier, received a letter from a comrade in their son's regiment. "I should like to tell you how much I admire and esteem your boy. He knew he would have to pay dearly for the humane act of refusing to take up arms against the Algerian people. But what he did was not futile. Many understand his protest, many are proud of him and of others like him. . . . One is glad and gratified to think that there are people who give their youth and are prepared to give their lives so that elementary rights and justice may be respected, so that the true character of this war, which we have now been waging for so many years, can be shown up. . . ." In January the Military Tribunal in Algeria sentenced Pierre Guyot to two years'

imprisonment for having (in September 1958) sent the President of the Republic a letter setting out his attitude towards the Algerian tragedy.

The people of France are not unanimously behind those prosecuting the Algerian war. They have not all been won over to the policy of force. Hundreds of young Frenchmen have chosen Pierre Guyot's path—the path of courage, the path of defending the real interests of France, the path of proletarian internationalism. About thirty lads who had the courage to speak their minds to the President of the Republic were arrested: some have been severely punished, others are to appear before the Tribunal. Their action is only a part of the struggle that began in the early days of the Algerian war. It has been carried

on in many forms, has met with failure and success, but never has it ceased.

What is involved is *one of the major problems of the young generation* in France. The shelling of Haiphong in 1946 by a squadron under the command of Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu marked the beginning of a period in which colonial war has never ceased to be a tragic reality for French youth. The war in Vietnam was followed by the Madagascar events, later the Tunisian, Moroccan and Algerian conflicts, not to mention the abortive expedition to Egypt in 1956 and the attempts to invade Lebanon and Iraq in 1958. Impelled towards disaster by a bourgeoisie which refuses to admit the reality of the historic development of the past few years, which has time and again brought the country to an impasse, the young people of France are asking themselves — what is the real meaning of national interests and national grandeur? More and more acutely they feel that the drama into which they have been drawn is affecting their lives. The war in Algeria compels every conscript, every soldier, every young man to pay for the policy pursued by successive governments since 1954.

A detailed history of this struggle has not yet been written, for the fight is still on and history continues. We shall endeavor to give it in broad outline, to quote from a number of documents which will make it easier to understand and follow the march of events. It is essential to do this in view of the nationalist demagoguery so skilfully spread by those sections of the bourgeoisie suffering from a nostalgia for colonialism.

* * *

For a better understanding of what is troubling the youth of France it is necessary to recall the summer of 1955 when the Premier of the day, Edgar Faure, announced the government's intention to reinforce the punitive troops in North Africa by *calling up* the reserves—men who had already completed their normal term of military service. The government called up young men of two age-groups who had already served their time, and retained those due for demobilization: 180,000 men were thrown into the adventure. Thus, a generation which only a few months back, with the ending of the war in Vietnam, believed that they could now breathe freely, once more found themselves under fire. They thought that they had seen the last of the specter of Dien-Bien-Phu; they had read about the conference of representatives of the Great Powers who met in Geneva for the

first time after an interval of ten years... and suddenly they were told that they had to go into the fray again! Anxiety gave place to wrath.

It was clear to everyone that the government's blind policy, the repressions in Algeria and Morocco, and war, meant an impasse. In vain did the government tell the conscripts that they "must do their duty." They simply could not understand why it was their "duty" to suppress peoples aspiring to independence, neither could they understand why the national interests called for mobilization and war. Quite another example had been set by the Soviet Union which had demobilized 600,000 men. And did not the events in Vietnam and Tunisia show that peace negotiations with Algeria were possible?

In the autumn of 1955 the youth organizations unanimously condemned the aggression. The Union of Republican Youth of France* called upon all young people to "join efforts and demand an end to mobilization . . . to launch a large-scale campaign immediately, to hold youth meetings and to send out delegations all over the country. . . ." The solution, they said, lay "neither in intensifying repression nor in continuing the war, but in satisfying the legitimate demands of the peoples of North Africa through negotiations with their authorized representatives. This is in the interests of France. The Union of Republican Youth summons all young Frenchmen to join in this struggle."

In September and October there was an explosion of fury among the young people such as had not been seen for a long time. Of the 60,000 called up some 40,000 came out against the war. They had the people behind them. Hundreds of demonstrators—military and civilians—were arrested. Protests resounded everywhere—at the stations, in the trains and in the barracks.

Entraining at the Gare de Lyon in Paris for Marseilles, groups of conscripts from among the 400 air-force soldiers, with the obvious sympathy of the people on the platform, refused to enter the compartments. The police were called out. But the train, which had just started, was stopped by the alarm signal. The soldiers left the train which went off empty. . . . That was the spark. All over the country soldiers stopped trains, and held them up for hours.

The protest movement gained momentum, ranging from demonstrations in the villages

*This union ceased to exist in 1956. Many of its former members helped to form the Young Communist League of France.

on the occasion of the departure of one or two conscripts, to mass actions. In Toulon 300 recruits signed a petition to the Prime Minister, as did 200 soldiers in Carpiagne; 600 conscripts came into the streets in Tulle, and so forth.

A resolute battle was waged by soldiers quartered in the Richepanse barracks in Rouen. On October 4 they were ordered to depart, but refused to do so. Their commanding officer then announced that no food would be served them as long as they persisted in their refusal. The Union of Republican Youth in Rouen immediately organized a solidarity movement. Delegations went to the barracks one after another, bringing food. On the day fixed for departure, working people from the shipyards, docks, building sites, factories, warehouses and stations began to gather outside the barracks. The crowd numbered about 6,000. With the onset of darkness three companies of armed police attacked the barracks. The fight lasted until late into the night. Only on the following day were the soldiers, encircled by police, put on planes bound for Morocco.

Another date will go down in the history of the youth struggle. In Paris on Tuesday, November 22, 1955, 80 soldiers of the 93rd Infantry Regiment, representing 600 soldiers at the Courbevoie barracks, formed a delegation to the War Ministry, and marched along the Champs-Élysées demanding peace and release from military service. They went from the workers' suburb of Courbevoie, through the rich quarters of Neuilly and Etoile Square and were then stopped by the police. Nothing was heard of these 80 soldiers for some time, and it was not until their first letters arrived three weeks later that their fate became known; they were, it appeared, in a Foreign Legion camp of paratroops—mostly former SS men—30 kilometers from Algiers.

The Champs-Élysées and Rouen demonstrations had repercussions. News of them spread rapidly to military units stationed in France and North Africa. Despite repressions, violence and intimidation, the 80 young soldiers of the 93rd Regiment remained the inspirers of the struggle for peace and—when they reached their destination—men who symbolized the resistance of the French youth to a monstrous colonial war.

There were people at that time who jeered at these noble acts. They accused the young people of not wanting to fight, of being cowards; as if courage and daring lay in passive obedience. Is not the passionate desire

to act according to the dictates of conscience courage?

The young people did not, of course, wait for the autumn of 1955 to ask themselves what was happening in North Africa. But that autumn the contradiction was particularly glaring between the sentiments of young men who did not wish to foreswear the traditions of their people, and what they were offered by a society whose leaders hold money and their incomes from vineyards and phosphorite ore mines (oil had not then been "discovered" in the Sahara) as things precious above all.

An open letter by a group of conscripts who assembled on September 29 at the Saint Séverin Church in Paris will forever remain testimony to this crying contradiction. "... Believers and non-believers, Christians and Communists, Jews and Protestants," it said, "all of us wish to express our common desire for peace and fraternity in North Africa. We, people of different views, professions and walks of life, have gathered here to declare on behalf of our comrades: We are ashamed and perturbed to serve in a cause that is not supported by all French people. This war runs counter to everything taught in our youth, a youth that was spent under foreign occupation. That is why we are so averse to serving in an army that enslaves a foreign people. We look upon our elder brothers, who took part in the Resistance, as models of courage and human dignity. We were quite young when they taught us to understand what a just cause was and to defend it unhesitatingly. . . . Let all Frenchmen know: if our hands tremble when we shoot at our Moslem brothers, it is because our conscience is against it. . . ."

The determined efforts made by the conscripts during the last three months of 1955 contributed in large measure to the inability of the Edgar Faure government to continue a policy that evoked disapprobation.

When the National Assembly was dissolved at the end of 1955, the soldiers, conscripts and young people placed all their hopes in the elections of January 2, 1956. Those who had been drawn into the Algerian drama contributed in great measure to the success of the Left. On that day the victory of the Communist, Socialist and Radical-Socialist parties, whose electoral campaign centered mainly around the slogan of "Peace in Algeria," was, to a considerable degree, their victory.

They hoped for a change in policy, believed there would be social progress, were certain that an alliance between the democratic forces could and should lead to better conditions, higher wages, provide opportunities for vocational and general education and ensure recreation. And the prevailing desire was for an end to the war in Algeria.

The young people could then believe that everything would be done to end this war as speedily as possible: hopeful eyes were turned to the majority as they took their places in the National Assembly, a majority for whom the young people had cast their votes. Soon, alas, they began to perceive that under bourgeois democracy it was a far cry from words to deeds. If these last years were ones that put to the test the moral qualities of French youth, they were at the same time also a bitter experience in understanding a false democracy.

The Socialist leaders and supporters of Mendès-France, despite the demand of the Communists, refused to honor their pledges to the electorate. And yet, having a majority, they could have done this: the Communists, true to their pledges, did all they could to provide the Guy Mollet government with the powers necessary for curbing the ultra-colonialists and establishing peace.

But Guy Mollet and his adherents chose another path. They surrendered to the demands of those calling for war to the bitter end. Soldiers continued to die for the super-profits of the colonialists. *It would be difficult to assess the harm done to the youth by the treachery of Guy Mollet and the Socialist ministers in 1956.* Bitter disillusion and confusion, which have never profited the working class or the country, took hold of those who had believed the Socialists.

Instead of entering into negotiations as was expected, the government took decisions in April which, in effect, meant mobilizing the entire younger generation: *all soldiers on active service* were transferred to Algeria; conscripts were called up ahead of time; reserves returned to military service.

There was a fresh explosion of fury. Again troop trains were stopped and demonstrations of conscripts were organized. In May and June 1956 some 50,000 conscripts and soldiers took part in the protest movement. Prisons and camps, guarded by paratroops and soldiers from the Foreign Legion, were once more filled to overflowing. But the young people did not yield.

It became clear to official circles that to break their spirit they would have to launch

a large-scale campaign to pervert and demoralize them.

* * *

With this end in view they talked about the complexity of the Algerian problem, about the specter of "pan-Arabism," "Arab fanaticism" and the "holy war." The operations of the soldiers in Algeria were represented as acts to "safeguard the French population" in Algeria, and later, to "safeguard Algerian Moslems against bandits." They depicted the monstrous colonial war as a war for "liberty," asserting that it was not a question of defending a caste of plunderers, but the *individual freedom* of each Algerian Moslem. This war—which each day detracts more and more from the prestige of France, devours billions, takes hundreds of thousands of young men from their work and shackles France still more firmly to America and West Germany, compromises France's future in Algeria, and casts the shadow of Cavaignac* over the traditions of 1793—is being palmed off as a war in defense of the "national interests." With Socialist support, public opinion was "brain-washed" by reactionary ideas and jingoism. No opportunity was lost in playing upon the disgust aroused in the people by the refusal of the Socialists and Radicals to honor their election pledges, and upon the sense of helplessness engendered by the systematic anti-communism of the Socialist and Radical leaders.

We should add that the discovery in 1956 of oil in the Sahara contributed to spreading the chauvinist poison: at the mere thought of oil the monopolists' appetites grew and they were even more determined to maintain colonial rule in this area. Widespread propaganda, the effect of which was greater by virtue of its being conducted by the "Socialists" (a Ministry for Sahara headed by a Socialist was set up), inspired many Frenchmen to believe in Saharan oil; they regarded it as a panacea, the guarantee of the future independence of France, as a means of raising the standard of living and the country's prestige among the Great Powers.

It was necessary to invent a type of "hero." The attempt to resurrect the "empire builder" failed: he was a person from another age. So they created the "paratrooper" apropos of whom a journalist recalled that in their time young Germans from a volunteer corps in the Baltic found themselves in Hitler's

*General Cavaignac (1802-1857) suppressed the uprising of the Paris workers in June 1848. Earlier he was governor of Algeria and went through the school of colonial wars.

storm troops. And the "para's prayer" was made up:

"Of calm and serenity, Lord, I've had enough,

"Let me have it rough, O Lord, give it to me tough. . . ."

Is a newspaper needed? *Le Bled*, a military weekly, was published, 300,000 copies being distributed free of charge among the soldiers in North Africa, France and West Germany. In addition to exalting the man of strong will—paratrooper or soldier of the Foreign Legion—the weekly extolled chauvinism and nationalism, justified colonialism and preached anti-communism. No better way could have been devised for ramming home methods of violence and educating the soldiers in the spirit of fascism and racism.

But this, too, was not enough. An official doctrine was called for, something like *justification of brutality*, designed to reconcile the thousands of honest young workers and peasants to an epoch of murderers. An official pamphlet on "interior defense and psychological war" was circulated, in which one could read the following: "To prosecute a war means that you must simultaneously be an expert in destruction and pacification. . . . Have the mentality of a hunter and not that of a wild fowl. Fervor, gain and terror—these are the three principal driving forces of human nature used in the psychological war. . . ."

It cannot be said that this cynical propaganda did not have a pernicious influence on the French youth. And if they resisted it—the powerful movement against the torture and the absence of mass admiration for the mystical "paratrooper" are cases in point—many fell for the nationalist demagoguery.

It had the greatest effect on those who had not come under the direct influence of the youth organizations. It was least successful in the places where the YCL organizations functioned actively (i.e., in the big towns), and where the young people were influenced by organizations (sometimes Catholic) resolutely opposed to the repressions in Algeria.

Many young Frenchmen retained their convictions, fought for human dignity with all the means in their power, and resisted in every way they could.

The soldier from Algeria — morose, unsociable and shaken, with the ineffaceable imprint of all that he has gone through, like a bleeding wound — symbolizes this war for all Frenchmen. In hundreds of published letters — testimony to what is taking place — the words most often used are: "I have aged

ten years," "What a mess!," "What mockery!"

It is to their credit that many of these young men did not keep silent, they told of what they had seen for all the world to hear. Their hearts were crying out and they were prepared to swear before the court to the truth of what they said, and they managed to let the people know the horrible facts. Dozens of pamphlets were published with accounts of the war, as well as diaries, notes, declarations. YCL groups printed the pamphlets, held thousands of meetings at which the demobilized soldiers spoke, thus imparting new strength to the anti-war movement.

Never for a moment did the young Communists relax their efforts in the army, even when repressions were rampant. The newspaper *l'Avant-Garde** published numerous documents and information, and kept its readers advised of the progress of the struggle. The Communists brought home to other young people the injustice of the Algerian war, the falsity of the slogans about the need for the "presence of the French" and point by point, exposed the official propaganda. They wished to understand everything and explain everything. They described the soldiers' conditions, the real meaning of the colonial regime, the various aspects of the so-called "pacification" policy; disclosed the inner workings of the adventure and named those who were responsible. One, appealing to his student-comrades, wrote: "A young Frenchman, I deny that this war is in the interests of either France or Algeria . . . The interests of France call for a policy of peace and social progress; war increases taxes, makes for greater economic stagnation and aggravates poverty. The interests of France call for the extension of education . . . But a few days on the spot, in action as I now am, are enough to show how the billions badly needed by the universities are disappearing and producing ruins.

"The interests of France lie in maintaining her position as a Great Power, but in UNO we have been put in the dock. The war opens the door for intervention in our affairs by foreign capital interests; for them both the French and Algerian blood being shed in this war has the same smell of oil. It is not a question of what methods should be used to prosecute this terrible war. This is how the question stands: either war or negotiations . . . which alone — while respecting the

*Organ of the French Young Communist League.

right to freedom and independence — can create new relations (between France and Algeria) based on voluntary agreement, on equality and mutual advantage." Thus, with the help of the Communist Party and the communist youth movement, these young Frenchmen are rebuffing reaction's ideological offensive, counterposing to falsehood the prospect of the genuine grandeur of France, a grandeur based on the friendship of peoples.

