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World Marxist Review

March, 1960
Volume 3, No. 3
35 Cents

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM

1910 — 1960

*Greetings to women,
fighters for Peace, Democracy
and Social Progress!*

World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

CONTENTS

H. KUUSINEN: Democratic Forces of Finland Struggle for Peaceful Coexistence	3
S. LAKOS: Problems Concerning the Party's Ties With the Masses in Hungary	9
TIM BUCK: New Conditions and New Perspectives	18
LI CHONG OK: Socialist Industrialization in the Korean People's Democratic Republic	24
A. SAZANOV: Socialism and Property	29
J. KANAPA: The Catholic Social Doctrine in the Service of Capitalism	36
V. TEITELBOIM: Literature and Socialism	45

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Day of Struggle and Solidarity	51
L. BEHRING: Our Worries, Efforts and Perspectives (Letter from West Germany)	53
H. BEGUM: New Forces Awaken to Life	54
M. FUENTES: "In Defense of Life, Labor and Culture"	57
Women in the Socialist Countries (Facts and Figures)	58

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Further Advance of Soviet Agriculture	62
Party Propaganda in Present-Day Conditions (USSR)	65
A New Day in the Life of the Party (USA)	68
M. RODRIGUEZ: Growing Support for the Communists	71
SHORT NOTICES	72

REVIEWS

I. LAPONOGOV: Lessons of the Agrarian Movements in Russia	74
F. SA: Foreign Capital in Brazil	79
A.M.: A Problem of Concern to All	81

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

S. WAGNER: Some Aspects of Cultural Work in the German Democratic Republic	83
F. MAHMOUD, H. LARA, J. RAMIREZ: Against the Persecution of Democrats	86
C. ESPOSITO: Once Again About Peaceful Coexistence	90

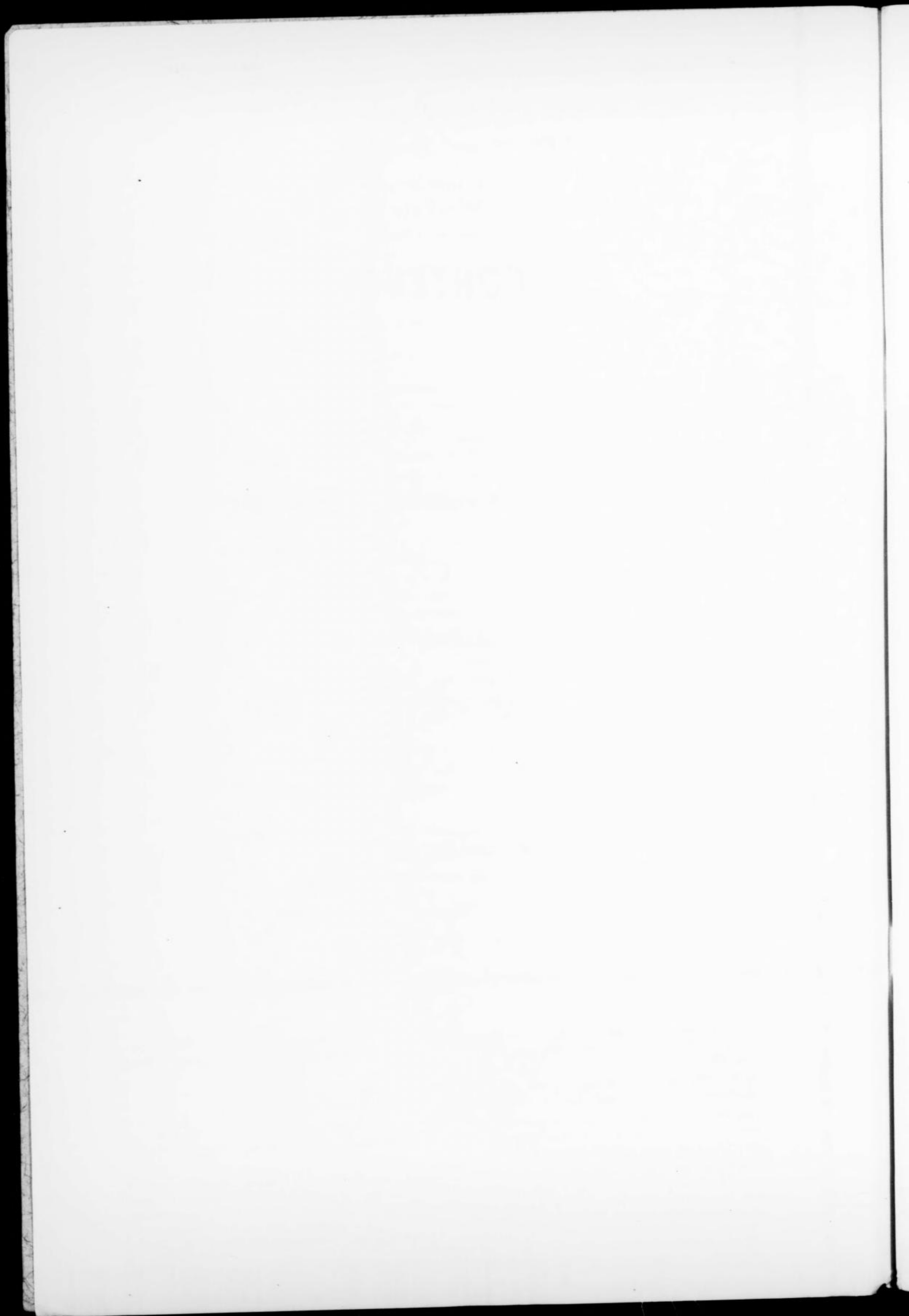
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: *Problems of Peace and Socialism* is the Canadian edition of the monthly journal published in Prague under the title: *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The Canadian edition is published by

PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa, PRINTED IN CANADA.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies, 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. For orders addressed to PROGRESS BOOKS from outside Canada, an additional 25 cents is required to cover bank and exchange charges.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Chinese, Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish, Vietnamese (distributors: Press Circulation Agency, Sadova 3, Prague 6, Czechoslovakia). Subscriptions to any of these editions may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto. Yearly Subscription Rates for the edition in the following languages: French—\$6.00. Czech—\$6.50. Russian—\$3.50. Spanish—\$3.50. German—\$3.50.



Democratic Forces of Finland Struggle for Peaceful Coexistence

Hertta Kuusinen

WITH the improvement in the world climate, with the Soviet proposal for total disarmament, which open before the peoples new opportunities for peaceful development, the example of Finland's relations with the socialist countries is of special significance.

In this situation the small Finnish nation, whose territory was used by the Western imperialists as a springboard for aggression against the Soviet Union, is in a favorable position to counter any renewal of attempts of this kind, to answer them with a policy of peace, and to support the idea of a Scandinavian peace zone. One should bear in mind that the American-led NATO, particularly the German militarists, is eager to extend its influence to the Baltic countries with a view to setting up atomic and missile bases there. The cold-war men, counting on the support of the Finnish reactionaries, want to involve our country in the system of aggressive military alliances.

Obviously Finland's security, its active and flexible foreign policy can be ensured, as the late President Paasikivi put it, only through friendship with the Soviet Union and through a correct understanding of its policy. The Soviet Union, of course, has always been anxious about the security of its frontiers, and it cannot be indifferent to the forces which influence the destinies of its neighbor. It would be wrong, however, to consider the friendly relations between the two countries solely from the military aspect.

The Soviet Union, true to the Leninist principle of equality of peoples, has ever since its inception firmly supported national rights and the freedom of the small nations. The Finns, who acquired their independence thanks to Soviet Russia, know this better than the others. The relations between the USSR and Finland, like those between the Soviet Union and the other small nations, are based on the humane principles of respect for national culture and traditions, for the right to sovereignty. In upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence between the two social systems the Soviet Union, unlike some of the Western powers, is not in-

terested in Finland becoming entangled in military blocs or economic alignments associated with these blocs.

The idea of peaceful coexistence which has won the recognition of the peoples of the world presupposes non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality and mutually beneficial economic and cultural co-operation.

The Communist Party of Finland maintains that in the interests of the people, in the interests of peace it should fight jointly with all democrats to ensure implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence by the Finnish government, to strengthen friendship among all peoples, particularly Finnish-Soviet friendship, as the best guarantee of peace for our own country. The Finnish people must not be deprived of the gains which they won during the postwar years when, in the eyes of the world, Finland became a *model of peaceful coexistence*.

The experience of our country proves beyond doubt that peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and the socialist countries is feasible and answers the vital needs of the people of the two systems.

Finland, a capitalist country, has excellent opportunities for developing her economy and improving the well-being of her people in friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist world.

* * *

A feature of postwar Finland is the unanimity manifested by the vast majority of the people in the sphere of foreign policy. Our people want peace. They want to co-operate with their socialist neighbor — the USSR. Even those who find this main line thoroughly distasteful publicly express agreement with it, since the last thing they want is total isolation. And this is understandable.

Despite the fact that Finland was defeated in the war in which she was an ally of Hitler Germany, the Soviet Union even then respected her right to self-determination. Certainly no imperialist state would have done this in the circumstances. And as the influence of the peace supporters and democratic forces

in our country grew, the friendly Soviet attitude assumed more tangible forms.

Thanks to Soviet aid in the immediate post-war years (food deliveries, some reparations claims were waived) the economy of our country was rehabilitated in a short time.

The 1948 Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid was another guarantee, apart from the peace treaty, of the country's sovereignty and security. This tried and tested document is the embodiment of the principles of peaceful coexistence of the big and small countries with differing social systems.

In 1955, that is, forty years before the expiration of the lease of Porkkala-Udd, the Soviet Union cancelled the lease, dismantled its naval base there and returned the territory to Finland.

That same year the United Nations, acting on a Soviet proposal, admitted Finland to membership of the world organization where it enjoys equal rights.

Thus consistent implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp has reinforced the independence of a small country like ours, has created favorable conditions for pursuing an active peace policy.

Trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has helped our country economically and has stimulated expansion of our industry. Most of the grain, oil fuel and other vital imports come from the Soviet Union. From Poland we import coal; from Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic — products of the chemical and machine-building industries; from China — rice and vegetable oils; from Rumania — oil; from Hungary and Bulgaria — fruit.

In some years the trade with the socialist countries comprised nearly a third of Finland's foreign trade, the Soviet share being 17 to 19 per cent. About three-quarters of the exports of the machine-building and metal-working industries go to the Soviet Union. The effect of this on the economic life of the country can be seen from the following example: if the 1938 index for the metal-working industry is taken as 100, the figure for 1957 was 321 — a 221 per cent increase! Overall industrial output for the same period increased by 135 per cent.

The interest displayed in recent times by some economic circles in ore mining and metal working has resulted in greater prospecting for minerals. This in turn has resulted in the discovery of considerable mineral

deposits particularly in the relatively poor northern areas stricken by unemployment. The lack of local capital arising from the refusal of the big capitalists to invest in these industries could be made good through co-operation with the socialist countries, by loans from the Soviet Union, which is what the workers are suggesting.

Contacts with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are not restricted to the economic sphere. In many respects cultural and social exchanges are making better headway, and extend to large sections of the people.

Modelled on the Finland-USSR Society which, with a membership of over 200,000, is one of the largest organizations in the country, other societies have been formed: Finland-China, Finland-Poland, and Finland-Czechoslovakia. These societies promote contacts in the spheres of the arts with the respective socialist countries; they arrange film weeks, art exhibitions, exchanges of delegations and music recordings; there is also a growing interchange of tourists. Direct contact plays a most important part in overcoming prejudice and building friendship. This purpose is served well also by visits of statesmen.

Such is the general trend of the relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, and with the other socialist countries, on the principle of peaceful coexistence. These many-sided relations can become even closer and more fruitful in the interests of both parties, above all, the Finnish people. Illustrative of this are the benefits derived from the growing contacts on the basis of the 1955 agreement on scientific and technological co-operation with the USSR. Some of the possibilities, however, for instance in the sphere of atoms for peace, have not been taken up by Finland.

Friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries do not interfere in any way with economic, political and cultural ties with the capitalist countries of the West. Finland engages in brisk trade with the USA, Britain, West Germany, France and other capitalist countries. The long standing economic and cultural ties with our neighbors, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, are also being extended. Finland is associated with them in the Nordic Council consisting of Scandinavian parliamentarians. She joined this consultative body in 1955 with the reservation that she will not participate in discussions concerning military mat-

ters and differences between the Great Powers.

Hence, those who insinuate that our peaceful foreign policy is a one-sided orientation on the Soviet Union to the detriment of relations with the West are deliberately distorting the essence of this policy which is aimed at promoting friendship and trade with the socialist countries in the interests of peace and prosperity. The policy of peaceful coexistence is a sound guarantee of Finland's sovereignty, a guarantee against reactionary attempts to subordinate our country to aggressive imperialist aims.

* * *

The monopoly circles of the imperialist powers frown upon the growing economic and political independence of Finland. They have faithful henchmen here who are supported by the big timber firms — the so-called twenty families. Trying to consolidate their economic supremacy, the latter are bent on developing the lumber industry to the detriment of the other industries, on adding to their profits at the expense of the people. They are inviting partners mainly from the West and are prepared to come to any terms with the foreign monopolies.

There are, moreover, bourgeois and Right-wing Social-Democratic politicians headed by Tanner and Leskinen who, like the Bourbons, "have learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Then there are the revanchist Schutzkorps elements who, though not as noisy as in the past, nevertheless maintain a network of organizations which engage in propaganda inimical to the people. Among these are the reserve officers' and n.c.o. associations.

Newspapers, journals and publishing houses owned by the bourgeoisie and the Right-wing Social Democrats continue to promote the aims of the cold war. They readily publish large editions of "memoirs" by war criminals and by revanchists of Finnish and German origin. Thus, though the main line of friendship for the socialist countries is pursued, there are serious deviations from it.

These as a rule coincide with the periods when the Right-wing Social Democrat Fagerholm heads the government. The first attempt at a reactionary turn in the policy of our country was made in 1948. The Right-wing circles who succeeded in getting the Communists and the People's Democrats removed from the government, launched, with foreign support, a campaign for lowering living standards and restricting democratic rights. In

the period from 1940 to 1950 they all but eliminated trade with the Soviet Union.

The policy of the last Fagerholm government,* formed in August 1958 of Right-wing Social Democrats and bourgeois extremists, was disastrous for the people. That government was responsible for what our people aptly described at the time as "night frosts" in Finnish-Soviet relations. In 1958 the reactionaries whittled away at trade with the socialist countries, causing unemployment. In the winter of 1958-59 there were about 100,000 registered unemployed (out of a total of 1,100,000 workers) and about the same number of unregistered unemployed and part-time workers.

This caused such an explosion of indignation that the members of the Agrarian Union in the Fagerholm government were forced to resign. A six weeks' government crisis ensued, with the result that in January 1959 a minority government (consisting only of Agrarians) was formed by Professor Sukkelainen.

The Finnish Diet has had, and still has, a majority elected by the workers, which includes the biggest group — the Democratic Union — and also the Social Democratic group and the group of Social-Democratic opposition.

However, it has been impossible to take advantage of this majority to form a democratic government because the Right-wing Social Democrats have refused point-blank to co-operate with the other groups representing the working people.

The Democratic Union has 50 seats, including Communists and other people's democrats; the Agrarian Union, the second largest group, has 47 of the 200 seats. The Agrarians have adopted a clear (as compared with the other bourgeois parties) stand in respect to the Paasikivi line as the basis for Finland's foreign policy, and for this reason they enjoy considerable support among the rural people.

Last October, contrary to the desires of the reactionaries, the Sukselainen government signed a new five-year trade agreement with the USSR, thus ensuring employment in a number of branches of industry. Under the agreement the annual trade turnover between the two countries is to increase by approximately three per cent.

The working people and the industrialists who depend on trade with the socialist coun-

*The workers hoped that this third Fagerholm government would be the last. They say: "When Fagerholm forms a government prices soar and unemployment grows."

tries are pleased with the results. These forces see many more unused opportunities. For instance, the shipbuilding yards get over 80 per cent of their orders from the Soviet Union (not counting orders from China and other socialist countries) which yield about 90 per cent of their profits. Overall capacity of the shipbuilding industry is about three times the present level of production. But Western markets are closed to it and this vital branch, therefore, depends on the socialist world market. Many of the other industries, including textiles, are confronted with the same problem.

However, in order to sell something one must also buy. At the moment Finland purchases from the USSR and other socialist countries chiefly grain, fuel, raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. Finnish importers close their eyes to the fact that the socialist countries are now highly developed countries. And what is most important they, unlike the capitalist countries, have no intention of capturing the home markets of other countries.

As a result of measures taken by Rightist governments, such as the devaluation of the mark and the removal of practically all restrictions on trade with the West, a situation has arisen in which imports from the West, particularly from Federal Germany, are growing at a rate which is a threat to the home market of Finnish industry. Our economy, which is largely dependent on foreign trade, is immediately affected by the fluctuations on the capitalist world market and especially by economic recessions in the West.

Stronger ties with the stable and constantly expanding socialist world market could be a counterweight to these adverse effects. But the monopoly circles at home are reluctant to take advantage of these favorable opportunities. They are encouraged by the vacillations of the Agrarian government, which is under the mounting pressure of the Western imperialists who want to enmesh the country in exclusive economic and military combinations.

More recently these machinations, supported by the home reactionaries, were cloaked by plans for a customs union and a common market of the Nordic countries, in which Sweden alone, the economically strongest country in Scandinavia, had a real interest. The Rightists made it clear, however, that their main purpose was to include Finland in the Common Market — the six-country group, component of NATO. The political aim of this imperialist group, spearheaded

against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, did not win sufficient support even among the capitalists. It is noteworthy that at the sixth session of the Nordic Council held in 1958 the entire Finnish delegation not only refused to discuss the matter of joining the Common Market, they even opposed the idea of a common market of the Nordic countries. The proposal mooted by the People's Democrats to extend trade relations with the socialist countries was adopted unanimously. Experience has corroborated the significance of this proposal both for Finland and the other Northern countries who are now trading on a bigger scale with the socialist countries.

The seventh session of the Nordic Council held in Stockholm last November noted the importance of the Finnish example in pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence. It also recorded the failure of the plans for a common market of the Northern countries.

Nevertheless the governments of Sweden, Norway and Denmark decided to enter the British-led grouping—the so-called European Free Trade Area. By tempting the small European countries with transient trade advantages, the rivals — the big powers of the Common Market and of the EFTA — want to tie them to the competitive struggle and at the same time to the struggle against the socialist camp.

Finnish industrial and banking monopolies, eager to take a hand in the sharing of markets by the international monopolies and to step up exploitation of the workers, plumped for participation in the Outer Seven. Their main thesis is that non-participation in the Outer Seven — which, they say, has no political aims — would signify national “disaster” for Finland (or rather for the timber monopolists).

But is this non-participation as “disastrous” as they claim?

More than 30 per cent of our exports, chiefly goods produced by the lumber and pulp industries, goes to the Outer Seven countries, mostly to Britain. But even now most of these goods are duty free. A duty ranging from 10 to 20 per cent is imposed on cardboard and certain varieties of paper, but these items comprise only three per cent of our exports to the Outer Seven. Finland exports to the socialist countries about double this quantity, thus the economic interest even of the lumber industry in the Outer Seven is rather questionable.

As to our metal-working industry, its exports to the Outer Seven markets are only

one-eighth of those to the socialist countries. The competition of the more powerful monopolies of Britain, Sweden and Austria would put this industry in a very precarious position.

The threat to the industries turning out goods for home consumption and to agriculture would be still greater.

Last November the government informed Parliament about its attitude to the EFTA. Although the report largely reflected the view of the Association of the Timber Industry, the government could not deny that Finland's participation in the Outer Seven would "gravely endanger" the Finnish silk, worsted, glass and rubber industries which are protected by a 30 per cent import duty. The report went on to say that "the industries protected by a 15-30 per cent duty (cotton textiles, knitted goods and electrical appliances) would encounter serious difficulties, while the branches protected by a less than 15 per cent duty (engineering and shipbuilding) might be able to scrape through by rationalization measures and other ways of ensuring higher productivity."

It follows, then, that participation in the European Free Trade Area would gravely affect a large part of our economy. There would be more unemployment, greater intensification of labor and capitalist rationalization, while many small farmers would be ruined.

The People's Democrats in Parliament suggested that the government should make a statement to the effect that "the national interests prevent Finland from any kind of participation in the Outer Seven; they impel the country to maintain and extend trade relations with all countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit."

The proposal, however, was rejected. The vagueness of the government's communique gave rise to various interpretations. The reactionaries interpreted it as implying that Finland would join the Outer Seven at a later stage.

* * *

That the reactionaries have not succeeded in achieving their goals in foreign policy is explained above all by the growth of the democratic forces which work for peaceful coexistence and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The more farsighted, patriotic sections of the bourgeoisie support this policy.

The backbone of this new trend is found in those big segments of the working people

whose interests are expressed by the Communist Party and the Democratic Union. These organizations are growing and their prestige is rising.

In the 1958 general election the Communists and the other members of the Democratic Union polled 450,000 votes, or 23.2 per cent of the electorate. The returns showed that the working people stood for a policy of peace. An opposition group in the Social Democratic Party, at loggerheads with the Right-wing leadership, nominated its own candidates and captured a number of constituencies. Immediately after the election 10 deputies withdrew from the Social-Democratic group in Parliament and joined the opposition group; they were reinforced by one more deputy last autumn. At present the Social Democratic Party has 37 seats, while the Social-Democratic opposition has 14. The latter, now an independent body, is known as the Social Democratic Union of Workers and Smallholders. It is opposed to the collaboration of the Social Democrats with the extreme Right-wing bourgeoisie represented by the so-called Coalition Party, and to their revanchist policy. The opposition wields a big influence in the trade union movement and is the dominant trend in the Social-Democratic women's and youth organizations.

As mentioned above, the Agrarian group in Parliament is second to the People's Democrats. There are many Agrarians who support peaceful coexistence and good relations with the socialist countries. The fact that the Sukselainen government, a government of the minority Agrarian Union, is making concessions to big capital and to the Right-wing circles is explained by the bourgeois character of this Party and its heterogeneous composition.* This is particularly noticeable in home policy, but it also affects foreign policy. The government has raised the prices on consumer goods, especially on agricultural products, at a time when the earnings of the workers and small farmers are declining. The government is not taking full advantage of the trade agreements with the socialist countries, which could reduce unemployment.

The democratic forces, aware of the danger inherent in these inconsistent policies, are suggesting that all the groups representing the workers (in the aggregate they have a parliamentary majority of one) should co-operate more closely. Since the time of the 1958 election the people have favored the

*This party also includes the rural capitalists and big landowners who have a decisive say in the leadership.

formation of a democratic government in which the People's Democrats would also be represented. Workers and farmers of varying political views are coming to realize more and more that participation by the Communists and the other people's democrats in the government would benefit the working people, would put a curb on the monopolies and the reactionaries, help abolish unemployment and insecurity and further the policy of peace.

And although the Sukselainen government is in the main obedient to the will of the Right-wing circles and is continuing talks with them for the formation of a government that would meet their desires, popular resistance has so far prevented a change in the political course that would endanger the country.

The core, the driving force, behind the postwar trend which exerts a beneficial influence on our foreign policy is the working class educated by the Communist Party in the spirit of fraternal internationalism. By virtue of its experience the working class can appreciate, better than the other sections of the population, the advantages of peaceful coexistence and friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee meeting held last September called on all democrats to rally in the struggle for peace and better conditions. In this document the Party welcomed the Khrushchov-Eisenhower meeting. It reads in part:

"The turn towards peaceful relations among the nations is not, however, completely assured. There are still forces in the world that have no desire to see any relaxation of the tension. In connection with the visit of the Soviet Premier there were hostile outcries in our country, too." The meeting pointed out that the reactionaries, though few in number, use their propaganda machine to foment enmity against our neighbor; and they do so despite the fact that there are tens of thousands of invalids, widows and orphans in Finland to remind us of the horrors of war. The reactionaries engage in chauvinistic instigation and glorify the war spirit, though it is clear to all that had Hitler won, Finland would have lost its independence.

The Central Committee meeting in mid-November pointed to the urgent necessity for "countering the plan of the monopolists" in connection with the emergence of the Outer Seven scheme. The appeal says that the for-

mation of the Outer Seven is another link in the chain of the policy initiated by the formation of the Common Market headed by West Germany; it is an attempt by a small group of monopolies to continue the cold war. The Outer Seven, like the Common Market, pursues trade discrimination, they both lead to trade war and hamper world trade. For the small nations participation in exclusive economic combinations would lead to loss of their political and economic independence.

The Central Committee meeting pointed to the need for united action by all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country. Its appeal reads:

"The striving of the Right-wing circles to align Finland directly or indirectly with exclusive economic combinations and in this way with political and military West European alliances can be repulsed by the joint action of all patriotic citizens. The workers, small farmers, small business men and all whose interests would be endangered by entry into the Outer Seven should unite to repel the monopolists."

The working people have correctly understood the call of the Communist Party and are actively supporting it. By doing so they are upholding the vital interests of the whole population. The calls of the Communist Party, the Democratic Union and the peace organizations to support Khrushchov's proposal in the UN for total disarmament and measures for easing the tension, for establishing peace zones in Central and Northern Europe have met with response throughout the country. Our people were greatly impressed by the Soviet Union's latest unilateral reduction of its armed forces.

In April, simultaneously with the congress of the Social Democratic Party, the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party will be held. The Social Democrats, in preparing for their congress, are torn by dissension; there is an open split caused by the collaboration of some of the Right-wing leaders with the bourgeois extremists. The Communist Party, on the other hand, is preparing for its congress on the basis of ideological unity and organizational consolidation.

The prestige of the forces of peace and democracy is rising. Some progress has been made in achieving united action among local organizations of workers and among people of varying views in town and countryside. It can be said that the forces of peace and progress are getting the upper hand in the struggle against the reactionaries.

Problems Concerning the Party's Ties with the Masses in Hungary

S. Lakos

I

OUR FRIENDS note with joy and the enemies with anger and dismay that people's power in Hungary is now stronger than it was before the counter-revolutionary putsch. It goes without saying that this could not have been achieved without winning the confidence and the support of the people. This fact is all the more important because during the putsch, and even before it took place, the Party's contact with the masses was weakened.

The Communist parties can fulfil their leading role only if they — on the basis of a deep knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and reality — correctly define their political tasks and march at the head of the masses. Whereas the Party can conduct successful work only if it studies the economic conditions of the country and its specific features, the needs and the views of the masses, it is only through practice, through the experience of the masses, that it can constantly check the correctness of its policy and its general line. The Party does not follow in the wake of the masses, it moulds and shapes their views. However, under no circumstances should the Party disregard the views of the masses, even when they refuse to accept the Party standpoint, for unless the opinion of the masses is taken into consideration it will be unable to act correctly.

Implementation of these principles in the relations between the Communist parties and the masses was hampered at times by some unhealthy phenomena such as subjectivism and the personality cult. These were first brought out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a number of Central Committee decisions issued between 1953 and 1956 and particularly during the Twentieth Congress. This Congress had a tremendous impact on the working-class movement of the world. In those countries where the parties and their leadership drew correct conclusions from the Twentieth Congress decisions, the methods of work were overhauled and the parties achieved splendid results.

Unfortunately, this was not the case in Hungary. The old leadership was incapable of changing its policy and correcting its mistakes. The revisionists took advantage of the situation. Twisting the ideas of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, particularly the self-criticism, they claimed that they were upholding the line of that Congress and attacked the Hungarian Working People's Party.

Basically the Party's general line was correct and considerable gains were made, but the leaders distorted this line with the result that the Leninist standards of Party life were violated and errors made in industry, agriculture, and in the matter of living standards. The source of these errors can be traced to subjectivism, to dogmatism in applying Marxist-Leninist theory, to insufficient knowledge of Hungarian life and to a sectarian underestimation of the role of the masses. The violation of Marxist-Leninist principles produced rifts in the Party's relations with the masses. This was fertile soil for the subversive activity of the revisionists, the external and internal enemies of the people's democratic system, who unleashed the counter-revolutionary putsch.

The rapid development of Hungary (as well as of the other socialist countries) in recent years has fully demonstrated that the frank criticism voiced at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was urgent, and that it has been most helpful to all the Communist parties. The invigorating changes made by the Party after the counter-revolutionary putsch, changes that accelerated the country's advance, were in fact the practical implementation of the Twentieth Congress ideas in the concrete conditions of Hungary. Having broken with the subjectivist political and economic concepts our Party went ahead with socialist construction by applying better methods, displaying more concern for living standards and restoring the Leninist standards of Party life. The essence of these changes is that the Party based its policy on a sober assessment of reality, with due consideration of the needs of the people. This

enabled it to restore the confidence of the people. It was only natural, therefore, that the recent Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party paid special attention to Party matters, to its contact with the masses and to the new features in its activity.

II

The relations between the Party and the masses, whether good or bad, depend largely on the situation in the Party itself. The state of affairs within the Party *influences* non-Party people and, in many respects, determines the relationships with them. This is especially the case in countries where the Communist parties are the ruling parties. The internal situation in these parties exerts a great influence on public life. Proof of this is the negative experience of the few years which preceded the putsch and the positive experience after it.

Clearly the process which before and during the counter-revolutionary putsch led to the weakening of the Party's contact with the masses and to the temporary loss of confidence in the Party *began* with the deterioration of the situation inside the Party. After the complete conquest of power by the working class such traits as conceit, overconfidence and subjectivism became increasingly manifest in the Party leadership. This affected inner-Party democracy above all, with the result that the role of the rank and file was ignored. Whereas prior to 1949 the leadership, before launching a campaign, invariably sought the advice of the membership, which was the right thing to do, later this practice was abandoned: the leaders either refrained from consulting even with the activists, or did so in a purely perfunctory manner. Indulging in bureaucratic methods and issuing orders led to a situation in which many members began to display a passive and indifferent attitude towards Party affairs. The leadership no longer considered that the rank and file, or even the activists, enjoyed equal rights as Party members; the outcome was that the leaders became increasingly divorced not only from the non-Party people, but also from a large portion of the membership.

Our experience has shown that although the taking over of power makes things easier for the Party, it at the same time puts the Party to a hard test and exposes it to temptation. The membership of a ruling party is more vulnerable to bureaucracy and arrogance; it tends to underestimate the role of

the masses. An important part in combating these weaknesses is played by inner-Party democracy and collective leadership. The rank and file and the branches have a closer view of the problems of the masses, they see them at the lower levels, from a different angle; they have a better knowledge of how the Party policies are being carried out. Collective leadership enables the Party to hear the "voice of the masses," to map out a more realistic policy. At the Seventh Congress of our Party Khrushchov said: "If the people have entrusted the Party to guide the country, this, far from freeing the leaders from concern for strengthening contact with the masses, obliges them to lend an especially keen ear to their requirements...." If the leaders fail to pay due regard to the opinion of the rank and file and decide questions subjectively, this is a mistake, testifying not only to wrong methods of Party work, but leading also to mistakes in policy.

After the putsch our Party took good care to learn this lesson. It was clear that relations with the masses could be improved only if the unity of leaders and members was strengthened. The changes in Party life since then have resulted in unity on a principled basis; there is free rein for inner-Party democracy and complete equality of leaders and rank and file. The rights of the members and their obligations have been extended, and the leadership is now closer to the rank and file.

Our Party has approached the question of unity in a Leninist way. The main thing here is the ideological unity of the Communists, and this is first of all achieved not by issuing orders but through exchange of views and explanatory work. It should be borne in mind that the views of members may be influenced by the general situation and by the conditions of the class struggle. And precisely for this reason the Party is opposed to any of its members shutting themselves up in their shells, is opposed to their keeping wrong views to themselves and, what is more, is opposed to their spreading these views inside and outside the Party in a manner alien to Party practice, for to do so would cause grave injury to the Party. The Party tries by means of ideological struggle to correct wrong views, to help the doubtful and to convince them of the correctness of the Party line. During the past three years this line has been worked out in sharp ideological struggle against the revisionists and the sectarians. A struggle on two fronts was waged both at higher levels and in the branches. As a re-

sult, the Central Committee was able to report to the Seventh Congress that the bulk of the membership had shed the influence of revisionism and sectarian dogmatism.

The spirit of a frank airing of questions plays a big role in elaborating Party policy. Through exchange of views the Party rectified and improved its policy, thus making it more effective. As Janos Kadar has pointed out, in the six months that followed the counter-revolutionary putsch the Central Committee conducted more useful debates than in the preceding five-year period. Agricultural policy, for instance, was worked out in the course of detailed discussion and struggle against both Right and Left tendencies.

The lively discussion inside the Party has had a beneficial influence on its entire life. After the counter-revolutionary putsch, a point was included in the Party Rules entitling the member "in case of disagreement with a Party decision to notify the higher Party body of this, having nonetheless carried out the decision." Realization of the fact that the member has the right to express his viewpoint and that to do so is not punishable has resulted in greater activity by the membership. There was an instance where a Central Committee member found himself unable to agree with a decision on a vitally important matter. The Central Committee, while it criticized this comrade, waited patiently for a few months until the facts convinced him of the incorrectness of his views. Nobody forced him to make admissions contrary to his views. This is a point of principle.

Our adversaries accuse us of restricting freedom, of fitting everyone into the same pattern and of depriving people of their personality; they say that once a man joins the Communist Party all he has to do is to repeat the official formulas. This view was widely propagated by the Hungarian revisionists, and they succeeded in exerting a definite influence on the intellectuals. By its entire activity, especially after the putsch, the Party gave the lie to this slander and proved that it needed people who could think boldly and express candid opinions, not people who blindly took everything for granted, not yes-men. As the Congress pointed out, the Party values not the man who without waiting for the end of the sentence is ready to interrupt with cheering and accept everything, but the man who gives deep thought to things, who before carrying out a Party decision understands the need for it and draws inspiration

from it. The most valuable asset is agreement with the Party line based on deep conviction.

The situation inside the Party is totally different from what it used to be. One of the results of the change is the atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism which now prevails in most of the branches. But there is still much to be done to develop criticism and self-criticism. The speakers at the Seventh Congress pointed out that in a number of localities self-criticism still leaves much to be desired; there are functionaries who are ready to sacrifice anything, their life, if necessary, but who are incapable of admitting shortcomings in their work. There have been instances of criticism being suppressed. In view of the dangerous character of such practices, the Congress incorporated into the Rules these words: "Suppression of criticism is punishable by disciplinary measures."

The entire process of normalizing inner-Party life is aimed at strengthening the Party's contact with the masses.

III

Sound policy, based on the fundamentals of Marxism, that expresses the interests of the people, coupled with the improved situation in the Party, has helped to enhance its leading role. The revisionists exaggerated the mistakes made in the past and held up these mistakes as proof of the uselessness and even of the harmfulness of the Party's leading role in the spheres of culture and economy and generally in the life of the country. The Party defeated these views. The experience of Hungary confirms the soundness of the Leninist thesis that, after the conquest of power, the leading role of the Party, far from declining, gains in importance.

The leading role of the Party was weakened also by the sectarian approach to this role. This provided the revisionists with ammunition for their attacks against the Party. In the period of struggle for power (1945-48) when the Party had to work in conditions of a multi-party system and coalitions, it had a correct understanding of its leading role which it enhanced by using correct methods. The leading role of the Party was secured not by mere *decisions* but through explanatory work among the masses, through efforts to rehabilitate industry, to divide the land among the peasants, and, of course, to fight reaction. The Party invariably marched at the head of the workers, and the people knew that they could rely on the Communists to uphold their interests.

Gradually, however, a harmful practice gained currency — the words of persuasion began to be replaced by administrative measures. Some people thought that this was the quickest and best way to solve problems. Relegated to the background was the highly important principle which prescribed that the leading role of the Party should be effected primarily *through its members* who worked in government bodies, economic agencies, in the factories and in the mass organizations; the duty of the members was to persuade the masses by word and deed of the correctness of Party policy and to organize them for its implementation. The Party has returned to this method of work. The restoration of the correct principles of leadership was facilitated also by the new situation in the Party.

Party membership is now approximately half of what it was before the counter-revolution (about 438,000, which is a little over four per cent of the population). In 1948 after the merger of the two working-class parties the membership stood at 1,100,000, and after the re-registration at 900,000. For Hungary this figure was too large. Hence, when the Party was re-established it deliberately kept its strength at a certain level. Experience has shown that although it has fewer members, the Party is stronger now than it was before 1956. It has rid itself of the hostile and careerist elements; hundreds of thousands of unsteady sympathizers have not been admitted to membership. The social composition of the Party has improved. The working-class core has grown and at present workers (or people of working-class origin) comprise 60 per cent. This is one of the reasons why, with half of its former numerical strength, the Party is fulfilling its leading role in a much better way than it did when it had a million members.

In the past when something urgent had to be done there was always the temptation to mobilize only Party members — a measure which yielded one million men. And precisely for this reason work in the mass organizations was somewhat neglected and their role underestimated. With the present Party strength, this approach would be even more dangerous. Trade union membership alone is in the neighborhood of two million. At present no urgent task can be solved without the mass organizations. In this way a Party with a smaller membership relies to a greater degree on the mass organizations, it makes greater use of their forces and exercises its

leadership of the working class more effectively.

The reduction of the Party apparatus by 40 per cent has yielded good results. Party work is conducted in a better way, much of the bureaucracy has been eliminated, and there is a need for more activists. Today the Party committees and the Party bureaus are assisted by a permanent body of activists from four to five times as large as the full-time staff of the apparatus. As a result leaders are now in closer contact with the rank and file, they have a more precise knowledge of the problems confronting the membership and, because of this, they are able to accomplish their tasks more successfully. Thus, with a smaller apparatus, and with a larger body of activists, the Party is exercising its leading role and carrying out its policy in a much better way than in the past.

There are also considerably fewer Party members in the administrative apparatus. In this sphere, too, the Party, naturally, determines the main direction of activity and maps out the principal objectives. Carrying out the Party's policy and ensuring its leading role is the duty of every member working in the administrative apparatus. The central bodies of the Party no longer take over the functions of the government bodies or intervene directly in their current work; but the Party sees to it that its organizations in these bodies carry out the policy more actively. That is why the Congress amended the Rules and, stressing the importance of one-man management, vested in the Party organizations at the ministries and other administrative bodies the right (in confirmation of the Central Committee decision) to supervise the manner in which government officers and their subordinate staffs discharge their official duties. These measures are vital to the leading role of the Party.

IV

Normalizing the inner-Party situation and correctly determining the Party's role are not aims in themselves. These steps are necessary to enable the Party better to organize the masses and establish close relationships with them. The Party comprises only a small part of the population. While admitting to its ranks the cream of the working people it has no intention of expanding considerably in the future. Over 90 per cent of population will remain outside the Party. Hence the success of our cause depends on close contact between Party and non-Party

people, on the soundness of the principles on which these relations are established.

Our relations with the non-Party people could not develop on the revisionist and opportunist platform which the Imre Nagy group, with its anti-Marxist slogan "All Hungarians are Brothers," tried to impose on the Party. This slogan ignored the class divisions and implied the unprincipled wooing of the masses with unrealizable promises. At the same time our contact with the masses cannot develop on the basis of sectarianism, in an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance. The Party is still actively combating revisionism, which is an impediment to the re-education of the masses and the main danger. Still, deep-rooted sectarian thinking was for a long time the obstacle that stood in the way of strengthening the Party's contact with the masses; the elimination of this obstacle required much time and energy.

Marxism holds that the people are the makers of history. The emancipation of the working class and of the working people in general can be achieved only by themselves under the leadership of the Party, which steers a correct course and organizes the struggle of the masses. The Party, far from regarding the masses as a means to an end, has always considered itself to be the instrument of the working people.

The Party serves the masses — this is its guiding principle in determining its relations with the non-Party people. Of course it would be a grave error to think that this principle reduces the role of the Party to that of a mere "servant," for that would mean idealization of the masses, uncritical deification of them. Since the masses are still subdivided into classes, they have different interests, views, (correct or incorrect), and gravitations. The Party is the spokesman of the masses also when it combats harmful tendencies, when it seeks to change their thinking and to re-educate them in the spirit of socialism. Thus this concept of serving the masses has nothing in common with the petty-bourgeois dream of an idyllic state without problems or strife. The Party concept implies struggle against backward views. In the last three years the Party has published a number of documents on nationalism, religion and other matters, and in this way is waging a consistent struggle to overcome the harmful survivals of the past. The Party wants co-operation with non-Party people, co-operation which would help overcome erroneous views; it is doing everything to bring the thinking of the masses closer to Party ideology.

At the same time the Party takes into account the views of non-Party people and their criticisms and is prepared to improve its work on this basis. It puts special emphasis on serving the masses. While not abandoning its criticism of backward views the Party at the same time is guided by the principle of respect for the masses; it seeks, more so than before, to make confidence in the masses the basis of its work. And if in recent years the Party's contact with the masses has become closer, this attitude to non-Party people has played its part in this. As Janos Kadar put it, we take as our starting point that the overwhelming majority of the people — 95 per cent — are honest people with whom we can co-operate.

The line of equal rights for Party and non-Party people occupying positions in the administrative apparatus, in industry and agriculture (except Party posts) is greatly appreciated by the non-Party people as a manifestation of the Party's confidence in them. There are people who think that this attitude is simply a tactical step, while others, failing to understand it, hinder its implementation. This is not a matter of "tactics," it is a matter of principle. Since the Party sees nothing wrong in half its former members remaining outside its ranks, its job is to see that these people, *merely because they are no longer Party members*, do not suffer in any way. If good honest workers were removed from their positions *solely on the grounds* of not joining the Party this would attract careerists to the Party and would only harm our cause.

After the putsch the Party included a new point in the Rules which empowers the Central Committee to enlist the services of non-Party people in drafting decisions. Since then there have been many instances where, prior to adopting a decision on a particular question, the Party sought the advice of non-Party people. For instance, on matters concerning agriculture the views of thousands of experts and peasants were canvassed. The theses on cultural questions were first discussed with a large number of intellectuals. The Party has thus received much help and, at the same time, has won broad recognition among non-Party people. Whereas in the past people's hearts were closed because of suspicion, now they have opened their hearts because of the confidence reposed in them. When people have confidence they are always ready to bear hardships and to work harder. This new source of strength can hardly be overestimated. In recent years the ini-

tiative of the masses has in most cases surpassed our expectations.

Let us take the *working class*, for instance. In our society the working class is the ruling class, yet only a small part of it is in the Party. The Party treats the working class with respect and confidence, because its contact with the masses is, above all, contact with the working class, the main force of the Party and of people's power. The putsch was suppressed largely because of the contact that existed between the Party and the working class. The Party's growing contact with the working class has played the decisive role in establishing close relations with other sections of the people. Both the Central Committee and the branches proposed measures based on criticisms made by the workers. This raised the Party's prestige and strengthened in the workers the belief that they really were the dominant force in the country.

Last year when the Party made a special study of the conditions of the working class, its representatives had talks with 45,000 non-Party workers, many of them individual talks. In addressing workers' meetings the Party leaders frankly, without subterfuge, speak about life in the country, noting not only the achievements, but also the difficulties and shortcomings. And the working class responds immediately. Large numbers of non-Party people took part in the socialist emulation movement in honor of the Seventh Congress. The success of this movement, the fulfilment of thousands of obligations and the formation, on initiative from below, of 4,000 socialist labor teams — all show that among the working class the feeling of being master of the land has grown stronger.

Or take the *peasants*: the vast majority are largely individual owners of small holdings. The socialist reconstruction of the countryside was a major question at the Party congress. The state has invested billions of forints in agriculture, has sent thousands of tractors to the villages, as well as supplies of fertilizers; it is doing everything to secure increased output during the reconstruction. In insisting that Party functionaries should master the details of agriculture the Congress, while fully conscious of the importance of the economic tasks, first of all focused attention on the political conditions for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

After crushing the putsch the Party maintained that the most important thing was to rectify the errors of the preceding years, to

pursue a correct economic policy and to show respect for the peasant and confidence in him. It did not bring the question of the socialist reconstruction to the fore because it knew that before the next step towards socialism could be taken the peasants' faith in the Party would have to be re-established. In other words, the Party considered that the main *political condition* for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside was to restore and strengthen mutual confidence between the peasants and the Party. And this policy has yielded fruit.

Last year, with the voluntary principle strictly observed, more peasants took to the socialist path than in the preceding ten years. This proves once again that if the Party pursues a correct policy there is no need for petty tutelage, no need to prescribe every single detail. Previously the peasants had been told when to plough and when to sow; there was constant supervision and bickering, and yet the whole thing backfired. The peasants grumbled. But in recent years this practice was abandoned, and the peasants are now working faster and better because they see that they are trusted. Obligatory deliveries have been replaced by a system of free purchase or deliveries on a contract basis. This system is more advantageous to the peasants and provides more supplies for the country and is more effective because it is a better combination of public and personal interests.

The question of relations with non-Party people concerns also a considerable section of the *intellectuals*. The Party vigorously combated revisionist influence among the intellectuals, combated the anti-Marxist view that intellectuals are entitled to a leading role in society. At the same time the Party rejected the wrong concept about the allegedly reactionary character of all intellectuals. The Party displays confidence in the intellectuals and respects them. Most intellectuals, though not Marxists, are taking part in the socialist construction and are loyal to the people's government.

The urban *petty bourgeoisie*. Proceeding from the fact that this section plays an important part in the life of society, the Party pursues in relation to the petty bourgeoisie a principled, but realistic and flexible policy. It supports the good sides of its activity but combats the dishonest tendencies towards profiteering. The Party makes no secret of its aim — to re-educate the petty bourgeoisie and to take it onto the road of socialism. At the same time it does not want this section

to have a feeling of insecurity, and strives to achieve its purpose in a humane way displaying concern for their welfare and the future of their children.

Hostile classes as such have in the main been eliminated. Members of the former exploiting classes who take part in subversive activity against the people's democratic system are prosecuted in accordance with the law. The growing strength of our system, particularly against the background of the consolidation of the socialist world as a whole, opens broader possibilities for re-educating the *former exploiters*. The members of the former exploiting classes who are loyal to our system enjoy equal rights. The former rich peasant, provided he is an honest man, is admitted into the producer co-operative and, if he works well, in the course of two years he can even be elected to a leading position. As to the children of the former exploiters, everything is done to prevent the past of their parents from being an obstacle to their advance in life.

The Hungarian people have reached a turning point in their history. A new society is being built. In the course of a few decades we will see socialism and then communism in our country. How will those tens and hundreds of thousands of people fare, who belonged to another class but who, or rather whose children, will live and work together with us? *In this case, too, the Party pursues a policy which offers them a clear perspective.* People's power resorts to measures of coercion only when the enemy assumes the offensive.

As a result of fruitful co-operation with non-Party people "the national unity of our people based on the idea of socialism has grown stronger. This new national unity, born out of historical progress and development under its banner, is stronger than ever before" (From the Central Committee's report to the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party).

V

The entire work of the Party is permeated with faith in the masses. This is a vital element of Party policy. In its contact with the masses, which has grown stronger, the Party sees one of the important conditions for further progress.

The underestimation of the masses by the former leaders of the Party was one of the main reasons why a policy fundamentally correct was subsequently distorted. Subjectively these leaders wanted the best for the

people and, apparently, they were convinced they were working for the benefit of the people. They thought that confidence, once won, was like having an eternal mandate which needed no renewal; at the same time, while maintaining that large sections of the people were immature, they failed to explain to them properly the political objectives of the Party, because they were sure that with the building of socialism the people would be grateful to the Party. This, of course, was profoundly wrong.

Our people have not yet lived under socialism which realizes the cherished aspirations of mankind. Our experience shows that the new society can be built only if the ways and means suggested by the Party are acceptable also to the non-Communists, to the non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois masses, *if they find the socialist way attractive.* The workers in our country have only a faint idea of socialist society. That is why they draw conclusions about socialism from our daily practice and methods. The Party holds that its entire activity should help bring the masses closer to socialism, must help them to grasp our ideas. It is vital not only to persuade the people to accept the ideals of socialism, but also constantly to show the link between these ideals and everyday problems, to convince them of the correctness of our methods. Day in and day out we must work to win the masses for socialism, because only through everyday experience and our daily work can the socialist ideas be brought home to the masses. *Hence the special importance attached to the methods of Party work.*

The motto of our Party work today — closer to the people — has received wide currency in the past three years. It means that Party leaders and functionaries speak the language of the people and when deciding matters take cognizance of their point of view. It is impermissible for Communists, though as a rule they are better informed politically and are more active and militant, to regard themselves as some kind of special people. The Communist is an ordinary man, but he should be a human being in the best sense of the word, ready to share with his people their grief and their joy.

Meaningless phrases, high-falutin, empty words and speeches read "from notes" are gradually being ousted from Party practice. There was a time when we abused the use of such words as "great, grandiose, and mighty," or referred to "the people who, like one man, are rallied around us." Abuse made these

words void of meaning and, as a result, many of them have lost their meaning. Our propaganda was much too "high-falutin," it irritated. Now we have changed this. In the past, general election campaigns were accompanied by an ocean of placards, posters and leaflets, while groups of canvassers went from door to door. In some cases houses were visited three or four times. And yet these methods failed to evoke any response among the people. For the last general election (1958) the Party issued only one slogan. The Party members talked chiefly with people that knew them. The Party said: We will not harass or tire people out. Let the people have their say about the whole of our work, and not only about our work in the fortnight preceding the election. This approach proved more effective.

This does not mean, of course, that the Party has abandoned propaganda or that it pays less attention to it. The Party is only combating "campaigning," stereotyped methods and a superficial approach. Simultaneously it is intensifying its everyday propaganda work and explaining to the masses its political aims. Effective propaganda is inseparable from party work. Party leaders and functionaries now regularly attend meetings and public rallies, they meet and speak with the people in the factory and on the farm not only on some special occasion or during a campaign. They maintain contact with the rank and file and non-Party people both at work and at home in order to discuss with them the burning questions of Party policy. Provided the propaganda work is effective the workers always keep in touch with the Party and take an active part in its work. Breaking with the stereotyped methods helps our propaganda. True, the meaningless phrases and stereotyped methods have not yet wholly disappeared: even those who see the harmfulness of these practices find it hard to get rid of them. But the tendencies as a whole are hopeful, and the main thing is that old methods are being combated everywhere.

Party work is becoming more efficient. *Under normal conditions the growth of Party influence depends above all on the correct solution of the tasks of economic and cultural development.* And it is understandable, because considerable sections of the working people are largely interested not in general political matters but in questions of the day, and it is on the basis of these that the masses form their opinion of the Party and the system. The question of improving the conditions

of the people occupies a central place in Party policy. The Party maintains that with the development of socialist construction the well-being of the people should improve too. Party members with professional know-how should help accelerate the growth of output. They should have a deeper knowledge of economy and culture.

The Party, however, does not overlook the fact that in order to improve conditions it is necessary to be attentive to the needs of the people, both big and small. That is why the Party combats indifference to people and wants to create an atmosphere in which each member will consider it his duty to be attentive to the so-called small things and to help people in whatever way he can. The Party patiently explains to its members that there is no such thing as "purely Party," "purely political" work. Party policy is to improve the conditions of the people; therefore, anything that has a bearing on the life of the people merits the attention of the Party.

An important feature of the present style of work is respect on the part of the higher Party committees for the lower committees and granting them more independence. Having concentrated its efforts on the vital national questions, the central leadership, far from weakening itself, *has on the whole become* stronger and more effective. At the same time the lower committees and the masses were entrusted with the management of public affairs. During the 1958 general election the nomination of candidates took place without direct interference by the central bodies. In the overwhelming majority of cases the nomination of candidates was in full accord with Party policy. The peasants welcomed the decision which said that the central bodies, contrary to the old practice, would no longer interfere in selecting nominees for leading posts in the co-operatives, that this would be the function of the peasants and the local bodies. The working people themselves are keenly interested in the proper selection of their nominees. The members of co-operatives want to be sure that nobody from outside imposes a leader on them, and they alone have the right to nominate candidates for the particular posts. The government now leaves it to the members whether or not to admit a former rich peasant to the co-operative. All this stimulates the activity of the villagers.

Generally speaking, the attitude to people has changed. As a by-product of the unsound theory about the constant sharpening of the

class struggle there circulated the slogan: "Mistakes are the work of the enemy!" And since human beings are prone to make mistakes cases of "looking for the enemy" were not wanting. The result was an atmosphere of intolerance to people rather than to mistakes. Naturally, we maintain that it is necessary to combat mistakes made by people, to combat shortcomings, but at the same time we give every possible help to honest people.

The Party is resolutely opposed to a one-sided or subjective estimate of a person, it maintains that it is necessary to do away completely with undue secrecy in personnel matters. The practice now is that people in need of recommendations are acquainted with the terms of the recommendation supplied by the personnel department. The Party is creating an atmosphere (and much has already been done in this respect) in which people openly express their opinions of others, for such practice helps both the people and the cause.

Overcoming wrong methods of work does not yet mean that the task has been solved. Old concepts deeply rooted in the minds of people and, in some cases conceit, are a great hindrance. No one is proof against conceit. The fact that in the past three years the Party has registered considerable achievements, only increases this danger. It is essential, therefore, to bear in mind that the former leadership fell into grave errors precisely at the time when "things were going well." From this point of view, too, the Party takes full account of the lessons of the past and maintains that combating conceit is a constant task; the Party will not permit this danger to grow again.

Some people appear to think that the new features in Party work are proof that, unlike the old leadership, the present leaders do not adhere "so strictly" to the fundamentals of Marxism, that they are pursuing a "more liberal," "a more flexible" line. But those who think in this way are gravely mistaken; what is more, they lack a real understanding of Marxism. Lenin ridiculed those so-called revolutionaries who held that the "tolerance" displayed by the Communists toward religion (of which they disapproved, but did not declare war on it, suggesting instead that religious-minded people should co-operate with the Party) was a concession, a "tactical maneuver." As Lenin put it, we will not deviate one iota from our principles if we seek the best way to apply them.

Experience shows that the Party is pursuing not only a more flexible but also a *more principled* policy, invariably taking into account the needs of life. Immediately after the putsch, the Party condemned the traitors. Even under the most adverse conditions, when the revisionists brought confusion into the minds of many, the Party unswervingly declared that it would not negotiate with the traitors. The Party's attitude toward the writers, for instance, was based on unshakeable principles. The Party insisted that the writers should not define the counter-revolution as revolution, that they should accept the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the Party. On these vital issues the Party did not make any concessions. The Party has never regarded firmness as an aim in itself, and has maintained that a principled approach should be combined with patience and readiness to understand the opinions of people, that with the *growing strength of people's power democracy should be extended and come more and more to the fore*. The Party does not sound the alarm if, for instance, some intellectuals who agree with us on matters of principle make a mistake in matters of secondary importance. Of course, the Party criticizes the minor mistakes, too, but at the same time it supports the work carried on in the interests of the country. The Party's viewpoint in this case is not that it is more liberal. *It is more principled and, for this reason, more realistic and this, in the final analysis, makes it easier to translate the ideas of Marxism into life.*

A vital element of the more principled policy is the newly restored unity of word and deed. In the past, for tactical considerations, it was considered possible to single out one or another aspect of the truth, to exaggerate insignificant achievements for the sake of propaganda, and so on. Today the Party is more exacting and, consequently, more principled in its demands. Even in small things it does not allow words to differ from deeds. It is always conscious of the fact that if the masses see, even once, non-fulfilment of the Party's promises their confidence in its word will be shaken.

A principled approach combined with flexibility is the most prominent feature of the style of Party work. This also shows how much the Party relies on the masses and how it educates all its members in the spirit of respect for the masses.

New Conditions and New Perspectives

Tim Buck

Fatal Consequences of Cold War Policies

EVER since the United States imperialists initiated the cold war, Canadian governments have subordinated all their domestic and foreign policies to United States war aims. In January 1947, the then Minister for External Affairs, Louis St. Laurent, attempted to justify this subordination by asserting that Canadians were confronted by the necessity to prepare to engage in a world war in defense of "our Christian civilization." He declared that the leader of the forces of Christianity in the conflict that he anticipated would be "our great neighbor to the South." In line with that thesis he advocated a change in Canada's national policies from their traditional orientation upon British imperialism to "integration" with the policies of the United States.

Later, as Prime Minister, St. Laurent worked diligently to surrender Canada's political sovereignty, as well as her economic development, to the United States.,

* * *

The sacrifice of Canada's national interests to the war aims of U.S. imperialism has been carried through on the pretext that it is a progressive development of "Canadian-United States Integration." In reality it is nothing of the sort. Its results are systematic assumption by the United States of control of Canada.

During the twelve years 1945-56 inclusive, long-term U.S. investments in Canada grew from \$4,990 million to \$12,900 million (they total now approximately \$14,000 million), or 76 per cent of all foreign capital invested in Canada. Of the total in 1956, \$8,200 million represented direct and complete United States ownership of enterprises in Canada. Directly owned enterprises include some portion of every phase of Canada's economy except the chartered banks. U.S. investors have substantial investments in some of the chartered banks but cannot take over direct ownership. The growth of U.S. domination of the Canadian economy is indicated by the fact that

the number of enterprises in Canada completely controlled by the U.S. increased from 1,985 in 1945, to 4,043 in 1956. The increased influence of U.S. monopoly capital is seen from the following data:

Industries in Canada controlled by U.S. Monopolies:

	1948	1951	1955
Manufacturing	39	42	47
Mining, Smelting and Petroleum exploration and extraction	37	51	64
Utilities	24	20	9

Incomplete as these figures are, they indicate quite correctly the aims of United States direct investment; namely, control of key sectors of the Canadian economy with special emphasis upon industrial raw materials. It is important to note also that the concerns directly controlled from the U.S. are almost invariably the biggest and the dominating enterprises in their field.

Along with the rapid growth of total direct control there has been an almost equally striking growth of United States influence through new investment in companies of which control remains, for the present, in Canadian hands. Recent years have seen a growing rate of U.S. investments. This is the result of investment by United States owners of the huge profits made in Canada after disbursements to shareholders and after all other conceivable expenditure has been provided for. (Increasing investment of profits is one of the methods of evading the payment of taxes.)

The official governmental estimate of the investment of undistributed profits by United States investors in Canada, through the years 1946-1956 is as follows:

Year	Amount in \$millions
1947	\$125
1950	155
1953	340
1956	435

Aggregate for the period 1946-1956—\$2,-645 million.

In 1946-1957 the net inflow of new capital from the United States for direct investment in United States controlled enterprises totalled only \$3,415 million, but the superprofits secured through such enterprises in Canada, of which the investment of undistributed profits is part of the fruit, added an additional \$2,481 million. Thus, United States monopolies now are extending their grip on Canada by investments of their superprofits, secured by exploitation of Canadian workers, and monopolization of rich natural resources which should belong to the people of Canada.

In this process a very large part of Canada has been alienated. Vast areas of virgin forest, irreplaceable sites for hydro-electrical power dams, unmeasured deposits of petroleum, uranium, lead, copper, zinc, nickel, asbestos, iron ore, titanium and other minerals have been sold outright to U.S. monopolies. A rich and powerful interest has developed in Canada in the business of securing ownership or control of such natural resources and selling them to United States monopolies. Some Canadian financiers and speculators have become directors or vice-presidents of big United States corporations by this route. Naturally, these developments have caused large-scale and rapid expansion of some sectors of the Canadian economy with rising levels of employment and the making of fantastic profits by speculators. The illusion that Canada and Canadians were actually profiting by "selling-out," spread to wide circles, including sections of the working class. This illusion was a big factor in the attempt made by the revisionist clique during 1956 and 1957 to destroy our Party. One of the main arguments put forward by the leading spokesmen of that now completely discredited clique, was that "the prosperity" in Canada would continue and grow without interruption.

The full import of the threat that this trend poses to Canadian capitalists who are not "integrated" with the United States monopolies, can be understood only when it is borne in mind that a very large proportion of the enterprises owned and controlled by U.S. interests is still developing — a substantial proportion of them is in the early stage of development. Continuation of the policies of which this has been the main fruit will ensure for the U.S. monopolists the possibility to enlarge their holdings in Canada to the extent of a thousand million dollars per year, in addition to paying big dividends to their shareholders in the United States, without

sending one dollar of new capital into Canada.

The subordination of Canada's national interests to U.S. imperialism has also distorted Canada's foreign trade. Tying foreign trade to the United States dollar and cold war aims has led to sacrificing valuable markets overseas while making Canada increasingly dependent upon the export of industrial raw materials to the United States and imports of United States manufactured products. In 1956 Canada's exports of merchandise to U.S. were valued at \$2,854 million, while Canadian imports of merchandise from the U.S. were valued at \$4,024 million, a deficit of \$1,170 million.

When the Canadian government negotiated the sale of 80 million dollars' worth of wheat to Brazil, the deal was blocked by the U.S. on the ground that Brazil received credits under the "mutual aid" agreement and therefore must buy the wheat from the U.S. When the government of China offered to buy 1,000 automobiles and trucks from Canada, the U.S. owners of the Canadian automobile companies refused to fill the order because to do so would be contrary to the regulations of the U.S. State Department.

The emphasis on the production of raw materials for export mainly to the U.S. has become a major reason for the chronic mass unemployment. The need to resume Canadian exports to all countries and to secure an overall development of industries producing manufactured goods has become imperative. Alongside the recognition of this circumstance there is a growing understanding that with a world war breaking out Canada will inevitably be in the path of atomic death.

The four eastern provinces of Canada—New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland—are marked on the maps of the United States Defense Department as part of the area of its "Northeastern Command." At the behest of the United States, the government of Canada enacted legislation, which bears the title of "The Visiting Forces Act." The effect of this law is to give the members of United States armed forces in Canada a privileged status, and to place U.S. military, air and naval establishments in Canada above Canadian law. A full list of such examples of the surrender of Canadian sovereignty would be quite lengthy. The foregoing is conclusive evidence, however, that the capitulation of the ruling classes is far advanced.

A Good Start

The policy misnamed "Canadian-United States Integration" has, cunningly, been represented as an indispensable condition for what the advocates of war describe as "continental defense." In the guise of "continental defense" the U.S. imperialists are building their military bases in Canada, subordinating her economic development to that of the USA.