And, furthermore, knowing that human dignity should be defended by both word and deed, they are conducting the fight in diverse forms: they have protested against the bad food, sent petitions and collective letters, refused to carry out criminal assignments and to take part in repressions, and so forth.

* * *

Just as the names of Henri Martin and Raymonde Dien symbolize the struggle for peace in Vietnam, so that of Alban Liechti, a gardener, is for the French youth a symbol of decisive opposition to the Algerian war. He was the first unhesitatingly to refuse to take up arms.

Alban Liechti, who was called up in March 1956, was due to go to Algeria with thirty comrades in July. To the soldiers of his platoon he suggested writing a letter to the Prime Minister, in which they urged him to make every effort to "end the war speedily." But Alban Liechti believed that he, for his part, should do much more. He felt that for the present his comrades would not go any farther and that he, as a Communist, ought to show them the path of struggle. He then wrote a letter to the President of the Republic informing him of his refusal to take up arms against the Algerian people. Many soldiers in his unit read this letter which will remain a document reflecting the standpoint of the advanced section of our young people on the Algerian problem:

"M. President, my company is due to leave for North Africa in the next few days.

"I have always carried out the orders given me. I have paid great attention to military instruction, and followed my platoon everywhere without demur. I am prepared to fight against anyone that attacks my country.

"I wish to be loyal to the traditions of France, to the traditions of struggle for freedom and justice . . .

"... The war our rulers are waging against the Algerian people is not a defensive war. In this war it is the Algerians who are de-

fending their homes and country. It is they who are fighting for peace and justice.

"It is the friendship between Frenchmen and Algerians that I want to defend.

"I am not infringing upon the Constitution, the preamble of which reads: 'The French Republic . . . will not undertake any war with a view to conquest and will never use its forces against the liberty of any people.'

"... It is for these reasons that I refuse to take up arms against the Algerian people fighting for their independence.

"In refusing to take part in an unjust war, I wish to contribute to the possibility of establishing good relations between our peoples based upon respect for each other's rights and interests. I want to bring nearer the time when war gives place to negotiations."

Liechti weighed his act. He knew the significance that would be attached to his action: "... Even an individual action can be of great consequence if the majority of Frenchmen approve it," he wrote to his uncle.

He remained among the soldiers in order to convince them. Together they left for Algeria. But once there, a soldier in the 228th Infantry Battalion, Liechti refused to take up arms. He rejoined his unit at Oued-Aissi, near Tizi-Ouzou. Again he refused to fight. He was sent to the guard-house. He always replied frankly to questions — and they were many — asked by the soldiers. The major transferred him to Fort National. Here, among the Sudanese riflemen, who were at first hostile towards him, the force of his character again compelled people to listen to him. He was then sent to Colomb-Béchar, deep in the desert. He was subjected to more pressure, again he was arrested. The people at the top knew very well that he was not only a soldier who refused to fight, but a living example to others. So the Military Tribunal in Algeria sentenced him to two years' imprisonment.

They tried to break his resistance. He was flung into the death cell — far below ground level — of a military convict prison. He was put in irons and sent to Berrouaghia to undergo hard labor. He became the talk of France. The staunchness of this young man and the indignant public protests forced the authorities to transfer him to a prison in metropolitan France where he served his sentence. He was released on September 18, 1958.

The example set by Alban Liechti inspired dozens of young French patriots boldly and

resolutely to say "NO" to the war.* The threat of penal servitude hung over them too. Among them were people from all over France, young people of different professions, but chiefly workers.

The history of Serge Magnien, Communist student of architecture, is noteworthy. Of the 179 soldiers belonging to a sapper unit, 177 — among them Magnien — signed a petition to the Head of State, as they were on the point of leaving for Algeria. In firm but measured terms they set out their desire for an "immediate cease-fire and frank and constructive negotiations" which would lead to a solution conforming to the "interests both of France and Algeria."

Of the 177 soldiers 172 were put in the guard-house; NCO's were demoted. The remaining five were arrested and forcibly sent to Algeria. Three of them, two sergeants and a corporal — among them was Serge Magnien — were immediately reduced to the ranks. After sixty days in prison, 26 of which he spent in solitary confinement, Serge Magnien was forced to take part in round-ups. Shortly afterwards he sent another letter to the President of the Republic: "For twelve days, from April 18 to 30 (1958) I was constrained to take part in operations. This is only a beginning of what will be required of me in the future, as has been required of hundreds of thousands of young Frenchmen for nearly three-and-a-half years. I have the honor to inform you that I, while remaining loyal to the principles that have made the grandeur of my country, consider this neither possible nor acceptable. Two months in Algeria have convinced me that the ideas set forth in this letter are shared by many of the people fighting here (there are even regular army officers among them) regardless of their beliefs. I think the Commander-in-Chief ought to know of this."

One can imagine what these courageous youth were threatened with and how they were treated. Some of them were in grave danger. Cut off from the world by Algerian prison walls, they are in the grip of those who live by war and for war. The young soldier Létouart was beaten in his cell. He was threatened in these terms: "If tomorrow you refuse to go on patrol you'll be made to do so at gun point. And if you refuse to budge we'll riddle you through and

through." The news of this evoked indignation everywhere, particularly in the mining Department of Pas-de-Calais, where he came from. It was possibly because of this that the ill-treatment ceased. There are many like Létouart. Their courage has found warm response among the soldiers and the people of France.

The collective action of the soldiers testifies to this; 104 men signed a petition demanding an amnesty for Liechti and a cease-fire in Algeria. Forty-three soldiers from the Ninth Signals Battalion protested about the bombing of Sakiet-Sidi Youssef: "To us soldiers and citizens of France," they declared, "this was a painful surprise."

The manifold activities of the working people and the population demanding the release of the young soldiers and peace in Algeria testify to the same thing. The resistance put up by these young people, which did not cease in prison, won the sympathy of many people. Committees were set up which distributed leaflets, arranged meetings in their defense and called for solidarity, thus making a valuable contribution to the struggle for peace in Algeria.

L'Avant-Garde recently received a letter from a demobilized soldier. This moving document testifies to the new upswing as a result of the stand of the young soldiers, who are our pride. "I am writing this letter," says the author, "because I wish to express my admiration and fraternal gratitude to the two lads who helped me make my choice, who explained the meaning of life in the hard time of military service in Algeria. The two friends, who meant as much to me as if they had been my brothers, are now in prison in Constantine. I appeal to you, readers — let us fight together for their liberation . . . I know that their ideal will help them to remain firm, no matter what trials they are forced to endure. And as Communists they know that we shall not forget them . . . I am pondering over all of this, with Marx's *Capital* hidden at the bottom of my trunk. I have not forgotten a word of their advice. I know that I shall never yield . . . It is because of Michel and Paul that I'm what I am today . . . Everything must be done to return them to their friends . . ."

* * *

Developments in France since May 13, 1958, have shown the justness of the cause defended by the courageous soldiers now in prison. In light of the new facts some of their previous declarations show rare pers-

*As early as 1955, in Constantine, eight soldiers were court-martialled (after being kept in prison for four years) for demanding an end to the war in Vietnam and a shorter term of military service, for exposing the slogan "Algeria is France" and insisting on recognition of Algeria's right to independence.

picacity. Here are the words of Claude Despretz: "The repercussions of this war on the ideological, political and economic life are disastrous for both France and Algeria. In France all the social gains of the working people are menaced . . . Groups of insurgents, ignoring the law, are acting with growing arrogance. Republican institutions are in danger. The policy now being pursued in Algeria is a stain on the honor of the French Army. It is fraught with danger for the republican system in our country."

This absurd and criminal war, a war that runs counter to the interests of France, a war against a freedom-loving people, has led to a situation where a handful of people, who refuse to see the march of history, have established, by means of force and intimidation, a regime of one-man rule, not the least object of which is to suppress popular opposition to the war.

It would be wrong to say that the illusions engendered by the advent to power of General de Gaulle, "the man of providence," allegedly capable of ending the war and preserving what can no longer be preserved — colonial rule in Algeria — have not affected the youth and the French people as a whole. Despite the fact that the events which followed the September referendum are beginning to have a sobering effect on the masses, and despite their yearning for peace, illusions and doubts persist. This explains why the mass movement has not yet attained the scope of the 1955-58 popular action, why it has not yet reached the level of consciousness of the young patriots. The attitude of these patriots is that of the most progressive section of the French youth.

Generals who have of late been very much occupied with the problem of the French youth, have nothing to brag about. The soldiers in Algeria showed no particular enthusiasm for the coup of May 13 and took no part in it. Every precaution was taken to prevent the soldiers from expressing their will both at the time of the September 28 referendum and the elections to the National Assembly on November 28. Yet military units could be named in which quite a considerable number said "NO." The soldiers who have returned to France have done much to tear to shreds the net of colonialist demagoguery woven by the new regime.

Undoubtedly many believed that with de Gaulle's coming to power the Algerian problem would be settled: he promised to establish peace in four months. But the war continues. And, what is more, he is taking measures to intensify it. Fresh reinforcements were demanded recently. There are those who believed that his advent to power would mean a shorter term of military service. But there is no longer any talk of that. Actually the reverse holds good, for it is being said that nineteen-year-olds will be called up. Events confirm that there will be no peace in Algeria until the national demands of the Algerians are recognized, that in our time no force can break the will of a people fighting for freedom. As to the economic prosperity that was promised the French people, increasing poverty and growing unemployment are demolishing the edifice of lies so carefully erected by the organizers of the coup d'état.

Thus the experience accumulated by the French youth gives them a better and clearer conception of the daring acts of the imprisoned soldiers to which the objective march of events will draw even more attention. The people's committees set up for the defense of the brave patriots will contribute to this. The time is not far distant when the consciousness of the masses of the youth will be as high as that of their best representatives.

The illusions exist, but there is also the reality with its irrefutable facts. And in light of these, the words spoken by some of the finest sons of the French people — Alban Liechti, Serge Magnien, Pierre Guyot, Paul Lefebvre and many others — acquire even greater importance. The trials and tribulations of the young generation continue and are becoming more severe. They are carrying forward the great anti-colonialist traditions of the French working class. The sons of those who fought against the Riff war in 1925, the brothers of Raymonde Dien and Henri Martin, who became the symbol of the French people's resistance to the war in Vietnam, are giving all their strength, the same self-abnegation and courage, to the struggle against the Algerian war. These traditions show them the meaning of their struggle and inspire them with belief in its ultimate victory.

Unity the Keynote

THE Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain held in London at Easter was very different from the previous Congress two years ago, when our Party was under the greatest combined internal and external attack in its history. At that time, following the counter-revolution in Hungary, revisionist trends were current in the Party. These trends were decisively rejected by Congress, which stood firm on the basic principles of democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism which were the main targets of the revisionist attack. But the confusion sown among Party members by the revisionists and open enemies of the Party led to a fall in membership and to a certain decline in the activity of Party branches. The capitalist press spoke of the Communist Party as "down and out" and prophesied its imminent destruction.

At this year's Congress the press had to whistle a different tune. From the opening address the Congress reflected the results of the Party's public campaigning experiences, its deepened political understanding of the role of the Party and of proletarian internationalism, its stronger unity and militancy.

How was the Party able to make this headway? The main reason that made our advance possible was that we defeated the internal revisionist enemy of our Party so that we could unite our ranks ever more closely in the class struggle for our policy. Disunity brought about by revisionism made our Party vulnerable to the attacks of the capitalist and reformist opponents; it weakened our Party's ability to give effective service to the labor movement and to the people. *If the 25th Congress defeated disruption, the 26th Congress was the Congress of Communist unity.*

The lesson of this period is that unity is the key. During the period under review the Executive Committee worked to strengthen Party unity and broaden ties with the masses. Following the 25th Congress it issued a Political Letter to the membership which stated that the most urgent need was to increase the Party's political activity and develop close relations and united action with all sections of the labor movement.

Examples were cited of public campaigns attesting to the enhanced activity of the branches. Membership increased from 24,900 (in February 1958) to 26,733 at the time of the Congress. Dele-

gates expressed confidence that it could be raised to the 1956 figure of 34,000.

The progress made by the Party engendered a spirit of enthusiasm, confidence and militancy at the Congress. The composition of the delegates showed that our Party was bound up with the working class. Of 492 full delegates, 444 were members of trade unions, 109 being members of engineering, shipbuilding and metal unions, 41 mining and 50 building. They were an active, fighting and leading section of the British labor movement.

There were fraternal delegates from 18 brother Parties, and for the first time at a British Party Congress representatives attended from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

Congress dealt with current problems and restated the basic purpose of the British working-class movement — political power and socialism. It analyzed Britain's economic situation which is marked by industrial stagnation, large unsold stocks of coal and unused capacity in the steel industry. The official figure of 550,000 unemployed in March was far below the true position which is nearer one million, and thousands are working on short time.

John Gollan called attention to three key factors which help to explain this economic position, as follows:

"First, the falling trend in exports due to the reduced purchasing power of the raw-material producing countries; second, the fall in fixed capital investment owing to the fact that the capacity built up in 1955-57 is surplus to requirements at the present level of the people's purchasing power; third, the resistance to increased wages, pensions and benefits, although prices (and especially rents) have continued to rise, and the purchasing power of the people is being kept down."

On this basis, Congress put forward a policy on which the whole labor movement could unite in struggle against the Tories.

The policy of the Labor Party, while differing in detail, does not differ in essence from the policy of the Tories. The struggle of the Communists, the Executive Committee's report says, "is not a struggle to help capitalism to work, but to prevent capitalism putting the burdens of the slump on to the shoulders of the workers. Econ-

omic crises are inherent in capitalism. The job for the working class is not to make 'sacrifices' to help capitalism, but the fight to defend and improve conditions now in spite of slumps. This means the mass struggle of a united working class against the employing classes for our anti-slump program. It means an end to class collaboration and to all talk about running capitalism better than the capitalists. The labor movement was not founded to run capitalism but to end it."

The Congress proposed joint action by the Executives of the Trade Unions backed by the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress, for a nationwide campaign against the slump, to support the miners against the pit closures, and to organize common action for higher wages and a shorter working week. The Parliamentary Labor Party should apply the greatest possible pressure in Parliament and massive Parliamentary lobbies, bringing workers from all parts of Britain to the House of Commons, should press the issues. The Party pledged itself to do its utmost to help every section of the movement to go into action on the biggest and most sustained scale.

The keynote of the discussion of the international situation was: if all who want peace will come into the fight for it, the cold war can be ended. This was based on an analysis of the situation which showed that the cold war is being undermined by the triumphs of communism, that socialism has already demonstrated its superiority and it is becoming more and more difficult to make people believe that the Soviet Union wants war. The seven-year plan of the Soviet Union, the huge leap forward in People's China, the majestic progress of the other socialist countries, the rapidly developing strength of the national-liberation movements and the strength of the working-class and peace movements — all this creates a new balance of forces when world war can be excluded from society even before the universal triumph of socialism. Yet the possibility of war at present still exists, and the threat of war cannot be under-estimated.

The most urgent issue is the German problem which Congress declared to be the greatest source of danger because of the Anglo-American refusal up to now of all proposals for a solution, based on their desire to retain West Germany and Berlin as military bases and centers for espionage against socialism. But the British people will never go to war for the right of Eisenhower and Macmillan to occupy Berlin, and Congress called for a Conference at the highest level, no nuclear weapons for West Germany, recognition of the government of the German Democratic Republic, acceptance of the fact that only the Germans can decide measures for reunification, and readiness

to discuss seriously the Soviet proposals on Berlin and a German Peace Treaty.

Congress appealed to all sections of the labor and peace movements for united action for these aims, for disengagement in Europe and the ending of the nuclear tests and the nuclear war danger to humanity. But it was also necessary to bring about a change in Labor's policy of support for NATO and anti-communism.

Congress adopted a resolution denouncing the policy of the British colonialists. The resolution pledged solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Africans in Nyasaland and sharply condemned the suppression of the Africans' liberation struggle. It stressed that the growing movement for liberation is inseparable from the struggle of the British working class against British capitalism and Toryism, since the same monopoly firms exploit the British workers and the Africans and endanger British and African lives by their aggressive plans. Congress called on the British labor movement to support these demands: end the emergency, secure withdrawal of the troops and the release of all African prisoners; the franchise for all Africans; repeal of the fascist laws in Southern Rhodesia; recognition of the right of all African peoples to independence.

With the General Election approaching in Britain, the next stage of political advance must be the defeat of the Tories and the return of a Labor majority with Communist members of parliament.

Official Labor strategy has been — "Don't frighten the wavering voters with socialist solutions" — but this has proved to be a failure. Despite dissatisfaction with the Tories, Labor is not attracting more than its existing supporters. At a time when strong working-class leadership could build up the widest political front of opposition to the Tories, Labor's new policies and lack of fight have visibly failed to do so. These new Labor policies, especially the documents *Industry and Society* and *Plan for Progress* — all summed up in *The Future Labor Offers You* — express the furthest official Labor swing to the right since the war. Labor's policy of "managed capitalism" means defense of the monopolies, and continued acceptance of the NATO alliance. From this follows the damping down of the mass struggle, and the refusal of united action for peace, on wages, social services, rents, redundancy and pit closures, and the lack of a real fight against the Government. It explains why Labor has not swung large sections of additional support to its side.

The political, economic and social factors which can break the political near-deadlock of past years are developing. In order to change the correlation of class forces correct leadership to rouse the labor movement for united action is needed. The

movement could rally existing support, influence those workers who still vote Tory, and win sections of the middle class, producing a radical advance for Labor, isolating the Tory Party and the monopolists and making itself the leadership of the decisive majority of the people. For what is involved is not only an electoral victory, but a class fight before, during and after the election.

This is not just an election program, but a program for class action, which can rally and unite all the forces of the labor movement wanting a change.

The fight of the seventeen Communist Party parliamentary candidates will be the focus of the struggle for a new program for the labor movement. A group of Communist M.P.'s alongside a Labor victory would transform the position. It would strengthen the Left and progressive fight in Parliament and be the guarantee that the policy proposed by the Communist Party would be carried into the House of Commons.

Congress was clear that the aims it set could only be achieved by the continued action of the trade unions, the TUC and all other organizations of the labor movement. As John Gollan said in his reply to the discussion, for the Communist Party unity is not a tactical move, but a deep-rooted principle. Unity is necessary not only for immediate victory over the Tories and in the conditions of struggle under a Labor Government, but to build the political alliance of the working class with all progressive sections of the people — an alliance that is essential for the development of socialism in British conditions.

Congress showed that the economic and political struggle against the Tories and the monopolies would help in the development and strengthening of forces in the labor movement determined on change.

Congress examined the reasons why so often the "Left" in the Labor Party had succumbed before the attack of the "Right." It showed that it was impossible to combine partially militant policies with anti-communism. It appealed to the "Left" in the Labor movement to get rid of the

Right-wing leaders' proscriptions directed against the Communist Party and hampering the development of united action. As John Gollan put it: "A bigger Communist Party is now the real issue for the labor movement, a bigger Communist Party and a strong Left movement united in the common struggle."

In speech after speech delegates showed how the Party is working to bring about this change in Labor policy and winning the respect and support of the workers. Enthusiastic applause greeted a reference to the election of Will Paynter as General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, showing the recognition among the miners of Communist leadership as the way forward for them. Many delegates also spoke of the important influence of the *Daily Worker* and it was agreed to launch an all-out circulation campaign.

The decisions to build the Party and extend the *Daily Worker* were taken in the interests of the whole labor movement and of the people of our country. Only through building the Party and increasing the *Daily Worker's* circulation will the aims of unity and the alternative program for the labor movement be realized.

The Congress also discussed and adopted new Rules and Constitution which show clearly that we are a British Party, aiming at socialism along the lines laid down in *The British Road to Socialism*; that we are part of the worldwide Communist movement based on proletarian internationalism, and that solidarity with the colonial peoples is an essential part of our struggle.

Congress elected a new Executive Committee of 42 members, and Comrade Pollitt in ending the Congress reminded all there, in inspiring words, that we are Communists because we want to see the means of production and distribution in the hands of the working people. We stand, he said, for the noblest set of principles mankind has ever known, and we are ready to work day and night to achieve those principles.

William WAINWRIGHT,
Member of the Political Committee,
British Communist Party

For Closer Contact with the Intellectuals

THE policy of big capital carried out by de Gaulle is detrimental not only to the working class but also to the middle sections. The intellectuals, a component of these sections, could not but be affected by the consequences of the recent economic and financial measures and political reforms. This, a not unimportant factor, contributes to growing mistrust, if not hostility, towards the one-man rule born of the May coup.

This mistrust, felt by quite a considerable part of the intellectuals, became apparent right from the outset. Many of them know to their cost that any retreat from democracy infringes upon the freedom of scientists, writers and art workers and, for this reason, is harmful to national culture. A reactionary social system is always accompanied by an onslaught of obscurantism. Such a system retards the development of literature, art and

science, its effects being particularly felt in the scientific and university world. This sentiment, to all appearances, is now spreading among other sections too. For example, the juridical reform, introduced without any consultation with lawyers' organizations and abolishing long-established rules of jurisprudence, has caused grave alarm among lawyers. The social insurance measures have opened the eyes of many medical workers to the profoundly anti-social character of the policy of the big bourgeoisie. Neither the public health reform which remains a dead letter because there are no funds, nor the educational reform which postpones until 1967 the introduction of compulsory education up to the age of 16, will deceive anybody. The intellectuals regard these "reforms" as being either the result of reactionary aspirations or of a demagogic gesture.

This does not mean, however, that everything pertaining to the nature and social significance of de Gaulle's policy is understood correctly or, even more, that it arouses a desire for struggle. The decline in the activity of the Defense of the Republic Committees set up by the intellectuals, including the University Committee, reflects the confusion among the intellectuals. Yet all in all, the principal factor is an obvious decline of anti-communism among them. Some circles of intellectuals realize that the onslaught of fascism threatens freedom and culture. The bold and realistic policy pursued by the Communist Party after May 13, 1958, enabled the people better to understand its previous line and, in particular, its efforts to achieve the democratic unity essential for solving the Algerian problem. That is why many intellectuals voted Communist during the recent municipal elections which brought considerable gains to the Party and to all champions of democratic unity.

Many intellectuals now realize that the way out of the impasse is mass action and that, consequently, they must support the Communist Party—the only party resisting the reactionary chauvinist trend, and the mainstay of democracy in France. It is not surprising, therefore, that intellectuals far removed from us display keen interest in our work and that growing numbers of them heed the voice of the Party.

Literary critics of diverse trends, including those alien to Marxism-Leninism, have had to admit that the two outstanding literary productions of 1959 were the work of Communist writers. The artistic merits of Louis Aragon's *Holy Week* and Georges Soria's play *A Foreigner on the Island* impressed the critics. But had the circumstances been different would one have heard from them those words of admiration for works which made no concession whatever to bourgeois ideology? They reacted in this way apparently because they

wanted to express their devotion to freedom as they understand it and which in our country cannot exist without the Communists and their activity.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that present conditions can help new groups of intellectuals find their way to the Communist Party.

* * *

We should bear in mind, however, that the road will not always be straight and easy. For example, the response to Aragon's article on this question was highly symptomatic. The attitude which he recommends adopting towards young writers in order to understand them correctly, to attract their attention and, in the long run, draw them into the struggle, can and should be adopted towards other groups of intellectuals who are anxious to come nearer to us. Possibly not everything in their attitude will be pleasant and understandable to us, and it may be that we shall criticize them. But we should be more far-sighted and do everything not to alienate them. What is more, we should not insist that they immediately act in the way that we Communists consider correct and necessary.

We should not forget that many intellectuals came to our Party when it was surging forward. But quite as many joined it in the more difficult times, including the Resistance period. This was because they saw in the Party the sole force representing the people and the nation. Today, too, it acts as the most consistent force which can be relied upon in the struggle against reaction. And as was the case yesterday, the Party is called upon to be the center of attraction for all the democratic forces, including the young intellectuals who reject the one-man rule and the cynical, brutal power of finance capital. The successes of the Union of Communist Students, and the strengthening of its positions in the major educational establishments, especially in the pedagogical institutes, testify to our possibilities. The results of our work in the organizations catering to intellectuals and in the associations popularizing our national culture are further evidence of our possibilities.

The question arises before the Party: what should be done to win as many intellectuals as possible for our cause?

First of all, we must adopt a clear-cut stand on all questions which arise in various spheres of culture and which affect the nation. Second, we must prove the strength and significance of our ideology and methods, enriching and improving them and thereby confirming their effectiveness.

We tirelessly explain that no demagogical gestures by the government or by Minister André Malraux can take the place of funds so sorely needed by the University, the film industry, the

theaters, research, and for a genuine flowering of culture, funds the government adamantly refuses to allocate because the bulk of the national income is spent on the war in Algeria and generally for military purposes.

The response to the action of the professors and students and the indignation evoked by de Gaulle's arrogant rejection of the National Student Union's request for an increase in funds to the University, testify to the importance these problems have acquired not only for the circles directly concerned but also for the people as a whole. It is most important, therefore, to have a carefully elaborated Party line on all questions of this kind.

We shall succeed in achieving this only if we involve our Communist intellectuals in the work. There is another useful aspect to this: people will see that, in formulating its stand on questions of interest to intellectuals, the Party turns to them for advice and makes use of their experience. Should the Party have a different approach, then it will grope its way and will not be free from shortcomings. Guided by these considerations, the Central Committee in 1957 formed commissions to work among University circles, scientists, lawyers, engineers and technicians, artists, architects, medical and film workers and actors. Any question posed before our deputies, press and organizations can be satisfactorily answered with the help of these commissions which have already gained valuable experience. No restrictions are placed on their initiative; on the contrary, everything is done so that they, without waiting for directives from the Party leadership, tackle these questions, discuss them, make proposals for solving them and report on the results of their work.

The Party federations in the provinces, especially those where there are big towns with many intellectuals and an extensive cultural life, benefit from the experience of these commissions. It would be desirable to have in the commissions attached to the federations, groups of intellectuals who would study the various problems of cultural life. This would improve Party work in their organizations, cultural associations and would provide better opportunities for co-ordinating their efforts.

* * *

By virtue of their social status big segments of intellectuals are in many instances not linked with the class struggle directly. Their working conditions, especially those of professionals, are not conducive to the accumulation of practical experience from the mass movement and from Party work. The specific problems in artistic, scientific and pedagogical work are very complex. It is not simply that bourgeois ideas prevail in capitalist society. The capitalist class is able to make careers

and names for those in whom it is interested. Some of our intellectuals were confused by developments in the world and in France. Others appraise the past work of the Party from a standpoint which at times makes them doubt everything that has been done. There are comrades who, referring to our dogmatic and schematic approach to science and art in the past, deny the need for a Party stand on these questions. The problems of scientific knowledge in our particular field, they say, have become so complex that the desire to draw definite conclusions from a Marxist standpoint is fraught with danger: we run the risk of creating a priori truths, of doing violence to scientific thought. Some even reject the need for the materialist theory of knowledge, the integrated world outlook, and are ready to accept superficial practical results which would lead us to positivism.

Needless to say we cannot agree with those who adopt this attitude, or to be more precise, sink into this quagmire. The Party insists on theoretical generalizations made from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the teaching which is being enriched by the discoveries of science and the achievements of man's practice, and which cannot develop without comparing and accumulating scientific data. Any other stand would mean giving a semblance of truth to the arguments that the Marxists themselves have taken good care to ossify Marxist thought. Such arguments have nothing in common with reality. We are living in times when, as reaffirmed by the XXIst Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the ideas of Marxism inspire the creative labor of one-third of mankind.

Conditions should be created in the Party for extensive research and for militant, convincing refutation of the arguments used by the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism. With this aim in view we suggested last year that our intellectuals set up theoretical groups on philosophy, history, physics, natural science, psychology, etc. However, not all of these groups succeeded in becoming centers of fruitful discussion, active assistants in the everyday work to enrich Marxism in which the intellectuals, the Party and the entire working-class movement are interested.

It would be wrong to think that the intellectuals have done nothing to enrich our ideology and to spread its influence. For example, we should not underestimate the work done by Louis Aragon, Elsa Triolet and *Lettres Françaises*. One has only to become acquainted with the discussions sponsored by them on our concept of realism in art and literature in order to see the new features brought out in their speeches and articles. The comrades grouped around *Pensee*, *Nouvelle Critique* and *Raison* have devoted themselves to developing Marxist science, basing their work on the study

of positive and negative aspects of our past. The "New University," with an enrolment of one thousand, is spreading Marxist knowledge through its lectures, which take the form of ideological discussion. There should be more of these lectures. The experience of the University should be taken up in some of the towns in the provinces.

But all this work, considerable though it is, is still restricted in character, being conducted by a relatively small number of people. This is partly explained by the ideological retreat of some of our intellectuals who succumbed to opportunism and the revisionist trends. The Party holds that it is absolutely necessary to combat any departure from Marxism. That is how it acted in relation to its branch in the Literary Faculty in the Sorbonne, which propagated views hostile to the Party line and took the path of factional activities. In our view, an important means of overcoming difficulties in the work among intellectuals is to bring the Communist intellectuals into the work of elaborating the Party line and into the struggle to carry it out. In this way the Party convinces its intellectuals that it regards their activities as an indispensable element of the struggle: their assistance is necessary in the counter-offensive against the large-scale campaign to corrupt people ideologically, a campaign on which the bourgeoisie is spending vast sums.

Striving to enliven the ideological work of our intellectuals, we shall tirelessly continue our work in this direction and search for new forms. In particular, we aim at providing facilities (premises, etc.), for Marxist research. This will make it easier for the Party to compare the various viewpoints and to arrange meetings between Marxists and the representatives of other materialist and rationalist trends, between all concerned by the onslaught of obscurantism—the corollary of the political and social reaction. Simultaneously, we shall be able better to co-ordinate the efforts of all Party bodies engaged in ideological work, propaganda, schools, press and publishing activities. Research aimed at enriching Marxist theory cannot be conducted in isolation from its practical application. By combining the activities of the intellectuals with the propaganda, publishing and educational work of the Party, we will be able to convince the research workers of the social value of their labor.

Not a single work of art or research by a Communist or a Party sympathizer should leave us indifferent. Books, research, films and plays—these are the invaluable weapons which our comrades give to the Party. They are far more effective than many meetings and propaganda documents.

This can be said, for example, about the novels and essays written by our comrades and published

by the Party or by private publishers. This applies also to political and theoretical works. The Editions Sociales has put out an excellent series of publications that are the envy of other publishers, as for example *The Library of a Republican* and *Classics of the People*. It has also published a number of fine Marxist works devoted to the colonial countries and the struggle of the peoples for liberation.

Together with publishing these books we are creating opportunities for drawing more and more Communist intellectuals and people linked with our struggle into fruitful work.

* * *

Many problems have arisen as a consequence of the events experienced by our country. And it is not surprising that they are often raised by professional workers connected with those sections particularly sensitive to the negative aspects of these developments. Some of the questioners try to create difficulties for the Party or find a pretext for leaving it. Others simply wait for answers. To discuss these questions with our intellectuals the Party functionary must be able to explain things patiently, and this means that he must be efficient, experienced, cultured and politically developed.

Making no concession whatever to the opportunist and revisionist trends, which express the viewpoint of the class enemy, the Party will do its utmost to preserve for the proletariat all scientists and art workers whom it values, both the distinguished and the lesser known, the young and those more experienced—everyone who by his knowledge and prestige benefits the Party. We must be severe with those who play a double game and who prefer to orientate themselves on hostile groupings rather than on the Party line, to those who engage in undemining activity and try to weaken the Party. They must be isolated, exposed and, if necessary, expelled from the Party. Firmness should be accompanied by persistent efforts to involve the intellectuals in the Party's political and ideological work.