Such is the dilemma to which cold war policies and greed for quick profits have brought the capitalist class in Canada.

The negative effects of "Canadian-United States Integration" have evoked protests among wide circles of Canadians, including sections of the capitalist class. The Progressive-Conservative Party, headed by the present Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker, exploited the patriotic resentment against U.S. domination during the General Election of 1957 and defeated the Liberals. But, in office, the Progressive-Conservatives have continued to pursue the same cold war policies that they denounced the Liberals for following.

Since the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it has dawned upon several of the more responsible spokesmen of the capitalist class that the countries of the socialist sector of the world will be producing more than half of all world production in 1965. The cold war has failed to prevent the development of socialist economy, certainly it will be futile when world economy and world trade are predominantly socialist. A few of the representatives of the capitalist class are beginning to realize that United States imperialism, having failed in the attempt to prevent the economic development of the socialist states, will be in desperate need soon to participate in the trade embracing the socialist and the underdeveloped countries too. The necessity for Canada to free herself from the strait-jacket of cold war policies is becoming inescapable.

One result of wide public discussion of the matters indicated above was that during 1959 there developed wide public support for a proposal that Canada should adopt and proclaim a policy of neutrality in relation to any future armed conflict between states.

Much of the capitalist support for this proposal expresses a desire "to have their cake and eat it too." Capitalist advocates of neutrality assert that, by proclaiming "neutrality in the event of war," Canadian capitalists may be able to wiggle out of the strait-

jacket of integration in U.S. war plans, while continuing to sell 70 per cent of all Canadian exports to the United States. The public discussion of these hopes and illusions has attracted wide circles of Canadians whose primary concern is to find a way of keeping Canada out of a war. The growth of interest in the possibility of adopting a policy of neutrality similar to that of Sweden mirrors the increasingly critical re-appraisal of cold war policies. However, at the May (1959) plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee we could not hope for a change in the near future, because Canadian capitalists advocating neutrality displayed indecision. Moreover, cold war policies were actively upheld by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and most trade union leaders.

Premier Khrushchov's visit to the United States, his statements, and the popular response of tens of millions of people in the United States and Canada, brought a radical change in the situation. The results of the visit were hailed not only by the working people but also by the more responsible circles of the capitalist class. The most influential daily papers were virtually unanimous in their estimation that the visit marked "the beginning of the end of the cold war."

Commenting editorially on Premier Khrushchov's historic proposal to the United Nations' General Assembly, for general and complete disarmament, the *Globe and Mail* welcomed the proposals as presenting an opportunity to "beat our swords into refrigerators" and "to salvage the abnormal distorted economy which has grown out of the cold war."

In this situation special responsibility is placed on the working class.

To replace cold war policies by policies of peaceful coexistence corresponds to the vital needs of the working class. This fact, along with the division among capitalist interests, creates the possibility for the working class to play a decisive role in changing the present policies of the country.

Growing Responsibility of the Working Class

The Seventh National Convention of the Labor-Progressive Party was convened just as the radical change in attitude to the cold war found public expression, which fully corroborated the correctness of Party policy.

The Convention emphasized, however, that the battle to achieve full acceptance of peaceful coexistence is only at its beginning. It will have to be fought for every inch of the way.

Powerful monopoly-capitalist interests in Canada and the United States are opposed to ending the cold war. They include the armament trusts and widespread sinister reactionary interests and organizations whose influence depends very largely upon maintaining hostility against the socialist countries and the blind hatreds fomented in the cold war.

The gist of the report and of many speeches at the Convention was that the democratic peace-loving people of Canada can and will succeed in achieving policies of peaceful coexistence because such policies are now an imperative necessity for Canada. Realization of the horrors that a nuclear war would bring upon us is, in itself, enough to make most Canadians think in terms of securing a radical change in national policy. In addition there is the growing realization that cold war policies have aggravated all the contradictions inherent in the capitalist economy.

Those who argue that cold war policies are necessary to help provide employment through armament expenditures, are mistaken. There are nearly three hundred thousand workers applying to the National Employment Service for jobs and the prospect is that by March the number will have grown to half a million. Unless we discard such policies and bring Canada into line with the new developments, hundreds of thousands of workers, and their families, will be the victims of chronic unemployment through the years immediately ahead. Cold war policies have also resulted in doubling the prices of the necessities of life; they have increased taxation until it is a crushing burden, they have reduced Canada's share of world wheat exports from more than 40 per cent down to 24 per cent, seriously reducing farm incomes.

The working class must prepare now to wage determined struggles to defeat the plans of big business to use the change from cold war to policies of peaceful coexistence as an excuse for a renewed and increasingly violent offensive against the wages and working conditions of the working class. Corporations and individual capitalists who favor peaceful coexistence and trade with the socialist countries are, in the main, supporting the capitalist offensive no less energetically than are those fighting to maintain the cold war and dependence on armaments.

The capitalist interests which favor policies of peaceful coexistence join without reservation in the demand for cuts in the social services. They emphasize their fear of the

consequences of the inflation more than the armament interests do. Underlying the varying arguments is the drive of monopoly capital for a general capitalist offensive against the wages, conditions of work and trade union organizations of the working class.

The manner in which advocacy of peaceful coexistence and support for the capitalist offensive against the working class are combined is reflected, for instance, in the weekly *Financial Post*, the organ of finance capital. In its issue of October 10th last year, this journal editorialized on the thesis that things are not going to be "rosy" for Canadian capitalism in the 1960's. Pointing to the fact that the prospects before the industries producing industrial raw materials and newsprint are becoming dark and that the huge stockpile of strategic metals held by the United States government* is an additional shadow over their prospects, the *Financial Post* warns its readers that:

"One of the facts of economic life is becoming more and more obvious: There is now a surplus of just about every commodity produced in this world and a surplus which, short of a war, will threaten production and prosperity at least throughout a good part of the sixties."

It is worthy of note that the foregoing was printed in exactly the same column in which the previous issue had advised any capitalists who are afraid of "real peace" to "leave their offices and go dig their bomb shelters or their graves."

The over-riding aim of the capitalist class is to cut down the earnings of their workers. Since the war, they have reduced the cost of labor-power in proportion to production by intensifying exploitation by all the traditional methods. A study prepared by the research department of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in August 1959, showed that in Canada during the period of 1946-57 inclusive "productivity per man-hour rose by 39 per cent." Only socialism can give the people the benefit of increasing productivity. In capitalist society it can only lead, as it has in Canada and the United States, to a capitalist drive to exclude hundreds of thousands of workers from industry, building up the "industrial reserve army of unemployed."

The increase in productivity achieved throughout the postwar will be overshadowed as soon as the new techniques with complete automation are introduced. Monopoly capital

*Currently valued at \$8 billion.

is preparing to get its relationship with its workers back to what its personnel managers cynically refer to as "normalcy."

Through all the media of mass communication monopoly capital is cultivating the lies: that Canadian industry is losing markets to foreign competitors because its wage level is too high, that competition against Canadian products is increasing, that the cost of production (which they equate with wages) must be reduced.

The Party's Convention called for strengthening the unity of all sections of the labor movement and the united front of all members and supporters of the trade union movement to defeat the monopoly capitalist offensive. The Convention emphasized that, with unity, the working class can win this struggle. This does not contradict our struggle to end the cold war; on the contrary, it will be an essential element of it.

Those capitalists who advocate policies of peaceful coexistence would serve the interests of Canada better if, instead of joining the anti-labor offensive of the big monopolies, they supported internal policies which correspond to the foreign policies they now favor. For the new situation includes more than recognition of the bankruptcy of cold war policies. It means also that steps must be taken to mobilize all patriotic and peace-minded forces to bring about a change in governmental policies. The carefully considered plan submitted by Khrushchov to the UN General Assembly may serve as an alternative policy.

The Soviet government proposes that an agreed percentage of all the resources and human energy which are now wasted on preparations for war be directed to great projects of development. By helping the peoples of the underdeveloped countries and expanding the civilian exports, the highly-developed countries may keep their industries running at full capacity without the arms drive. This is precisely the sort of change our country needs. This is the path of all-round expansion of Canadian economy and steadily expanding employment.

Emphasizing the tremendous responsibility imposed upon Communists by the dramatic turn of events and the possibilities it offers, the Convention decided that in the period ahead the Party will place at the forefront of all its work "the fight for peaceful coexistence and Canadian policies which correspond to it." The need is to transform the warm sentiment for peace into a nationally effective

force for disarmament. As the immediate concrete stage of this struggle the Convention committed the Party to an all-out campaign for "Total World Disarmament."

For New Methods of Work

The Convention pointed out that "*New Times and New Tasks Demand New Methods of Work!*" It called upon the Party members to integrate their efforts to develop united front activities with explanation of the path by which the workers should develop their independent political action and labor-farmer unity in political action. Above all, the Convention called on the Party to seek out new paths to the masses, to eradicate routinism, to uproot dogmatism and complacency, to overcome persisting tendencies to sectarian methods of work.

One of the documents before the Convention was the revised text of the Party's program. It should be noted that it was not a new program in the sense of a change in its essential content.

The Canadian Party has subjected its program to continuous study since its draft was adopted in 1952. In February of that year the Party officially adopted the thesis that, provided certain conditions are attained, of which the indispensable one is effective development of a politically conscious struggle by the working class along with the Communist Party to replace capitalism by socialism, it will be possible for the working class led by the Communist Party to replace capitalist state power by its own state power and thereby achieve the transition to socialism with the parliamentary form of government.

An important influence in the adoption of this thesis was the sharpening contradiction between United States domination and the national interests of Canada. There was developing national resentment which, objectively, was against U.S. imperialism and its junior partners and servants in Canada. The draft program adopted in 1952 expressed the unity of Communists and all true patriots in its emphasis on the necessity to unite to stop U.S. imperialism and win genuine independence.

In the process of continuous study of this document our presentation of the struggle for national independence and its role in shaping the histories of the two nations in Canada was elaborated, but it also became evident that the specific immediacy of the relationship of the struggle for national independence to

the struggle for working-class state power required special emphasis.

To end United States domination and win genuine independence for Canada, the working class supported by all true patriots must defeat the Canadian monopoly interests allied with U.S. imperialism in destroying Canada's sovereignty. This is the dominant section of the capitalist class in Canada today; the government and the entire state apparatus are completely in its service. Its sell-out of the country is resented bitterly by the majority of Canadians, including some circles of the capitalist class. But Canada is a state with highly-developed industrial production. And the only political force which can mobilize the true patriots and carry through the struggle for Canadian independence to victory is the working class.

A definitely new feature was added to the programmatic position of the Party by identifying it fully with the rising demand for Canadian neutrality in the event of war. The revised program declares: "We stand for neutrality, that is to say—the disengagement of Canada from the war plans of the U.S. imperialists and the cancellation of all treaties which automatically commit Canada to war whenever the U.S. sees fit to go to war; disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons; the removal of U.S. military bases from Canada; friendship and trade with the socialist countries; solidarity with the anti-imperialist colonial peoples."

The Convention as a whole was marked by complete unity on the political line of the Party, and a very high level of enthusiasm and confidence. The last document that it

adopted, entitled "An Appeal to the People of Canada" breathed confidence. Emphasizing that "Peace is within our grasp," the appeal called upon the people to assert their influence by "demanding positive action for peace, total disarmament and re-direction of production and trade for peace."

The Party is undertaking to bring the Convention's appeal to every home in Canada. This is the beginning of the new methods of public activity demanded by these new times and the tasks of the Party.

The Convention unanimously decided to resume the name "Communist Party." Under the name of the Labor-Progressive Party, the party of Canadian Communists fought innumerable political and economic battles. In the most difficult conditions of the cold war the Labor-Progressive Party held high the banner of peace, democracy and socialism. In 1956 its members rallied and defeated the Right-wing revisionist attack upon our Party and its basic principles, emerging from that struggle ideologically stronger than before. Today, however, when the idea of socialism is seizing the imagination of the majority of all mankind, and the working class of our country is developing many-sided activities on the economic and political fronts, including wide discussion of forms of labor political action and socialism, it is fitting that we resume the time-honored name of our Party.

The path of the Communist Party of Canada is broadening. By working for peaceful coexistence, for trade and cultural relations with the socialist countries, the working class of Canada will come to its conscious participation in the struggle for socialism.

Among Our Contributors

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Socialist Industrialization in the Korean People's Democratic Republic

Li Chong Ok

INDUSTRIALIZATION is one of the most important levers for developing the productive forces of society. No steps were taken in this direction in Korea in the period of Japanese rule. After the liberation we, in our economically underdeveloped country, set about building a new society.

Following the path of socialist industrialization indicated by Lenin, the working people are rapidly expanding the productive forces. In a few years we have achieved results inconceivable in colonial conditions and which would have required decades under capitalist industrialization.

Rapid industrialization is of decisive importance for resolving the contradictions between socialist production relations and the as yet low level of the productive forces, for building socialism, and for accelerating the peaceful unification of our country.

The Heritage of Colonialism and War

In colonial Korea of the pre-liberation period Japanese monopoly capital had its grip on industry, transport, communications and other key branches of the economy; agriculture was fettered by feudal relations. The colonial policy pursued by the Japanese imperialists retarded the growth of the productive forces.

The structure of Korean industry was one-sided, and there was neither rhyme nor reason in the way industries were distributed. In the main the Japanese monopolies concentrated on the extraction industries in order to plunder the country's natural wealth. The few factories of the manufacturing industry located along the coast turned out semi-finished products which were shipped to Japan. All branches were subordinated to Japanese industry and were co-ordinated within Korea itself. There was no machine-building industry to speak of, while the textile industry turned out a mere 0.14 meters of fabric per capita annually. With an eye to huge

profits, the Japanese magnates exploited the cheap Korean labor and saw to it that little modern machinery came into the country. Moreover, most of the technicians in Korea were Japanese.

The fact that South Korea was subsequently occupied by the U.S. imperialists further aggravated the one-sidedness of our industry. The industrial North was artificially separated from the agricultural South.

No sooner had the economy, ruined by the Japanese imperialists, been rehabilitated, than the war (1950-1953) unleashed by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges brought fresh destruction in its wake. An approximate estimate places the damage caused to the economy of the Republic at 420 billion won* — more than six times the national income for the pre-war year 1949. Most of the equipment of the power, fuel, iron and steel, chemical and other basic industries was destroyed, and rail transport and agriculture too were severely damaged.

Two Stages of Industrialization

These factors greatly delayed the industrialization. For after we had twice rehabilitated the economy, we were obliged in 1957, when we had already entered upon the first stage of industrialization, to resume the work of abolishing the colonial one-sidedness and technical backwardness of industry. This was the preliminary to entering the *second stage* — that of re-equipping the economy with modern machinery and going ahead with capital construction on a still bigger scale.

In order to shorten the time required for industrialization the Korean Party of Labor saw to it that the internal reserves were brought into play and that the aid rendered by the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other Socialist countries was put to the best possible use. As a result, our industry has developed at an unprecedented

*In old currency.

rate in the postwar years. The Three-Year Plan (1954-1956), which primarily envisaged rehabilitation of the national economy and improvement of living standards, was over-fulfilled. But we did not confine ourselves to bringing the disrupted economy to its former state; the rehabilitation was, in large measure, accompanied by the technical re-equipment of industry. In this way conditions were created for accelerated industrialization.

The targets of the first Five-Year Plan (1957-1961), which aimed at consolidating the economic base of socialism and considerably improving conditions for the population, were reached for gross industrial output at the end of June 1959, i.e., in two and a half years. In the six postwar years (1954-59) the gross output of state-owned and co-operative industries increased 8.9 times; the prewar 1949 level has been surpassed sixfold. Industry now plays a bigger role in the national economy, its share in the gross output (industrial and agricultural) rising from 46.7 per cent in 1949 to 68.6 per cent in 1958.

The structure of industry has changed too: the share of the machine-building and metal-processing industries in the gross industrial output rose from 1.6 per cent in 1944 to 20.6 per cent in 1959, while the share of the textile industry rose from six to 17.4 per cent. The disparity between the mining, iron and steel and machine-building industries has been eliminated, and the technological disproportions in ferrous metallurgy removed. Here are some comparative figures. If we take the output of the mining industry as 100, the figure for the iron and steel industry was 85 per cent in 1944, and 242 per cent in 1959; for machine-building the figures are respectively 10 and 526. And, further, if the volume of pig iron production is taken as 100, steel output was 30 in 1944 and 93 in 1958.

Our industry is now turning out items that are new for Korea. The machine-building industry, for example, not only manufactures small and medium-sized machines and parts, but has begun to produce trucks, tractors, excavators, hydraulic and thermal generators and other heavy machines. It is now in a position to supply all branches with most of the machines and equipment they need.

From 1957 on, when the technical re-equipment of industry began rapidly to forge ahead, the workers quickly improved their skills. Their increased productivity attests to this — a 2.6-fold increase compared with 1953 and double the prewar figure. During the war and in the postwar period, a number of new

industrial centers arose, and the distribution of industry improved.

Thus the colonial one-sidedness has been abolished and the foundations for industrialization laid. In a matter of five or six years the Republic has become an independent industrial-agrarian country. This means that the *first stage of socialist industrialization has in the main been completed.*

The rate of industrial growth has been particularly high in the recent period. Whereas during the three-year period of postwar rehabilitation gross industrial output averaged an increase of 42 per cent annually, the increase in the first three years of the Five-Year Plan was 45 per cent. Our people aim at turning the Republic into a developed industrial country within the next 6-7 years and at overtaking the advanced capitalist countries.

The rate of growth of industrial production in the KPDR is higher than that of the capitalist countries, higher even than of Japan where industry is developing more quickly than in any other capitalist country; in the last five years the rate of our industrial expansion has been from three to four times that of Japan. We are overtaking, and even outstripping Japan in per capita output for a number of important industrial items, as can be seen from the following table.

Unit of measurement	K P D R			
	1958	1960 plan	Target for next 6-7 years	Japan 1958
Electric power	820	915	2,000	816
Coal	739	1,090	2,500	543
Pig iron	42	85	400	76
Cement	134	235	500	141
Mineral fertilizers	49	60	150-200	45

Before the liberation (in 1939) gross industrial output per capita in North Korea was only 14 per cent of that of Japan; this year, however, it will almost equal the Japanese output. In the near future we shall surpass Japan in per capita production of basic industrial goods.

Our rapid postwar economic progress has resulted in a considerable rise in living standards. Real wages of factory and office workers in 1959 were double the prewar figure. The peasants' standard of living, too, has risen substantially. For the first time in our country the problem of meeting the needs of the population in food, clothing and housing has been solved in the main.

The General Line

The results achieved testify to the correctness of the Party general line in economic construction. The Party has not deviated one iota from the line adopted immediately after the truce — the line of *priority development of heavy industry with simultaneous growth of light industry and agriculture*. We exposed and defeated the anti-party counter-revolutionary group which, insisting on priority for consumer goods production, wanted to torpedo the socialist industrialization and destroy our revolutionary gains.

Whereas in the early postwar years 49.6 per cent of the state investments for capital construction went into industry (81.1 per cent to heavy industry) the investment in industrial construction during three years of the first Five-Year Plan was 53.4 per cent of total state investment; of this 83.3 per cent went to heavy industry. In 1959, compared with 1953, output of means of production rose 12.7-fold, and output of consumer goods sixfold.

In a relatively brief space of time we have been able to eliminate the one-sidedness of heavy industry and to lay the foundations of light industry. This can be seen from the fact that the share of output of means of production in the overall industrial output, which in 1949 was 58.6 per cent, dropped in 1953 to 37.7 per cent, and in 1959 went up again to 55.2 per cent.

It was not an easy job to ensure priority development for heavy industry with simultaneous growth of consumer goods manufacture when our towns and villages were still in ruins and when the people did not have enough food and clothing. But the Party, taking into consideration that we had a certain heavy industry base, though one-sided and greatly damaged, and also extremely favorable natural conditions, and that considerable aid was being rendered by the socialist countries, endorsed this policy, and is now mobilizing the people to carry it out.

The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries, who rendered us great help during the patriotic war of liberation against the armed aggression of the American imperialists, helped us also in the postwar rehabilitation and in developing the national economy. The major part of this aid was in the form of industrial equipment and materials, and about 25 per cent in consumer goods.

Thanks to this many factories, mills and mines were built. This aid has contributed

greatly to the industrialization of the country and has accelerated the rate of industrial expansion.

Simultaneously with the priority development of heavy industry, our Party has concentrated on solving the problem of providing the population with food, clothing and housing. Heavy industry has developed in close contact with production of consumer goods. In expanding the iron and steel, building materials, chemical and machine-building industries, account was taken of the urgent need to rid the people of the aftermath of the war — the need to expand light industry and agriculture and to step up housing construction. A great part of the electric power was used for irrigation purposes and for production of mineral fertilizers.

Industrialization is taking place in conditions where industry and trade have been completely reorganized on socialist lines; and the peasants have been organized in agricultural co-operatives. The means of production, formerly owned by the Japanese and the comprador bourgeoisie, became the property of the people as early as 1946. The capital of the national bourgeoisie was transformed into socialist property by peaceful means.

Thanks to the consistent general line laid down by our Party our heavy industry, which formerly served Japan as an appendage, has become an independent industry with a machine-building branch of its own. We are now faced with the task of further developing heavy industry generally, and machine-building in particular, because the new stage makes necessary the re-equipment of all industries with modern machinery.

Accelerated Industrialization — a Law and a Necessity

Although socialist production relations have triumphed in the KPDR the productive forces are still at a low level. The *cardinal* problem at the present stage, therefore, is, as Comrade Kim Il Sung has said, all-round accelerated technological re-equipment and consolidation of the material and industrial base of socialism. This calls for a still more rapid industrialization.

Higher rates of economic development for the formerly backward countries of the socialist world and bringing them up to the level of the industrially advanced countries, this is the law of development of the socialist camp, where relations between countries and peoples are permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. These factors are

hastening the day when socialism will triumph finally in the peaceful competition with capitalism, ensuring the more or less simultaneous transition of the socialist countries to communism. This is strikingly manifested in our Republic in the widespread Chullima movement.*

The extensive technological re-equipment now under way has brought new and pressing problems, first and foremost those of producing our own heavy machinery and increasing the output of machine tools. Until quite recently, for example, we imported the tractors and trucks we needed from fraternal countries. But now that we have our own machine-building factories, home industry is largely in a position to meet the greatly increased demand for tractors and trucks. This is now economically advantageous. The Party has set the task of mechanizing agriculture and electrifying the railways in the next four or five years, of speeding up home production of tractors, trucks, electric locomotives and other heavy machinery. All this is to be done in close co-operation with the other socialist countries.

We need far larger numbers of machine-tools in order to increase the output of machinery and secure a substantial rise in labor productivity. This, in the final analysis, is the No. 1 problem. A beginning was made during the war when we started to build engineering factories, and especially after the war, when the rate of increase of machine-tool production has been higher than that of other industries. A country which in the past never made machine-tools is now turning out more than 3,000 machine-tools a year. But metal-cutting lathes are still too few for the production of the machines and parts we need, nor can they ensure normal repairs. If we depend exclusively on *specialized* machine-tool plants, it will be difficult to surmount this grave obstacle in view of the rapidly expanding economy.

Splendid initiative was shown in some of the textile mills where the workers, using the machine-tools in their machine shops, made their own metal-cutting lathes to produce parts and even complete spinning machines. This initiative played a decisive part in increasing the output of fabrics during 1959, and has sparked a *countrywide movement* which is accelerating the technological revolution.

*Winged horse, it now symbolizes the Korean people's rapid advance to socialism.

The leadership of the Party of Labor decided to launch a nationwide movement to double the number of metal-cutting lathes by making it obligatory for each machine to **make one machine-tool** or more each year. Special workshops have been opened and special teams have been formed for the purpose. By late September, 1959, a few months after the movement started — it became known as the "let one machine-tool make another" movement — over 10,000 of these machines have been made throughout the country. In a little over a year we shall be producing nearly 16 times as many metal-cutting lathes as in 1958. At least six or perhaps seven years would be needed to produce this quantity in the specialized plants.

The growing output of metal-cutting lathes will help to improve the equipment of the machine-building plants and to add to the production capacity of the machine shops in other enterprises. Machine-building plants have been built in each province and good progress is being made in setting up workshops in each district for the manufacture and repair of agricultural machinery.

Industrialization, particularly accelerated production of machinery and capital construction, poses a new problem: the need to speed up the expansion of the ferrous metal industry. In order to make good the shortage of metal, the Party has set the task of increasing the output of pig iron to four million tons and of steel to 3-3.5 million tons within the next six or seven years. Modern technology will be introduced on a larger scale so that metallurgical equipment can be used more efficiently; new blast and open-hearth furnaces, converters, rotary furnaces and new rolling mills will be built.

Electrification is of vital importance. The Party has set the objective of raising power output to 20 billion kwh annually within the next six or seven years.

The main job at the moment is to extend the power base, rationally to combine the building of hydro-electric and thermal power plants, to construct large power units, while simultaneously pressing forward with the construction of smaller units.

Work will be completed in the next two or three years on power stations with an overall capacity of 1,140,000 kilowatts (thermal power plants will account for 40 per cent of these). Output of the thermal power units will rise to 14 per cent as against the present figure of 3.6 per cent, thus greatly improving the structure of the power system in

our country where in the past hydro-power held the leading place. At the same time small and medium hydro-power stations will be built in the villages and this will speed up the electrification of the countryside — a task we plan to complete in the main by August 15, 1960.

One of the big headaches of the industrialization is the training of technical personnel. We are gradually overcoming the shortage of these — the result of Japanese imperialist domination in Korea—by unflagging efforts, pursued even during the grim years of war, to train experts for all branches of the economy; these are being trained in Korea and abroad.

By mid-1959 the number of industrial experts had risen more than 10-fold compared with 1946. In the space of one year the number of higher educational establishments rose from 22 to 37; in the aggregate the higher educational institutions and technical schools now have three times the number of students that they had in the previous year. A two-year technical course, in addition to the compulsory seven-year school, will soon be made obligatory. Workers are studying after work; there is growing co-operation between workers and experts; conservatism and passivity in relation to technology are being combated; an innovation movement is under way.

Expansion of Light Industry

In the past our economy with its poorly developed light industry was a market for Japanese goods. Now, on the basis of priority development of heavy industry and the progress made by agricultural co-operatives, light industry is expanding rapidly. This is the path of establishing an independent industrial base in our country.

The postwar achievements of the textile industry are most impressive — 12 meters of fabric were produced per capita in 1958, and 16 in 1959. This is 114 times as much as in 1944. The Party has now set the task of raising output to 30 meters per capita in the next two or three years, and to 50 meters in 6-7 years. We are going about this in two ways — obtaining more natural fibers from our agriculture and, because this source is limited, stepping up the output of synthetic fibers. For this purpose we are accelerating the building of a powerful base for home production of synthetic fibers. Eventually our textile industry will use more than 50 per cent of artificial fibers.

In the production of consumer goods our Party pursues a *policy of expanding the small*

and medium local factories along with centralized major enterprises, of utilizing both handicraft methods and modern technology. In less than a year after the meeting of the Central Committee in June 1958 over 1,000 enterprises under district control, i.e., an average of five enterprises in each district, had been built. To this figure we should add 1,000 old enterprises under provincial control and the industrial producer co-operatives. With a view, furthermore, to developing local industries a number of enterprises have been turned over to the provinces; some industrial ministries have been merged, and many experts and executives have been transferred to the local enterprises. All these enterprises account for more than 30 per cent of the gross industrial output, and for 50 per cent of the consumer goods output.

Experience has shown that for industry in the relatively backward countries to expand rapidly it is important, parallel with developing large-scale industry equipped with the latest machinery, to make full use of small and medium local factories, primitive though some of these may be.

Thanks to the saving on transportation of raw materials and manufactured goods, to the use of local raw materials which had not been used in the past, and to drawing extra labor (housewives) into production the over-all labor productivity has risen substantially.

The expansion of local industry has helped to improve well-being; output of consumer goods has grown considerably. As no major capital investment was required for this, we were able to invest the funds released in heavy industry and thus speed up the industrialization.

Expansion of local industry is paving the way to the gradual elimination of the distinction between town and countryside; industries are being set up in remote mountain districts and rural areas. The role of local government bodies is growing, and the people of the one-time backward regions are beginning to take part in running industry.

In our view it is essential and economically advantageous to keep the small and medium-sized factories producing foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and to enlarge them. But their primitive machines will have to be replaced by modern ones. With this object in view, all the big plants are taking on the patronage of small factories.

* * *

The northern part of Korea is in striking contrast to South Korea. Occupied as it is by

U.S. troops, the southern part of our country has become an American colony, an American military base, a source of raw material, and a market for American goods. The economy of South Korea has been undermined.

The experience of our people, who under the leadership of the Korean Party of Labor are marching along the path of socialist industrialization, shows that only liberation from colonialism, genuine people's rule headed by the working class and the Party, and a social system under which labor is used to satisfy the needs of society as a whole and of each of its members in particular open up broad vistas for a former colony to overcome the backwardness of the centuries and to rise to the level of the advanced countries.

Our people are eagerly assimilating the Soviet experience of building socialism. Together with the economically less developed

fraternal nations to whom they are extending aid, the advanced socialist countries are demonstrating the solidarity of the socialist camp. Relying on this help, the working people of the KPDR are, with unprecedented revolutionary sweep, translating into life the Party's main line for socialist industrialization. By their creative labor, the workers, peasants and intellectuals are bringing nearer the day when their suffering countrymen in South Korea will be saved, and this is the source of the unparalleled tempo of the nationwide Chullima movement.

The people of Korea, whose conditions in the past were worse than those of other peoples and whose economy lagged, convinced of the superiority of socialism, have unshakable faith in the bright socialist future. And no force can halt the triumphant march of our people, together with other fraternal peoples, towards socialism and communism.

Socialism and Property

A. Sazanov

SINCE the days of Marx and Engels the genuinely revolutionary socialist and workers' parties have had no doubts that capitalist ownership of the basic means and instruments of production is bound to be replaced by common ownership. This is the basic economic content of the proletarian revolution.

Socialism creates new property relations. Capitalist ownership of the basic means of production is replaced by socialist ownership, and the private ownership of the small producer gives way to co-operative ownership. That is, there are two forms of socialist ownership: ownership by the whole people (state property) and co-operative and collective-farm ownership, i.e., property owned by consumer and industrial co-operatives and individual collective farms. Under socialism the leading role is played by state property, since it is based on a higher level of socialized production.

Small private property of individual farmers and handicraftsmen based on personal labor and not on the exploitation of man by man can exist alongside socialist property. Incomes and savings are the personal property of the earners.

Such in general is the structure of property relations under socialism.