The preparations for the Fifteenth Congress will enable us to raise these problems before the active members and, simultaneously, to draw more staunch and able Communist intellectuals into all Party bodies alongside the steeled workers. The intellectuals will help us to give the best answers to all the questions raised. Communist intellectuals are not simply a decoration for our Party; they are an important component of it.

The present situation demands, and the conditions make it possible, that we extend the Party's

influence among the intellectuals. This will enable it to become, in a greater degree than before, what it has always been — a proletarian Party which opens its doors wide to intellectuals siding with the working class in its struggle for political

and social changes, both immediate and in the more distant future.

*Leo FIGUERES,
Member of Central Committee,
French Communist Party*

Improving the Composition of the Party

THE experience of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party forcefully confirms the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the spirit and militancy of the Party largely depend on its composition.

After Hungary's liberation from fascism, which was followed by a powerful upsurge of the working-class movement, the Communist and Social-Democratic parties grew considerably. During the period of the coalition government and the struggle waged by the parties for the masses, there was a big influx of members. The merger into the Working People's Party brought with it a still greater influx. This resulted in an excessive growth—membership mounted to about ten per cent of the population. Among the new there were many who were not worthy of being in the ranks of the vanguard of the working class.

Without doubt the overwhelming majority joined the Party because they realized that its ideas were correct. They sincerely wished to be staunch builders of socialism. But together with them there were many stray, wavering elements and careerists, fair weather fellow-travellers who either deserted to the enemy or abandoned the struggle and kept aloof from the Party during the stormy days when the counter-revolutionaries had to be resolutely combatted.

The Socialist Workers' Party, formed after October 1956 from the best members of the old Working People's Party, drew the appropriate conclusions from this extremely important lesson. Experience has taught us to admit more workers, to observe a class approach in accepting new members. Today we are striving not so much to increase our ranks numerically but rather to improve the composition.

The National Conference held in June 1957 decided "to strengthen the Party ranks chiefly by recruiting the best workers, peasants and intellectuals." Since the crushing of the counter-revolution we have strictly adhered to the Leninist principles of building the Party, the casual and alien elements have been cleared out. Compared with 1956, the membership is less than half, while the social composition has improved; the Party has become stronger ideologically and organizationally.

Of the present membership of 417,000, workers constitute 60.9 per cent; peasants 12.8; intellectuals 7.6; office employees 12.1; students, housewives,

pensioners and others—6.6 per cent. Of this number some 70,000 have been admitted since July 1957.

Probationers are adopted individually. The main criteria are class devotion, political consciousness and active participation in implementing Party decisions. Of the 40,000 probationers listed on April 1, workers constituted 64.9 per cent; peasants 13.7; intellectuals 8.8; office employees 7.6 and others 5 per cent.

The economic and cultural progress made since 1956 has increased the Party's prestige and influence among the masses. It has become more united ideologically and organizationally and its leading role has grown in the struggle against revisionism and sectarian mistakes.

Conditions are now favorable for reinforcing the Party and admitting new members. Its correct policy is supported by the vast majority of the people, whose belief in socialism has become stronger.

In the past two years many workers have shown by their good work, their devotion to the Party's cause and the desire to study (over 80,000 are attending the elementary classes arranged by the Party) that they are worthy of becoming probationers. The relations between the Party and the mass organizations have also changed. The latter have become a school for developing people who can be recruited to the Party.

While continuing to strengthen its proletarian base, the Party is devoting close attention to the rural branches. Good progress has been made in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Almost complete collectivization has been achieved in three regions. By April 1, 35 per cent of the peasants had united into producer co-operatives which, together with the state farms, bring the socialist sector to nearly 50 per cent (prior to October 1956, producer co-operatives united 20.3 per cent of the peasants and after it the figure was 8 per cent). Notwithstanding the success of the Party's agrarian policy, socialist reconstruction of the countryside is far from being completed. The rural branches of the Party have much to do, and this necessitates strengthening them. Peasants are only a small percentage of the membership. This is explained partly by the fact that for some time individual peasants were not encouraged to join the Party

because it was feared that their vacillations might sap its unity. On the other hand, during the last two years, some individual peasants have remained aloof from the Party, fearing that membership would oblige them to join the producer co-operatives. Now that the co-operative movement is gaining in momentum conditions have improved for recruiting new members from among the co-operators, state farm and MTS workers and individual peasants.

Naturally, the job of improving the Party's composition is not an easy matter. The Party systematically expels the unsatisfactory elements (8,500 were excluded in the last 18 months, while 2,500 left voluntarily). Inevitably, we encounter shortcomings. For example, there are fewer women in the Party than in the old Working People's Party. This is especially noticeable in the textile

mills where women-workers predominate. The percentage of young people among the new members is small. The average age of the latter is higher, which in our conditions is a good sign (up to October 1956 there were many young people with no great experience of politics). Now, however, more young people should be admitted.

The recent card exchange showed how the feeling of loyalty to the Party has grown. All the members took out new cards. Over 98 per cent pay their dues on time. This also attests to the improved discipline. Our Party is on the right road. The better social composition strengthens it and enhances its role of vanguard and leader of Hungarian society.

Josef SANDOR,
Member of Central Committee,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Success for a "Non-Existent" Organization

DULL columns of small type. An official publication with a layout too awful for words. Only the names of speakers are in bold letters. The paper in question is *Amtsblatt*, put out in Stuttgart, West Germany, and contains the minutes of the meetings of the city council. It is of little interest to anyone except those whose official functions necessitate reading the minutes.

Possibly this explains why the compilers decided to report an instructive incident which took place when the council was debating the matter of raising tramcar fares. If a playwright were to take upon himself the job of describing the scene, he would, without doubt, choose as the main character an organization which has been banned in the Federal Republic and which, officially, is "non-existent."

The performance, that is, the debate, dragged on and on. It lasted five hours, with attention riveted all the time on a leaflet put out by the Stuttgart district committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

It cannot be said that those taking part in this rather unusual event were taken by surprise or that they were victims of a practical joker. Far from it, the question of the tram fares had been debated for nine long months. The spokesmen of the parties argued that fares simply had to be raised in order to save the city transport from going bankrupt. The only point at issue was the scale of the increase. The Christian Democrats wanted a substantial increase, the Social Democrats a moderate one. Finally, when the matter was put to the vote, 32 councillors voted for a 10 per cent increase, 19 voted against and two abstained.

It is possible to argue whether all this was but the prelude, or whether it formed the background to subsequent developments. In any case, events took a somewhat unexpected turn.

Shortly before the council meeting a Communist Party leaflet was circulated in the city. The leaflet, with its exact calculations and clear-cut conclusions, made quite an impression. It turned out that the real purpose of the increase was not to cover the deficit, as had been argued in the council, but to make a bigger profit at the expense of the public. Protests began to flow from the factories, as the leaflet had urged, and showers of letters came from the trade unions.

The result was that the city council could no longer pretend not to see what was taking place. Things went so far that at the next meeting Dr. Klett, Ober-burgomaster, was forced to read the leaflet with its call to the public to resist the policy of using the tramway system for the purpose of profits. The leaflet explained how much the Federal Government was obliged to provide for the transport needs of the city, that it was not meeting its obligations because it preferred to squander huge sums for military purposes. The minutes, naturally, cannot produce the tone with which the Ober-burgomaster read the concluding words of the leaflet: "Protest! Protest! Protest in the factories, protest to the city council. Insist that the communal councils reject the increase." No great imagination is needed to appreciate the consternation felt by the gentlemen in the hall as they listened to these exhortations.

Contrary to the laws of drama which require that the action gradually reaches a climax, the

action in this case began with the climax. Councillor Lehmann, Christian Democrat, confessed that when he learned from one of the trade union resolutions that the "tramways did not show a deficit and, consequently, there was no need to raise fares, he was frankly amazed." At this stage Councillor Fahrion, Independent, picked up the cudgels: "Be careful!" he warned. "When I compare the trade union letters with the Communist Party's call, I see a rather strange similarity. I think it is necessary to underline this."

But the spectral warning, delivered in the manner of the fascist informers of evil memory, had no effect. The points made by the leaflet were further elaborated in the course of the debate. More facts were brought out. It was noted, in particular, that the tramway system was paying excessive charges for electricity which the big capitalist concerns obtain on more favorable terms. Many of the councillors commented on the points of the leaflet. Councillor Eberle said: "Whenever mention is made of the reasons for the deficit shown by the tramways, the wage increases granted to the tramway men are always played up. But nothing is said about the fact that the tramways are overloaded with expenditures entailed in repairing the war damage and in urban improvements. When prices soar, the workers and their unions are justified in taking action to safeguard their standard of living. It is here that we see the results of the Bonn economic policy. (Voices: Hear! Hear!) The entire burden is switched onto the working population. Gentlemen! You are well aware that this burden is becoming heavier."

"On June 17, 1958, I drew attention to the highly different attitude of the municipality when it was a question of spending millions on rebuilding the Stuttgart airfield, and its attitude in the matter of the tram fares. In allocating enormous subsidies

for the airfield, they claimed that this would indirectly benefit the city. But the expense of running the tramway system is to be borne by the passengers through the raising of fares. The workers are expected to agree to a lowering of their standard of living."

"The Federal Government, evading its elementary duties in the matter of making good the war damage, wants the public transport to bear the cost. The government is in a position to compensate these enterprises for expenditures which are not their responsibility. The city council should reiterate the demand that the government pays the bill for these expenditures. This is more important than wasting billions on dangerous armaments. In view thereof I submit a corresponding motion to the city council."

After the debate came the voting. Ober-burgomaster Klett deferred voting on Councillor Eberle's motion to the very last. In the minutes it reads thus: "All in favor, raise your hands. (The majority). Those against? (1). Abstentions? (7). The motion is carried."

After the voting, just as the curtain was being rung down, Councillor Funk blurted out: "We should never have taken a vote on this propaganda trick of ex-Communist councillors."

Never should, but they did. They voted because, while it is possible to proscribe a communist organization, it is utterly impossible to "proscribe" the masses and their needs, and it is impossible to declare that the interests of the working people are "non-existent." And if the communist organization is able to grasp and voice these interests, if it is active and persistent, its voice will be heard despite all the persecution. And not only will it be heard; it will blaze the path to progress.

Karl SCHMIDT

Short Notices

Australia

COMMUNISTS IN LOCAL COUNCILS

THE Australian Communist Party's weekly paper *Tribune* gives publicity to the work done by the Communists in the local councils. Under the headline, "The Record of Communists in Local Councils Gives a Sample of What Could Be Achieved by Communists in State Parliaments," the paper tells the story of a member of the Penrith Council, who was first elected in 1953 and re-elected in 1956. He succeeded, for example, in preventing the demolition of some 200 cottages built during the war and in making them available for purchase, at a moderate price, by the families occupying them. The scheduled demolition was not opposed by Liberal or Labor councillors. The Communist Councillor led a deputation of over 100 tenants to the Council and ensured success for the campaign. He also took the initiative in securing rebates in the rates paid by pensioners, TPI (totally and permanently incapacitated) cases and war widows. It was on his motion that the Council approved rebates which meant a considerable saving to these people. Before the Christmas holidays the Council adopted a proposal made by him which resulted in 30 unemployed men getting a week's work to help them over Christmas. Throughout his period as councillor, this Communist has encouraged the local people to take an active part in public affairs and to voice their needs and make their suggestions. He has consistently co-operated with local workers and farmers, progressive associations, sports bodies and other sections in arranging deputations to the Council, and he has led many of these deputations.

So far the Communist Party is not represented in Parliament, but it is working hard to win popular support and to rid the masses from the reformist Labor Party influence. Wherever the Communists take up the needs of the masses and voice their demands, they gain more support. Thus, in New South Wales, where the Communists in the coal-fields call for nationalization of the mines and for measures to tackle the mining crisis, their vote doubled. Communist candidates polled 12.7 per cent of the votes in Hartly, 10.9 per cent in Lake Macquarie and 9.3 per cent in Illawarra.

Protest meetings against salary increases for Ministers were held in a number of towns, and workers attending made the point that Communists should be in Parliament. G. Laidlaw, a Sydney

wharfie, said: "Members of the Government, both Liberal and Labor have further lifted themselves into the millionaire income bracket. While pensioners starve and workers battle for a few extra bob the leaders of the so-called working-class party in Parliament lick their chops with the Liberals. What we need is a few Communists in Parliament to let them know that they are the representatives of the people."

Brazil

THE MOVEMENT FOR LEGALIZING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE working people and progressive intellectuals in Brazil are demanding the legalization of the Communist Party banned in 1947 by the Dutra government.

The march of events has demonstrated the futility of the attempts to isolate the Party from the political life of the country by means of violence, craft and treachery. Even the adversaries of communism are forced to admit the close link between the Party and the people. Reactionary attempts to destroy the Party from within have likewise met with failure. Two years ago a handful of renegades, posing as "a trend for the regeneration of Brazilian Marxism," declared the Party "an historical hindrance." But the Party defeated the traitors and closed its ranks in the fight against revisionism.

In an article "The Communist Party Must Be Legal," the weekly *Novoc Rumus* shows that the banning of the Party is in glaring contradiction to the Constitution and, simultaneously, gives the lie to the assertions that, as a "subversive" party, it is not entitled to legal status. The progressive press has repeatedly pointed out that the Brazilian Communists have always defended democratic legality, that they are in favor of such political activity as does not conflict with the Constitution, that they have always fought for the interests of the working people by enlisting the masses in the struggle. The point is also made that never before has the Party been so active in the legislative bodies and in the mass organizations as it is now.

Last year the authorities were forced to withdraw the warrant for the arrest of Luiz Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Party. This enabled him to address meetings during elections to Congress and the state legislatures. Analyzing the results of the election campaign, *Voz Operaria* pointed out that the governors in six states and senators in twelve were elected with Communist support and that in most cases this support won the election.

The paper naturally asks: "Why anathematize the Communist Party as 'subversive' if before the elections the legal parties, including the ruling Social-Democratic and Workers' parties, seek unity with the Communists to secure their votes, and conclude agreements with them?"

In Recife, the municipal chamber has supported the initiative of Deputy Clovis Correia who appealed to Congress and the President for legal status for the Communist Party. Speaking in support of this demand, Antonio Baltar, Socialist, said: "The banning of the Communist Party was a gross political blunder."

Together with all patriots and democrats the Brazilian Communists are fighting for national liberation, democracy and well-being. That is why these forces regard the restoration of legal status for the Communist Party as a concern not of the Communists alone, but as an important step towards extending and strengthening democracy.

Iraq

GREETING YOUNG COMMUNISTS

UPON joining the Communist Party every new member receives a letter from the local Party committee with warm greetings, cordial congratulations and wishes for success. Here are extracts from the counsel given in these letters.

"Always remember that love of country, the people and the nation, firm faith in the working class, in its growth and possibilities, and selfless work for its emancipation—these are the things that should guide your activity in the Communist Party under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. May this love, this determination and this faith grow in your heart; be in the front ranks of the fight for freedom for the homeland and for realizing the aspirations of the people for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism."

The Party calls on its members to cement their ties with the people, to uphold the interests of all the working people and to be ever ready to help them. "Remember," the letter says, "that the people are our mother and the source of our strength. Isolation from the people signifies the loss of everything which helps us to fight their enemies, and contains the danger of turning the Party into a handful of useless people. Let your belief in the ability of our people to win liberation and, together with the other free peoples, to take part in destroying the edifice of imperialism and exploitation and in building the new culture of free and progressive mankind, be firm and unshakable."

"Safeguard the revolutionary traditions of the people, the things that are their pride and glory, and add to these traditions; be loyal to your nation and to its heritage; fight steadfastly for unity and freedom no matter what you are—Arab or Kurd. Uphold the solidarity and unity of the people of Iraq—of all its nationalities and religious groups—in the struggle against imperialism and its henchmen."

The young Communist is advised to study seriously and selflessly so as to be able to further the national movement. Any weakening of the national forces is a weakening of the people and creates opportunities for imperialism to prolong its yoke and exploitation.

"Be an internationalist," the letter continues, "defend the principles of fraternity of the peoples; let your belief in the world forces of freedom, progress and socialism, the forces headed by the Soviet Union, be boundless."