But these problems, which have long been solved by Marxism-Leninism, attract from time to time the attention of representatives of various political trends, some of whom claim to be Socialists. We can cite as an example Jag Parvesh Chandro's *India's Socialist Pattern of Society* and the book by the West German economist, Werner Hofmann, *Whither the Soviet Economy?* Ownership is featured in the program of the Austrian Socialist Party and in the new program of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. It is also the subject of numerous social studies. The reason is clear, and we will not be exaggerating when we say that in one way or another all modern sociological problems are associated with ownership. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that all the open and under-cover enemies of Marxism are again trying to refute Marxist theory precisely on this fundamental question of ownership under socialism, trying to refute the experience of socialist construction in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The critics direct their main fire against the state socialist property. According to Jag

Parvesh Chandra, for instance, this property is a manifestation of "totalitarianism" which, as a consequence of the extreme centralization of power, regulates the life of the masses. This is the nub also of the theoretical propositions set forth in the programs of both the German and Austrian Social Democrats. For the German Social Democrats centralized management signifies the abolition of freedom and democracy. Lauding "economic freedom" they put forward the slogan: "As much competition as possible—planning where necessary." "Any concentration of economic power, including power in the hands of the state, is dangerous," reads the SPDG program.

A similar thesis can be found in the program adopted by the Yugoslav Communist League at its Seventh Congress. This document asserts that by establishing state monopoly of public property the working class restricts its functions as the direct owner. The class, we are told, does not manage production, does not directly influence the economic processes, nor does it control the distribution of the national income and the surplus product.

From these assertions the conclusions are drawn that the socialist state should not interfere in the economy (or the interference should be restricted), and that state property provides the economic basis for bureaucracy, not for socialism.

But leaving these conclusions to the conscience of their authors, let us examine the substance of the matter: can socialist society relinquish state ownership (ownership by the whole people) which guides the socialist economy? In other words, can the socialist state sever economy from politics, relinquish control of the economic processes, and entrust production management to separate bodies of workers, or, as suggested by the German and Austrian Social Democrats, reduce the role of the state to that of public control over the commanding heights?

To answer this question it is necessary to trace the trend of economic development. Modern productive forces are breaking the shackles of capitalist production relations. As Marx demonstrated, the conditions for nationalization had ripened because the monopoly of capital acts as a brake on the development of the productive forces, while concentration of the means of production and socialization of labor have reached the stage where they are incompatible with their capitalist integument. Even the biggest of the capitalist monopolies can no longer ensure the unhindered

development of the productive forces. Construction of huge power installations, remaking of nature, accelerated development of some industries, for example, chemistry and metallurgy, extensive use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and, lastly, the conquest of space—all this can be accomplished only if the production efforts of society are not blocked by the private or group interests of the owners of means of production.

Ownership in the key industries under socialism of necessity assumes the form of state property, because the socialist state is not only political power of the working people but also the economic executive committee of society. The socialist state puts an end to the anarchy in social production, replacing it by planning which takes fuller account of the economic laws and consciously applies them in economic activity.

From this follows still another function of the socialist state—that of the planner of economic development. Its object is not only to exercise supervision over the separate processes or to organize the activity of the various production units, but to build up the economic structure of society as a whole. Unless this is done it will be impossible to solve political problems affecting the different classes.

It is these fundamental questions of Marxism that are now being revised. The German Social Democrats deny socialization of production in general, and reduce the role of the state to that of exerting indirect influence on the economy, through financial, credit and investments policy, placing orders, and so on. This interpretation derives from their concept of socialism according to which "free competition and free enterprise are vital components of Social Democratic policy" (from the SDPG program). But free enterprise signifies freedom for capitalist production relations. Therefore, by rejecting socialization, the German Social Democrats willy-nilly become advocates of capitalism. The Austrian Socialists have advanced the thesis of state control over the monopolies. But is it not clear that this control, while it does not alter the relations of ownership and the nature of the state, can only affect insignificant things; it cannot basically change the relations between labor and capital, nor can it abolish exploitation.

In contrast to the German and Austrian Social Democrats, the Yugoslav economists, while not denying the need for socialization of production, are against state ownership,

favoring instead the old Proudhon thesis about transferring the means of production to producers' associations, with the economically independent enterprises being headed by workers' councils.

It can hardly be doubted that from the standpoint of theory and practice the transfer of state property to producers' associations in Yugoslavia is a step forward, worsening the conditions in which the productive forces develop, and making production dependent on the so-called free market. This explains why the Yugoslav industries are still engulfed in the anarchy of the market, and they will not be rid of it unless state socialist property is developed and consolidated. We should not forget Lenin's words to the effect that "any direct or indirect legalization of ownership of their particular means of production by the workers of a given factory or trade, or legalization of their right to weaken or obstruct the instructions of the state administration would be tantamount to complete rejection of socialism."^{*}

The enemies of Marxism contend that a centralized economy is synonymous with the abolition of political liberties and divorcement of the masses from the management of production. But it is precisely in the socialist countries that large masses of the population take part in state affairs and in production management. This is inherent in socialism, a system which makes the masses conscious makers of history.

The underlying principle of production management under socialism is democratic centralism which, in essence, means the broadest possible participation of the workers in production management plus unconditional fulfillment of the state plans. It also implies local initiative and comprehensive rank and file control over social production. The control is exercised by the Soviets and other local government bodies as well as by the trade unions, youth organizations and, lastly, the Communist Party as the highest form of organization of the working people.

Can this be compared with what is taking place in Yugoslavia where the factories are run by workers' councils so that production management by the rank and file does not extend any farther than the group interests of a particular factory; or with German-Austrian "socialism" which advocates retention of free private enterprise, actually excluding the workers from production management. The latter have, to use Marx's metaphor, but

one freedom—that of bringing their own hides to the market for tanning.

* * *

In attacking the socialization of production the adversaries of Marxism claim that they are motivated by concern for the middle sections. By the latter we mean the social groups standing between the working class and the bourgeoisie: the peasants, small handicraftsmen, traders and mental workers who by virtue of their social status are not linked with big capital. To be more exact, we mean in this instance people mainly engaged in small commodity production, and their small property accumulated through their personal labor, not by exploitation of others. These sections comprise the vast majority in most capitalist states. Small commodity production is not stable under capitalism; it inevitably disintegrates, breeding on the one hand, capitalist elements (a small minority), and proletarian (the vast majority), on the other.

What do the Social Democrats offer to these sections? "The small and medium enterprises as well as the property used in the process of personal labor," reads the program of the Austrian Socialist Party, "shall not be socialized."

If by socialization we are to understand the expropriation of small property, then its owners have nothing to fear under socialism, for the program of scientific communism flatly rejects the expropriation of the property belonging to working peasants, handicraftsmen and artisans; it regards such action as criminal. It aims to unite small-scale production and small private property—not by way of coercion but by persuasion and example, by extending financial, organizational and other help.

The Austrian Socialists would have done better had they combated not the socialization of production, but capitalism, had they defended the small producer against his expropriation by big capital. But this is exactly what is lacking in the programs of both the Austrian and German Socialists. They lay the stress on preserving and developing private property, that is, preserving and defending capitalism, not defending the middle sections. Their programs perpetuate the conditions from which the middle sections are anxious to escape.

No eulogy on private property and free enterprise can conceal the simple fact that capitalism has driven the peasant, the handicraftsman, small trader and the intellectual

^{*}Lenin Documents, Pravda, April 22, 1957

into a blind alley from which there is only one way out—alliance with the working class in its struggle against capitalist slavery. Scientific socialism shows how to free the small producer for all time from exploitation, poverty and misery, how to unite the small producers into co-operatives on the voluntary principle and under a social system where political power belongs to the working people with the basic means of production concentrated in the hands of the socialist state.

In this case the transition of the peasants and handicraftsmen from small-scale production to large-scale production is effected through co-operation with the assistance and support of the state. This was the way chosen by the Soviet Union and later by the other socialist countries.

Socialist society, far from depriving the peasants of their property, assists in every way in extending and strengthening collective property and the co-operatives. According to the 1910 census, for example, the peasants in Tsarist Russia had, in addition to draft animals, the following means of production: 10,000,000 wooden ploughs and other primitive implements, 4,200,000 iron ploughs and 17,700,000 wooden harrows. As a result of the socialist industrialization, Soviet agriculture was re-equipped. In the past two years (up to January 1, 1960) the collective farms purchased over 660,000 tractors, about 300,000 grain harvesters and other machinery and equipment to the tune of 32 billion rubles.

Many collective farms have their own power plants, auxiliary enterprises with modern equipment, schools, hospitals, village cultural centers. Whereas in 1932 the collective-farm non-distributable funds amounted to 4.7 billion rubles, by January 1, 1958, they had exceeded 100 billion.

The same process is underway in the other socialist countries. The state renders direct material aid to the co-operatives. Co-operative production is not something isolated, it is part of the entire social production. It receives direct help from the people as a whole, and is covered by state planning. Consequently this sector, like the entire national economy, is immune to crises, stagnation, marketing difficulties and rivalry.

State assistance to the co-operatives is an indispensable condition for the advance of socialist society to communism, which signifies an all-round development of both state and co-operative property.

The difference between the two is that state property corresponds to a higher level

of socialization of production, but both forms of property are to be found within the framework of the socialist mode of production. Hence, the building of communism in the Soviet Union presupposes that the level of socialization of collective-farm and co-operative property should be raised gradually to that of state property.

It is now fashionable among the reformists and revisionists to criticize socialist ownership and economic management by the state. But it is common knowledge that theory is tested by practice. Anyone who attacks the economic system of socialism, and ignores the fact that in the space of nearly half a century the Soviet Union, and later the other socialist countries, has expanded the productive forces to a degree which is impossible in any capitalist country, is simply trying to turn black into white.

* * *

Bourgeois sociologists contend that socialism abolishes personal property; they depict the land of socialism as a bleak barracks where production, consumption and even tastes are uniform, where man is sacrificed to the collective.

These attacks on socialism are not new. Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* showed that communism signifies not the abolition of property as such, but the abolition of bourgeois property, that communism deprives man not of the right to appropriate a definite part of the social product, but of the right to enslave others through such appropriation. At the same time communism abolishes the miserable character of this appropriation, inherent in capitalism, under which the worker lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interests of the ruling class require it.

Capitalism restricts the workers' consumption to the minimum needed for the maintenance and reproduction of labor power. The attempts of the bourgeois ideologists to prove that under capitalism the middle sections grow numerically, that larger masses of people share prosperity, are futile exercises. The wage earner derives his income from the sale of his labor power. But as its price cannot, as a rule, be higher than its cost, the latter determines the upper limits of the property owned by people who live by their own labor.

In reality the standard of living of the worker under capitalism is lower than the actual cost of labor power. Many facts attest

to this. For example, a skilled metal-worker in the Paris district, engaged on piece-work, worked a 39-hour week in 1938 and earned 459 francs. In 1955 he worked 45 hours and earned 9,388 francs, including 20 per cent extra pay for overtime. His wages were more than twenty times the 1938 figure, but for the same period prices had soared 32-fold. Thus, his total purchasing power fell 38 per cent, despite the fact that he worked 15 per cent more time.

In his *Food and the People* published in London in 1943, the British economist John Boyd-Orr stated that in 1935 the food consumption of over fifteen million people in Britain was less than in the 18th century.

According to the Heller budget, which is widely quoted in the United States and which lays down, in terms of bourgeois economists, the subsistence minimum for a working-class family of four living a modest life, without a house of its own and therefore compelled to rent a flat, the annual income of this family should amount to \$5,593. But this income is unavailable to at least three-quarters of the U.S. population: 20 per cent of the families have an income of less than two thousand dollars; and 12 per cent—between two and three thousand. Thus, the average worker earns considerably less than the cost of his labor power, even as estimated by the bourgeoisie.

Unlike capitalism, socialism does not limit consumption to a minimum subsistence, because the entire national income, being in the hands of the working people, is not wasted for parasitic consumption by the exploiting classes or for other non-productive purposes. About 75 per cent of the national income is allotted to the consumption fund, and is realized in the form of wages, social and cultural expenditures, pensions, benefits, etc., and state administration costs. The remainder (25 per cent) makes up the accumulation fund, and is used to extend production, build up reserves and for other social needs.

Personal consumption under socialism depends on two fundamental factors: first, on the national income, i.e., on the level of the productive forces, labor productivity, and total output; and, second, on the share of the wealth that society sets aside for the consumption fund after all the necessary public funds have been deducted.

For this reason personal consumption is not limited by the miserable level of the cost of labor power as is the case in the capitalist countries, but corresponds to the level of the

productive forces of society. Under communism this consumption reaches a point where distribution according to need becomes possible, while under socialism it still hinges on the amount of labor performed.

The quantity of the material values which each worker gets from society determines mainly the size of his personal property.

What is personal property under socialism, and what are its material forms?

It consists above all of articles of consumption. This is fully in line with the economic conditions of socialism under which the part played by each individual in social production is determined not by capital but by labor. Correspondingly, the share of social wealth he gets from society is not transformed into capital, i.e., a means of exploiting the labor of others. People spend their earned incomes mainly on articles of personal consumption, including houses, household inventory, etc.

The growth of personal property is accompanied by better food and housing, more durable goods, greater satisfaction of cultural needs, and growing savings.

If, for example, we compare the figures of a pre-revolutionary investigation of the budgets of textile workers' families in St. Petersburg, Bogorodsk in the Moscow province, and the Sereda textile area in the Kostroma province, and of the poor and middle peasants in the Kharkov, Vologda, Vyatka and Voronezh provinces, with the 1956 research in the same localities, we will find a substantial increase in per capita consumption of the basic foods. As against the pre-revolutionary period the consumption by the families of workers and peasants rose respectively: meat and bacon by 200 and 208 per cent, milk and dairy products by 355 and 251 per cent, eggs by 223 and 359 per cent, and sugar by 221 and 298 per cent.

The same process can be observed in the other socialist countries. Compared with 1936 per capita consumption of sugar in Czechoslovakia in 1958 had risen from 23.2 to 34.9 kgs., fats from 14.1 to 17.5 kgs., meat from 34 to 54 kgs. In Rumania, per capita consumption of sugar has doubled, and consumption of fats has increased 3.5-fold compared with prewar.

The same is true of housing. According to an investigation conducted in St. Petersburg in 1908, some 70 per cent of the single workers rented half a bed, a bed or a corner of a bedroom. Forty-three per cent of the workers with families had either a bed or a corner of

a bedroom. In 1913 the living space in private hands, including bourgeois property, amounted to 180 million square meters; in 1956 personally-owned housing (excluding the state housing facilities) reached 215 million square meters. Under Soviet rule, the state and co-operative organizations (excluding the collective farms) and the urban population (on their own savings and with state credits) have built new, and restored war-ruined, houses with an aggregate dwelling space of 507 million square meters.

It is worth noting that since the war working-class housing in the United States has substantially deteriorated. According to Professor L. L. Mattias, the cheap American house is now a thing of the past. Paul M. Butler, Chairman of the National Committee of the Democratic Party, admitted that over 15 million Americans live in slums.

That is how matters stand with food and housing. But in addition the working people in the socialist countries can now purchase such items as motorcycles, cars, refrigerators, TV sets and pianos which they could not afford to buy before.

The growth of the consumption fund is accompanied by an increase in savings, as can be seen from the increased savings-banks deposits. Last year, for example, more than 13 billion rubles were deposited in savings banks in the USSR.

Not only articles of consumption but also a part of the production forms personal property under socialism. The livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements owned by the farmer's family are a specific form of personal property. They play no small part in the collective farmer's life and enable him to add to the income obtained from the collective farm. The kitchen-gardens and orchards owned by factory and other workers in rural and suburban areas, are in the same category.

This kind of personal property, however, has hardly any prospects for development and will gradually lose its significance inasmuch as the working people will be able, increasingly, to satisfy their requirements from the incomes accruing to them from the social production. They will then find it unprofitable to expend their labor on small personal plots. Even now some of the Soviet collective farmers are relinquishing these plots.

Another form of personal property is that owned by some categories of non-manual workers: studios owned by sculptors and artists, antique articles, rare books and works of art owned by scholars, which they need

for their work. Part of this property will also gradually lose its significance, while another part (books etc.) will no longer be regarded as means of production but merely as articles satisfying personal taste.

Personal property should be distinguished from private property. The latter means ownership by an individual of means of production which for him, are the basic source of subsistence while the former is the result of the working people taking part in social production expressed in the income thus obtained which they turn into articles of consumption for themselves and their families. Under capitalism the difference between personal and private property is obliterated, since even articles of consumption can be transformed into capital, i.e., a means of exploitation of man by man.

Accumulation of personal property under socialism does not lead to enrichment in the old, bourgeois sense of the word, because personal property cannot be turned into capital. Personal ownership of some means of production does not change anything, since these means do not become the basic source of income for the majority of the working people, nor do they serve as a means of exploitation.

The German Social Democrats are demanding (a demand borrowed from the program of the office employees' trade union) that wage workers should have private property. Does this mean that the latter will become small producers? If so it would be a step backward to small commodity production, from machines to manual work. Or, perhaps in addition to their wages, wage workers will have some other, unearned, incomes — from renting their houses and plots of land, and from the so-called people's shares? But who, then, will pay for these unearned incomes? To all intents and purposes — the working people themselves, by cutting down their wages. But this is simply robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Only an increased share in the national income can improve the position of the wage workers. But this share tends to decline. In France, for example, where before the war the share of wages in the national income amounted to 45 per cent, it fell in 1952 to 30 per cent. This is the source of all the trouble.

This, however, does not mean that socialism denies all forms of private property. In the Soviet Union there is small private household economy based on personal labor and with no exploitation of man by man; according to the 1956 figures the number of individ-

ual peasants and handicraftsmen (families included) not organized in co-operatives amounted to one million.

Socialist society does not encroach on this property, for the fruits of personal labor are respected. Small private property is protected by law. However, this property cannot yield an income comparable to that derived by the working man from the socially-owned property. Consequently, the sound perspective for the small owner is to go over to socialized production.

In socialist countries this process is taking place on a mass scale in the countryside — the peasants voluntarily are abandoning small private farming for large-scale collective farming. Private possession of the means and implements of production, declining substantially, is being replaced by collective ownership. The personal property of the farmers in the form of incomes obtained from co-operative farming is increasing. In the Soviet Union the total cash income of the collective farms, excluding payments in kind to their members and those for production purposes, rose from 34 billion rubles in 1950 to 75 billion in 1955, and exceeded 140 billion in 1959.

Lastly, inherited property and incomes from state securities (state loan bonds, insurance, etc.) are also classified as personal property and are protected by law.

Personal property, being an expression of the share of working people's participation in material production, is guaranteed by the socialist system. This is a sound guarantee compared with what we see in the capitalist countries where the law protects private accumulation both through exploitation and expropriation of small owners.

Socialist law protects the property rights of the people. Thus, Article 4, Supplement II of the Civil Procedure Code of the Russian Federation stipulates that court decisions for alienation or sale of property owned by citizens to cover tax arrears (both state and local), fines, and also in connection with non-fulfilment of other obligations, do not apply to the following property: the house with its outbuildings and parts thereof: clothing, footwear, bedding and furniture personally used by the debtor and his family, and children's articles; handicraftsman's instruments; incomes accruing from social insurance and children's allowances.

* * *

The abolition of the capitalist system signifies the abolition of the unearned incomes

of the exploiting classes, but by no means the abolition of personal property. Moreover, it is under socialism that the most favorable conditions are created for the growth of the personal property of all members of society.

Here consumption is not restricted to personally-earned incomes. The individual consumption fund is supplemented by considerable state allocations for social and cultural needs (Marx called this the fund for the common satisfaction of needs). The laws of socialist production determine the steady growth of this fund, and with it the state outlays for education, public health, communal construction, housing, recreation and public welfare. In the Soviet Union the social and cultural expenditure of the state amounts to over one-third of the budgetary expenditure.

Education, including higher education, is free of charge, and there is an extensive system of state scholarships. In the USSR over 50 million attend schools of all types, which means that one in every four of the population is studying. Compared with prewar, the secondary school enrolment in Hungary has almost trebled, in the higher schools it is nearly fourfold.

Medical help is free of charge, and in a number of countries (Czechoslovakia, for example) there is no charge for drugs and medicines. Sanatoria and holiday homes in health resorts are now widely available to the working people.

Considerable sums flow to the workers in the form of pensions and various benefits. "As we advance to communism," said Khrushchov at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, "society will take greater care of each of its members, from birth to old age." In the USSR there are about 100 million factory, office and professional workers and collective farmers. Some 20 million pensioners enjoy, in addition to pensions, facilities provided by the state, collective farms and public organizations. Five million children are accommodated in children's homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

A feature of socialism is that both society and the state cater to the constantly growing cultural needs of the working people. The Soviet seven-year plan envisages a further enlargement of the fund for the mutual satisfaction of needs, and encompasses still greater spheres of cultural and communal services.

Provisions have been made for extensive housing construction. About 15 million flats will be built in towns and workers' settlements, and about seven million houses in the countryside. Expenditure on the social ser-

vices is growing. In 1965 it will rise to about 3,800 rubles per worker annually. In addition, the state will spend over 800 rubles annually per worker on cultural and communal establishments.

In this way, the personal incomes received in accordance with the amount and quality of work done, are supplemented by the pub-

lic consumption fund which is expanding and gradually rendering unnecessary some of the forms of personal property. The growth of social production ensures, increasingly, the satisfaction of the needs of the population from public funds, and this is an important condition for the evolution of socialism into communism.

The Catholic Social Doctrine in the Service of Capitalism

Jean Kanapa

WE are living at a time when bourgeois myths are being exploded with lightning speed, when socialism (not only as a teaching, but also as a living reality) is winning to its side masses of people, when its might is growing in an astonishing way. As a Jesuit father has stated, communism "appears to many to be the *only answer* to the aspirations of millions of people . . .".* As is the case in every serious crisis, the bourgeoisie has again appealed to religion and its institutions and, in particular, to the Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church is a powerful part of the superstructure of the capitalist system. The Christian ideology has held sway in many countries for centuries, and ecclesiastical establishments have become part and parcel of capitalist society. The Church has vast means of propaganda and organization at its disposal. It has a state — the Vatican — which claims to be the leader of the Christians of the world; its rule in many countries is based on a solid economic foundation: landed estates and finance capital. Economically it is closely linked with monopoly capital; politically, it is the ally of the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie, which it supports on all occasions; ideologically, it expresses the interests of the monopolies and political reaction. In face of the growing influence of socialism, the Church has been obliged to take vigorous action in both the ideological and political spheres.

It has been so active — and this cannot fail to alarm the champions of peace, whether

they are believers or not — that certain high dignitaries of the Church unhesitatingly pronounce anathema against an international detente and peaceful coexistence, fearing, apparently, that these add to the prestige of socialism.

It is on the current ideological effort of the Church, to be exact, on a particular aspect of this effort — the social doctrine of the Catholic Church — that we shall dwell in this article. The Catholic Church leaves no stone unturned in its drive against communism, beginning with vulgar anti-communism and ending with a "scientific" critique of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time it is bringing to the fore its "social doctrine," a doctrine which first took shape in 1891 (in *Rerum Novarum*, the Encyclical by Pope Leo XIII) and is now pretty obsolete and out of joint with the times. But in an effort to counter the growing influence of scientific socialism, the Church is refurbishing this doctrine, popularizing it in every way, carrying it out through the intermediary of the numerous Catholic organizations ("Catholic Action," Christian trade unions, the Christian-Democratic parties, etc.).

It is significant that Pope John XXIII deemed it necessary to devote a considerable part of the first Encyclical of his pontificate to the "social question." In common with his predecessors, he hastened to affirm that communism was out to "destroy the foundations of Christian civilization," and denounced it as a "teaching condemned by the Church."* And having condemned scientific socialism he de-

*Henri Chambre, *Christianisme et communisme*. Paris, 1959, p. 7.

**Ad Petri Cathedram*, June 29, 1959.

voted no little space to the "social doctrine of the Church."

What, then, is the essence of this doctrine? In order to reply to this question we shall turn chiefly to original sources, i.e., to the papal documents. These have the force of law for the Church and are authoritative throughout the Catholic world. As to the manner in which this doctrine is applied, and the forms it assumes in the activity of the Church — this can be the subject of further research to which this article should be regarded only as an introduction.

I. DESCRIPTION OF SOCIAL LIFE

The "Natural Law"

The social doctrine of the Catholic Church rests upon the purely metaphysical premise of some kind of *law of nature*. "Natural law," according to Pope Pius XII,* "is the foundation upon which the social doctrine of the Church rests." The idea of "natural law" derives from that most idealistic of postulates, which forms the basis of all religions: since God created the world, and created it for all time, then the order of things in the world — nature and society — is "immutable," for such is God's will. "Natural law" is reflected in this "immutable order of things" as willed by God.

It is not difficult to perceive the anti-scientific character of these assertions. It can be explained by the Catholic Church's attitude towards natural science: it is still vehemently hostile to the theory of evolution. The same holds good for the social sciences: the Church's attitude to the concept of the historical development of society is exactly the same as it once was to the heliocentric theory. Church thinking (all religious thinking) is *anti-historical* in the extreme. Absolutely anti-dialectical, it applies itself exclusively to *idealizing and deifying reality*, to passing it off as eternal.

History makes nonsense of this ridiculous concept. Humanity has known several types of social organization: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism. Which of them is "natural"? Did not the Catholic Church in the epoch of feudalism describe feudal society — which has now disappeared almost everywhere — as eternal? It is not surprising, therefore, that it considered feudalism and, subsequently, capitalism to be based on "natural law" without bother-

ing very much about the radical distinction between them. The point is, feudalism and capitalism have one common feature — both are based on the exploitation of man by man; and this common feature reveals what the Church understands by "natural law."

Like any other ideology of the exploiting classes, that of the Catholic Church fulfils the function of an *apologist for exploitation*; it is called upon to justify the socio-economic basis upon which it itself rests. It hopes to convince the people that, on the one hand, the existing (capitalist) system is justified and conforms both to human nature and the will of God, and, on the other, that the present order of things with its attendant injustice, humiliation and crimes is unavoidable and eternal. In short the system cannot and should not be changed.

Let us, then, from this standpoint, take a closer look at the basic elements of "natural law."

Property

The Church teaches that private property occupies first place among the "basic principles" of the natural law, among the "natural rights" attributed to man.

"For they (Popes and theologians — J.K.) have always unanimously maintained that nature, rather the Creator Himself, has given man the right of private ownership."* That is why "the Church defends the right of property, regarding it as a fundamental and inalienable right."** It sees no relation between a definite socio-economic system and the existence of private property, and denies that any such relation exists; private property, in the full sense of the word, emanates from heaven: "For the right of possessing goods privately has been conferred not by man's law, but by nature." Inasmuch as private property is "an element of the social order" any normal socio-economic system should rest upon a solid private property base. For this reason *Rerum Novarum* condemns socialism in the following words: "... the fundamental principle of socialism which would make all possessions public property . . . contravenes the natural rights of individual persons." And so that there should be no doubt that the "normal" system is capitalism, it is explained that "a good organization of economic life calls for recognition and respect of private ownership of produc-

*Address to Congress of Humanitarian Research, Sept. 25, 1949.

*Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931.

**Pius XII, Address to Spanish working people. March 11, 1951.

tive wealth" (that is to say of the means of production).*

The thinking man will readily see the falsity of this conclusion and he will immediately question the validity of the whole argument. Life refutes Pius XII's assertion out of hand. It was his view that there could be no "truly fruitful social life or normally productive national economy" unless they were founded upon the private ownership of the means of production. Has not the socialist system in the Soviet Union assured that country a "fruitful" character and "productivity" which for rate of growth has far outstripped the most advanced capitalist countries? And is it really necessary to wait until the Soviet Union completes its Seven-Year Plan and overtakes the USA in per capita output before turning down the papal formulas and admitting that genuinely fruitful social life and a normally productive national economy are out of the question unless the privately owned means of production are socialized? Socialism, by the way, recognizes and protects the property of the working man provided it is "the fruit of a man's labor," "hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property" (*Communist Manifesto*).

The fact that life deals so harshly with the economic doctrine of the Catholic Church shows that the latter is incapable of comprehending what is taking place in the world today. Regarding private property as the basic category of political economy and social life, the Church, even when it turns for support to St. Thomas Aquinas, falls back on the traditional bourgeois political economy, with all its impotence and deception.

Bourgeois ideology reacts to everything with a seventh sense which Marx called the sense of "property." This ideology — and this is especially true of the Catholic Church — sees man as a capitalist proprietor, and man's first "natural right" is his right of ownership. And bourgeois science, like the whole bourgeois world, is submerged "in the icy water of egotistical calculation." This prevents it from seeing that man's primary relation to nature is expressed not in property but in labor.

If it is true that man "appropriates" (in the process of labor) the products of nature, this is always done through a definite social form. *Ownership is not the relation of man to nature, it is the expression of definite economic*

relations in a definite society. Outside this relationship it is only a metaphysical illusion. As Marx ironically observed: "One can imagine an isolated savage in possession of things. But in that case possession is no legal relation."** Ownership always expresses a definite social relation; it is the expression of given production relations and its form changes together with the production relations. Private ownership is one of the forms of property. Other forms exist, for example collective property (in land, implements, etc.). But what does the Church say? It affirms theoretical priority of the private form of appropriation which it "deduces" arbitrarily, in abstracto, from the concept of property as a thing in itself, a concept which has no relationship to any real historical stage of production, and which is isolated from any definitive socio-economic context. The point of departure of the Catholic social doctrine thus turns out to be wrong by virtue of a purely metaphysical approach, an approach for which Marx rebuked the classical bourgeois economists: "In that sense it is a tautology to say that property (appropriation) is a condition of production. But it becomes ridiculous, when from that one jumps at once to a definite form of property, e.g., private property."***

It is ridiculous and contrary to historical truth. History teaches us that the primary form was common ownership. It was only with the break-up of communal property (relatively late) that, as a result of the development of the productive forces, private property gradually appeared. It assumed various forms: slavery, feudal, then bourgeois. That was the case with the Indo-European group which peopled Europe. At the end of the XIX century when the Church had elaborated its social doctrine, vestiges of this communal property were still to be found among the Slavs, the Germans and the Celts, both where direct (Russia) and indirect (Ireland) dependence on the feudal lord predominated. This is far from the assertions of the Church, according to which private property, namely private property in land, is the original relation of man and nature, the "immutable order of things".*** When the Church, through Pope Pius XII, affirmed in 1941 that nature had closely associated private property with "human society and its true civilization," it acted in the same way as did the "learned" Herr Duehring who says "not a word about the

*Letter from Pius XII, signed by Cardinal Del-Aquva to the XXIX Congress of the "Holy Week in Italy" organization, Sept. 23, 1956.

*K. Marx, *Critique of Political Economy*, p. 295.

**K. Marx, *Critique of Political Economy*, p. 273.

***Pius XII, *Whitsuntide Message*, 1941.

common ownership of land in the tribal and village communities which is the real starting point of history" (F. Engels).

This is explained by the fact that for the Church of Rome history begins only with its triumph, that is, in the Middle Ages when, notwithstanding the survivals of primitive communal property mentioned by Engels, the dominant place was held by small-scale production. In the epoch of feudalism the product of labor, with the exception of the portion appropriated by the feudal lord, belonged to the individual producer using his own raw material, his own implements and his own labor (or that of his family). The rise of capitalism put an end to this: the owner of the means of labor (the capitalist) continued to appropriate the product of labor, but now he appropriated the product of the labor of others, and not of his own. The social character of production was now in conflict with the private form of appropriation. A complete rupture took place between labor and ownership: the capitalist appropriates the product of another's labor without paying for it; the worker's only real "property" is his labor power which he is forced to sell to the capitalist. And there is no "abuse" on the part of capitalist in this, as the Church likes to affirm, while simultaneously trying to prove that the situation can be "improved" by "improving" capitalism. The point here is the law of economic development. An objective analysis results in recognition of the fact that the contradiction between large-scale capitalist production, and private (capitalist) appropriation leads to the socialist revolution which will return the instruments of labor to those who work with them, but on the basis "of the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i.e., co-operation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production,"* that is to say, which will re-establish collective property on a higher level of development.