"Love your Party, try thoroughly to understand and explain its ideological basis, its tasks and tactics; do all you can to spread its influence among the masses, to strengthen its unity and to ensure co-ordination in its work."

The letter urges the Communists to be vigilant in relation to the ideology and activity of the revisionists and splitters of the national and working-class movements, to expose and combat them mercilessly. "Boldly and resolutely express your opinion, be able to defend it along Party lines proceeding from the interests of the national movement; respect the opinion of your comrades in the Party and the national movement who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with you; learn from the masses with communist modesty; rectify constructively all the mistakes you encounter!"

"Be sincere before the Party and your comrades in laying bare your shortcomings and mistakes, resolutely seek their sources and find ways and means of overcoming and rectifying them."

The letter concludes thus: "Constantly compare your words and deeds. You will never win the confidence of your comrades and friends unless you are a worthy representative of the Party among the masses, unless your deeds are at one with the words, principles and lofty aims for which you are working among the masses."

Spain

TOWARDS THE GENERAL STRIKE

THE struggle of the Spanish people against the Franco dictatorship is gaining momentum. Public demonstrations have been held in Seville, Murcia and in many other towns. The movement

is being joined by increasingly broader sections of the population. The Communist Party has issued a call to the working people of town and countryside, to all patriotic Spaniards, for a 24-hour general strike in order to:

"express popular indignation over the crying corruption of the dictatorship and its economic policy;

"protest against the high cost of living and demand a general wage increase;

"demand an immediate general amnesty for political prisoners and political emigrés;

"express the will of the nation—the demand that General Franco should go and that political liberties be restored."

The day of the strike, the call continues, will be fixed beforehand. On that day work will come to a standstill in factories and offices, on railways and in city transport, in shops and markets, universities and other educational establishments. It will be a co-ordinated and peaceful action. No town or region should strike earlier than the others.

The Communist Party is negotiating with the other political forces as to the exact date and other details of the strike. The Party appeals to the working people, trade unionists, agricultural laborers, peasants, intellectuals, students, leaders and members of professional and economic associations, mayors, municipal councillors, to all Spaniards, particularly the youth, not to lose a single moment in preparing a peaceful general strike.

The Party appeals also to the army and security troops urging them to adopt a passive or benevolent attitude. The ruling clique would like the army and the security forces to defend it to the last without stopping even at bloodshed. "The people hope," the appeal points out, "that the army and the security forces will not play this shameless role. They should realize that their patriotic duty is to assist the peaceful transition, in the spirit of national agreement, from the dictatorship to a representative regime so ardently desired by the people."

The appeal concludes: "The general strike is spearheaded solely against the Franco dictatorship and must be a peaceful manifestation. Every Spaniard conscious of the difficult position of the country should regard it as an honor to make his particular contribution to this magnificent civic expression of the will of the nation."

France

STEPPING UP WORK AMONG THE RURAL YOUTH

IN March, 111 representatives of the rural youth, among them 59 grain growers, four grape grow-

ers, a poultryman, three truck gardeners, eight farm laborers including three tractor drivers, met in Paris and established the Union of Rural Youth of France.

In its appeal to the young people the XIVth Congress of the Communist Party emphasized the resolve of the Party "to do its utmost to build in France a powerful movement of the young people working for communism." Hitherto the communist youth movement had been represented by three independent organizations pursuing the same aims: the Young Communist League, the Union of French Girls and the Communist Students' Union. The three play an important part in the life of the youth.

The decision of the National Council of the Communist Youth Movement to set up the Union of Rural Youth has filled a gap. And this is so not because the young peasants, agricultural workers, children of the rural artisans and shopkeepers—members of the Young Communist League and the Union of French Girls—did not feel at home in these organizations, but because the winning over of the masses of the rural youth is impossible without an organization of their own, since they have their specific demands, problems and aspirations.

The need for the Union made itself felt during the preparation of the inaugural congress, for at this time thousands of young people—mostly young peasants—aligned themselves with the Union. The delegates spoke about the hopes reposed in the new organization. The formation of the Union was enthusiastically hailed by the communist youth in the countryside. The Party members, too, met the news with satisfaction. The draft theses of the XVth Congress of the Party now under discussion emphasize: "Today as never before, the young communist movement is the reserve of the Party. We must not forget the aim set by the last Congress: to help in every way the creation of youth organizations alongside each Party organization."

Czechoslovakia

RELYING ON THE PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

THE role of the public organizations in ideological and educational work has increased of late. Among these an important place is held by the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge. Its 25,000 members include many scientists, engineers, teachers, doctors, writers and art workers. They read lectures before worker-peasant audiences on the achievements of science and technology and the culture of Czechoslovakia and other countries, on international relations, philosophy, history, political economy, the

natural sciences, etc. The Party organizations regard these voluntary lecturers as active assistants in educational and propaganda work. The Society enjoys the support of the central and local Party bodies. Party functionaries, too, take part in the work of its 300 branches. Thanks to this, the society is continually extending its work.

The Second Congress of the Society, held in April, noted that from its foundation (in June 1952) up to the end of last year 270,000 lectures had been delivered, of which 80,000 were delivered in 1958. Overall attendance at last year's lectures was in excess of four million.

Besides lectures in the factories, in villages, offices and propaganda centers, there were cycles of lectures on definite subjects designed for various groups of people. These lecture cycles are something in the nature of people's universities.

The Society also carries out extensive publishing work. All in all 1,049 lectures and various educational aids have been published. It puts out five popular science magazines: *International Politics*, *Science and Life*, *Technical Magazine*, *Agriculture and History and the Present*. The monthly *Technical Digest* appears in English. The Small Encyclopaedia, printed in an edition of 20,000, is in great demand.

In a letter to the Second Congress of the Society the Central Committee of the Communist Party stressed that it had enlisted the majority of the intellectuals for extensive lecturing and propaganda work, with the result that the contact between them and the workers and peasants had been greatly strengthened. Among the tasks confronting the Society, the Central Committee stressed particularly popularization of the revolutionary role of science and technology, the link between science and life, more atheist propaganda, and further enrolment of the intellectuals, particularly professionals, in the work of the Society.

Sweden

RECRUITING CAMPAIGN SURGES AHEAD

IN the recent period the Party organizations have been working hard to win new members. To help the branches in their recruiting work, particularly those at the point of production, the Party leadership has issued a number of materials.

These include a series of pamphlets and leaflets explaining the policy of the Party and showing how it fights for the urgent demands of the working people. A leaflet headed "Work For All, No Unemployment!" contains the suggestions of the Party, including those submitted to the Riksdag and aimed at combating unemployment and ensuring jobs.

The suggestions envisage the building of new enterprises, greater trade with the socialist countries, a new credit policy in relation to the communal councils, etc. The convincing facts and figures show that these measures can reduce unemployment and put the economy on a sounder basis.

These publications are designed for those who are close to the Party and who could become members. The leaflet has a counterfoil with the words: "I want to know more about the work of the Party and its aims. Please send me literature about its practical work," and on the other side: "I wish to become a member of the Communist Party of Sweden." Anyone desirous of joining the Party or of receiving additional literature posts the counterfoil to the Party office.

The pamphlet "Why I Became a Communist," with stories written by a metalworker, locomotive driver, stone cutter, doctor, writer, student and others, has been widely circulated.

To encourage the Communists a special stamp has been introduced which is affixed to the membership cards of those who have recruited two new members to the Party and the Union of Democratic Youth.

The recruiting campaign for the Party and the Union of Democratic Youth is yielding results. In the course of three months over a thousand joined, of whom more than half joined the Party.

The Party publications, in particular the journal *Var Tid* (Our Times) and the bulletin *Vart Arbete* (Our Work), devote close attention to Party-building. They point out that the conditions are favorable for winning new members (Communist influence is growing; the workers' parties secured a majority in the Riksdag while the vote for the bourgeois parties dropped considerably; more Communist newspapers are sold, etc.). But the Party organizations are not yet taking full advantage of the conditions. Many of them, instead of working systematically with sympathizers, wait till they "are ready" and come of their own volition to the organization. Not infrequently the demands made on those willing to join are too great, with the result that many hold back. The journals emphasize that the elimination of these drawbacks will make it possible substantially to enlarge the Party.

Japan

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS TOUR THE COUNTRY

FROM time to time the leaders of the Party, including the Central Committee Chairman Comrade Nozaka, General Secretary Comrade

Miyamoto, the secretaries and many members of the Central Committee tour the country.

One of the latest tours was devoted to the struggle for the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and the closing of the U.S. military bases in Japan; for normalizing relations between Japan and China; the resignation of the Kishi cabinet, and its replacement by a government of the people's democratic front. The Party leaders made frequent visits to the localities during the elections for the Upper House and the municipalities.

These tours of the country have become a feature of Party work since the time of its Seventh Congress. Central Committee functionaries have addressed 90 meetings in all prefectures. Overall

attendance at these meetings was in the neighborhood of 24,000. In summing up the results, the Central Committee noted that this extensive explanation of the Congress resolutions both at Party and public meetings had played a definite role both in taking the Party's policy to the masses and in promoting the struggle. The visits by Central Committee members had substantially strengthened contact between the Party and the people, and between the national and local bodies of the Party.

The Central Committee members making the tours give practical help to the local organizations and strive for united action by all the democratic forces.

Reviews

Lupta de Clase on Current Ideological Problems

THE first number of the journal *Lupta de Clase** appeared in July 1920. Since then it has always been the helpmate of the Rumanian Communists in their struggle for a better future for the people.

For many years, in grim underground conditions, *Lupta de Clase* fought against the bourgeois-landlord regime, against fascism and for Rumania's withdrawal from the Hitler military bloc. Immediately after the liberation in 1944, the journal emerged from the underground to become an important weapon of the working class in the fight to establish and consolidate the people's-democratic system. Today its efforts are devoted to the building of socialism in Rumania.

A feature of the journal is its closeness to life, to the practice of socialist construction. This is proved by the range of subjects reflecting the many-sided activity of the Workers' Party. A far from complete list of the problems elucidated recently would include: laying the economic foundations of socialism, state plans and their fulfilment, the functioning of administrative bodies, consolidating socialist ownership, problems of the international communist and working-class movement, the organizing work of the Party, scientific research, ideological molding of students and problems of literature and art.

The articles published in 1958 and in the first months of the current year summarize the work of the Communists and dwell in detail on aspects of the ideological work carried out by the Party.

The success of socialist construction is inseparably linked with the Workers' Party, whose forma-

tion through a merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism signified complete unity of the Rumanian working class. The journal shows how this unity has strengthened the working class and its leading role in the struggle to consolidate the people's-democratic state and ensure the building of socialism. In the article "Unity of the Working Class and its Marxist-Leninist Party" (1958, No. 2) I. Radulescu cites facts to show how the Communist Party fought steadfastly to heal the split in the Rumanian working-class movement. An important step towards unity was the establishment in May 1944 (i.e., before the liberation) of the United Workers' Front which played a big role in the popular struggle against fascism, for withdrawal from the war and for national independence. The co-operation of the Communists and Social Democrats in the Front put an end to the protracted division of the trade union movement (the General Confederation of Labor was founded in January 1945) and led to the formation (February 1948) of a single proletarian party—the Workers' Party. Thus, the merger of the Rumanian Communists and Social Democrats testifies once again that united working-class action is perfectly feasible.

Many pages are devoted to the organizational and ideological strengthening of the Party. The journal upholds the basic organizational principle of the Party—democratic centralism. This Leninist principle is now being subjected to attacks by the revisionists who allege that it has become obsolete and no longer corresponds to the new conditions. *Lupta de Clase* shows that these assertions are tantamount to an attempt to throw this principle

*In translation, The Class Struggle—theoretical and political monthly of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

overboard, to turn the Communist Parties from militant revolutionary organizations into debating societies. The journal calls on the Party members always to be on the alert in the field of ideology.

Much attention is paid to the relatively peaceful nature of the people's democratic revolution in Rumania. This is an important matter in view of the need to expose the anti-communist preachers who claim that the Communists stand for violence and always try to unleash civil war. The lie is given to the revisionists who distort the theoretical propositions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU concerning the possibility in the conditions of today of a peaceful, in particular of a parliamentary path, to socialism. The journal emphasizes that any transition from capitalism to socialism—peaceful or violent—is a revolution aimed at abolishing the rule of the bourgeoisie and establishing the rule of the proletariat.

Dwelling on the possibility, given certain conditions, of a peaceful transition to socialism, A. Popescu, in an article "Parliamentary Path of the Socialist Revolution" (1958, No. 3), shows how the Rumanian working class fought for power. Because of the favorable conditions in Rumania as a result of the defeat of the Hitler army by the Soviet Union, and the abolition of the fascist dictatorship by the armed uprising of the people on August 23, 1944, the steady revolutionary process culminated in the establishment of people's rule, peacefully in the main, and in power passing into the hands of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry. March 6, 1945, saw the formation of a democratic government in which the working class played the decisive role. In the specific conditions of Rumania this government was a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. After March 6, the Communist Party headed the revolutionary mass movement to accomplish the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and to pass over to the socialist revolution, using Parliament as an instrument in solving these historic tasks. The measures taken by Parliament consolidated the people's-democratic system and created conditions for the transfer of power to the working class in alliance with the working peasantry. The monarchy was replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat in a bloodless, peaceful way. In the course of this process "the people's-democratic power," said Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Party, at its Second Congress, "defeated the reactionary plots inspired and supported by the foreign imperialist circles. Thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union, our people averted the intervention which the imperialists had planned against our country with a view to abolishing the revolutionary gains

of the people and liquidating our political and economic independence."

The role played by the state in socialist construction, featured in the journal, is of positive significance for the struggle against revisionist concepts of the state during the transition period. I. Radulescu's article "The State in the Transition Period from Capitalism to Socialism" (1958, No. 7) and a number of others show, from the experience of socialist construction in Rumania, the role played by the Workers' Party and the socialist state in economic management, in the socialist reconstruction of industry and agriculture, and in all spheres of the economic and public activity of the working people.

The articles bring out the organizing role of the state in economic construction. When in 1948 Rumania nationalized her industries, mines, banks, transport, etc., the bourgeois press in the West predicted her economic collapse, claiming that the workers would not be able to manage the economy. *Lupta de Clase* furnishes ample data showing that the state, when run by the working people, can in a brief space of time achieve unprecedented results. By the end of this year overall industrial output will be 4.5 times higher than in 1938, with output of means of production showing a 5.5 increase. In the past decade the national income has grown more than three-fold. The standard of living is rising steadily. Compared with 1950, real wages in the socialist sector show a 60 per cent increase (1959, No. 2).

The matter of incentives under socialism is of both theoretical interest and practical importance. "The socialist state implements the Leninist principle of incentives as a means of stimulating interest on the part of the working people in the results of their labor and in expanding production," I. Olteanu points out in his article "Incentives for Industrial Workers" (1958, No. 10). He shows that distribution according to work done is effected by means of the socialist wage system which provides for rational wage rates, bonuses for good work, for inventions, rationalizations, etc.

While helping the Party in molding the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, the journal points to the profound internationalism of this patriotism. It furthers proletarian internationalism by featuring documents and materials of the fraternal parties (for example, the theses of N. S. Khrushchov's report to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, the draft resolution of the United States Communist Party on the Negro question, the theses of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, etc.) and also articles by prominent leaders of the international communist movement —

W. Z. Foster, D. N. Aidit, J. Gollan, L. C. Prestes, M. Thorez, M. Reinman, and others.

Of great importance for Rumania — which in addition to the Rumanian population contains a number of national minorities — is the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism. A feature testifying to the superiority of socialist democracy, the journal points out, is the abolition of national antagonisms, the struggle against all forms of nationalism, for fraternal relations and complete equality of the Rumanian people and the national minorities.