But this analysis is incompatible with the teaching of the Catholic Church, which expresses the interests of the bourgeoisie — today it would be more exact to say the interests of monopoly capital. Its thinking is confined within the narrow limits of metaphysical bourgeois political economy. Like the latter, it considers capitalism to be an eternal truth, an immutable and perfect order of things in relation to which socialism is not the highest and inevitable form of social organization, but a kind of perversion, the result

of the influence of diabolical forces and of a handful of "conspirators." Moreover, the Church has inherited from the pre-capitalist epoch the concepts with which it justifies capitalism; it draws them from a centuries-old social context and lauds capitalism in feudal terminology. Yet this doctrine, we are told, answers the needs of the modern world!

Capitalism

Does the Catholic Church, to which the "natural right of property" is so dear, condemn capitalism, which changes the feudal property relations? Far from it. When the working class becomes embittered by the evils of the capitalist system, the Church says: "It (capitalism — J. K.) is not by nature vicious" (*Quadragesimo Anno*). And at once the Church begins to condemn the "abuses." Apologist ideology readily denounces "abuses"; it finds this most useful in preserving the main thing — the system which so generously generates these "abuses" with objective regularity. In other words, the Church's stand on this question is based on pure and simple demagoguery. The Church fancies that it has nothing to lose, but, on the contrary, has much to gain by opposing (in words) this or that aspect of capitalism, or even by remonstrating with individual capitalists: for this enables it to appear as the champion of the oppressed, without going to the root causes of the "abuses" — capitalism as a system.

Does this "exposure" contain a particle of real criticism? We need not have any illusions on this score, because it is common knowledge that the Popes (in this case Pius XI and Pius XII) found no strong word of condemnation for such an unprecedented "abuse" as fascism.

In making this modest "criticism" the Church is guided by considerations of prudence. If Pius XII criticized capitalists (as individuals) and some advocates of the right of private ownership for their "abuses" it was, he said, because they were, with more success than its adversaries, undermining this natural institution (private property — J. K.) so indispensable to the life of man.*

From the same considerations the Church deplores unemployment which "has plunged workers into misery and temptation, ruined the prosperity of nations and put in jeopardy the public order, peace and tranquillity of the whole world" (*Quadragesimo Anno*). And if

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 837.

*Address to Congress on International Exchange, March 7, 1948.

in his recent Encyclical, Pope John XXIII expresses his sorrow over the fate of the "economically weak" people, he at once explains that he is "grieved" because "the enemies of the church easily abuse the unjust conditions of the proletariat, so as to lure them to their side" (*Ad Petri Cathedram*). What cynicism there is in this compassion! Yet what involuntary recognition of the fact that capitalism and the bourgeoisie produce their own grave-diggers!

For social peace to reign, continued John XXIII, it must be seen to "that all men, even of the lowest class, may be able to earn the necessities of life by the sweat of their brow," i.e., *neither more nor less than is required for the reproduction of labor power*, and to keep body and soul together! The Church's "solicitude" for the proletariat is shown in the hypocritical legitimization of the hideous capitalist exploitation. But there is one "abuse" to which the Church never alludes, namely surplus value, the major "abuse," the basic feature which makes capitalism a monstrous system of *exploitation*. No denunciation of the "injustices" of capitalism will be of the slightest account as long as silence is maintained on this glaring injustice. But under no circumstance does the Church ever oppose it; on the contrary, its whole doctrine is designed to justify it.

Classes and the Class Struggle

The Church teaches that the division of society into exploiting and exploited classes is based, as is private property, on natural law. In the first Encyclical of his pontificate Leo XIII, replying to the Socialists, said the Church recognized as being far more useful and wise the existence of *inequality* between men, who by nature differ mentally and physically, *an inequality which also extends to the possession of wealth*. This thesis is elaborated in *Rerum Novarum*, "... in civil society the lowest cannot be made equal with the highest. Socialists, of course, agitate to the contrary, but all struggling against nature is in vain." And Leo XIII explains that in speaking of "necessary differences," he has in mind not only individuals, but also social classes: The Church wants to see the differences in the position of the social classes remain unchanged, because that is what nature itself wants.

This fatalistic conception of society and its division into classes clearly reveals the apologetic character of the Catholic social doctrine. We cite the words of Pope Pius XII: "The

history of every age teaches that there were always rich and poor; that it will always be so, we may gather from the unchanging tenor of human destinies." And Pope John XXIII has threateningly reiterated: "Those denying class differences . . . 'are opposing the laws of nature itself'" (*Ad Petri Cathedram*).

In the first place it is absolutely wrong to assert that social classes have always existed. Ethnographical works on the primitive communes provide irrefutable evidence that this was not so. Class society arose out of the disintegration of the primitive commune, a disintegration which marked the dawn of human civilization. Further, the statement about the *existence* of social classes is an abstract and empty one unless the classes in *each* historical period are characterized, unless a study is made of the mode of production which gives birth to these classes and unless the *solution* of the antagonistic contradictions in society is indicated. The Church guards against making such an analysis. And this is natural, because it would then be obliged to admit that class antagonism in capitalist society is a manifestation of the contradictions between the exploiting class (the bourgeoisie) and the exploited class (the proletariat). It would have to admit that the abolition of private property and the establishment by the proletariat of collective ownership of the means of production would enable it to abolish itself as a class and *thereby all class distinctions and antitheses*. But this dialectical concept of social history horrifies the ideologists of the Church, because it heralds the end of the reign of the bourgeoisie as the ruling class and, hence, the end of the domination of the Church of which the capitalist system forms the base.

It is for this reason that the Church carefully avoids giving a scientific definition of social classes and, particularly, a definition according to their place in the system of production. The only "definition" it uses is associated with the concept of *income*: "rich" and "poor" are the categories it prefers. The "rich" are never called "capitalist" or the "bourgeoisie" (when the Church uses the term "capitalism" it usually does so in quotes, as if trying to make people doubt the reality of this concept), so that no one will ever know from the Church the origin — exploitation and capitalist profits — of their "riches." It remains for the "poor man" to believe that riches are created by "talent"

The Church, moreover, denies that the working class can properly be considered a

social class in the real sense of the word. According to Pius XII, the material conditions of life and labor can never, in themselves, form the basis of working-class unity established on an identity of interests.* In the event of the working class becoming class-conscious and forging unity, it would be a force which, says the Church, would present a danger to the "natural" capitalist system.

Recognizing the existence of social classes and regarding the division of society into exploiters and exploited as conforming to the divine will, the popes vehemently deny that the difference between classes can signify their *antithesis*, and still more, *struggle*. "It is a capital evil with respect to the question we are discussing to take for granted that the one class of society is of itself hostile to the other, as if nature set rich and poor against each other to fight fiercely in implacable war . . . Just as in the human body the different members harmonize with one another, whence arises that disposition of parts and proportion in the human figure rightly called symmetry, so likewise nature has commanded . . . that the two classes mentioned should agree harmoniously and should properly form equally balanced counterparts to each other" (*Rerum Novarum*).

What, then, is the explanation for the social antagonism that, no matter what is said, is the most striking feature of capitalist society? The Catholic Church rejects the idea that capitalism as a system is to blame for this, and claims that the roots of social conflict are of a purely subjective and exclusively moral order. This theory makes it possible to lay the moral responsibility at the door of both the exploited and the exploiters. With rare cynicism Pius XI appeals to Christians, employers and workers: "From whence are wars and contentions among you? Are they not hence, from your sins . . .?"** All the world is to blame, including the working people, because of their "greed for worldly goods" (in the language of the Vatican "worldly goods" apparently means "higher wages"). Thus the working people must be "industrious and temperate," and "place justice before profit and conscientious observance of duty above all else" (*Rerum Novarum*).

All this clearly shows that the Catholic social doctrine is nothing but a sermon of resignation, an appeal for the capitulation of the proletarian forces. To the working people's

joint struggle for their interests, the Church counterposes individual meekness and humility, the reward for which will be peace and tranquillity for the capitalists here on earth.

And should preaching of this kind not be enough to curb the working-class movement, the Church turns for help to the State and sanctifies its intervention: "The capital point is this" that "in view of such a great flaming up of passion . . . the masses ought to be kept within the bounds of their moral obligations . . . The authority of the State should intervene," cries Leo XIII, "private property ought to be safeguarded by the sovereign power of the State and through the bulwark of its laws" (*Rerum Novarum*).

The vigor and regularity with which the Church condemns the working-class struggle and tries to undermine what Lenin called the proletariat's main weapon — its organization — will arouse no surprise. Pius XII affirmed that the working-class movement could not count on a future by counterposing itself to other social classes.* Addressing Belgian Christian workers in 1949, who at that time were waging a hard struggle to improve their conditions, he enjoined them not to misuse the strength of their organization.** On this question the Church was more commanding and precise than when the issue concerned the "abuses" of capitalism. When the question touches on the labor movement, the popes churn out directives and interdictions, addressing them to the Catholic working people in general and to the Christian trade unions in particular, and enjoining them to see that the unions do not stray from the "true path."***

What is the "true path" of the working-class organizations? We now come to the crux of the Catholic social doctrine. Its aim is class collaboration.

II. THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL PROGRAM

Collaboration of Classes

All men are brothers according to religion and the Church deduces a most concrete "social union" from this abstract "brotherhood"; the rich and the poor, employers and workers, exploiters and exploited — all are brothers and all pursue the same aim: "the common weal." The Church offers this idyll in place of an analysis of social life. As Pius XII declared, the Church is constantly work-

*Address to the Fiat workers, October 31, 1948.

**Pius XI, *Ubi Arcano Dei*, December 23, 1922.

*Speech to the International Labor Organization, 1954.

**Pius XII, Speech to the Members of the Belgian Christian Labor Movement, September 11, 1949.

***Pius XII, Speech to Italian Catholic Workers, August 15, 1945.

ing to transform the seeming opposition between capital and labor, employers and workers, into supreme unity, the natural collaboration of the two sides in corporate companies according to enterprises and industries.*

Workers' organizations, in particular the trade unions, are assigned the task of completing this idyll: they are summoned to class collaboration. Trade unions, according to Pius XII, are temporary helps, a transitional form; their purpose is to assure union and solidarity between the employers and the working people so that both can labor jointly for the common weal and the satisfaction of the needs of society as a whole.**

At one time the Church made considerable efforts to organize "mixed" trade unions (i.e., those uniting exploiters and exploited), only relinquishing these efforts early in the twentieth century when it became evident that they were not meeting with any success. It began to establish "Catholic labor unions," which were more suitable for the purpose of splitting the front of the working-class struggle.

The social program of the Catholic Church is a program to achieve class collaboration: "For if the class struggle abstains from enmities and mutual hatred, it gradually changes into an honest discussion of differences founded on a desire for justice and . . . it can and ought to be the point of departure from which to move forward to the mutual co-operation of the industries and professions" (*Quadragesimo Anno*). If the Church's description of social life is, to put it simply, apologetics marked by philistinism, its social program is neither more nor less than a gross deception. What "collaboration" can there be between two classes of which one by virtue of its nature exploits the other? What "discussion founded on a desire for justice" can there be with a class like the bourgeoisie that has simply appropriated to itself the judiciary and its organs—from the judge to the police constable—and made of them a weapon for subordinating and suppressing the exploited working class? It is deception, base deception, to preach friendship between slave and slave-owner, collaboration between the victim and the executioner, "interchange of dutiful services" between the robbed and the robber!

Yet that is just what John XXIII proposes in his Encyclical as a response to the needs

of the day. At a time when the international revolutionary working-class movement is causing the pillars of the outmoded capitalist system to crumble, a system condemned not only by history but by developments in the world today—the growing might of the socialist world and the higher level of the standard of living in the socialist world—the Pope was obliged to plead with the proletariat of the capitalist countries: "We desire therefore those beloved sons (the proletarians—J.K.) . . . to know that they have a very special place in our heart: that we daily intercede with God for them and their undertaking." And how does the Church "intercede" for them? By preaching the social doctrine which, according to the Pope, aims at achieving "mutual union between the social classes." And he urged that the diverse trade union organizations should not be regarded as a weapon of defense or offense but as a bridge linking both banks. Behind this lyrical picture of class collaboration the working people see another and more realistic one, a picture conjured up by their own experience: that of the "collaboration" between a rider and his horse.

In the light of the foregoing it is not surprising that the Church should uphold all that the bourgeoisie, anxious to drive the working class into the blind alley of class peace, has concocted ("profit-sharing," "worker shareholdings," "human relations," etc.). And John XXIII's first Encyclical, with its underlying idea that the capitalist and the worker are "partners" in social life, differs but little from the preaching of Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie on the virtues of a correctly understood capitalism, of a "people's capitalism."

But for the Church these forms of class collaboration are only a subterfuge and half-measure. It has a more far-reaching and reactionary ideal: the corporate organization of society.

The Corporate Ideal

The growth of the socialist movement in the second half of the 19th century forced the ideologists of Catholic reaction to seek for something that could be counterposed to the Communist ideal of the revolutionary proletariat. But their inflexible thinking, hedged in by dogmas dating back to the Middle Ages, produced no other ideal than that of the system of medieval guilds. Catholic circles plugged this idea indefatigably in many countries—in Italy, Germany, Austria, Belgium and France. It is worth noting that these corporate ideas were submitted to the public

*Message to the Catholic Congress in Bochum, September 4, 1949.

**Message to the representatives of employers and workers organizations of the Italian power industry. January 25, 1946.

during the debate on the trade union law in the French Parliament (1883-1884) for the *precise purpose of retarding the development of the trade union movement*. It was against this background that the social "ideal" of Pope Leo XIII saw the light of day, an "ideal" he set forth in his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. From the outset the Pope affirmed that one of the principal causes of the unhappy lot of the proletariat of his day was the disappearance of the old trade guilds: "The beneficent achievements of the guilds of artisans among our ancestors have long been well known. Truly, they yielded noteworthy advantages to artisans. Now Christian workers will readily resolve it (the social question—J.K.) . . . if they enter upon the path which their fathers and their ancestors followed to their own best welfare as well as to that of the State."

The "solution" proposed by the Church is neither more nor less than a *return to the Middle Ages*. Any thinking person will at once see the absurdity of the belief that the medieval guilds with pre-capitalist production relations can be re-established on the basis of capitalist production relations, the relations which two hundred years ago destroyed the guild system. This turning of a blind eye to historical facts is by no means a point-less act on the part of the Church. Through the corporate organization it would like to unite "men . . . not according to the position each has in the labor market (i.e., on the class principle—J.K.), but according to the respective social functions which each performs" (*Quadragesimo Anno*). What the Church wishes to see above all is an organization of society which would impose class collaboration on the working people.

Simultaneously "corporatism" could be, and is used to screen a system that differs substantially from the medieval guild system. In the thirties, Italian fascism established the "corporate system" which was designed, on the one hand, to assure undivided monopoly domination of Italian social and economic life and, on the other, to crush the working class, to prevent it from organizing and to destroy its trade unions. The erection of this artificial structure delighted the Church. Pius XI often expressed his satisfaction that the corporate system had the "state institutions" under its control. He approved Mussolini's ban on strikes and added: "Little reflection is required to perceive the advantages of the institution (Mussolini's corporate system—J.K.): peaceful collaboration of various classes, repression of socialist organiza-

tion and efforts, the moderating influence of a special magistracy* . . ." (*Quadragesimo Anno*). The medieval signboard of corporatism served to conceal the true nature of that lauded political merchandise—fascism.

The successor to Pius XI witnessed the collapse of Italian fascism. Did the Church thereupon abandon its "corporatism?" Not at all. After the Second World War when the masses in France and Italy forced the bourgeoisie to nationalize certain branches of the economy, Pius XII again brandished the slogan of "corporatism" as a counterweight to nationalization. For him "the institution of corporate associations or unions in all branches of the national economy was much better (than nationalization — J.K.)." The corporate organization of social life, he added, and especially of economic life, undoubtedly conforms most to the Christian doctrine.**

It may appear that in preaching the corporate ideal, the Catholic Church was, in fact, reviving an old, out-moded and, hence, harmless notion. But that would be to disregard the very real experience of the Italian and German fascism of yesterday and of the fascism we see in Spain and Portugal today, to say nothing of the attempt made by the Pétain regime to set up a corporate system in France. It would be tantamount to forgetting that this obscurantist theory has been an auxiliary of the reactionary offensive in Europe during recent years, an offensive of which Adenauer's policy, closely associated with that of the Vatican, is a prototype. The Church also has a part in this offensive: like Social Democracy it is trying—although with different means—to neutralize a part of the working class by means of its corporate theory and to impel it towards class collaboration.

* * *

The purpose of the Catholic social doctrine is to demoralize the *Catholic workers*. Insidiously and indefatigably, in the guise of "divine" commandments, it is trying to divert the workers from socialism, to force them into an impasse, to wean them from the fight against the bourgeoisie and compel them to refrain from joint action with their Communist brothers. Like religion itself, this doctrine, to borrow the words of the poet, may be called "the crafty robber of human strength."

Out-dated though this doctrine is, it would be wrong to disregard its harmful influence

*A so-called arbitration court whose real function was to suppress the working class.

**Letter to Charles Flory of July 10, 1946.

on the working people, particularly since there are many Catholics among them in Western Europe and Latin America. Dogmatic in the extreme, apologetic to the point of cynicism in its description of social life, and calling on the working people to capitulate, the doctrine is an *ideological obstacle*, the significance of which is diminishing with the growth of the proletarian struggle, but is nevertheless a tangible obstacle in the way to *building the united front of the working class* fighting for social progress and democracy.

The most dangerous enemy of the Church is the experience acquired by the masses in their day-to-day fight against economic, social and political oppression by the bourgeoisie; this struggle leads to awareness of the need to throw off the ideological yoke of the Church. And here, as in other sectors, the Communists, the men with the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism should help the people, on the basis of their own experience, to become aware of the need for working-class unity in the struggle for peace and democracy, against monopoly oppression, and for a better future. Like Lenin, we are convinced that "neither books nor preaching can enlighten the proletariat unless it is

enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. Unity in this truly revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class to establish a heaven on earth is more important to us than a unity in proletarian opinion about a paradise in the sky."*

In showing that the Catholic social doctrine is an ideology which upholds capitalism, we certainly have no intention of scoffing at the faithful, of outraging their religious sentiments. All we wish to do is to demolish the obstacles which hinder *joint* struggle against capitalism by believers and non-believers; we want to achieve tangible changes here on earth, changes in which both one and the other are interested. Contrary to the teaching of the Church, which advises the exploited to extend a hand to the exploiter, we—Communists, materialists—extend our hand to the exploited, to all working people, including Catholics. Let the unity needed for the working class' struggle for economic demands, peace and democracy broaden and gain strength in the struggle to abolish the social conditions which humiliate man and make him an enslaved, abandoned and unhappy being, in the struggle to put an end to capitalist exploitation and establish a socialist society.

*V. I. Lenin, *On Religion*.

Literature and Socialism

V. Teitelboim

(Letter from Chile)

L ATIN American literature shows that our leading writers have always considered literary work as a social duty. As Juan Marinello, one of our prominent public figures, noted: "Our American soil is unsuitable for a decadent literature divorced from reality. It is a point worth noting that many Latin American political leaders were also fine writers. Simon Bolivar, for example, was a man whose contribution to literature was by no means small. Sarmiento was a writer of heroic fervor. And were the human image of Juarez to be forgotten, it could be reconstructed from his profound words, like an ancient castle from its ruins. José Martí was an outstanding political figure and a great writer not only of his own country, but, I would say, of the whole of Latin America."

In recent years new and powerful shoots of socialist realism have appeared in Chilean literature which, as a rule, mirrors the life of the country.

The British writer Jack Lindsay said at the Third Congress of Soviet writers (May 1959) that one could fight for a literature of socialist realism in one or another country without waiting until socialism was built there. Even in a capitalist country the writer could, through his art, struggle for socialism and the values of a socialist society provided he took into account the level of experience attained by his people and adhered to the national traditions.

Experience confirms the truth of Lindsay's words.

The reactionary critics who attack the realistic art of the liberated peoples resent the fact that even the literature of enslaved countries shows signs of socialist realism. Yet this is a natural development, for Marxist-Leninist theory and the existence of Communist parties in nearly all countries have unquestionably helped to shape writers who put their heart, mind and talent into the popular struggle and wish to write about it. Millions of people in the capitalist countries think in a Communist way. And there are no grounds for the assertions that it is impossible to find writers with a Communist world outlook in these countries.

This is acknowledged both by our enemies and by people remote from us. At a meeting of writers held under the auspices of Concepcion University (Chile), a well-known bourgeois writer said that "Fyodor Gladkov, the author of *Cement*, would have derived great pleasure from books such as *Coal*, *Swell*, *The Great North*, *Saltpeter*, *The Pampas in Ferment*."

Although North American imperialist penetration and feudal survivals have divided the Latin American peoples, they have more or less the same vital problems. Now that our countries are virtually semi-colonies of the North American imperialists, they have even more in common. Still, the literature of each people has its own national features and traditions, and these should not be ignored.

The life and struggle of the people are vividly portrayed in our best literary works and are the source from which many talented writers draw their inspiration. Ricardo Latcham, literary critic of *La Nacion* (Santiago), said at a meeting of writers that contemporary Chilean and other Latin American literature "to an ever-greater degree reflected the class struggle, the conditions of the Indians, Negroes, the métis, and the urban proletariat. This is reminiscent of the Russian revolutionary writers."

This phenomenon has historical roots of a national character. The first in Chile to point to the need for a socialist culture was Luis Emilio Recabarren, our national hero, the founder of the Communist Party and the organizer of the modern proletarian movement in Chile. Printing trades worker, journalist and revolutionary writer, upon his death (36 years ago) he left a rich literary heritage. Recabarren founded numerous militant newspapers and wrote many pamphlets, poems and plays, among them "Red Flowers"; his plays were often staged in workers' theaters. In 1914, as an opponent of the imperialist war he wrote: "The war should be followed by revolution . . . the proletariat should take the destiny of their nations into their own hands . . . the so-called bourgeois civilization and culture have collapsed, have failed miserably. A new triumphant culture, a

socialist civilization should now arise and carry out universal disarmament, the first step towards averting new wars. Only socialism can establish world peace."

The epoch ushered in by the October Socialist Revolution, its subsequent development and numerous achievements are mirrored, directly or indirectly, in the literature of the dependent countries. The October Revolution accelerated the moulding of anti-imperialist consciousness; the monstrous embrace of the North American monopolies which is suffocating our peoples, has also contributed not a little to this. A growing number of important literary works are devoted to the sharp social conflicts and upheavals. Authors are rapidly getting away from the drawing-room, from naturalism and from the narrow geographical approach.

The hero in literature is not now the "chosen person," of aristocratic or bourgeois origin, but a man of the people, the working man. Modern literature no longer passively mirrors what is going on, it is a factor actively influencing the minds of readers, a weapon in Latin America's struggle for independence.

Many works exposing imperialism have been published in recent decades. *Tungsten*, for example, a novel written in 1931 by César Vallejo, the well-known Peruvian Communist poet, denounces the exploitation of the miners by foreign capitalists, and the dominance of foreign capital. In his novel *Carnalavaca* (1932), the Chilean writer Andrés Garafulic describes how, in a contest with the U.S. Anaconda Copper Company for possession of the biggest copper ore deposits, the local capitalist got the worst of it. The Ecuadorian writer Demetrio Aguilera Malta in his *Canal Zone* (1935) tells about the outrages of the American imperialists in the Panama Canal area. A number of books have been written on this theme in the last forty years. It is the subject matter of *The Green Moon* (1950) by the Panamanian writer Joaquin Beleno. The author, who during the Second World War lived the life of a worker in Panama, describes the racial discrimination there, draws a portrait of the overseer who grossly insulted the workers. "Having gone through this hard life," he says, "I decided to write a book about it." He did, and it was "a piece of the biography of America."

When the imperialists laid their hands on Venezuelan oil, the consequences found reflection in literature. In 1936 Ramon Diaz

Sanchez published *Oil* denouncing the predatory activities of the imperialists in the Zulia area.

One of the greatest novelists of Guatemala, Miguel Angel Asturias, famous for his *The Signior President*, a vivid picture of the sanguinary dictatorship in one of the Caribbean countries, wrote a trilogy (*The Men of Maize*, *Strong Wind* and *The Green Father*) about the unscrupulous plunder and bribery attending the "activities" of the United Fruit Company. A collection of short stories under the title *Week End in Guatemala* is a searing indictment of American interference in Guatemalan affairs. One of the stories portrays the puppet president Castillo Armas. Angel Asturias dedicates this book to his country, to "its student heroes, peasant martyrs and the working people—to all the fighting people." One of the best works on the sinister activities of the United Fruit Company is *Mamita Yunay* by the Costa Rican Communist Carlos Luis Fallas. A fellow-countryman, Joaquin Gutierrez, writes on the same subject in a book entitled *Port Limon*.

The anti-imperialist theme, which has occupied so prominent a place in Latin American novels of the past forty years, is interwoven with the anti-feudal theme. Among the best-known works on this subject we would mention *Dona Barbara*, a novel written in 1929 by Romulo Gallegos, former President of Venezuela, which gives a picture of the big landowners' despotism in the Venezuelan savannah, and *Abyss* (1942) by the Colombian writer José Eustasio Rivera, a book which paints in rich colors the life of collectors of rubber and their struggle against exploitation.

Ecuador writers have not forgotten the words of their classical writer Juan Montalvo: "If my pen could weep, I would write a book called 'The Indian' and make the whole world weep." Since 1934 when Jorge Icaza wrote his *Huasipungo*, the life of Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, and peasants has been a favorite subject of the Ecuador novel, making it one of the most poignant in Latin America.

Manuel Gonzales Prada (1848-1918), the Peruvian thinker, used to say: "No one is obliged to suffer so that others may make merry; to fast that others may eat; to die that others may live." Jose Carlos Mariategui, Marxist writer and founder of the Communist Party of Peru (who met an untimely death in 1930) carried this precept further, substantiating it scientifically. In his essays in the well-known journal *Amauta*, of which he was editor, Mariategui pointed out the direc-

tion in which the new revolutionary literature of Peru should go.

In Bolivia the pessimism which found expression in *A Sick People* and *The Bronze Race* by Alcides Arguedas, has been counterposed by the life-asserting ideas of Communist writers such as Jesus Lara (author of *Yanakuna*), showing the way out of the situation.

Jesus Lara's latest novel *Javarninchi* (*Our Blood*, in the language of the Indian Quechuan tribe), published in Argentina last year, deals with the struggle waged by the Indian peasants of the Bolivian uplands for agrarian reform and with the activities of the working class and the Communist Party of Bolivia. Minero, its hero, organizes his brother Indians to fight for land in a place where feudal survivals are still strong.

Some critics now use the term "novels of violence." These novels describe the brutality of tyrannical Latin-American administrations in the service of the U.S. State Department—the violence against the peoples of Cuba, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Colombia and Paraguay.

A number of Communist writers are doing fruitful work in Argentina. We would mention Alfredo Varela, author of *Dark River*, which describes the plight of collectors of mate in North Argentina; Juan José Manauta, author of *White Lands*, and Raul Larra, author of *Gran Chaco*, *They Called Him Shock-Head*, *Without Respite*. There are a number of other important writers in Argentina.

The talented writer Jorge Amado stands out in the literature of Brazil which, because of the language difference, is somewhat isolated from the literary life of the other Latin-American countries. His trilogy *Underground of Freedom* is dedicated to the life and struggle of the Communist Party. The literature of Haiti, likewise in a different language, has also some outstanding writers. Among them is Jacques Roumain, the author of *Rulers from Rocio*, a beautiful and touching story about the life of the Haiti peasants. Then there is Jack Stefano Alexis, the writer of *My God-Parent General Sun*.

Latin American writers portray men and the people with varying profundity and artistic force and pose the problems agitating them in different ways. In his pamphlet *On the Novel* Juan Marinello writes that "an important, modern Cuban novel has not yet been written." And indeed, Latin American reality is richer than the books depict it.

Communist writers are no longer the exception in Latin America, as when Vallejo published his *Tungsten*. More works by Communist authors are appearing in the different countries. After his *Green Prison* Ramon Amaya Amador, a Communist writer from Honduras, published *Builders*, a novel describing the conditions of the building workers in Tegucigalpa and their struggle. A book by the Uruguayan writer Alfredo Gravin, *The Only Way*, recently saw the light of day. This is the first part of a trilogy entitled *On the Threshold of Spring*. It describes facets of life in Montevideo, the clashes between the characters, who belong to various classes of Uruguayan society. Enrique Amorim, the Uruguayan Communist writer, is one of the most accomplished novelists in Latin America. Just as history cannot record all its heroes, this article cannot enumerate all the Communist writers of Latin America. In any case that is not the purpose of this article.

The onward march of the people and the fact that many of the Communist parties have become mass organizations have created favorable conditions for Communist writers. Some of them are popular only in their own countries, others are known throughout the Continent, while a few have won recognition in Europe.

The North American imperialists are troubled by the fact that the ground is beginning to slip from under their feet in Latin America, which they have always regarded as their backyard. Aware that revolutionary writers help to deepen the class consciousness of the working people and to activate their struggle for independence, the imperialists seek to stifle progressive literature by making furious and slanderous attacks upon it, by getting publishers to refuse to publish it.

The Communist Party and the people support progressive literature. They regard it as their own. They buy and circulate progressive books, discuss them and tell the authors what they think about them. Discussions, in which workers, peasants, students and writers widely participated, have been held in Chile on books devoted to the popular struggle. The progressive press reviews books, familiarizing the reader with new works by Chilean writers, works which depict the class-conscious, socialist approach to life. At the same time shortcomings are not glossed over. This was not always the approach to literature. Most Party members in Latin America now recognize that progressive literature is an effective weapon in the popular movement and ideolo-

gical struggle, that it contributes to enhancing the class consciousness of the masses. When a writer tries to come closer to the people, the people reciprocate by coming closer to him. In Chile, for example, Pablo Neruda often reads his poems in theaters or on open air stages. In this way the national writer enlarges his reading public.

The Communist Party of Chile gives every encouragement to writers closely linked with the masses. This contact spiritually enriches both the writers and the people. The Party helps writers and artists who wish to see for themselves life at the mines and coal pits, etc. In a number of cases the workers invited writers to spend some time with them, the costs involved being borne by the trade unions. They suggested that the story of their lives and struggle should be written. A similar request was made by the residents of the so-called "shanty towns" (poor areas which spring up overnight on state or privately-owned land). The residents of the "Victory" settlement, who built shacks overnight for 25,000 people on waste land they had seized in the suburbs of Santiago, asked the Party to send them a writer to write the story of the settlement. This shows that the people realize the importance of their struggle and are proud of it, that they believe in the talent of the writer capable of depicting their exploits, and of telling others about them.