The journal assists in the development of the social sciences, literature and the arts, all of which play an important role in the ideological education of the working people. N. Cretu, writing about the works by modern Rumanian historians (1958, No. 3), criticizes the bourgeois objectivism and nationalism manifested in the assessment of historical events and the policy of the rulers of bourgeois-landlord Rumania. The same number treats of the scientific and ideological significance of literary criticism. Addressing itself to the literary critics, the journal stresses the need for more attention to fundamental problems in literary works, such as the fight for socialism, patriotism, the ethics of the new man, etc. It turns its guns against the modern idealist concepts and on the old bourgeois esthetics which still influence some literary and art critics. In an article, "Treatment of Philosophical Problems in Literary Magazines" (1958, No. 7), P. Beraru enters the lists against idealist apologetics in the works of some authors, for example, A. Lobrog, who justifies the views of the positivist A. Comte and even tries to palm them off as Marxist. Important too is the fight against revisionism in literature. V. E. Galan's article "Revisionism and Some Problems of Socialist Realism" (1959, No. 2), based on an examination of Yugoslav literary reviews, shows that, in substance, revisionism in literature boils down to parroting the old theories of bourgeois esthetics. The author upholds socialist realism against the anti-Leninist theses of the Yugoslav revisionists who reject partisanship in literature. The journal helps the Rumanian writers and art workers to find the right way to socialist realism.

The effectiveness of its help to intellectuals can be assessed, for example, from the answer given by tutors in the Political Economy faculty of Bucharest University (who prepared a "Textbook of Political Economy") to the critical articles of Gh. Dolgu (1958, No. 9), F. Balaure and E. Dobrescu (1958, No. 12). Having studied the criticisms of the journal, the staff of the faculty are putting right the defects in their work (1959, No. 2).

Lupta de Clase is doing its bit in the common struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties

against hostile ideology. In this struggle the journal is faithful to the policy statement laid down in its first number (1920): to work for the defeat of all opportunist theories. The journal regards it as a fundamental task of the international communist and working-class movement to expose revisionism, particularly the anti-Marxist, revisionist concepts on the nature of modern capitalism and the role of the capitalist state.

"Capitalism has changed radically" — such is one of the main theses of the latter-day revisionists. In their view, capitalism is being transformed into a democratic system, the workers are becoming owners of the means of production, and the state is acquiring a supra-class character, expressing the "general" interests.

This anti-Marxist concept, epitomized in the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists, is criticized by Gh. Tudor in his article "Revisionism and the Nature of Modern Capitalism" (1958, No. 8). Have the relations of production changed in modern capitalist society? Has capitalism changed its nature and which, if any, of its features have been replaced? Certainly, the author answers, there are new phenomena in modern capitalism. Clearly, the concentration and centralization of capital tend towards a growth of state-monopoly capitalism. Vast material values are concentrated in the hands of ever fewer financial barons. The bourgeois state, which is being further brought under the control of the big monopolies, increasingly interferes in economic matters. But this, far from changing the nature of capitalism and its basis, emphasizes still more the antagonistic nature of the production relations and the sharpened class contradictions.

Gh. Tudor rebuts the attempts of the pseudo-Marxist economists to "supplement" Marxist political economy with "scientific elements" from Keynesian theories. He criticizes the recently published book by E. Balas, *Concerning the Marxist Criticism of Keynesianism* (Bucharest, 1958), as being alien to the spirit of Marxism and anti-historical. Balas, says the author, "coquettes all the time with these theories" (Keynesian—I.A.) and calls for a study of the "rational kernel" and the "scientific elements" which, he alleges, these apologist concoctions contain.

Reviewing the history of revisionism and the struggle against it in the working-class movement, the journal shows whither the revisionists wanted to take the Rumanian proletariat in the past. At that time the Rumanian working-class movement was affected by the revisionist concepts current in the West. But, transferred to Rumania, these concepts acquired certain specific features. Thus, C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea (although he has much to his credit in spreading Marxism in Rumania)

persistently claimed that the victory of socialism in economically backward countries, including Rumania, was possible only as a result of socialism being victorious in the advanced West European countries. The journal points out that from Gherea's "theories" it followed that there was no need for a party that would educate and prepare the proletariat for the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie, that the working-class movement should remain under the control of the bourgeois parties until socialism came to our country of its own volition, as a result of its triumph in the West.

In an article entitled "Modern Revisionism — the Main Danger in the Working-Class Movement" (1958, No. 2) C. Almasan exposes the anti-Marxism of Serban Voinea, former leader of the Rumanian Right-wing Socialists, who fled the country. Writing in the French Socialist magazine *Revue Socialiste*, Voinea argues that the working class should not assume power before a socialist economy has been built. Almasan has no difficulty in showing that Voinea is obviously falsifying the Marxist teaching when he alleges that its central idea is to build a socialist economy prior to the conquest of power by the working class, and that socialism can be built even with the capitalists still retaining power.

C. Arnautu, D. Voinea, A. Tanase and others also criticize the new revisionism. They demonstrate that some of the propositions in the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists are identical with the views of L. Blum, G. D. H. Cole and the old revisionist concepts of Bernstein and Kautsky, particularly in the matter of the "democratization" of capitalism, "the development of state

capitalism along socialist lines," "the dissolution of capitalist property," etc.

Criticizing the point in the program of the Yugoslav revisionists concerning the "independent functions" of the capitalist state and its alleged position "above society," the journal shows how the state is being subordinated to the monopolies in the USA, Britain, France, and West Germany. The reformist and revisionist views on the alleged disappearance of class antagonisms in capitalist society, on bourgeois democracy, "the supra-class state," etc., are also subjected to well-founded criticism.

The articles in the journal testify to the contribution made by the Workers' Party to the struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism, to the unshakable loyalty of the Party to Marxist-Leninist ideas. The Party, combating alien, reactionary influences, is educating the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. As a result of its extensive ideological work, the various opportunist tendencies (stemming from the remnants of the reactionary classes and from the influence of imperialist propaganda) have never had wide currency in Rumania. "These tendencies," the journal stresses, "encountering a resolute rebuff, could not develop and give rise to an independent revisionist trend."

The important ideological problems elucidated in *Lupta de Clase* are of both theoretical and practical interest for the fraternal parties of the socialist countries and for the entire international communist and working-class movement.

I. ADLER

Latest Revelations by Earl Browder

SINCE Earl Browder was expelled from the Communist Party in 1946 as a revisionist, he has been making his contribution to the anti-Communist crusade at what may be termed the "respectable" level. Shunning the role of informer and expert witness for the prosecution and the investigative bodies, he has operated as a consultant on communism to private foundations financed by Big Business or as lecturer at universities. This variety of anti-communism seeks to supply a "positive" program for combating Marxist influence in the American labor movement and throughout the world, and strives to prepare ideological weapons more effective than "People's Capitalism" which by now is in danger of becoming as obsolete as the "new capitalism" of the 1920's. The private foundations and the "Slavonic" institutes of the universities have provided a flood of

scholarly books which, with a great show of objectivity, try to disprove Marxism. Instead of ignoring Marx altogether, as was usually done in the past, it is now the style in these circles to acknowledge Marx as a great thinker of the 19th century whom the 20th century has proved wrong.

Browder's book* is in this genre. His own contribution to "objective" anti-communism is his attempt to give a theoretical gloss to American exceptionalism, which is the characteristic form of revisionism in the United States. Browder sets himself the task of going beyond the "practical refutation" of Marxism to delve "into the depths of economic theory." But like others who have tried this before him, Browder reveals that the destiny of revisionism is to defend capitalism.

*Earl Browder, *Marx and America*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1958, xiii plus 146 pp.

His principal concern is to show that Marxism does not apply to the United States. America and its exceptional position, he writes, stand in contradiction to the Marxist theoretical formulation of the laws of capitalism. He then pictures a glowing economic future under American capitalism, with an endless capacity for expansion and the assurance of abundance for the workers. Moreover, Browder finds it convenient to dismiss unceremoniously Lenin's theory of imperialism as "tendentious propaganda."

It is unfortunate for Browder that the book appears at this particular time, when five million unemployed, stagnation of production, vast unused capacities, high prices and pressures on living standards all along the line stand as a "practical refutation" of the theory of an ever-abundant society.

Out of the whole of Marxism he selects a single element. The element, of course, is a doctrine of impoverishment, which is presented as a theory of automatic immiseration.

According to the revisionists, unless it can be shown for each country at all times and under all circumstances that capitalism leads to pauperism for the mass of workers, one of the basic Marxist propositions must fall. To the revisionist school Browder adds nothing new, except his particular bent for elaborate sophistry. Like revisionism in general, Browder tries to put the best face on capitalism, ignoring the underlying contradictions which Marx taught us to understand and which render capitalism unstable.

Browder tries to prove that "for America it was high wages, rather than impoverishment, that was 'the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation'" (p. 24). No one will deny that the wage level is higher in the United States than in other countries for most categories of workers, and for specific historical reasons. However, what Browder tries to do is to establish a new "economic law" of capitalism, according to which wages will rise without limit as an inherent characteristic of the American system, which thus becomes a perpetual welfare society. To accomplish this hocus-pocus, Browder has to get rid of the labor theory of value. This he does indirectly by claiming to discover in Marx two contradictory wage theories at war with each other — "subsistence wage" vs "social wage" — going to the extent even of inferring that Engels might have wilfully hidden this.

Actually, Marx's theory of wages is a single entity. The gist of it is that wages represent the transmuted form of the value of labor power, and their level is influenced by historical and social factors. Marx never held the idea of a rigid subsistence level as a universal "iron law of wages," and specifically rejected this concept when put

forth by Lasalle. Marx held that wages gravitate around the traditional standard of life which is influenced in each country and age by specific historical and social conditions. Browder tries to build this up into a picture of capitalism always adding a "social increment" that leads to the "stimulation of wages towards higher levels" as the very law of capitalist development. He speculates on Marx's statement that "the general tendency of capitalist production is to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit." He quotes this from *Wages, Price and Profit*, but ignores the passage immediately following:

"Such being the tendency of things in this system, is this to say that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. I think I have shown that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system . . ."

As can be seen, Marx fully recognized the role of the class struggle and of trade unionism in improving the living standard of the workers and in preventing capital from driving it down. But according to Browder, there is no class struggle in the U.S. between labor and capital for the division of the product, nor is there a need for labor to fight on wages, since under American conditions "despotic capital" has already been defeated on wages, and wages must necessarily rise. This will be news to all workers.

As even Browder must admit, Marx and Engels in their day explained the special circumstances of the colonization and development of the United States which account historically for the establishment in this country of a high wage level (the shortage of labor resulting from a vast expanse of free and generally unpopulated land, and the more democratic form of bourgeois society, outside the slave system, which permitted a freer play of class forces, etc.). When it comes to explaining why in the era of imperialism a higher wage level persisted in the United States than in other countries, Browder finds only one explanation — that high wages encouraged rapid technological growth, which in turn led to higher wages, the latter keeping pace with the growth in productivity, in an endless spiral of prosperity.

Marx pointed out more than once that the introduction of new techniques was the result of the permanent drive by capitalists for higher profits, and that mechanization, which determines the intensification of labor, leads to greater unemployment.

This is nowhere more apparent than in the United States, where permanent unemployment appears as the specific form of impoverishment under monopoly capitalism. Since World War II, despite the high level of economic activity, sustained largely by huge military outlays in connection with the cold war, the trend of unemployment has been upward, and today it stands at the 1957-58 crisis level although production has returned to the pre-crisis level of 1957. Is this not the result of the very antagonistic nature of capitalist accumulation which Marx so profoundly analyzed? Together with Professor J.K. Galbraith and other economists of the "Affluent Society," Browder claims that poverty has all but disappeared in the industrialized capitalist countries. But even in golden America, where there has always been a sub-subsistence poverty for the Negro, the immigrant, the farm laborer and unskilled sectors of labor, a new pauperism is today arising for millions of unemployed, whose state benefits as long as they last are below the minimum subsistence level, and who must depend upon local relief agencies once their benefits have been exhausted. There are many others, either under-employed or not entitled to jobless benefits.

To be sure, the depth of pauperism is not that described by Marx for mid-19th century England (although housing conditions in some city districts today might prove comparable). It may even be true that the level of pauperism here provides higher standards of living than those of employed workers in underdeveloped countries. This only shows the dead weight of poverty in countries exploited by imperialism. But the American workers measure pauperism not by the standards of a by-gone century or by those of other peoples but by the standards to which they have become accustomed. When they lose these or stand in danger of losing them the spirit of struggle again rises in the working class, as it is rising today. What more brutal method can be devised to mutilate the laborer than to deny him work and to inflict job insecurity upon those who are working?

Browder finds all this inconvenient and fails to mention it, but instead claims that the American worker has lost his fear of machinery because he knows it means better living conditions. This merely reveals how hopelessly Browder has buried himself in his capitalist idyll. If anything characterizes the mood of the American working class today it is the fear of the machine—not because the workers are opposed to technical progress, but because they know that technical progress under monopoly capitalism has serious consequences in the form of unemployment, intensified exploitation and speed-up, undermining the conditions of the workers, weakening the unions, and greater concentration of monopoly power.

Actually, when Marx's analysis as a whole is considered, "the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation" as described in his famous passage in *Capital* today assumes a specific expression in the United States, even more than in Britain, which Marx in his day considered the classic example. Browder complains that Marx should have taken America as his model, in which case he would, presumably, have become an American exceptionalist. But it turns out that the United States is no exception to the basic development of capitalism as foretold by Marx. For together with major technological advances (although many of them are impeded and not fully developed by the monopolies, since they may not be to their advantage), there is also occurring an extraordinary concentration and centralization of capital, the rapid elimination of millions of small producers on the land and of small and medium enterprises in general, the sharp limitation of free competition by monopoly, and the deepening instability of the economy.

Browder has to explain why American capitalism is not using its giant productive capacity and technical know-how for rapid expansion of production, and is instead facing the prospect of sliding into a deep depression. Shunning Marx's exposition of the contradiction of capitalism—that between the productive forces and the relations of production—he substitutes his own notion that "the mode of thinking" and the "special interests" arising from the older technology stand in the way of automation. Since this is the only obstacle, Browder has a simple solution: let the government, he says, issue a "declaration of public policy" calling upon all industry immediately to adopt the new technology of automation. Fearing that even this might frighten monopoly, he hastens to add that only as a measure of last resort, as a final step if it should prove necessary, should the government intervene in the productive process. In point of fact, the engineering advance under monopoly cannot but further aggravate the basic contradiction of capitalism.

The socialist countries are translating technical progress into rapid social progress, into the all-round improvement of the conditions and living standards of the people, and are opening new vistas for the advance to communism. Like monopoly, Browder is afraid of this. He hopes that the economic advance of the Soviet Union will scare monopoly into using its productive capacity—although all he can recommend on the problems of full employment and of markets, which he mentions only in passing, is that they should be studied. He cannot offer any positive solution to these problems, and this is proof of the untenability of his argument. "America is ahead of Russia in every field except the rate of expansion," he says,

"and if and when she learns to use all her assets, she will again lead Russia in that field also" (p. 77). (Again? But even during its heyday of expansion the United States did not approach the rate of growth of socialist society.) And yet, Browder tells us, "America has nothing to copy from the political and social methods of the Soviet Union, because that would mean going backward" (p. 79).

To be sure, the American labor movement in the period ahead will have to fight the effects of automation by mass struggle, to which Browder is oblivious; in the future the United States will take the socialist road under different conditions than existed in Russia in 1917, and it will have its own distinctive form of development. But to hold that the Soviet Union or any socialist country has nothing to teach us about the benefits of socialism as a form of society is indeed to go backwards, is to give up any pretense to social progress, not to speak of socialism as an aim.

Browder thinks that with this kind of legerdemain, and hiding behind the high wage structure, he can make the basic laws of capitalism vanish in America. But it is obvious to all that on a world scale Marx's "absolute general law of capitalist accumulation" has worked itself out during the imperialist era into an especially sharp contrast between a few rich monopoly-capitalist powers and the vast majority of humanity living under conditions of extreme poverty in the economically backward countries. Since World War II, in the period coinciding with the emergence of American monopoly as the dominant power in the entire capitalist world, the gap has been growing. The awareness by the peoples of this vivid contradiction has played no small part in stimulating the advances of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Browder's first concern is to banish the idea that the super-exploitation of colonial labor and the looting of the resources of Latin America, the Middle East and Africa by U.S. monopoly have anything to do with the higher standards in America. Marx and Engels in their day showed the role of colonial super-profits in buying off sectors of the working class in the home country and in nourishing opportunism in the labor movement, while Lenin developed this theme more completely in his studies of imperialism. Browder rejects these ideas, and spends an entire chapter trying to prove that nations never got rich by looting other nations.