Latin American writers work under very difficult conditions. A third of the population is illiterate. The market is flooded with sordid American books—in the main crime plus anti-communism plus pornography—which sell for next to nothing. The medieval view that the labor of a writer is not worth remuneration is still held in many of our countries. Some people look on a writer as a crank, a harmless fellow, as long as he stays in his ivory tower, but as a dangerous lunatic if he imparts a social meaning to his work.

About 90 per cent of Latin American writers can write only after work or on the weekend (they earn their living as civil servants, teachers, vegetable vendors, mechanics, etc.). When, after many years of hard work, mainly at night, the writer finishes his book the second act of the tragedy begins. Where is he to find a publisher? Very few succeed in this. Some make heroic but ruinous efforts to be their own publishers, hand out promissory notes and get into debt.

Even if a publisher is found, this does not mean that the problem is solved. The edition

does not as a rule exceed two to four thousand copies; royalties are ludicrously small. As a result of feudal survivals and monopoly efforts there is little or no cultural exchange between the Latin American countries; even distinguished writers are often unknown and their books are rarely published in neighboring countries. That is not the way things should be, especially since the countries have a common language and history, a common enemy and, let us hope, a common free future.

A Latin American writer should in our view write for a continent populated by over 180 million people, 120 million of whom speak Spanish. It goes without saying that only radical changes in the economic and political structure of the Latin American countries can demolish the anachronistic barriers hindering cultural exchanges between them.

Hard though the writer's life is, his end is still more painful; with no means at all, he finishes up in the poorhouse. And it is not rare for a writer's friends to collect money to pay the funeral expenses of their dead colleague.

Our Party's activities are aimed at building a broad writers' front within the National Liberation Movement. This front should head the struggle for the material and moral rights of writers, for strengthening their unity and their unions. As Chairman of the Writers' Association, Pablo Neruda has done much to better conditions for writers, and he has been instrumental in getting works by young authors published.

In order to neutralize the influence exerted by the Communist Party and the impact of progressive ideas, the imperialists recruit morally unstable intellectuals into their service. They force these elements to jeer at the people, to deride progressive writers, to distort the role of the Communist Party and to paint the dollar-bag gentry, the latifundists and monopolists in the rosiest hues. The imperialists encourage attempts to create a "genre of the anti-communist novel." The paltry results achieved in this field attest not to the building of "genre," but to the writing of a series of unsuccessful books that have little in common with real art.

Some of these writers advocate the motto "each for himself," and ultimately become preachers of pessimism. Under American auspices a number of them formed a "Congress of Cultural Freedom." Others belong to the "Generation of the Fifties," an organization which tries to implant the disappointment and

decadence of the "angry young men" of Western Europe and the USA.

Enrique Lafourcade, a Chilean representative of this absurd literature, recently resolved to found a "Society of Writer-Clowns." In his latest work *In Order to Rise to the Sky*, he describes a ladder which leads him from a Valparaiso brothel straight to God. He has also published a book entitled *Siege*, in which he describes the Communist Party of Chile "from the inside," making use of many of the slanderous clichés to which Hoover's FBI has given currency. This odious piece of writing depicts a phalanx of non-existing freaks. "A notorious international agent who acted only in the dead of night, handled vast sums of money, led a riotous life and resorted to individual terror . . ." is one of his revolting clichés. "Crime books," spiced with pornography, are described as a "genre of the anti-communist novel." *Siege* was a complete failure. Even the bourgeois reader was indifferent.

The history of the Communist Party of Chile, like the history of all fraternal parties, is rich in dramatic events. Luis - Enrique Délano, a Communist writer with more than twenty published books to his credit, told the truth about the Communist Party and the working class, and exploded the myth of the "brutality" of the Communist Party conjured up by the menials of the imperialists.. His book *The Party Branch* is one of the most popular novels in Chile in recent times. It describes one week of the underground activity of a Party branch. The novel is based upon real events centering around the struggle and death of Alicia Ramirez, a young Communist killed by a police bullet during the street fights in Santiago in April 1957.

The Party Branch followed a number of important works dealing with the life and struggle of the masses. Among them are *Ranquil*, a story about a peasant rising, by Reinaldo Lomboy; *Blood and Hope* by Nicomedes Guzman, describing the childhood of a proletarian from Santiago; *Coal* by Diego Munoz, dealing with the life of miners; *Fugitive Earth* by Manuel Guerrero. Two works by Luis Gonzalez Centeno, *Saltpeter* and *Pampinos*, have as their subject the struggle of the workers at the saltpeter mines. And there is Baltazar Castro's *My Comrade Father*, which gives a picture of the life and struggle of the El Teniente copper mine workers against the exploitation of the Braden Copper company. Some of these authors are Party members, others are non-party. But the

influence of contemporary progressive ideas is felt in all their works. All are permeated with the desire to describe the life of the people, and some are dedicated to the Communist Party.

The Party Branch is a typical page from the history of the Party. The importance of the novel goes beyond the bounds of Party activity. It contains neither slogans nor the grotesque. With the use of realistic means, the author shows how the Party educates people, people of high moral qualities, with a clear conscience, who are staunch in the face of the enemy. Step by step the reader sees how, in the course of their activities and struggle, Party members improve their knowledge, how their aims become clearer and how they develop contact with people.

Are the people in this novel demigods or the acme of perfection? By no means. They are ordinary, unassuming folk. Olga, the heroine, a Party member and a somewhat pensive girl, is employed in a café frequented by workers. She recruits a young automobile mechanic into the Party. When she first became acquainted with him, he was a man who tried to ape Hollywood film stars and had "nothing to do with politics." The friendship, which started casually, ripens into attachment, tenderness and love. He stops "being jealous" of the Party, and his contact with it changes his whole life, broadens his outlook, steels him and makes him a real fighter.

In a simply constructed novel the characters develop against the background of a strike organized by the United Trade Union Centre street action against the high cost of living and the economic policy imposed upon Chile by the American Klein-Sacks mission.

In his youth Délano was an "imagist." He joined the Party many years ago and is an example of how affiliation to the Communist Party and close contact with the life and the struggle of the people enrich the writer and provide him with more effective and fruitful literary methods.

His latest work deals with recent events. The views of those who in art prefer to depict events of the remote past were thrown overboard by a writer who strikes the iron while it is hot.

The tiny world of the Party branch vibrates with the country's pulse, mirrors the life of the people. One of the characters in *The Party Branch* has this to say: "We are sur-

rounded by people who help us, who are always prepared to extend a friendly hand to us, for they know that we are fighting for them and for everyone, that we are strong because we are many and united; and they know that we are modest, that we admit our mistakes and are always on the side of the oppressed; they know that we are consistent and firm, that once we have recovered from the blows of the enemy we will again hurl ourselves into the battle, and that no one will succeed in breaking us." These words express the thoughts of many Chilean and other American writers. The ideals of Communist brotherhood and the Communists' close bonds with the people inspired Pablo Neruda to write splendid words about the Communist Party in his "Universal Song":

You gave me brotherhood
with those who were strangers to me,

You gave me the strength of all those who
live . . .

You gave me freedom — the lone man
has it not.

You showed me how to kindle goodness,
like fire . . .

You taught me the identity
and the variety of people . . .

You led me to truth, to build on it
as on stone . . .

You let me see that the world is bright,
that joy is possible.

You made me indestructible;
with you I, too, shall not die.

Thus new shoots of socialist realism are constantly appearing — this worldwide trend in art and literature, a trend which serves the people and which is being affirmed throughout Latin America.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Day of Struggle and Solidarity

FIFTY YEARS have passed since the Copenhagen Conference of Socialist Women resolved, on the suggestion of Clara Zetkin, to celebrate March 8th as International Women's Day with a view to strengthening the solidarity of women in all countries and to merge their combined efforts with the common working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation and militarism, for equal rights and the establishment of people's rule.

The development of capitalism in the late 19th century and in the early years of the 20th century led to the large-scale employment of women. They were paid much less than men, and their labor was a source of additional profit. Being a part of the working class, these women suffered under a double yoke of work at the factory and in the home; their situation was aggravated by an absolute lack of political rights. In those years clubs and associations of women were organized in many countries. But from the outset the struggle remained a local struggle and was under the influence of bourgeois feminist organizations. The spread of Marxism and the powerful rise of the proletarian emancipation movement brought about a radical change in the situation. Tens of millions of women joined in the organized working-class struggle, linking it up with the "woman question."

The fundamental changes that have taken place in the world over the past 50 years could not but affect the conditions of women. Over one-third of the world's women have been freed from exploitation and oppression and, together with men, are building a new society. In most countries, including capitalist ones, they have won political rights. In 1910 women enjoyed the suffrage in only three countries, whereas now there are only eight countries left in which this right is denied to them. Today they study for professions traditionally considered as the special sphere of men.

Important political and economic rights have been granted to women in the countries that have thrown off the yoke of colonialism and national oppression.

The international women's movement is an integral part of the common struggle waged by the democratic forces throughout the world. The achievements of the progressive forces in the fight to extend democracy, against monopoly and national oppression have, undoubtedly, alleviated the

position of women; but experience has shown that women can be really emancipated only by the socialist revolution which creates the conditions for their equality with men. "... The major step," Lenin said, "is the abolition of private property in land, mills and factories. This and only this clears the way for the full and genuine emancipation of women, emancipation from her 'kitchen drudgery' by going over from small-scale individual house-keeping to a large-scale socialized one."

These words have been confirmed by the experience of the socialist countries. People's rule has created conditions under which women can make full use of their rights and actively participate in the political, economic and cultural life of their countries.

Much is being done in the socialist countries to improve the conditions of work and life for women, to build new children's establishments and communal services and to organize public catering. A whole system of establishments is being set up with the aim of helping housewives to engage in production work and find the time for study and leisure.

The solution of the woman question in the socialist countries, which has had a tremendous impact on the world, is exerting an ever-increasing influence on the women's movement in the capitalist countries.

The fiftieth anniversary of International Women's Day is not merely a red-letter day, a holiday for women all over the world; on this day the results of past efforts are summed up and the future tasks outlined. To rid people of the war danger, hunger and illiteracy, to make equality the natural state of society and the happiness of working people the aim of the state — these are the main objectives of the women's movement, as they are of any other genuinely democratic movement of our times. These movements are joined by national, regional and local movements, the nature and immediate aims of which depend on the relation of social forces in the given country, on the development of the working-class movement and the democratic movement generally, on political traditions, the level of culture, etc.

The working people in the capitalist countries demand that national laws and international conventions providing for equality between men and

women be recognized and applied, that the principle of equal pay for equal work be enforced, an effective system of mother and child welfare and old-age pensions introduced, and the standard of living of women in the countryside and of all working people improved.

The women of India, Indonesia, Iraq, Guinea, Ghana and other newly-independent countries are helping their peoples to wipe out the survivals of colonialism. They want to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of their countries as soon as possible, to consolidate their independence and bring them onto the path of social progress.

In the colonies and dependent countries the struggle is being waged in different conditions. The chief task of women there is to take part in the movement for national independence, for the emancipation of women depends on the successful solution of this task.

Peace has always been one of the chief slogans of the international women's movement. The establishment in 1945 of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) was an expression of the political activity of women, of their efforts to prevent war.

A feature of the fiftieth anniversary of International Women's Day is that it is being celebrated at a time when tension has noticeably relaxed. Khrushchov's visit to the United States, his call for total disarmament in the UN General Assembly and the reduction of the Soviet armed forces by one-third have wrought great changes in world public opinion and inspired all champions of peace and democracy.

Disarmament has become the slogan of the international women's movement, carrying with it not only peace but the hope for a better life for hundreds of millions of people. If the vast sums now being swallowed by the arms drive were used for the well-being and cultural development of the people, this would considerably mitigate the lot of women, make it easier for them to take care of their children and families.

Immediate general and complete disarmament—

this was the demand of the sessions of the WIDF Council in Prague and Jakarta, at the international gathering of women in Brunate (Italy), at the world assembly of women in Goeteborg, at the congress of the International League for Peace and Freedom and at many other congresses and rallies.

International and national women's organizations are sending thousands of letters to the United Nations, to the heads of the Great Powers and to their own governments calling for disarmament, for ending the cold war, prohibiting nuclear weapons and settling outstanding issues by negotiation.

The success of the women's movement depends in large measure on the co-operation and unity of all democratic and progressive organizations, on the support of the working class. It is being increasingly realized that there are no obstacles in the way of reinforcing the unity of women of different views. They are many examples of such unity. Women's organizations in India are taking joint action for peace, prohibition of nuclear weapons and on a number of other issues. The unity of women of diverse views and convictions found striking confirmation in the first congress of Latin American women. Delegates indignantly protested against foreign domination and urged action for national independence and the all-round economic development of their countries. A conference of the Women's Federation, uniting over 40 organizations of Japan, took place recently in Tokyo. It is planned to hold a conference of women of the Afro-Asian countries, gatherings of Muslim women, rallies of women of the Balkan countries and of the Caribbean area.

An international preparatory committee for the International Women's Day celebrations, consisting of representatives of various organizations and trends, was established.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of International Women's Day will demonstrate the resolve and determination of women in all countries for unity in the fight for complete equality, for the happiness of children and for lasting peace throughout the world.

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Our Worries, Efforts and Perspectives

(Letter from West Germany)

CONCERN for the happiness of their children and for the destiny of the German people as a whole is bringing many women in West Germany into the ranks of the opponents of the Adenauer-Strauss policy of atomic rearmament. Hundreds of thousands of women workers are particularly active in this struggle. Women judge the ever-increasing burden of atomic armament by the rising prices of basic foods, higher fares, and increased gas, water and electricity charges. Under the new sick-benefit insurance bill drafted by the Federal Ministry of Labor each worker will have to pay 1.5 marks for every visit of the doctor, one mark for a prescription and 1.5 to 3.5 marks a day for hospital treatment. The extra charges will raise the population's total outlay on health needs by about 30 per cent, or 300 million marks per year, according to the newspaper *Die Welt*.

Our women are not taking this sitting down. Some two hundred suggestions setting forth basic grievances were handed to a conference of women — members of the United German Trade Unions — held in mid-1959 and attended by some 200 delegates. In the main these were social demands — higher maternity benefits, lowering the age limit for old-age pensioners, a paid day-off for household chores, better facilities for vocational training, better labor protection generally, and for young people in particular. The new feature here was that the demands were accompanied by protests against atomic armament, the stockpiling of A- and H-bombs, the location of rocket bases on our territory and against nuclear tests.

"We trade unionists, particularly women and mothers, resolutely oppose the atomic armament of the Bundeswehr," reads the resolution of the conference of women trade unionists in North Rhine-Westphalia (November 1959). "We demand that less money be spent on arms and more on the spiritual armament of our children," said one of the delegates to the Fifth Conference of women trade unionists of Bavaria. Last September the women's commission of the United German Trade Unions in Wuppertal called on the UGTU actively to oppose atomic rearmament, and resolutely supported all measures directed against Adenauer's militarist policy.

Women are the first to feel the strain of the family budget caused by the higher cost of living. The growing exploitation and intensification of labor are having a bad effect on the health of women workers. Professor Kurt Joachim Fischer said at one of the trade union conferences that

every fifth married woman worker is delivered prematurely.

Why are there so many cases of premature birth among women workers, and why does the Federal Republic, a country in which medicine and technology are at a high level, rank second in the world for mortality rate of women in childbirth?—asked Lisa Kaiser, member of the Central Board of the Textile and Garment Workers' Union, at the Hamburg congress of that organization. The answer is the conditions under which women have to work. Some 75 per cent of the women workers face the prospect of becoming invalids at an early age, while 90 per cent of all the women employed in the ready-made garments industry are, according to the doctors, no longer fit for piece work. The employers' greed for profits affects the health of the workers, particularly women.

How the position of women is deteriorating can be seen from the example of a textile mill in Muensterland where 1,200 women and 600 men were dismissed as a result of rationalization measures. After the factory was equipped with automatic machinery a worker has now to attend to 60 looms instead of the former 30. It is significant that this mill no longer takes on people under 20 or over 44. These and similar facts deeply anger women workers and spur on their fight for better conditions. In Wuppertal, for instance, the women called on the United German Trade Unions to draw up a program which would enable them to earn a living for themselves and their children without anxiety for the future. This fact is indicative of the way in which the achievements of the German Democratic Republic are influencing the population of West Germany. Across the border, in the worker-peasant state, happiness reigns in the home of every toiler; young girls and women—whether they are turners or fitters, locomotive-drivers or engineers—live and work as equal citizens, undisturbed by fear of the morrow.

Striving to achieve security in the broader sense of the word, women are putting all their weight into stirring the passive or irresolute to action against atomic armament. A frequently used form of struggle is the "appeals against atomic armament"—a big poster is displayed in a prominent place in the public squares and near it stands a table with appeals against atomic armament and nuclear tests. Passers-by are invited to sign these appeals. This form of anti-militarist action was used in support of the movement against conscripting men born in 1922. Strauss's first attempt

to recruit former front-line soldiers into the Bundeswehr shocked the public because it was this age-group which suffered the heaviest losses in the battle of Stalingrad. As a rule the Adenauer government prohibits such peace action, but occasionally they are permitted for a few hours over a couple of days. But even in this short period many signatures are collected — over 5,000 were obtained in Remscheid, for example, where this work was conducted a few hours every day for a week. These examples show how the active section of the women work — and it voices the sentiments of the majority.

Women's support has been forthcoming for Khrushchov's proposal for disarmament. Acceptance of this proposal, they believe, would speedily remove the war danger and fear from the hearts of mothers forever. More and more frequently women link the struggle for peace and against atomic armament with action for the peaceful reunification of the country and friendship with the women of all countries. That is why many women in West Germany welcomed Walter Ulbricht's recent letter to Adenauer.

The Federal Government is applying emergency laws and resorting to terror against the fighters for peace and German reunification. The disgraceful Duesseldorf trial is a case in point. Women have faced trials on political charges over the years — there have been 50 such trials since 1951, with 81 convictions. Political intimidation is practised against women: they are not brought to court, but files are opened against them and they are suspect. A state of emergency bill was drafted by

the ex-Nazi Schroeder. In this the Adenauer government is supported by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who fear the mass movement and torpedo all measures designed to activate the working people, as the sabotage of the movement against atomic armament by these leaders shows. Nevertheless there are many possibilities in West Germany for rousing women to struggle, and helping them to realize, by drawing on examples from their own life and experience, what a tremendous force they represent.

The resolution adopted by the conference of the Communist Party of Germany emphasizes the importance of work among women: "All functionaries and rank-and-file members should review their work among women. Help and support in their struggle should become part and parcel of our Party work."

The Communist Party's program of action calls for: "Full equality for women and youth in all questions of economic, political and social life; equal pay for equal work in all branches of the economy; protection of the family and material provision for its welfare; one day off a month with pay for housework for all women wage-earners who have a household to look after; better labor protection; construction of enterprises facilitating women's work in the factories and at home; improved maternity protection; children's allowances beginning with the birth of the first child."

These demands provide West German women with a perspective in the struggle for better conditions, for peace and against atomic armament.

Lore BEHRING

New Forces Awaken to Life

THE STRUGGLE of the women of India for democracy and peace, for equal rights in public life and production is being waged under difficult conditions. The difficulties encountered are partly due to the specific socio-economic conditions obtaining in the country, the feudal survivals in the attitude towards the woman, the social inequality, and the illiteracy of the majority of the population. The vast majority of women do not belong to any organization, and are remote from social and political activities.

A major obstacle in our work is the lack of organizational unity in the women's movement. India has several national organizations for women: the National Council of Women, one of the oldest; the All-India Women's Conference with a membership of 40,000, and close to the Congress Party; the National Federation of Indian Women, the largest, with nearly 100,000 members among whom are working women in town and country-

side, civil servants and professionals. In addition, there are many strong and influential organizations in the states and provinces and women's sections of certain political and religious bodies.

There are no special women's organizations in the rural areas and the majority of the women there are not organized. Some of the women, however, are members of the progressive mass peasant organization, the Kisan Sabhas (the Peasant Unions). In some areas — in the south, in Tripura and Manipur — women predominate in these unions, for most of the agricultural work (tea-picking, fruit gathering, etc.) is done by women. They take an active part in the movements against higher taxes, against increased charges on water for irrigation and against evictions. Thousands of women in West Bengal, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar initiated the action for lower food prices. The government reprisals were severe — in West Bengal about two thousand women were

arrested and many were killed during the demonstrations. But the working people did not swerve from their determination to win the fight for lower prices.

In recent years peasant women have been actively participating in electing Panchayats—village councils. In Andhra Pradesh there is a Panchayat consisting entirely of women; women are chairmen of many local government bodies. The aim of the Federation is to achieve women's representation in each Panchayat.

There are many specific features in the work among women in the towns. For the most part, they do not work, and the number of working women is declining from year to year. According to official statistics, the female population of India has increased by 25.5 million in the past 40 years, but the number of women working has shrunk from 43 million in 1911 to 40 million in 1951.

The number has declined particularly in industries where the women have succeeded in improving their conditions somewhat. In Assam, for example, the number of women working on the tea plantations has fallen from 248,000 to 166,000; in the coal mines—from 57,000 to 46,000; in the cotton and jute industries—from 97,000 to 75,000 and from 37,000 to 21,000 respectively. The employers explain this by the fact that maternity benefits, the need for creches, the banning of night work, heavy physical labor and work underground, coupled with equal pay for equal work, allegedly, make women's labor "unprofitable." Another argument is that women are unable to run the new machines at modernized enterprises. But the experience of the advanced countries shows that, provided they have the necessary education and training, women can do skilled work just as well as men.

A considerable number of women do only part time or seasonal work. There are, it is true, industries where women are in the majority—tea, coffee and cashew nut (where almost 90 per cent of the workers are women.) Other industries where women form a considerable percentage are the coal and iron-ore mines, mica, textiles, cotton and jute, hand loom, glass, tiles, and building work. The democratic women's organizations call on women workers to unite in trade unions and fight for their rights and interests.

The number of women employed in the civil service, in the health and educational bodies has been rising in recent years. They are much better organized in such professional organizations as the teachers' union, nurses' association, medical women's association, university graduates' association, municipal workers' association, etc. They represent the most active forces of the women's movement.

The National Federation of Indian Women has established close contact with trade union and other organizations, including cultural bodies, and is fighting to solve the issues of vital importance to all women. One of these is full employment.

There are some specific features about unemployment in India. Tens of millions of people need work urgently but they lack the necessary training and cannot obtain it. We, the members of the Federation, are pressing the government and the provincial authorities to provide women with work in the cottage industries and co-operatives. On the initiative of the Federation and under its leadership several handicraft centers have been established. They are, however, experiencing grave difficulties: there are not enough skilled personnel and no state subsidies or reliable markets.

Our country has a backward economy, in some parts it is even feudal and semi-feudal; and it is, of course, difficult under these conditions to provide work for all the millions who need it. Therefore the Federation is demanding that housewives and tens of thousands of other women should at least be given part-time work. Jointly with the trade unions we demand equal pay for equal work, discontinuation of dismissals of women, maternity benefits, creches and hostels.

In the countryside our organizations concentrate on issues of vital importance to the peasant masses. If, for example, a campaign is launched in one of the states for lower charges for water for irrigation purposes, we work in the same direction. We urge the women to fight for this demand, rouse public opinion in support of the peasants, organize meetings, etc.

Although the government Social Welfare and the Communal Development Schemes are very important undertakings, they have not really improved conditions for women, particularly for the poor peasants. We maintain that unless the economic position of the peasants is improved, and, especially, unless they are allotted plots of land and given proper assistance for the development of their farms, there can be no real change in the conditions of the peasant families, nor can there be genuine equality for the women in the villages.

Wiping out illiteracy is a particularly important part of the work of women's organizations. The total number of illiterates in India amounts to 80 per cent of the population, while over 90 per cent of the women are unable to read and write. The Federation is insisting that permanent evening classes be opened everywhere, with a primary and secondary school program, and those who have to earn their living but wish to get an education could attend them. Courses to study the arts, literature, languages, short-hand and typing should also be organized for those who want to acquire a new

profession. We are conducting an extensive campaign for compulsory and free primary education for all children.

The Federation demands that school instruction be given in the native languages and each people thus enabled to develop its national culture. Our organizations are making every effort to improve the position of teachers, to win higher salaries and other benefits as an incentive in the noble work they are doing.

We welcome the formation by the government of the National Council for Women's Education, but we demand that it be made more representative by the inclusion of more teachers and other educationists. In order to facilitate the spread of higher education among women, more places should be reserved for them in medical and law colleges, and special hostels subsidized by the government made available for girl students.

The Federation pays close attention to combating all forms of social oppression of women, feudal customs and harmful prejudices. In recent years it together with other women's organizations has succeeded in getting new marriage laws passed which provide women with the right of divorce under certain circumstances and the right of equal inheritance.

We want to see the enactment of a law prohibiting the taking and giving of a marriage dowry; many meetings have been held in this connection and thousands of signatures collected to petitions which were handed in to the Minister of Law. Our efforts have not been in vain: the government has recently drawn up a bill under which a dowry may not exceed Rs. 2,000. But even this is too much for the ordinary Indian family, and we are demanding that the sum be reduced to Rs. 1,000, which should include the cost of the marriage reception. At the same time we are continuing the campaign to rouse public opinion against this social evil.

In many states the Federation conducts propaganda work against the custom of under-age marriages. Our representatives painstakingly explain how harmful and inadmissible is this attitude towards children. They want all women to realize this and to uphold their rights more vigorously.

The Federation marches in the front ranks of the champions of peace and friendship among the peoples. It organizes meetings, collects signatures to protest petitions, sends deputations, and so on.

The Third Conference of the National Federation of Indian Women in October last hailed the efforts made by the heads of government of the two great

powers — the Soviet Union and the United States — for the relaxation of international tension. It warmly welcomed the historic appeal made by Khrushchov at the United Nations for general and complete disarmament, and expressed its solidarity with the peoples of Africa and Latin America fighting for their national independence.

The Federation seeks unity of action with other women's organizations, and the common platform for this unity is, above all, the struggle for peace. At the All-India conferences in Hyderabad and Madras women of various political views and religious convictions jointly demanded disarmament and the cessation of all nuclear tests.

More and more working women realize these days that only in a new reorganized society, and in alliance with the democratic forces, will they achieve complete emancipation and equality.

As far as its influence and scope of work is concerned, the Federation is not yet a national body. We have no organizations in some of the states or at best there are only local committees which co-operate with our Federation. For this reason the Federation is as yet unable to carry on nationwide campaigns, not always can it bring forward burning national issues at the proper time; and its actions have not always been the right ones. Its activities are still of a narrow local character. We have not as yet been able to find simple and effective ways of reaching out to vast numbers of illiterate women. Forms such as distribution of books and periodicals and the sending of circulars and instructions are not what is required by the masses of our women. Of late special cultural groups have been set up with the purpose of arranging photo displays, film, song and dance shows. But not enough use is being made of these forms. The work is complicated by the fact that in training cadres the Federation has to overcome language difficulties, and the low level of consciousness and education among a considerable section of women.

If the women's movement is to grow, develop and attract large numbers of women, we shall have to improve the work of all our organizations, strengthen our contacts with the trade unions and peasant unions and with all political and public organizations of the working people. Whether the struggle of the Indian women will be successful depends, in large measure, on how and to what extent other political organizations contribute to the strengthening and further development of the democratic women's movement.

Hajra BEGUM

"In Defense of Life, Labor and Culture"

IT was under this slogan that the first congress of Latin American women took place over November 19-22, 1959, in Santiago. The congress and its resolutions expressed the aspirations and the success of the women's movement in Latin America.

During the preparations for the congress broad committees, representative of the various women's organizations, were formed in the majority of the countries. Political parties, working-class, peasant and other public organizations also took part in the preparations. The aims and tasks of the congress were widely publicized, a study was made of the conditions of women in the Latin American countries, and money was collected.

The 500 delegates who came from most of the Latin American countries, represented women's organizations of varying political trends and religious beliefs. The congress was attended by Eugenie Cotton, president of the WIDF. Also present were Soviet, Chinese and Bulgarian women's delegations.

An exchange of views took place between working women, students, teachers, research workers, peasants, participants in the guerilla movement against the dictatorial regimes, deputies, housewives, journalists, political leaders, wives of ministers and prominent public figures. The fruitful discussion brought to light the common roots of the impoverishment, backwardness and exploitation of the Latin American peoples.

The delegates stressed that broad unity in the women's movement was an urgent and vitally important task. Without unity it would be impossible to take an effective part in the liberation struggle, to improve conditions for women and children, and to achieve genuine equality.

The slogan advanced by the congress, "Women of Latin America, Unite in Defense of Life, Labor and Culture!" echoed in all parts of the continent. It embodied the main content of the questions on the agenda.

The first report, entitled "Respect for Woman as Mother, Worker and Citizen," was delivered by Selva Ruiz, a delegate from Uruguay. She spoke about the unequal pay for female labor, the inhuman conditions in which millions of women are forced to live, the harmful and anti-national role of the big landowners who deliberately keep a considerable part of the land out of cultivation, while millions of peasants have no land at all. Selva Ruiz praised the agrarian reform in Cuba.

One of the resolutions stressed that the demand for agrarian reform in all the Latin American

countries should be incorporated into the program of the women's movement.

A number of resolutions clearly expressed the specific demands of women: equal pay for equal work, legislation on mother and child welfare and equal civic rights for husband and wife, and enactment of divorce laws.

Mothers, teachers, college tutors, doctors and social welfare workers expressed their views during the discussion on the second report entitled "Happy Childhood—the Right of Children to Health Protection, Education, Social Maintenance and Welfare." The report, which was read by Olga Urtubia on behalf of the Chilean delegation, cited facts testifying eloquently to malnutrition, the employment of children for heavy work and poor medical services. Many delegates spoke of the appalling illiteracy in Latin America and the lack of money for education.

All delegates spoke in favor of free, democratic and secular education. The congress resolved to launch a broad public campaign to compel governments to recognize the United Nations children's charter.

Elena Gil, Cuban writer, delivered a report entitled "Safeguarding the Life of Present and Future Generations, Sovereignty, Progress and Culture of the Peoples." During the discussion that followed delegates noted that imperialist monopolies had seized the riches of Latin America and were amassing fabulous profits, that the fight to protect the national industry and to secure the return of this wealth was essential for national independence.

The speeches of the delegates who had fought actively against the dictatorial regimes in Cuba, Venezuela and other countries, aroused the enthusiasm of the audience. This enthusiasm reflected the desire of women to play their part for the overthrow of the remaining dictatorships on the American continent.

The congress decisions envisaged intensified struggle by Latin American women and the achievement of unity between all their organizations fighting for better social, economic and cultural conditions.

Special mention should be made of the resolutions expressing active support for the Cuban revolution and its reforms, and solidarity with the peoples of Puerto Rico, San Domingo, Nicaragua and Paraguay who are fighting for their independence and the overthrow of reactionary dictatorships, and with the peoples of Spain and Algeria.

The keynote of the congress was the fight for peace, for it linked the entire range of economic,

political and cultural problems. It was pointed out that the huge military expenditure was a heavy burden for the Latin American countries, and was one of the reasons for their backwardness and poverty.

A series of "Round Table" gatherings was held at which working women, peasants, and deputies exchanged views and discussed their specific problems.

The Appeal, addressed by the congress to the

women of Latin America, expressed the aspirations of women, their firm resolve to combat those who are retarding the progress of the Latin American peoples. The Appeal has met with wide response throughout the continent. Calling for action for peace and friendship, it testifies to the political maturity of the movement, to the sense of responsibility with which Latin American women approach their vital problems.

Maria FUENTES

Women in the Socialist Countries

(Facts and Figures)

"THE proletariat cannot win complete freedom unless it achieves the full emancipation of women," wrote Lenin. "This will be a long struggle, necessitating a radical reconstruction of both social techniques and morals. But it will end in the complete victory of communism."

The socialist revolutions of the twentieth century have confirmed that the emancipation of women, their formal and actual equality, and their full and active participation in all spheres, greatly multiply the motive forces of social progress.

Participation in social production is the decisive condition for the equality of women.

Women account for 47 per cent of the Soviet factory, office and professional workers. In China the number of women workers rose twentyfold during 1949-58, and stood at 7,590,000 in the first half of last year. In Hungary and Poland women make up 33 per cent of the industrial labor force; in Czechoslovakia — 42.2 per cent; in the Korean People's Democratic Republic — 35 per cent. In Albania the number of women in industry has risen from 670 before the liberation to 40,000, i.e., more than 55 times.

All the socialist countries strictly abide by the principle: equal pay for equal work.

In these countries women enjoy the right to work in all branches of the economy, and this right is reinforced by the opportunity for acquiring the necessary skills and education.

Before the revolution only 13.7 per cent of women and girls between the age of nine and 49 were literate in Russia (in the countryside the figure was as low as 10 per cent). Today 98.5 per cent of the population are literate, the percentage among men and women being roughly the same.

Women account for 49 per cent of citizens with higher education, and for 53 per cent of citizens with secondary and incomplete secondary education.

Ten years ago 90 per cent of the women of China were illiterate. Today millions are attending evening schools and secondary technical schools. There are 150,000 girl students in the higher educational establishments, i.e., 4.5 times as many as before the liberation. There are over 45,000 women engineers and technicians. Between 1949 and 1957 some 28 million adults learned to read and write, and 50 million women in 1958 alone.

Eighty per cent of the population was illiterate in Albania before the liberation. Today there are no illiterates between the ages of nine and 40. There are over 3,000 women with secondary and higher education. Towards the end of this year universal seven-year schooling will be introduced.

In colonial Vietnam 96 per cent of the women did not know how to read and write. By 1958 illiteracy had been wiped out in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Today all women up to 55 can read and write. There are seven universities and numerous technical colleges where women study on equal terms with men; moreover, women have 20 per cent of the places reserved for them in all professional and technical colleges. The number of girl students in the higher specialized secondary educational establishments is 150 times the 1939 figure.

In Hungary women make up 27.8 per cent of the student body. Whereas in the 1925-26 school year the girls accounted for 26.2 per cent of the secondary school pupils, the figure in 1958-59 was 46.3 per cent. In industry 11.5 per cent of the engineers and technicians are women.

In Bulgaria more than 2,800 women engineers and technicians are employed in heavy industry. Illiteracy among women under 50 was wiped out a long time ago.

In Rumania the courses organized by the National Women's Committee are attended by 386,500 women; another 32,500 are studying in technical and secondary specialized schools.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic there are 6,000 girl students in the institutes of higher learning (16.1 per cent of the total). Over a million women and girls are studying in other educational establishments.

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Socialist law, which is based on the principle of the equality of men and women in social production, takes account of the natural difference between the sexes and of the specific needs of women.

Women are not allowed to work in unhealthy sectors of production or to do heavy jobs. Both the government bodies and the public organizations, including the trade unions and women's organizations which closely co-operate with them, see to it that the laws and regulations are observed. For expectant mothers overtime and night work are forbidden. Women receive paid maternity leave, which in the USSR is 56 days before and 56 days after birth; in Rumania — 52 and 60 days respectively; in Czechoslovakia — 28 and 98 days and in Bulgaria four months in all. In addition to the usual intervals, nursing mothers are allowed special breaks which count as worktime and are paid for.

In the Soviet Union in the event of a nursing mother being unable to perform the work she was doing before her confinement she is temporarily given another job at the same enterprise and retains her previous wage or salary. Any reduction in wages or refusal to take on expectant and nursing mothers is a punishable offense under the Soviet Criminal Code.

Similar measures have been taken in all socialist countries. Their importance should not be underestimated, for they make it easier for women to combine *motherhood with work in various spheres of activity*.

Crèches and kindergartens are highly important in this respect. In the Soviet Union last year these establishments accommodated 3.5 million children. The major part of the cost is borne by the state. The cost per child a month ranges from 500 to 600 rubles, but the parents pay from 40 to 200 rubles depending on their earnings and on the length of the stay in the crèche or kindergarten (9-10 or 12-14 hours a day, or from Monday until Saturday).

In Bulgaria there are 2,370 kindergartens with accommodation for 94,000 children, and 4,000 seasonal (in the countryside) establishments for 183,000.

In Czechoslovakia there are 6,260 kindergartens and 1,200 crèches.

Rumania now has 850 kindergartens and 4,880 seasonal kindergartens in the countryside (catering for 196,200 children), and 320 crèches.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic there are about 3,400 kindergartens (accommodating 214,000) and 17,644 crèches (mostly seasonal in

the countryside, catering for half a million children).

In Albania there are 112 crèches and 454 kindergartens; over 8,000 children spend their summer holidays in Young Pioneer camps.

In China there were 3,180,000 crèches in 1958 (catering for 47 million), including night, day, seasonal and other establishments; 30 million children are accommodated in kindergartens.

Early last year the kindergartens in the GDR had accommodation for 431,000. Seasonal kindergartens cater for tens of thousands of children during sowing and harvesting. In 1958 these kindergartens looked after 55,350 children.

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It has become the rule in the Soviet Union for *women who have proved themselves good organizers to be promoted to leading positions*. Women are working as team-leaders, foremen, and as heads of departments and production sectors; there are women chief engineers, factory managers and heads of research institutes, chairmen of collective farms, etc. All this is now so much part and parcel of everyday life that Soviet people have come to regard it as the normal thing.

In the USSR in 1957 there were 2,825 women directors of industrial enterprises, 752 directors of state farms and auxiliary agricultural enterprises, 1,482 collective farm chairmen. In 1959 there were over 100,000 women scientists (35 per cent of the total), including more than 700 full and corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences and professors, and over 10,500 assistant professors and senior research assistants. In Moscow University alone there are 996 women tutors.

In China there are 6,872 women scientists, 22,540 higher and secondary school teachers; 2,397 women hold leading posts in the public health system.

In the Rumanian Academy of Sciences there are 585 women, or 27.2 per cent of its research staff; there are 2,179 women teachers in the higher educational establishments (26.8 per cent of the total); 2,056 women (19.4 per cent) work as factory managers, chief engineers, chief accountants, heads of departments in enterprises; 20 are chairmen of co-operatives.

In Vietnam more than two-thirds of the personnel of the boards and auditing commissions of the 4,967 co-operatives are women.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic there are some 140 women chairmen of co-operatives.

* * *

Women in the socialist countries make extensive use of the right they enjoy jointly with men of running the affairs of the state.

In the Soviet Union 366 women are members of the Supreme Soviet, the supreme body of state

power; 1,669 women are deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, and 690,876 women (38 per cent) are deputies to the local Soviets.

There are women in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and in the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics. In the Uzbek Republic a woman, Y. S. Nasriddinova, is President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

In many of the Republics there are women Ministers, Deputy Ministers, heads of ministerial departments, and other responsible workers of the state apparatus. Thousands hold leading posts in the local Soviets, work as chairmen, deputy chairmen, departmental heads of the territorial, regional, city and district executive committees of the Soviets.

In China 150 women are deputies to the National People's Congress. Soong Ching-ling has been elected Deputy Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic. One of the deputy chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is a woman. In the local governments 20 per cent of the members are women. Seven women are either ministers or deputy ministers in the Government. The deputy chairman of the People's Committee in one of the provinces is a woman. In eight towns women are deputy mayors; 203 women are chairmen, or vice-chairmen of local government bodies in the districts; 5,500 women are chairmen or deputy chairmen of the people's communes; thus women are represented in the leading bodies of every fifth commune.

In Hungary there are 52 women deputies in the State Assembly, i.e., one of every five deputies is a woman; 13,580 women are deputies to the local councils (12.7 per cent of the total).

In Bulgaria there are 42 deputies to the People's Assembly; many women are members and chairmen of the town, district and village councils; 77,190 are members of the local Fatherland Front committees.

In Rumania there are 71 women deputies to the Grand National Assembly, 34,074 women deputies to the town, regional, district and village councils, and over 2,600 women in the leading bodies of the people's councils.

In the German Democratic Republic, out of the 466 deputies to the People's Chamber 114 are women; there are 649 women in the regional councils, 2,429 in the district councils, and 25,109 in the communal self-government bodies; there are also 859 women mayors.

In Czechoslovakia the post of Deputy Chairman of the Government is held by a woman; there are 62 deputies to the National Assembly, 19 women deputies to the Slovak National Council, and 35,347 women deputies to the national committees (16.2 per cent of the total number); 23.1 per cent of

the Central Trade Union Council and about 25 per cent of the regional trade union council members are women.

In Poland there are 19 women deputies to the Sejm, 12,000 women members on the people's councils, and 20,000 women working in various commissions of the people's councils.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam 12,495 out of the 95,137 members of the urban and rural people's councils are women. Nineteen women are members of the People's Council of Hanoi — one-fifth of the total.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic there are 27 women deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly; 13,299 women are deputies to the local people's assemblies in town and countryside (an average of more than 20 per cent of the total body of deputies).

In Albania, where before the liberation women wore the veil and took no part in public life, there are today 17 women deputies of the People's Assembly and 1,614 women deputies of local councils. Some women occupy leading positions in the Party of Labor, among them are: a member of the Political Bureau, a secretary of the Party, the first Vice-President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, deputy Ministers, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Working Youth League.

* * *

"We literally did not leave a single stone standing of the despicable laws which placed women in a position of inequality . . . , laws, numerous survivals of which, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, be it said, are to be found in all civilized countries."

These words, pronounced by the great leader of the first socialist revolution, have become a living reality in all the socialist countries.

In the new China men and women, equal citizens, are the masters of their country. Article 96 of the Constitution grants women equal rights with men in all spheres — political, social, economic, cultural — and in family life. The state protects the marriage and family rights of women, and defends the interests of mother and child. The marriage and labor protection laws as well as the electoral law provide for equal rights for women.

These rights have not merely been proclaimed, they are translated into life. The women's organizations together with other organizations have worked hard to see to it that they are strictly observed everywhere.

The general line of the Party, the "big leap forward" and the establishment of people's communes

are the three factors which have contributed to the ideological emancipation of women, made their work easier and enabled them to take an active part in the accelerated building of socialism.

Today there are 540,000 leading women workers in Chinese industry. Women are the initiators of the national movement for obtaining better results in agriculture. In 1958, in Hupeh Province alone, two million girls were honored for raising bumper crops, while 90,000 women were awarded the title of masters of agriculture.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam a nationwide movement has been launched to wipe out the habits surviving from the feudal and colonial past, customs which degraded women. Last January President Ho Chi Minh signed a decree which put into force the marriage and family law passed by the National Assembly. Four principles are the basis of this law: free, independent marriage, monogamy, equality of husband and wife, guaran-

teed rights of women in the family and children's rights.

In connection with the fiftieth anniversary of International Women's Day the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor has published a resolution envisaging measures for improving the cultural and professional qualifications of women, for promoting them more boldly to responsible posts in industry, co-operatives, governmental and Party organizations, and in the cultural, educational and health bodies. The resolution stresses the need to intensify the struggle against the prejudices that still remain in relation to women.

It is in this way that Lenin's behest is being translated into reality in countries which until recently were centuries behind the advanced capitalist "democracies."

"We want the working woman to have equality with the working man not simply before the law but in everyday life."

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Further Advance of Soviet Agriculture

*(Results of the December (1959) Meeting
of the Central Committee of the CPSU)*

THE period following the 21st Congress of the CPSU has witnessed the continued advance of Soviet industry and agriculture, a further improvement in the well-being of the people, and new successes for the Soviet policy of peace.

The 1959 targets for industrial output were reached ahead of time, and goods to the value of nearly 50 billion rubles produced in excess of plan. Industrial output went up by more than 11 per cent compared with the planned 7.7 per cent.

The measures drawn up by the Party for the further advance of agriculture have stimulated unprecedented activity in the Soviet countryside. Socialist emulation for fulfilling the seven-year plan in four or five years is spreading rapidly.

Despite adverse weather conditions in a number of regions last year, the amount of grain procured by the State reached 2.9 billion poods, sufficient to meet the needs of the population and to satisfy other requirements. Last year one billion more poods of grain were purchased in the virgin land areas compared with 1953. The average State grain procurements over the past four years rose to three billion poods, compared with two billion in the preceding four-year period. Last year's cotton procurements amounted to a record 4.7 million tons. Excellent cotton crops were gathered in the Uzbek and Tajik republics. The 1959 sugar-beet crop exceeded by 8.4 million tons the average annual for the 1954-58 period; an extra 600,000 tons of sugar were refined last year compared with 1958. The collective and state farms gathered fine crops of grapes, fruit and tea.

Animal husbandry in collective and state farms also made good progress. The head of cattle in these sectors increased by 18 per cent, with dairy cows showing an increase of 14 per cent, pigs 17 per cent, sheep six per cent and poultry 26 per cent. Compared with 1958, the State bought an extra 1.9 million tons of meat, 2.9 million tons of milk, 1.1 billion eggs and 38,000 tons of wool.

A decisive factor in the growth of livestock was the rise in the stocks of fodder, brought about chiefly by extending the area under corn and raising the yield. About 150 million tons of silage, or 118 million tons more than in 1953, were prepared in 1959; this is about ten tons of silage per cow.

Corn silage alone amounted to 114 million tons, whereas in 1953 there was practically no corn silage.

The 1959 milk production was 62 million tons — some five million tons more than in the U.S. With a production of four kilograms of butter per head of the population the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States in this sphere — the U.S. figure for 1959 was 3.7 kilograms.

The share of collective and state farms in State purchases was 83 per cent for meat, 92 per cent for milk, 61 per cent for eggs, and 87 per cent for wool. This is a fact of great political importance, for not so long ago the bulk of milk and meat was supplied by the collective farmers from their personally-owned livestock.

In the nationwide emulation for early fulfilment of the seven-year plan the best collective and state farms and the innovators are setting examples of the efficient use of local reserves. The peasants in the Ryazan Region distinguished themselves in boosting collective and state farm animal husbandry. They kept their word by increasing meat output produced in collective and state farms 3.8 times, and the sale of meat to the State three times, compared with 1958.

The example of the Ryazan region testifies to the vast reserves of the socialist system for securing a sharp rise in agricultural output and for fulfilling the seven-year plan ahead of time. This is also proved by the rich experience of many leading agricultural workers.

An important condition for raising the production of the collective and state farms is delivery of more and better machinery. In recent years the CPSU outlined effective measures to extend the technical base of agriculture and to supply the collective and state farms with up-to-date machines, thus making it possible to introduce on a large scale better methods of cultivation.

The Party has done much to reinforce the collective and state farms with experienced agricultural specialists and organizers, and sees to it that they are correctly allocated and employed. Today more than 300,000 specialists with higher and specialized secondary education are working in the countryside. More than half of the collective-farm chair-

men and nearly 90 per cent of the state-farm directors are men and women with a higher or specialized education.

The December meeting of the Central Committee summed up the results of the first year of the seven-year plan in the sphere of agriculture and worked out measures for the further advance of this vital branch of the national economy. The meeting thoroughly examined such important questions as boosting crop cultivation and animal husbandry on the collective and state farms, increasing agricultural output, reinforcing the state and collective farms with specialists, extending mechanization, raising labor productivity and lowering production costs, consolidating the commonly-owned property of the collective farms and improving the well-being of their members.

The meeting laid bare the shortcomings in agriculture in a number of republics, territories and regions. Some of the collective and state farms and regions had undertaken big obligations but failed to fulfil them because of inadequate organizational work.

The experience of the best collective farms shows that the level and productivity of crop cultivation and animal husbandry depend first and foremost on the proper organization of work, on full utilization of the available reserves and wide application of the achievements of science and advanced experience. New, progressive methods are not introduced and the basic rules of managing agriculture are violated in those places where the work is badly organized, where the local bodies merely issue appeals, do not study the details of agricultural production and its peculiarities in their districts and, therefore, cannot exert any appreciable influence on the state of affairs on the collective and state farms.

The resolution adopted at the December meeting and Khrushchov's speech showed how better use could be made of the reserves in order to increase the output of agriculture in 1960 — the second year of the seven-year plan, how to continue the progress in the years ahead.

A major task is to raise the output of grain to not less than 10 to 11 billion poods a year and build up more stable stocks of market grain. For this purpose the area sown to grain will be enlarged by bringing new land under the plow, by wider use of green fallow instead of bare fallow in humid zones, by replacing low-yield crops with high-yield ones and by extending the area under corn; measures will be taken to improve cultivation in all collective and state farms.

"With our fine cadres," said Khrushchov, "we should now go in not only for extensive, but also for intensive farming, we should, in addition to expanding the crop area, secure bigger yields

by introducing better methods, raising labor productivity and cutting production costs. Our way forward lies not through extensive farming based mainly on enlarging the crop area, but through intensive farming yielding the maximum produce per hectare and per unit of labor."

Having set the tasks of improving cultivation and boosting output, the meeting gave close attention to increasing the number of livestock and poultry and the fodder supply. It also outlined measures to improve breeds and to raise the productivity of the stock with a view to increasing livestock output per 100 hectares and considerably reducing production costs.

The experience already gained shows that it will be possible to attain the seven-year target of 16 million tons of meat ahead of time—by 1963. However, about 20 or 21 million tons of meat are needed if we are to overtake the United States in meat production per head of the population. The Central Committee meeting called upon the peasants to produce four to five million tons of meat in excess of the plan through carrying out their socialist emulation pledges.

Vital for the mechanization of agriculture in the next few years will be the introduction of more efficient machinery, greater utilization of tractors and basic machines with higher working speeds, the designing of new types of tractors, machines and implements, and providing the collective and state farms with machines and implements for those processes which so far have not been fully mechanized. This will reduce the time needed for field work, raise the general standard of cultivation and secure another rise in labor productivity.

The measures initiated in recent years by the CPSU with a view to consolidating the collective-farm system have created favorable conditions for a further development of the commonly-owned property of the collective farms. This makes it possible to raise the question of revising the system of production quotas and remuneration for collective farmers and of a more rational use of the non-distributable funds.

The Central Committee meeting recognized that in keeping with the growth of mechanization, the improved skills of the collective farmers and the better organization of labor, production norms and rates of pay on the collective farms should be systematically revised and reassessed as is the case in industry. Increased output and lower production costs will make it possible to reduce retail prices for the products of agriculture, and this will contribute to a further rise in living standards for the Soviet people as a whole.

Many of those who delivered reports or took part in the debate suggested that current prices charged for some agricultural products should be

revised. In 1953, when many collective farms were in a bad state, the Soviet Government, in order to strengthen the commonly-owned property and to ensure bigger incomes for the collective farmers, fixed much higher prices for their market products. Now that labor productivity in agriculture has risen and the collective farms have become stronger economically, the incomes of their members have increased substantially and in some districts considerably exceed the earnings of industrial workers. This, of course, is hardly fair.

The Soviet workers and peasants are advancing to communism in close unity and, working in unison, are creating the public wealth, and should march in step as regards improvements in well-being. The remuneration of collective farmers should not be above the level of industrial wages. Moreover, it is highly important that the system of payment used in the collective farms should be an incentive to greater output and give the collective farmers an interest in further boosting collective-farm production.

Even now the growth of collective farm incomes and the improved well-being of the collective farmers are accompanied by extensive construction of farm buildings and dwelling houses. In 1959 collective farmers and the rural intelligentsia built about 850,000 dwellings. The meeting devoted much attention to questions of rebuilding and modernizing the villages. Designing bureaus have been instructed to prepare plans for a more rational location of villages and farm buildings. The idea is to draft the most economical, standardized designs of farm buildings, service and cultural establishments and dwellings to be built with prefabricated and local materials. Provision has been made for the manufacture, and delivery to collective and state farms, of machines and equipment needed to make building materials and parts; also envisaged are supplies of adequate quantities of timber, roofing slate, cement and other materials needed for construction.

The resolution is being widely discussed in the Party organizations. Meetings of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Republics and of the regional and district Party committees are tapping additional reserves in order to boost agricultural production. The December meeting has given new impetus to the political and labor activity of the people. The collective and state farms of the Ryazan region have pledged to fulfil the seven-year plan for livestock production in three years. The Gorky region has undertaken to fulfil the seven-year plan for meat production in three years and for other livestock products in five years. The peasants of the Kostroma region have pledged to fulfil in 1960 three annual plans for the sale of meat to the state and to raise milk

yields on the collective and state farms by 25 per cent. All the republics, territories and regions have pledged greatly to increase the output of farm products this year.

The C.C. meeting demonstrated once again that, by virtue of its planned economy, the socialist state has much greater flexibility than a capitalist state in using its resources. This explains why it is capable of completing its grand task in a short period of time, over a vast territory, with the participation of tens of millions of people using modern machinery.

The achievements in agriculture are linked with the further extension of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, with an unprecedented rise of local initiative which is translating into life the enthusiasm of the people who are building a communist society. These achievements are the result of the constantly rising cultural level of the people and of the spread of scientific knowledge and scientific methods of farming.

These achievements were made possible chiefly because of the improved organizational activity of the Party, its constant care to see that cadres are employed efficiently, and because of its creative initiative. The Party and its Central Committee thoroughly study and scientifically generalize the new factors and processes in socialist agriculture at the present stage, the new sentiment of the Soviet peasantry, weigh them against the background of the potentialities of the country, encourage and popularize all that is valuable in the activity of the peasants and thus ensure full use of the advantages of the collective-farm system.

The very composition of the meetings conveys an idea of the style of work of the CPSU. "It is attended," said N. Khrushchov, "by the secretaries of the regional Party committees, the chairmen of the regional executive committees and some secretaries of the district Party committees. Present too are many Party activists, scientists, collective-farm chairmen and innovators—machine-operators, pig-breeders, milkmaids and others. Also present are many non-Party men and women who always work with the Party. The source of our strength is that the actions of the Party are united with those of the people as a whole and that non-Party people work side by side with the Party members."

In its significance the C.C. meeting was not unlike a Party conference; it was simultaneously a specific scientific conference and an examination for a higher standard of agricultural management. This signifies a wider application of scientific principles in assessing experience, in analyzing the achievements and potentialities of agriculture in each of its branches, in every region and in the country as a whole.

The December meeting of the Central Committee was a meeting for mobilizing the resources of agriculture—at present the main link of Party policy in this branch. From now on such meetings, intended to sum up the results of the year, will be

held regularly. This will make for better organization and enhance the responsibility of the agricultural specialists, give free rein to their initiative, drive and energy.

Party Propaganda in Present-Day Conditions

THE tasks, forms and methods of Party propaganda are always determined by the peculiarities of the period experienced by the Party. The entry of the Soviet Union into the period of the comprehensive building of communism has, naturally, posed many questions of propaganda in a new way.

The Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a resolution on "The Tasks of Party Propaganda in Present-Day Conditions" in which it outlined a program of ideological work at the present stage.

The resolution explains why Party propaganda is now of particular importance. The point is that the fulfilment of the program for communist construction depends directly on the level of consciousness of the people. With the development of socialist democracy and the gradual transition from socialist state administration to communist public self-government, persuasion and education of the masses will increasingly become the principal method of regulating the life of Soviet society. One of the main tasks now is the moulding of the new man with communist traits of character, habits and ethics. This makes greater demands on educational and ideological work. It should be borne in mind that peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems does not signify any slackening of ideological struggle. The adversaries of socialism are lauding the glories of the capitalist way of life. It is necessary to be on the offensive against bourgeois ideology which is hostile to Marxism-Leninism, and to uphold communist ideology as the most progressive and truly scientific ideology of our times.

The massive achievements of the Soviet Union in all spheres of communist construction, the rise in well-being, the higher educational, political and cultural level and the greater creative activity of the people, the radical change in the relation of forces on the world arena in favor of socialism—all these provide particularly favorable conditions for extending ideological work. Noting the new opportunities for communist education of the people, the resolution points to the Party's contribution in recent times to Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party has "thoroughly elaborated the questions associated with the laws of development from socialism to communism, of creating the material and technological base of communist

society, of extending socialist democracy, and with the laws governing the development of the socialist world system and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. The Party has posed in a new way the problems of peace and war in present-day conditions."

Ever since the 20th and 21st Party congresses ideological work has improved considerably. The propaganda for communist ideology is much more lively and effective. Much has been done to overcome dogmatism. The abnormal situation where propaganda was concentrated on the past and built around the textbook, *Short History of the Party*, has, in the main, been remedied.

Two Main Shortcomings

The resolution cites the shortcomings in propaganda. The main shortcoming—"isolation from life, from the practice of communist construction"—has not yet been completely eliminated. The other shortcoming in propaganda is "the narrow sphere of its influence, its weak mass character and forms of presentation which do not always reach the people."

The resolution points to the following shortcomings: propaganda, both oral and printed, still lacks purposefulness; the living ideas of communism are often brought home to the masses in an abstract way, not in the form of definite tasks. The stress was on mechanically memorizing formulas, not on grasping the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory, nor on the struggle to translate communist ideals into life. The theoretical and practical meaning of the Party's measures is not adequately brought out; the shoots of the new, the features of communism in the life of society and advanced experiences are poorly popularized. The advantages of socialism are, at times, explained in a clumsy way, and the outstanding achievements of the country are not properly used for cultivating Soviet patriotism and national pride.

The Central Committee noted that some Party organizations underestimate the education of working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, irreconcilability towards the survivals of bourgeois nationalism, the restoration and artificial cultivation of backward, reactionary customs and habits in the guise of "national traditions," towards the slightest attempt to counterpose the incorrectly

understood local "interests" to the common interests of the people who are building communism.

While resolutely condemning dogmatism and the divorcement of ideological work from practical tasks, the Central Committee pointed to "the inadmissibility of underestimating theory, to instances where economic construction and production and current policy are explained and studied superficially, without any attempt creatively to understand these problems and without profound theoretical generalizations, and this may do harm to the shaping of a communist outlook among the people."

The narrow sphere of the influence of Party propaganda is manifested in the fact that Party education, lectures, political literature and a large number of periodicals are written, as before, primarily for the Communists, non-Party activists and intellectuals and not for the broad masses of the people.

The resolution criticizes the practice of assessing propaganda work mainly by the number of lectures and other arrangements and not by its impact, where lack of attention to educational work is justified by allusions to the economic achievements. It criticizes dull propaganda, the conciliatory attitude to hostile ideology, including religion, and criticizes those leading Party workers who do not take part in propaganda work.

For Effective Propaganda

In focusing the attention of all propagandists on communist education the Central Committee demands that Party organizations considerably improve their propaganda, constantly raise its ideological level and make it more effective. *The main task of Party propaganda is "thoroughly to explain the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to show how they are translated into life in the course of the Party's struggle for the victory of socialism and communism in our country, how to use in practical work and creatively develop the wealth of theory accumulated by the Party, to rouse the working people for carrying out the Party's policy and to train active and staunch fighters for communism."*

A prominent place in ideological work should be given to the fight for strict observance of the principle "he who does not work neither shall he eat," against those who shirk socially useful labor, and to cultivating a communist attitude to labor and developing a moral stimulus in work. It is imperative to ensure that every Soviet citizen correctly understands the great social significance of his daily activity, that he sees in it the indispensable condition for adding to the strength of his homeland, for achieving an abundance of material and cultural riches and for the complete victory of communism.

The effectiveness of Party propaganda is expressed first and foremost in production results.

The Party demands that propagandists should use fewer high-flown words and do more to help accelerate the rate of communist construction.

The purpose of Party propaganda is to show, by means of striking examples, the advantages of socialist democracy and Marxist-Leninist ideology, to train convinced and harmoniously developed people imbued with the spirit of collectivism and diligence, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism and the spirit of the lofty, principled morality characteristic of the new society.

Of exceptional significance now is the explanation of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, resolute exposure of the champions of the cold war and of all those who seek to preserve and intensify international tension and the arms drive.

The main content of propaganda is elucidation of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, of the problems of theory and the practical tasks set forth in the resolutions of the 20th and 21st Party congresses and Central Committee meetings, in the statements by Party and Government leaders and important documents of the international communist movement, the study of Party history, political economy and Marxist philosophy.

Now that Marxist-Leninist theory has merged with the practice of communist construction, that the solution of practical questions of building communism signifies the solution of major problems of theory, it is necessary to make a thorough study of life, to generalize the practice of communist construction and, on this basis, learn from Marxism-Leninism, develop and popularize our revolutionary theory; carry on propaganda in an indissoluble connection with everyday life and the tasks of enterprises, and explain theoretical propositions by using the facts furnished by life. The propagandists should constantly improve their knowledge of economic matters.

To Reach Every Person

Bearing in mind that *the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideas, profound understanding of Party policy and the work to implement it are the vital need not only of Communists but of all working people*, the Central Committee considers it necessary to extend the scope of propaganda work, to bring it to every Soviet man and woman.

This section of the resolution stresses that the fundamentals of Marxism should be explained in language that is at once understandable and attractive, striking, passionate and convincing, with the accent on positive examples. "The propaganda of communist ideas must be close and understandable to people, it should take on the form of heart-to-heart talks, it should reach the minds and hearts of every Soviet person and awaken in him the loftiest and noblest thoughts and feelings."

The task is to turn political education, lectures, the press, radio and television into really mass forms and means of propaganda. More non-Party people, first of all activists, Young Communist League members and other young people, leading workers and innovators will be drawn into the system of political education with strict observation of the voluntary principle. The best works of literature and art should be used on a wider scale; more attention should be given to improving the work carried on by the palaces and houses of culture, clubs, libraries, reading rooms, museums, parks and other cultural establishments; meetings, conferences, question and answer evenings, debates; studies in the universities of culture, etc., should be conducted on a higher ideological level.

One of the points in the resolution deals with stepping up ideological work in residential districts, with individual forms of educational work which will make it possible to reach every person. It also stresses that ideological-educational work can assume a wide scope only if it is in the center of attention of the trade union, Young Communist League and other public organizations, if the public takes an active part in it.

Much attention is given to the need for a differentiated approach, for taking into account the trade, education, age and nationality of people. The resolution shows what should be the main thing in propaganda work among the workers and collective farmers, intellectuals, women and young people.

The Party Education System

The points relating to the Party education system envisage large-scale study, different in methods and timing, of the history of the CPSU, mainly of Party activity during the Great Patriotic War, in the prewar and postwar years and especially after the 20th Congress. The study should bring out the organic link between the history of the CPSU and that of the international communist movement.

The Party organizations should also concentrate on propagating a knowledge of economics.