He utters not a single word about how U.S. monopoly expansion pays even better than the old colonial imperialisms. He even argues with John Strachey, for whom he professes the greatest admiration, because the latter is forced to admit that the looting of the colonies greatly helped the leading capitalisms. For Browder, empire is an "illu-

sion." He is anti-colonial in the Wall Street sense only, reflecting the demagoguery of U.S. imperialists who use anti-colonialism up to a point to break into rival spheres of influence.

In their day, the Bernstein revisionists supported German imperialism on the ground that those who develop the resources of a country are entitled to govern it and also on the ground that Germany should enter the struggle for the re-division of the world by the powers—with results familiar to everyone. Today Browder supports American imperialism by opposing the colonialism of rival powers while keeping silent about the domination of Latin America by U.S. monopoly, its more recent expansion into the dominant position in the Middle East, and its economic and military penetration throughout the capitalist world, with the consequent dangers to peace.

Of course, Browder is not interested in the fact that since World War II, as a consequence of U.S. monopoly expansion abroad, acknowledged profits from foreign investment have come to account for at least 15 per cent of all American corporate profits. Nor does he care to explain that higher standards in America are also due, significantly, to the favorable geographic location of the United States which saved the country from internal damage in two world wars and permitted American monopoly to exploit the extreme difficulties of other nations, be they victor or vanquished.

Yet unless this is understood it is impossible to explain fully either the present high wage level in the United States, or how this favorable position is now changing as a consequence of the achievements of the socialist countries, the successes of colonial revolutions and the advances of the working-class movement in the capitalist world. These changes are having the effect of frustrating and checking monopoly world expansionism and of aggravating the major contradictions of capitalism in the United States. To maintain its historically established wage and living standards, in the face of a renewed monopoly offensive, the American working class will have to wage a hard struggle on a broad front for democracy and peace. And the Browder propaganda about non-existent "exceptional laws" will be of no avail.

Browder exemplifies the ultimate outcome of revisionism. It begins by exaggerating the peculiarities of the American development to the point of overlooking the underlying laws of the system. It evolves into a form of American exceptionalism according to which some central aspect of the Marxist analysis is held no longer to apply to the country. The rejection of a bit of Marxism is followed by the repudiation of Marxism in its entirety, as revisionism merges into reformism and gets lost, at the end, in capitalist apologetics.

The Browder brand of revisionism took shape during the prosperity of World War II and matured in the prolonged economic uptrend after the war, battenning on the illusion among the people that, despite a few relapses, prosperity would be endless. However, the deep, critical difficulties of the American economy and of its world position—which had been submerged during a relatively long period — are now coming to the surface. Browder revisionism is bankrupt because it too obviously flies in the face of reality and because the working class is now in no mood for rose-water programs. Indeed, even the most conservative wing of the labor movement would not dare to stoop to this

low level. For the same reason, John Gates and other “new” revisionists can find little of value in the “mature” Browder, as they attempt, under the new circumstances, to prevent the radical sections of the workers from going toward Marxism.

No doubt, in the fertile American soil, new revisionist twists can be expected. Here, as elsewhere, Marxism will grow in the fight against revisionism, while overcoming the drag of dogmatism. The new spirit of struggle which is again stirring in the working class offers promise of another advance in its political understanding and class consciousness.

James S. ALLEN

Reviews in Brief

R. Ghioldi, *Acerca de la entrega. (On Treachery)*. Buenos Aires, Ed. Anteo, 1959, 63 pp.

IN this work the author analyzes the factors that led to the Frondizi government's capitulation to imperialism and oligarchy. The book is designed chiefly for those democratic sections who are still deceived and misled by the mish-mash of pseudo-Left theories, or who have seen through the deception but have adopted a passive attitude.

The author points to the glaring contradiction between the actions of the government and the program which the President and the other leaders of the ruling party — the Civil Radical Union of Intransigents — had promised to carry out. In words, they demand nationalization of the private companies without compensation. But in practice the government, capitulating to the demands of the International Monetary Fund, is denationalizing state enterprises, which are thus passing into the hands of imperialist capital, and is giving every encouragement to “capital investments” by means of which this capital is seizing the key positions in Argentina's economy. The government has rejected the traditional independent policy of neutrality it promised the people during the election campaign and which previously was upheld by its own party; it now supports the military pacts and the militarist policy of U.S. imperialism. Contrary to the Constitution, the government has introduced a state of siege and is conscripting strikers; it has suppressed progressive newspapers and has prohibited the activity of Communists and democrats.*

The author cites facts to expose the falseness of the government's statements concerning “U.S. aid,” “free enterprise,” “liberalism,” etc., and shows

the striking contrast between the economic backwardness, misery and dependence of Latin America, which enjoys the “blessings” of U.S. aid, and the progress achieved by the Rumanian People's Republic which, like Argentina, has considerable oil resources.

The book gives the lie to the analogy, dreamed up by the official publications, between the present policy of the government and that of the Soviet government at the initial stage of the New Economic Policy (NEP) when concessions and leases were granted to foreign firms. This analogy is designed to justify the capitulation of the government, which, instead of safeguarding the national resources, especially the oil, grants concession after concession to foreign capital. The author shows that when the issue in question is planned economy, state capitalism and nationalization, it is necessary to bear in mind that everything depends on which class holds power. In the USSR during the NEP period, he notes, the point at issue was state capitalism in the conditions of Soviet power and the worker-peasant alliance, with key positions in industry being held by the socialist sector. But this, he observes, cannot be applied to the oligarchic landlord state dependent on imperialism.

Chapters are devoted to such questions as “people's capitalism,” “North American exceptionalism,” etc. Touching on the lessons of the capitulation of the Frondizi government and of the governments of some other Latin American countries, which tried to foist bourgeois control on the popular movement, the author points to the emptiness, puerile nature and frailty of petty-bourgeois ideology.

Ghioldi concludes that national liberation is the only sound program. Militant action by the working class and the masses against the policy of dictatorship and hunger pursued by the government, he

*After the book appeared, by a decree of the President of April 27, the activity of the Communist Party and the other democratic organizations was banned all over the country.

says, clears the way to national democratic and popular unity against the latifundists and imperialism, the way to a government of a broad democratic coalition capable of implementing this program. The working class fights for leadership of the united national movement and, from its own experience, learns that "only the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat—Marxism-Leninism—points the way to victory. For this reason the masses will turn to the Communist Party."

History of the Trade Union Movement Abroad, Vol. 3, (1939-1957). Moscow, Profizdat, 1958, 668 pp.

THE publication of volume three completes this Marxist research into the history of national and international trade union organizations. The work is based on a wealth of factual material and embraces the main countries of the world (excluding the Soviet Union).

The earlier volumes (published in 1953 and 1955) describe briefly the rise and development of the labor movement and the trade unions in the main capitalist countries, and also the emergence of the international trade union organizations and their activity prior to the Second World War. The trade union movement in the developed capitalist countries, and also in China, India, and Latin America, is surveyed. Special sections in volume two deal with the struggle of the Soviet trade unions for the unity of the international trade union movement. Volume three is devoted to the history of this movement during the war and in the postwar period. It describes in detail the position of the working class, the present forms of exploitation in the capitalist countries, the changes in the composition of the working class, and the new conditions for its unity. It sets forth the history of the trade union movement in the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia, in the main capitalist countries, in the former colonies which are now politically independent, and also shows the rise of the working-class movement and the trade unions in the countries of Africa.

Of special interest is the section on the World Federation of Trade Unions, and its struggle for peace and democracy, for the vital needs of the working people and international trade union unity. It emphasizes the role played by this international body in overcoming the erroneous tactics and craft narrowness of the reformist trade unions. The World Federation teaches the working class in the capitalist countries to link the struggle for immediate economic and social demands with such fundamental tasks of the working-class movement as winning and upholding trade union rights (the right to organize and the right to strike); struggle

for democratic reforms and radical changes in capitalist society; active support of the national-liberation movement and consolidation of peace.

Materialistická dialectika a dnesní problémy naší socialistické výstavby. (Materialist Dialectics and Modern Problems of our Socialist Construction). Prague, 1958, 160 pp.

THIS work is a philosophical generalization of the experience of socialist construction. It contains the materials of the national seminar held on the initiative of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. All its articles, reflecting the work of the seminar, stress the significance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, a weapon of the Party in the struggle for socialism, and the need to take it out of the temples of science and apply it in everyday life. An article entitled "Marxist Dialectics—Part of the Theoretical Equipment of the Communists," treating of the general philosophical problems of Marxism, thoroughly investigates the dialectical essence of the Marxist materialist understanding of history; it demonstrates the revolutionary, uncompromising character of Marxist dialectics. It points to the need to grasp the Marxist teaching as an integrated whole, and shows the erroneousness of a non-dialectical separation and counterposing of its components—philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Such a mechanical division leads to sophistry, and is one of the epistemological roots of modern revisionism. The concepts of a number of present-day falsifiers of Marxism and their predecessors are criticized from this angle, and the history and class essence of revisionism are brought out.

The symposium analyzes that important category of Marxist philosophy—the struggle of opposites; it shows, in particular, that dogmatism is rooted in the inability to understand dialectics in social life, which develops on the basis of the struggle of opposites; and in substituting metaphysical, abstract and stereotyped concepts for this Marxist approach. The work examines the dialectical interaction of the general and specific elements, citing as an example the general laws and the specific features of the development of various countries towards socialism; it demonstrates the role played by the Communist Party at the present stage of socialist construction, and its relations with the masses; an analysis is made of the class structure of socialist society and, from this angle, of the problems of the development of the socialist state, and of the link between economics and politics under socialism. This work, designed for the ordinary reader, concludes with a detailed analysis of

socialist humanism and with a criticism of the abstract approach to it.

Il mercato comune europeo. Atti del convegno "Per la sospensione del MEC, per lo sviluppo dell' economia italiana" tenuto a Torino il 10-11. I. 1959. (The Common European Market, Materials of the Conference "For the Annulment of the CEM, for the Development of Italy" Held in Turin on January 10-11, 1959). Rome, Ed. Riuniti, 1958, 260 pp.

THE materials of the conference on the economic problems facing Italy, arising from the Common Market agreement, have been published in the form of a symposium. Initiated by Communist M.P.'s, the conference was held in Turin during January 10-11, and was attended by Party and trade union functionaries from Northern Italy, representatives of the Party and trade union organizations in the factories and by a delegation from the Turin federation of the Socialist Party in the capacity of observers.

The conference analyzed the essence, causes and consequences of the Common Market agreement—the culminating act of the so-called European integration.

Both the main report delivered by Deputy Egidio Sulotto, member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, and the summing-up speech by Luigi Longo, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party, made it clear that the Common Market agreement, far from guaranteeing an extension of the European capitalist market, leads simply to its re-distribution in favor of the stronger partners, i.e., the monopolies which have the final say in the economy of capitalist Europe.

The keynote of the Market is monopoly domination, and its main purpose is to make absolute the economic and political rule of the monopolies. This is the root defect of the Market, a defect particularly dangerous for Italy, since the latter with its weak economy is forced, more so than the other countries, to yield to the foreign monopolies, particularly the West German concerns.

With this as its point of departure, the conference analyzed the consequences of the Common Market for the national life; these consequences have already had a negative effect in Southern Italy—the most economically backward part of the country—in the rural areas, in the ports and big cities, in different branches of industry and in cottage industry. An analysis was made of the possible consequences of the Common Market agreement for some of the big enterprises. This was supplemented by concrete proposals for an economic policy which could improve the situation. Improvement could be aided by the economic victory of the working class and by reforms which would enlarge the home market and at the same time restrict the rule of the monopolies.

The conference confirmed the resolute opposition of the Communists to the Common Market, to the policy of military blocs and cold war which gave birth to the Market. Conscious of the anxiety aroused by the Common Market agreement among the various sections of the population, and even among those who in principle agree with the idea of the Market, the participants in the conference reaffirmed the slogan: "Annul the Common Market Agreement" and called for a re-examination of this question by various economic, social and political elements on a basis of broad mutual understanding.

Letters and Notes

The First Ten Years of the World Peace Movement

The Editorial Board approached Mr. Pritt, prominent in public life in Britain and member of the World Peace Council, with the request that he should share his views on the occasion of the the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Movement.

In publishing Mr. Pritt's contribution the Editorial Board expresses its gratitude to him.

THE World Peace Movement dates from the Congress held in the Salle Pleyel, Paris, April 1949. It may be said to have been conceived at the Congress of Intellectuals for peace held in Wroclaw in August 1948. It is significant that the reactionary forces of the West were already so conscious of the dangers which any organized activity for peace represented for them that the French government—under American pressure—refused visas for the delegates from so many countries that a branch or parallel Congress had to be held in Prague at the same time, attended by those delegates who were not allowed to enter France. Either of the two congresses, by itself, would have constituted a remarkable demonstration of the depth and power of the popular demand for peace.

The world had seen not a few "Internationals" in the past, of armaments, of finance, and others. But this International was something new; it had no raw materials or other resources than the minds and conscience of men and women. It aimed simply at establishing peace by building up mass opposition to the most powerful forces working in pursuit of their own selfish objects at the risk of war.

The world saw a new phenomenon; a universal unofficial mass movement of millions of people, consciously working to prevent war—indeed, to put an end to war; a movement based on the will of the great majority of the peoples, a movement not limited by group or race or class or color or political views.

What is the history of this Movement? It began, as I said, in the first Congress of the Peace Movement, held in Paris in 1949. The Congress was something wholly new in many ways; but perhaps its most important feature was the realization by the delegates present and the tens of millions they represented that a great power lay within their grasp—the power to prevent war, the power to impose peace.

There had been peace movements before. Before both of the great "World Wars," such movements existed on a more or less international scale. Yet they had failed to prevent the killing of millions of men, women and children, and to halt tremendous material destruction and misery.

The reasons for the failure of the pre-1939 peace movements are numerous and complicated, but one vital weakness was their limited character; they were almost entirely composed of small groups of intellectuals, and only rarely did they link up with the mass forces of the trade unions and working-class parties.

"Paris—1949" changed all that. The response to the Appeal calling the Congress was immediate and overwhelming; in 60 days, 18 international associations, over 1,000 national organizations, and thousands of public figures in nearly every country supported it. In the Congress itself there took part over 2,000 delegates from 72 countries, representing tens of millions of men and women.

Out of their deliberations, the interchange of ideas of men and women of many different races, creeds and political convictions, was born a new determination, and expressed most vividly in the Manifesto of the Congress, that "*the peoples are no longer passive, and intend to play an active, constructive part*" in the preservation of peace. The delegates pledged themselves to be "*ready and determined to win the battle for peace, which is the battle for life.*"

The unbroken thread running through all the debates at Paris—indeed the thread which has maintained the character of the Peace Movement throughout its ten years of existence—was the need for action, action by millions of people around the common theme of the need to preserve peace.

No attempt has been made by the World Peace Movement to lay down rules as to the forms of action carried out by the people; indeed the strength of the Movement has lain throughout in the very diverse forms of activity carried out in

different countries, adapted to the conditions and customs there prevailing.

What the World Peace Movement has done is to put forward single ideas and reasonable proposals that, sooner or later, have been recognized as the true expression of an extremely wide range of opinion. Activity has been initiated which has found a ready response and support in all countries, because the aims of the Peace Movement correspond to the interests of all peoples.

A supreme example of how a simple idea gripped the imagination of millions of people was given in the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal launched in Sweden's capital city on March 19, 1950.

"We demand the absolute banning of the atomic bomb," ran the appeal; and in response almost 500 million signatures were collected. In every country tens of thousands of collectors went out among the people to win their support. Despite vilification and in some countries arrest and imprisonment, the campaign went on until few people were unaware of the demand set out in the Appeal.

Vast meetings and demonstrations were organized in support of the signature campaign, and millions took part in these activities, so that each signature was far more than just ink on a piece of paper; it was a pledge to work and act against weapons of terror and mass extermination.

The success or failure of such a campaign cannot be measured merely by the number of signatures collected. It must be measured by the degree to which public opinion has been roused by the campaign throughout the world. Of this there can be no doubt. Eloquent testimony of the success of the campaign has been given by its enemies, the main protagonists of the use of the bomb. United States generals have testified that one of the main reasons why the atom bomb was not used in Korea was the movement of public opinion created by the Stockholm campaign. Kissinger, an American military writer, the apostle of "limited war," refers in his *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* to the activities of the World Peace Movement, showing how they have made far more difficult the possibilities of carrying out "unlimited war."

This Stockholm appeal campaign, the first of the major campaigns of the Peace Movement, has had profound effects on the last ten years of history. Denounced at the time by some as a campaign "favoring one side" in the cold war, it can now be seen that it was precisely this campaign which laid the basis for all the peace activity which was to follow.

In addition, the Stockholm campaign laid the basis of the organizational forms of the Peace Movement. National, regional, and local organizations were set up to carry out the work, and they remain today the basis of all peace activity.

It was this organizational development, and the need for still further activity in the cause of peace, which brought about, at the Warsaw Congress in November 1950, the creation of the World Council of Peace, open to "any people, any group, any body inspired by peace-loving ideas, willing to work for the realization of one or other of the proposals for peace drawn up by the World Congress."

The Warsaw Congress met under the shadow of war. The far-off country of Korea was being ravaged and destroyed while the delegates met, and it gave to their discussions an added sense of urgency. That the movement had gained strength was incontestable, the action of the British government in virtually banning the Congress from Britain—where it was originally decided to hold it—by refusing visas for most of the leading members of the Movement was but further testimony.

Could the Movement now measure up to its responsibilities and help end the Korean tragedy? Reference has already been made to the effect of the Stockholm campaign in preventing the use of atomic weapons in Korea, and there can be little doubt that the innumerable activities carried on in the United States itself in that war also played their part. Public opinion was aroused against the indiscriminate use of napalm, and delegations to Korea testified to the horrors being committed in the name of the United Nations. The aggressors were forced to go to the Conference table. The activity of millions, putting pressure on governments and creating a powerful, well-informed public opinion, had helped to avert the spread of war.

The guiding principles of the World Peace Movement were best summed up by the man who for almost the whole of the ten years of its existence had led and guided the movement, the late Professor Joliot Curie. At the Vienna meeting of the World Council of Peace in 1951, he laid down the following points:

- 1) "The different social systems in the world can co-exist peacefully;
- 2) "Differences between the nations must be settled by negotiations and agreements acceptable to all;
- 3) "Internal differences within a nation are the concern of its citizens, in conformity with the right of all peoples to self-determination."

These principles have been the solid bond that has linked together those who work for peace, irrespective of their political affiliations, their race, or their religious beliefs. On them have been based the other campaigns sponsored by the World Council of Peace.

The signature campaign of 1951, calling for a Pact of Peace between the Great Powers of the world, won over 600 million adherents and put

before the peoples the responsibility that rested on the Great Powers to ensure peace. It laid the basis for the later campaigns for a meeting of the Heads of State, which, despite all efforts to the contrary, was achieved in Geneva in 1955.

In all these worldwide campaigns, new forces have constantly been brought into activity for peace, new forces motivated by many different reasons but united in their endeavor to further the aim of achieving a stable peace corresponding to the vital interests of the people.

Other campaigns of a more "localized" character, but with a worldwide significance, have also made their imprint on the life of the peace movement and have helped to broaden its scope and influence.

In Europe, the struggle against the rearmament of West Germany, and more particularly in recent years the campaign against the nuclear armament of that state, has been the constant pre-occupation of the Peace forces. Its importance now cannot be overestimated.

In other regions, too, there have been particular aspects of the struggle for peace which have given an added content to the movement. The efforts to end the war in Vietnam was cited as a case in point. As in Korea, attempts were made to enlarge and widen the conflict. Evil voices were raised advocating the use of atomic weapons. But through the peace movement many more voices were raised in opposition, with the result that the atom fleets withdrew and the war was stopped; and although the agreements reached at the Geneva conference which followed the end of the fighting are still being flouted and Vietnam is still divided, another victory for peaceful opinion can be registered.

In Algeria, Kenya and other parts of the colonial world the demand for freedom has begun and is still met by oppression and ruthless suppression of the rights of the people. In other supposedly independent countries, national sovereignty is constantly infringed by the setting-up of strategic bases. Military pacts are imposed on countries against their best interests and the expressed opinion of their people.

Since its inception, the World Peace Movement has placed the independence of nations as one of the cornerstones of a peaceful world. At all its Congresses, stress has been laid on the danger arising from the attempts of great states to dominate other peoples; and at the Colombo Session of the World Council of Peace, held in June 1957, this was made explicit in one of the resolutions which stated: *"Real peace cannot exist so long as the desires of the peoples for independence are restrained by force, and that is why the strivings of the people to secure their economic and political independence, a right set out in the Charter of the*

United Nations, are a direct contribution to the cause of peace."

Full confirmation of this position had been clearly given for the first time some nine months prior to the Colombo Session, when Britain, France and Israel committed their aggression against Egypt. The vigorous reaction of the peoples against it once more gave striking confirmation of the power of public opinion when it is united.

Throughout the world, and not least in Britain itself, there was an immediate outcry against the unlawful acts of the governments concerned. The simple issue of peace or war cut across all barriers of creed and political affiliation. Great demonstrations were organized in many countries, floods of letters, resolutions and messages of protest went to the governments and the United Nations. And this time, too, the fighting was stopped, the troops were withdrawn, and the possibility of a worldwide conflict was averted.

How exactly has the Peace Movement acquired such strength? There are in my view a number of reasons, all of which contribute in various ways and various degrees, and interact on one another.

One of these reasons, of course, is the existence and the development of the socialist world, which stands solid for peace and contemplates war only as a means of defense and never as an instrument of policy.

Another is to be found in the experiences of the First and Second World Wars, in which far more millions of combatants and non-combatants than in any previous war gained direct experience of both the immediate and the long-enduring horrors of war; these experiences make it far more difficult than it ever was in the past for aggressors to persuade the people to accept war for any purpose whatever except the direct defense of their own homeland from invaders.

And we must include at this point two additional reasons: the first, that with the spread of education and of means of exchanges of ideas, public opinion today is formed by and consists in the thoughts and wishes not of a few thousand of articulate intellectuals in each country but of tens and hundreds of millions of people who know what war means *to them*, and therefore insistently demand peace; and the second, that many millions already clearly understand that war today, with nuclear weapons, would be incalculably worse than their most horrible recollections of previous warfare.

Yet another powerful—and particularly welcome—reason lies in the modern development of the struggle against poverty and colonialism. Millions of colonial or ex-colonial peoples are now active and powerful elements in the positive fight for peace, since they no longer passively accept either poverty or colonial status. Their great numbers,

and their new determination, have constituted a new great reinforcement of the fight of the world masses for peace.

Let me consider what we have achieved in our ten years of the World Peace Movement. We have of course built up a great organization and won the active support of hundreds of millions; and we have made ourselves into a mighty force, greatly feared by those whose policies include war. But what have we done, outwardly, against war?

From what I have written above, it can be seen, I think, that the answer is that, while we have not done enough, and still have much to do to make the world safe for peace, we have still achieved many successes. It is not, of course, easy to say positively how much credit the World Peace Movement can claim for averting or stopping wars. But certainly the World Peace Movement can claim much success in respect of many great victories for peace in the last ten years. In spite of all the efforts of the Pentagon and of other foci of war, there have been no major wars; no nuclear weapon has been used; the wars in Korea, Vietnam and Suez have been stopped; and many attempts to start war have been defeated. Various conferences at Geneva, which the West was resolved to turn into failures, were made into almost complete successes, and it has grown ever more difficult for the Western Powers to reject out of hand the many offers in the field of disarmament made by the socialist world.

No less important is the result that today international disputes and dangers of war can no longer be kept secret by governments until it is too late for public opinion to insist on peaceful solutions.

We have thus reached a position where we can recall many successes, and can count confidently on more to be won in the future, if we remain always vigilant; but it would be wrong to claim that the position is stable, or that war cannot come again. Yet we have the right to be confident, even optimistic, for we have achieved these successes in the teeth of great dangers.

Millions now understand that wars have their causes; and that the way to stop war is to understand and to resist the interests that cause it.

Above all, we who are active in the Movement,

in all countries, can and must reject any notion of the inevitability of war; we can understand why the First and Second World Wars were not averted, and how, in the more favorable conditions of today, with a socialist third of the world standing solidly for peace and with a powerful World Peace Movement, a Third World War can be averted. Our problems are not problems of doubt and hesitation as to the importance or purposes of our work, but are rather problems of organization. We must keep our organization flexible and up-to-date, ready and able to understand and to deal with each new change and development of the fluid situation of the modern world.

Space does not allow me to discuss at length any of our specific organizational problems, but I would like to add a word on one point which I think is of particular importance, namely, the attitude which should be adopted towards the dangers of "minor wars." Some people, naturally conscious of the danger of a Third World War, are apt to underrate the dangers of allowing minor wars to come about and thus tend to treat minor wars and a world war in different categories, and not to resist the "minor" danger with sufficient vigilance. They may even be lulled into a false sense of half-security by the recollection of the successes which the Movement—and the public opinion which it created and led — achieved in preventing the wars in Korea and Vietnam from developing into World Wars. To my mind, this is a perilous line of reasoning. Minor wars are more than just an evil in themselves; they present an incessant danger of developing into a Third World War; and any threat of minor war should be studied, and resisted, with as much seriousness and care as a direct threat of world war.

After all is said and done, the work of the World Peace Movement in the last ten years constitutes a mighty achievement, full of promise; that promise has to be redeemed in what is still a period of anxiety. And let us never forget that the successes we have won are mainly due to our basis in mass opinion throughout the world; those successes, too, which we shall win, will come just because that is the basis on which we stand.

London, April, 1959

D. N. PRITT

Savage Repressions against the Syrian People

(Letter from Damascus)

THE leaders of the United Arab Republic have established a regime of repression and terror in Syria and in Egypt. In the endeavor to conceal their anti-national and anti-democratic policy they are resorting to anti-communism. The Cairo government, undermining the solidarity of the Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism, breaking with the policy of positive neutrality and endangering the friendship between the UAR and the socialist countries—a friendship which, as experience has shown, assures the independence and security of the Arabs—is isolating itself more and more.

Arbitrary rule in Syria is the order of the day. Over a thousand political prisoners, not all of them Communists, are held in the Mezzé fortress near Damascus. Patriots have been imprisoned without any legal charge having been made against them. Among them are trade union leaders, peasants, teachers, lawyers, architects, engineers, writers, journalists and poets—people not associated with any political party. The prisoners, detained in vile conditions, are subjected to torture.

Peasants, too, suffer from the unbridled terror. Dozens of residents of Machrefé, a village near the town of Homs, have been arrested, while police are searching for more than 200 who fled from the village. The aged parents of the villagers are held as hostages by the Nasser secret police.

Members of the Socialist bloc, founded two years ago in Homs by Hanni Sibai, former Minister, are being jailed. Among those arrested are the lawyer Riad Kalalib and M. Akkache.

Women, too, are victims of the terror. The UAR government, which has proclaimed itself the “defender of Arabism and Islam,” is committing acts unprecedented in Arab history. Arab and Islam traditions are trampled upon; women, young and old, are dragged from their homes in the middle of the night and herded into jails.

The arrest of Asma Saleh, a young schoolteacher in Damascus, has aroused widespread indignation. Asma Saleh, who refused to sign a statement supporting Nasser’s policy, was dragged, scantily dressed and barefoot, from her home by police who cut her hair—a thing unheard of even during the most brutal tyranny in Arab history. She was torn from her parents and young brothers—the sole breadwinner of the family since the arrest of her twenty-year-old brother. She is now being tortured by Nasser’s special bureau. A member of the Syrian Women’s League for Mother and Child Welfare, an organization dissolved by Nasser, Asma Saleh is well-known for her fidelity to the people and her country’s independence. The Lebanon League for Women’s Rights has issued a stirring appeal to women all over the world urging them to come to the defense of Asma Saleh whose life is in danger.

Among the women arrested is Fudda Halal, mother of nine, jailed together with her daughter Jamile and her son. She, too, is subjected to torture.

The anti-democratic and anti-national policy pursued by the UAR leaders is jeopardizing the gains of the Arab national-liberation movement, gains won in battle and at the cost of great sacrifice. This policy brings comfort only to the American and British imperialists and their agents in the Middle East.

In the history of Syria, the first Arab country to win independence after the Second World War, the struggle against imperialism and for freedom has always been associated with the struggle for democracy. No terror can crush the will of the men and women, the sons and daughters of the heroic people of Syria. Their history is the proof of this.

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NEW BOOKS

Below are listed a few of the many interesting Marxist works that have been published recently. The list will be continued in forthcoming issues of the magazine.

(Titles of works in other languages are given in English)

- The Second World War. 1939-1945. A Military Survey.* Moscow, Voenizdat, 1958, 932 pp.
- S. Wyrobisz. *Essays on the Polish Economy. 1956-1965.* Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1959, 162 pp.
- G. Girginov. *Modern Revisionism—the Ideology of Anti-Communism.* Sofia, the BCP Publishing House, 1958, 111 pp.
- P. Gropp. *Concerning the History of Philosophy and Dialectical Materialism.* Berlin, Deutscher Verl. d. Wissenschaften, 1959, 137 pp.
- Spain. 1939-1959.* Paris, 1959, 191 pp. ("Nouvelle critique," N. 104).
- A. Quimbaya. *Colombia's Problems. Critical Essays Concerning the Interpretation of History.* Bogota, Ed. Suramerica, 1958, 340 pp.
- I. Kinov. *Marxist-Leninist Teaching on War and the Army.* Sofia, the State Military Publishing House, 1958, 324 pp.
- J. Klofac. *The Materialist Conception of History. Basic Problems.* Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1959, 270 pp.
- G. Luzzatto. *Brief Economic History of Italy.* Turin, Giulio Einaudi ed., 1958, 328 pp.
- K. Mollnau. *From the Book of Crimes of Political Catholicism. Clericalism Exposed.* Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 180 pp.
- E. Ribadeneira. *The Modern Ecuador Novel.* Quito, Ed. Casa de la cultura ecuatoriana, 1958, 280 pp.
- Fortieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist International.* Paris. "Cahiers du communisme," 1959, 48 pp.
- V. Suchopar. *The Militant Path of the Communist International.* Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1959, 104 pp.
- B. Telpukhovskiy. *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945. A Brief Survey.* Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1959, 575 pp.
- G. Trevisiani. *Essays on the History of the Italian Working-Class Movement. From the Industrial Revolution to the First International.* Milan-Rome, Ed. Avanti, 1958, 294 pp.
- Philosophy in the Class Struggle. Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism": Fifty Years.* Berlin, Deutscher Verl. d. Wissenschaften, 1959, 188 pp.
- Economic Competition Between the USSR and the USA. Criticism of the Views of U.S. Bourgeois Economists.* Moscow, Gosplanizdat, 1959, 242 pp.

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The collage displays several covers of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" (Otázky míru a socialismu) in various languages:

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- Czech:** "Otázky míru a socialismu" (top center), "Otázky míru a socialismu" (middle center), "Otázky míru a socialismu" (bottom center).
- German:** "Probleme des Friedens und des Sozialismus" (top right).
- English:** "PROBLEMY DOKOJU SOCIALIZMU" (middle right), "World Marxist Review" (bottom right).
- Russian:** "ПРОБЛЕМЫ МИРА И СОЦИАЛИЗМА" (bottom left), "ПРОБЛЕМЫ МИРА И СОЦИАЛИЗМА" (bottom center).
- Vietnamese:** "Nhiệm vụ của hòa bình và chủ nghĩa xã hội" (bottom right).

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