A prominent place in the system of political education should be given to the study of Marxist philosophy and to a dialectical-materialist understanding of present-day problems of social life, especially of the laws governing the transition from socialism to communism and of the latest discoveries in natural science. The resolution stresses the need to study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in the organic unity of its component parts.

In organizing political education emphasis should now be shifted to political self-education, mainly to the collective forms (seminars) of independent study. The Party organizations should strive for

consistency and continuity of political education so that every Communist will steadily raise his ideological and political level and master Marxism-Leninism as a harmonious teaching.

The system of political education recommended by the Central Committee should include the following: a) political schools as the elementary form of Marxist-Leninist education; b) circles and theoretical seminars on Party history; c) circles and theoretical seminars on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism; d) theoretical seminars and circles studying Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, the economics of the enterprises, atheism, current policy, the international situation, the world communist movement; schools of economics; e) universities of Marxism-Leninism, individual study and participation in theoretical seminars studying the classics of Marxism-Leninism, problems pertaining to Party history, political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, ethics, aesthetics, atheism, the international communist, working-class, democratic and national-liberation movements.

The resolution outlines the ways of improving the selection and training of propagandists. It recalls that "the ideas of Marxism-Leninism can be effectively popularized only by well-trained and convinced people who can explain the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism in a creative way, intelligibly and vividly, in close connection with life, who are acquainted with practical economics, with the needs of the enterprises, collective and state farms."

The Program for New Textbooks

The resolution outlines a vast program of publishing textbooks, methodological and visual aids and, in the first place, short and popular textbooks on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. It is planned, in particular, to publish during 1960 and 1961 popular textbooks on philosophy, atheism, the economics of industrial and agricultural enterprises, on the history of the international communist movement and of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America; textbooks on each of the components of Marxism-Leninism; books on communist education, Marxist-Leninist ethics and aesthetics, philosophical problems of natural science; a series of visual aids with due regard to the forms of political education.

In keeping with the resolution, more political literature intended for millions of workers and peasants will be published. This literature should expound in a simple way topical questions of Party theory and policy, it should sum up the experience of communist construction and of moulding the new man, and explain the main events of the day. Such books should be low-priced and small in size.

The Duty of Soviet Scientists

Party propaganda can be really profound and effective only when it is constantly enriched, when scientists take a direct and active part in it. Social science, on the other hand, can fulfil its tasks only if it is organically linked with the practice of communist construction and ideological work, with the vital requirements of Party propaganda. The task therefore is to raise the role of social science in communist education and in propaganda work.

The Central Committee regards it as an honorable duty on the part of Soviet scientists to prepare and publish within the next few years:

a) a history of the CPSU (in several volumes) which should thoroughly elucidate the many-sided activity of our Party and the significance of its experience for the world communist movement;

b) joint research works by philosophers, economists and historians on the major problems of communist construction in the USSR;

c) scientific works on the ways of building communism, on the laws of development of the socialist world system, the international communist, working-class and democratic movements, on the

present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, and the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America;

d) scientific works exposing the pseudo-scientific theories of bourgeois, Right-wing Socialist and revisionist apologists of capitalism.

The Central Committee called on the Party organizations to devote serious attention to improving ideological work in higher and secondary educational establishments, bearing in mind that a combination of studies with socially useful labor creates particularly favorable conditions for inculcating Marxist-Leninist ideas among the working youth and for enhancing their communist consciousness.

Party propaganda, political education and ideological tempering of Communists and the working people are important tasks for all Communists, especially of leading Party workers. Their duty is to know how to conduct effective propaganda and to take an active part in it; they must set examples of persistently raising their ideological level and of mastering Marxism-Leninism. Ideological life should be vibrant in all Party organizations.

A New Day in the Life of the Party

(Statement by the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, USA)

THE Worker has published a statement by the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, USA, containing an initial evaluation of the Party's 17th National Convention held in New York on December 10-13. The document points out that the Convention was an event of great significance in the life of our Party. It was at the same time an event of no small import in the life of the entire country and its working class. Not only did the Convention attract much interest abroad, and in the eyes of our sister parties; it was given much more serious coverage in the American press than on any previous occasion — an acknowledgement that the Communist Party, small though it is in numbers, is a factor in American life.

The Convention was a highly positive experience, reflecting the consolidation and strengthening of the Party which had taken place in the period preceding it. It fulfilled the tasks before it, and its decisions provide a firm foundation for the next steps in rebuilding our Party as an organization with roots and influence in the realities of present-day existence of our people and our nation.

In setting the direction and policy of the Party, the Convention displayed a sense of realism, imagination and historical perspective.

Starting with the excellent pre-convention discussion, and continuing to the Convention's closing session, our Party showed a new maturity and creativeness, and a spirit which called for an end to all "holding operations"—a spirit of going places.

The starting point and the center of our deliberations was the Party's analysis of the factors making for the emergence of a new era for the world and, above all, for our nation. Important shifts have occurred in the world balance of forces, and their effects and reverberations are felt most sharply by a nation of such pivotal importance as the United States. Chief among these are the shifts in the balance of power to the socialist sector of the world, the continuing victorious march of the colonial peoples toward independence, the improved competitive position of the other major capitalist countries, the growing problems arising from the new technology and especially from automation, the mounting difficulties in the realm of government finances, and the uninterrupted farm crisis.

The Convention properly noted the conflicting elements of this picture and the confusion and division in the ranks of the ruling circles as they

strive to cope with the many new problems and aggravation of old problems growing out of the new era which is coming into being.

It correctly analyzed the causes and the present level of these developments as they affect our country and, on the basis of this analysis, the reports and resolutions laid down realistic policies and tactics in the interests of the American working people for the period ahead.

What came out of the discussion, first and foremost, was a mass policy, one that can greatly speed up the process of broadening our mass ties and influence and lead our Party onto the path toward becoming a far more important force in American life.

The flexibility and the new realism of our united front outlook is graphically denoted in these words from the keynote speech delivered by Comrade Gus Hall: "We want to participate in, organize and lead the broadest of united front movements on every level — in a thousand ways, in 10,000 places, on 100,000 issues if possible, with 180,000,000 people."

The chief focal point of the convention discussion was the question of peace. The greatest yearning among peoples the world over, the most ardently wished-for attainment of these times, is the assurance of lasting peace. Through the avenues of thawing of the cold war and progress towards total disarmament, the Convention envisaged the fulfilment of this hope.

It hailed all steps, however small and hesitating, taken by the officials of our country in this direction, and it enthusiastically greeted the historic exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchov. But it also realistically viewed these steps against the background of the formidable obstacles yet to be surmounted before our nation will be fully launched on the path of total disarmament, the end of the cold war and peaceful coexistence.

An important contribution of the Convention was its examination of the economic effects of disarmament, its assessment of both the problems and the potentialities of the struggle for complete disarmament and the setting forth of a program for a peace-time economy. Indeed, great emphasis was given to all aspects of the fight for peace, which was clearly placed as the key to all future progress.

The Convention directed its attention to the problems of organized labor and particularly to the struggle against the reactionary anti-labor offensive of big business, calling upon labor to launch a spirited counter-offensive and pledging the Party's fullest support to such a struggle.

In keeping with the paramount importance of the issue of world peace, and with the needs of

the fight against the offensive of reaction at home, the Convention elaborated a practical, flexible policy for the 1960 elections — a policy based on the rising militant moods within the working class and among the Negro people, and on the growing interest in independent political action.

The Convention took a bold, historic step in projecting the theory and program for the attainment of the full equality and integration of the Negro people. It dropped the slogan of the right of self-determination for the Negro people in the South. By doing so, thus affirming the stand initially taken by the National Committee more than a year ago, it brought our theory and policy into much closer correspondence with the real aspirations and direction of the struggle for full equality.

The step was taken within the context of placing this struggle at the very center of all future progress for the American people. In addition, the Convention projected a policy and program of struggle for equal rights, relating it to the other basic issues of today.

The Convention also dealt with the fight to preserve and extend civil liberties and, in relation to this, with the defense of the rights of Communists as basic to the preservation of the democratic rights of all Americans. It called for the freeing of all political prisoners, and in particular of our Party leaders, Henry Winston, Gil Green and Bob Thompson, now imprisoned under the infamous Smith Act. And it called for a struggle to liquidate all remnants of McCarthyism in our country.

A high point of the Convention was the moving welcome extended to Comrade Santos Rivera of the Puerto Rican Communist Party. This was a dramatic expression of solidarity not only with the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for national independence, but with all the peoples of Latin America, and especially the Cuban people today, in their fight to free themselves from the shackles of American imperialism. This was further expressed in the Convention resolutions on Puerto Rico, Cuba and Latin America, as well as on the fight for the rights of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American people in our own country.

Another of the Convention's highlights was its action on the youth question, a reflection of the renewed upsurge of the youth movement in our country and the result of much work and discussion in the ranks of the Party. The Convention set forth a program of struggle for the right to learn, to a job, to a decent home, to recreation and culture and above all to live in a world at peace.

It took note of the currents leading to the formation of a national Marxist youth organization dedicated to the fight for these rights and to the

cause of socialism, and looked forward to the emergence of such an organization.

Our Party has come from this Convention with a deeper understanding of the anti-monopoly character of all broad people's movements in the United States of today, of the domination of the giant trusts over every aspect of American life, as well as of the role which anti-monopoly and anti-big-business sentiments play in the thinking and movement of large sections of the American people. In particular, the Convention helped to make clearer the relation of the fight against monopoly to the fight for peace and to elucidate the basically anti-monopolist character of the latter.

The Convention, in no uncertain terms, handed down a mandate to burn out of our Party every vestige of factionalism—of factional groups, factional methods, factional relations and approaches to questions, as well as factionalism in the election of officers and leading committees. In doing so, it took into consideration the fact that, for the most part, factionalism is now a thing of the past, although manifestations of it still crop up. The actions of the Convention will facilitate its complete liquidation.

The Convention correctly stated that the Party has one policy, one line, one direction, and that there is no place within it for any kind of factionalism — that all factional methods are utterly foreign to a united party pursuing a single line.

The Convention also expressed the need of raising the Leninist concept of the struggle on two fronts to a new and higher plane — a lesson drawn from our Party's past history. The Party cannot end the tendency to over-correction of errors and swinging to extremes which has plagued it in the past unless this concept is first of all brought down from abstract generalities to concrete realities. This was graphically illustrated by the Convention's approach to the fight for peace, rejecting on the one hand any underestimation of the changes which have taken place and, on the other hand, estimates that the cold war is virtually ended.

Second, a deeper understanding is required of tactical and strategic considerations, and of the relations between them. We must grasp the fact that the dividing lines, as well as the order of importance, must change as the surrounding conditions and relationship of forces change. Hence we need to be to a much greater degree on top of developments, to have a greater knowledge of specific surroundings and conditions, and to know the position and level of all the forces with which we are dealing. Guess-work and wishful thinking have no place in science, including the science of Marxism-Leninism.

In this light, the Convention gave serious attention to problems of Party organization and Party building, coming forward with a program for the Party's growth and for the building of the circulation of the Marxist press, looking forward to the eventual restoration of the *Daily Worker*.

A National Committee of sixty members was elected. In general, despite some weaknesses, this body reflects a balance in composition, politically as well as otherwise, and the existence of a growing Party cadre. Its membership includes 33 from the old National Committee and 27 new members. It includes 16 Negro comrades and 10 women comrades, four of them Negro women. Such a degree of balance was achieved, it should be noted, despite shortcomings in the methods of nomination and election.

In addition, the Convention, by acclamation, re-elected Com. William Z. Foster to the honored post of chairman emeritus.

In its initial meeting, held at the close of the Convention, the National Committee elected the following officers: Eugene Dennis, chairman; Claude Lightfoot and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, vice-chairmen; Gus Hall, general secretary; Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary; James E. Jackson, secretary for Southern and Negro affairs; Hyman Lumer, educational secretary.

Comrades Dennis, Hall, Davis, Jackson and Lumer were designated as a national secretariat.

Through the election of such a representative team, the National Committee acted to strengthen collective leadership and to lay the basis for increased effectiveness in the work of the national center of the Party.

The work of the Convention suffered from certain weaknesses, principally from a lack of time for adequate discussion of a number of the important problems confronting our Party. This was accentuated by the fact that this was a working convention, not one devoted to debating abstractions.

The Convention suffered, too, from the regrettable absence of two of the Party's national leaders because of ill health, Comrade William Z. Foster, whose continued illness made it impossible for him to attend, and Comrade Eugene Dennis, who was suddenly taken ill shortly before the opening of the Convention. Also sorely felt was the absence of our imprisoned comrades, Winston, Green and Thompson.

Our Party has traveled a long and thorny path since its 16th Convention. The efforts to liquidate the Party as a Marxist-Leninist organization, as well as to repudiate its basic theory, have in the main been defeated. Similarly, all attempts to impel the Party in a dogmatic and sectarian direction have been blocked. All that is past history.

"We must," the statement concludes, "no longer permit the vestiges or memories of this past to hold us back. We must now boldly step forward in a fresh way and as a united party, wiser because of our past experience, enthused

by the new developments in the world today, and more confident and optimistic about the bright future which lies ahead. The 17th Convention opens a new and brighter day in the life of the Communist Party of the United States."

Growing Support for the Communists

IN SALVADOR the Communist Party is illegal, the democratic organizations are persecuted, even trade union activity is restricted. The present government is as reactionary as all its predecessors since the December 1931 military coup which resulted in General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez becoming President. Martinez ruthlessly suppressed the working people; over 20,000 peasants lost their lives; among the victims were three outstanding leaders of the working class—Farabundo Marti, Mario Zapata and Raul Luna. Since then the country has been in the grip of the military dictatorship. The governments have had the backing of the ultra-reactionary forces, the church, the big latifundists and the U.S. imperialists.

The economy is in a bad way as a result of the decline in the price of coffee (coffee accounts for 80 per cent of the exports) and the high prices paid for imported goods. The poverty is appalling. Unemployment is at a high level. Alcoholism, prostitution and juvenile delinquency are at a rate almost unknown in any other country.

This situation is the product of the existing system, and it is aggravated by the crisis. But there is not the slightest indication of the government moving a finger to raise the living standards of the people. On the contrary, in the past ten years the price of prime necessities has risen sevenfold, while wages have risen only twofold.

The militarist regime which has ruled the country for 28 years is unable to find a way out. And so it falls back on the favorite device of all defaulting governments — loans from Wall Street bankers and favorable conditions for North American capital investments. The construction of a big hydro-power station, financed 50 per cent by an internal loan and 50 per cent by the International Bank, has made things better only for the electric power company dependent on the U.S. monopolies. This company, instead of lowering charges for electricity, as was generally expected, raised the charges. Eighty per cent of the capital invested in a Nescafe factory, claimed as a mixed enterprise, belongs to Nelson Rockefeller. This industry, the main source of foreign exchange, may now fall completely into the hands of the Northern tycoons. Mixed cement, footwear factories and other functioning enterprises or those under construction are also a medium through which the U.S. mono-

polies aim at gaining control of our economy. And this is described as "aid"! At the same time the United States forces our country to buy obsolete equipment left over from the Second World War, and to take part in the cold war.

This brief review shows how urgent and pressing is our task to retain what still belongs to us in our economy, to abolish the survivals of feudalism and serfdom obtaining in some of the regions, to secure democratization of the political regime, and to ensure representation of all social strata in the government.

These precisely are the aims of the Communist Party, which expresses the vital interests of the people. Founded in 1930, the Party was brutally suppressed two years later. Fresh blows were rained on it in 1946, 1951 and 1952. Many of its members were thrown into jail or banished from the country. In order to persecute the Salvador Communists even more vindictively the U.S. State Department has planted FBI agents in the board of the national police, the military intelligence service and kindred organizations. The working-class movement is split. The Ministry of Labor, thanks to the support of the venal trade union leadership, controls the trade union confederation — a member of the ORIT (Inter-American Regional Organization of the Working People), which is financed and dominated by the AFL-CIO. This confederation, on which all kinds of benefits are showered, is, in fact, an agency of the Ministry of Labor. The free trade union movement is represented by the General Confederation of the Working People of Salvador.

Unions are prohibited in the rural areas for the simple reason that they would compel the owners of coffee plantations to raise the miserable wages and provide shelter and food for the laborers who, during the harvesting season, sleep in the open, live on corn, a handful of beans and a little coffee. Daily earnings never exceed 40 cents. The trade unions, students' organizations, groups of intellectuals, part of the industrial bourgeoisie, and the people generally, led by the Communist Party, are waging the struggle for freedom for the peasants. This has become a national demand.

Growing numbers of people are joining the struggle for democratization of the regime. Others who would like to join the fight hold back, fearing

to be listed as Communists who are mercilessly hunted by the police; for the authorities any activity which is at variance with official policy is described as communist. Wage claims, protests against the high cost of living, defense of national interests, and the fight for peace — all this is communism. And yet by acting in this way the authorities are, willy-nilly, conducting propaganda in our favor — propaganda which requires from us neither expense nor risk. The people see that poverty is growing and that the government is doing nothing to mitigate the crisis. On the

contrary, all that has been done so far runs counter to the interests of the working people. On the other hand, the positive proposals, the suggestions for improving conditions, emanate from the Communist Party.

This is winning support for the Communists whom the people regard as the best fighters for democracy and for a higher standard of living. Today our Party is working to consolidate its ranks to extend its contact with the masses and thus add to its influence.

Miguel RODRIGUEZ

Short Notices

Bulgaria

FRUITFUL CO-OPERATION

THE Party press has given wide coverage to the sixtieth anniversary of the Agricultural People's Union.

The Union has traversed a long and complicated path. Way back before the First World War it established itself as one of the major political parties and fought, though inconsistently at times, against the bourgeois parties and the monarchy. On the crest of the revolutionary wave which followed the First World War it developed into a broad organization. The government, headed by Alexander Stambolijsky, leader of the Union, made a serious attempt to divert the country onto a new, democratic path. It carried out reforms which hurt big business and made things better for the people, opposed the forces which sought to plunge the peoples into war, and advocated friendship with the Russian people.

At the same time erroneous views were current in the Union concerning the possibility of establishing peasant rule independent of the working class and even in opposition to it, and there were illusions to the effect that the ills of capitalism could be cured without touching the system as such. The Union, designed as a purely peasant organization, had among its members both working peasants and kulaks.

The historic events of the past decades turned the Union onto the right road. In the joint fight against reaction, in the glorious uprising of September 1923, the Communists and the members of the Agricultural Union strengthened militant worker-peasant unity. Many members of the Union took part in the anti-fascist armed struggle of 1941-44 waged under the leadership of the Communist Party. Their unity with the Communists

became a firm link in the Fatherland Front which rallied all patriots and secured, with the support of the Soviet Army, the victory of the popular uprising of September 9, 1944.

After the war, the Union worked to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, accepted the leadership of the Communist Party, and became an organization of builders of socialism.

At its 28th Congress the Union advanced the slogan: "Every member of the Union should be a co-operative member." With its 100,000 members the Union has made a big contribution to the socialist reconstruction of the countryside and to raising agricultural output.

The Union, which has been represented in the government for the past 15 years, is helping to carry out the measures of the Party and the government, displaying initiative in the building of socialism.

Its policy coincides with the policy of the Communist Party. As Todor Zhivkov has said, the Union, its leadership and local organizations "are true allies of the Communist Party and our comrades in the struggle for socialism in the countryside, for the further development of our socialist agriculture."

Britain

"MARXISM TODAY" DISCUSSION CIRCLES

A SPECIFIC new form of theoretical study has appeared in the London Party organization—discussion circles convened once a month to discuss *Marxism Today*, the theoretical journal of the Party. In so far as the journal deals with the key theoretical and practical problems facing the Party and the labor movement, the discussion

enables the members to link theory with practice and apply it in their work.

Among the members are the most experienced Party workers, who take turns in opening the discussion. Usually the discussion centers on the main article in each issue. It has been proved that the best method is not to review the issue as a whole but to select for discussion a few of the more salient and controversial points. As a rule the members do not limit themselves to discussing the articles, they use additional materials, and draw practical conclusions.

The political and economic articles as well as those polemicizing against non-Marxist views arouse the greatest interest. The discussion lasts for an hour and a half, and is of benefit to both the members of the circles and the editors who receive many criticisms and suggestions for future articles. Among the subjects suggested are the following: how to develop the Left in the Labor movement, the growth of monopoly in Britain and the problems arising for the trade union and labor movement, state intervention in the economy, the British and colonial people's joint struggle.

The discussion circles are not a substitute for study and basic Marxist education; they can, however, stimulate more interest in classes and schools. Extension of the circles, planned by Party organizations, will provide the opportunity for more members to exchange views on the burning questions raised by the journal.

Morocco

FOR UNITY OF THE NATIONAL FORCES

A RECENT Communist Party statement says that political developments in the country indicate a grave crisis in the national movement.

"The intrigues aimed at overthrowing the Abdallah Ibrahim government were facilitated by the fact that no steps were taken to meet the interests of the working people, while the anti-imperialist struggle for complete and final national liberation has slowed down.

"The experience of the four years of the independent national government cannot be regarded as being negative. It should not be underestimated, because during that time elements of sovereignty have been won. The results, however, do not satisfy the legitimate demands and hopes of the people.

"The economic situation is growing worse. While the protectorate has been abolished politically, its socio-economic structure remains. An improvement in the standard of living, so desired by all working people, has not materialized. It is only with difficulty that agricultural output is maintained at the level which existed during the colonial

rule, while output of industry is declining. The population growth at a rate of 200,000 annually adds to the impoverishment of the masses. The agrarian reform—long awaited and repeatedly proclaimed—has not been carried out."

The statement goes on to say that, as before, French, U.S. and Spanish military bases are located in the country, the question of their evacuation has not been raised at the United Nations, and the protests of the masses are suppressed. "The towns of Ceuta and Melilla and the Moroccan territories in the Sahara and in Mauritania have not yet been liberated. There is no indication that Maghreb unity will be realized, since Algeria is still dominated by French imperialism."

The facts mentioned in the statement testify to a renewed onslaught against democratic liberties: Communist Party activity has been banned; the government has refused to recognize the ruling of the Casablanca court concerning the legality of the Party's existence; the newspapers *Hayat-Chaab*, *Al Jamahir* and *At Tahrir* have been suppressed; Basri, Secretary of the National Union of the People's Forces, and Yousfi, chief editor of *At Tahrir*, have been arrested.

Believing that this extremely dangerous situation is of benefit only to the colonialists and reactionaries, the Communist Party stresses that the complete liberation, the grandeur and prosperity of the nation can be achieved only through rallying all the national forces in a united anti-imperialist front.

"This front should embrace—on the basis of respect for all ideological trends and recognition of the organic independence of each party—all forces but the feudal chiefs. The basic aims of the front should be: the establishment of economic and social democracy by ending the domination of the national economy by foreign financial groups; the establishment of political democracy in the form of a constitutional monarchy in keeping with the solemn pledges of His Majesty the King.

"This front could be the basis for a government of national unity."

The Communist Party declares its readiness to take part in a National Front government supported by the masses. "True to its constructive policy which does not reject sincere and justified criticism," the statement says, "our Party will support any positive initiative taken by any national government. Conversely, it will be unable to support and, what is more, will not agree to take part in a government formed by one national anti-imperialist movement in opposition to another national anti-imperialist movement."

The statement also contains the economic and political measures that a united front government will have to carry out.

Mexico

IN DEFENSE OF THE PEASANTS

THE National Agrarian Congress attended by delegates from all over the country was an important event in the life of the independent peasant movement. In this respect the paper prepared by the leadership of the Communist Party entitled "For a Radical Revision of the Agrarian Policy" which was read at the Congress, acquires special significance. It shows that in the past fifty years (since the beginning of the revolution in 1910-17) major changes have taken place in the countryside, but the benefits have gone mainly to the rural bourgeoisie.

The paper shows the plight of the peasants. Existing legislation greatly restricts the freedom of the members of ejido,* free election of their officials is obstructed, they are ordered to sow only definite crops, and are not free to sell their products. State credits are granted to big capitalists and latifundists to the detriment of the ejido. In the northern part of the country the share of the latter in state agricultural credits has dropped from 55.3 per cent in 1949 to 42.8 per cent in 1955, and in the central part — from 38 to 20.5 per cent.

Over a million ejido members are landless, while 40 per cent of the smallholders have less than five hectares; their income is scanty, and they are forced to work for wages. Registered farm laborers are in the neighborhood of two million, while sharecroppers number hundreds of thousands. The most brutally exploited section are the Indians, part of whom are driven into reservations similar to those in the United States.

Since 1940 the ruling classes have been slowing down the process of breaking up the latifundia, preferring to turn them into big capitalist enterprises "in a peaceful way." A secret agreement has been concluded by the ruling classes and the latifundists, which explains why growing numbers of the latter receive certificates proclaiming the inviolability of the land in their possession, and why less land is being divided among the peasants.

The Communist Party has suggested that the democratic forces should immediately discuss a program of reforms for the countryside. The program contains the following points: an amendment to the Constitution which would provide for the abolition of the latifundia, for breaking them up completely; land to the tillers; complete freedom for the ejido members in managing their

ejido, in disposing of the land and the crop; a fair and guaranteed price for their products; confiscation of land in excess of the smallholders' plots and its distribution among the farm laborers and peasants; the holdings of irrigated land to be restricted to 50 hectares; re-examination of all cases of fictitious break-up of the latifundia and administrative punishment for those guilty of this; the ejido agricultural credit to be declared a state transaction to be financed from bank investments at an annual interest of not higher than four per cent; freedom for the farm laborers to join the organization of their choice, social security, higher wages, payment for Sunday work, a strictly observed 8-hour day and higher pay for overtime. The Party suggests that measures should be worked out to free the Indians from exploitation and backwardness, with due regard to their traditions and customs, to abolish the military-police isolation of the Indian settlements.

The program calls upon the small peasants cultivating plots up to 10 hectares to join co-operatives for the purchase of seed, for marketing the crop and, wherever possible, also for joint cultivation.

The delegates applauded the basic points of the paper. The Congress revealed the unanimity of the democratic forces on all essential points (except for the measures envisaging freedom for the ejido in disposing of their property) and the possibility of united action.

Although illusions concerning the present government were strongly pronounced at the Congress, its decisions testify that the efforts of the government to bring under its control the growing peasant movement against the reactionary agrarian policy have not met with success. A telegram was sent from the Congress to the President protesting against police persecution of the peasant leaders and revolutionaries.

Mongolian People's Republic

CO-OPERATION AMONG THE ARATS

CO-OPERATION of the arat homesteads has been completed in Mongolia. Most (99.3 per cent) of the arats have voluntarily joined agricultural associations, bringing with them 73.3 per cent of the livestock. Thus, agriculture in the republic has become socialist agriculture. There are 389 enlarged agricultural associations in addition to state farms and machine stations. With the completion of cooperation socialist production relations now predominate in all sectors of the economy.

The recent meeting of the C.C. of the People's Revolutionary Party set forth the main task of the

*According to law, the land confiscated from the landlords is handed over by the state only to groups of persons who file a joint application and set up a commune (ejido). The land is then either divided between the members of the group or is cultivated jointly.

Party as follows: further consolidation of the agricultural associations, full utilization of the advantages accruing from collective farming, correct organization of labor, constant observation of the socialist principle of distribution according to work done, higher output and higher association incomes, socialist education of the co-operators.

In the past a big role in defending the interests of the poor and middle sections of the peasants, and in satisfying the requirements of the country, was played by the system of state deliveries of agricultural products. Today this system no longer corresponds to the new conditions. The C.C. meeting gave its approval to a new system of deliveries on the basis of contracts with trading and procurement agencies, to the introduction of an income tax payable by the associations instead of the cattle-breeders, to a considerable increase in the procurement and purchasing prices, and to prolongation of the terms of long-term credits.

The resolution adopted at the meeting stressed the need radically to improve the organizational

and mass political work of the Party, and to overcome the isolation of this work from the practice of socialist construction. Party work should be measured against the fulfilment of plans and increased production. About 40 per cent of the members and candidate members work in the agricultural associations. It is necessary to enhance their vanguard role, and to see to it that not only they themselves should be model workers but that they should draw all the members of their teams or on their sectors into the front lines.

The resolution called for the promotion of young cadres to leading posts. One-year courses for chairmen and secretaries of Party organizations in the agricultural associations will shortly be opened. A feature of the general Party meetings held monthly will be one or two-day seminars devoted to current politics, the international situation and the decisions of the Party and the government. Beginning with this year all leading Party and government workers will study the economics of agriculture and a minimum of agrarian science.

Reviews

Lessons of the Agrarian Movements in Russia

THERE ARE research works which for a number of reasons go far beyond the limits of the tasks set by the authors. Among these we can list the book under review.* Although the subject matter relates to the past, the book is quite topical, because its concepts and conclusions answer the problems now facing the national-liberation movements in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, and the problems now being solved by the new countries. The matter in question is *agrarian reconstruction*, which is a major social issue in some countries in South-East Asia, the Arab East and Latin America. Not only agricultural development, but to a considerable degree, industrialization, i.e., in sum, the economic and political independence of these countries, depend on this reconstruction.

Thoroughly investigating the agrarian relations in the Russian countryside from the abolition of serfdom in 1861 up to the October Revolution in 1917, the book shows how these relations took shape, how the agrarian revolution gained momentum, and what slogans were advanced at each particular stage of the peasants' struggle for land.

Agrarian relations in Russia at the turn of the

century were burdened with many survivals of serfdom. Although the reform of 1861 abolished serfdom and opened before the peasants the prospect of becoming small producers, it did not provide them with the main thing, namely, land. On the contrary, it resulted ultimately in large numbers of peasants being stripped of their land. Moreover, the reform actually bound millions of peasants to the big latifundias, turning them into "farm laborers with tiny allotments."

Meanwhile the rural bourgeoisie piled up riches through buying up part of the landlords' estates and through the ruin of the small peasants. This intensified the class contradictions in the countryside. Proletarian and semi-proletarian sections, associated with industry and with the working class, emerged from among the peasants to form the revolutionary core of the peasant masses that took the way of political struggle.

Such was the background to the agrarian revolution which, as Lenin put it, the nineteenth century bequeathed to the twentieth. Stressing the need to break up the old system of land ownership—both landlord and peasant—Lenin wrote that "this breakup was absolutely unavoidable, and that no force on earth could prevent it."*

*P. M. Pershin, *Essays on the Agrarian Revolution in Russia*. Kiev, Publishing House of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1959, 420 pp.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Agrarian Question in Russia Towards the End of the XIXth Century*.

Nationalization of the land or its division?—This is one of the key subjects treated in the book, and it is of considerable interest in our day.

In his *Nationalization of the Land* Marx recalled one of his friends saying at the Brussels Congress of the First International in 1868: "Small private property has been condemned by science, and big private property—by justice. Thus, there is but one alternative: either the land will become the property of rural associations or of the nation as a whole. The future will decide this question." Expressing his own attitude on his question, Marx remarked: "On the contrary, I say: the future will decide that the land can only be national property." Marx regarded nationalization of the land as a highly progressive step capable of producing the best results in the struggle against feudal survivals in agriculture, and of making the peasants the ally of the proletariat.

It should be noted, however, that the founders of scientific socialism always examined the question of confiscation and nationalization of the land from the angle of the specific conditions in a particular country. This can be seen from their attitude to the "Free Land" movement in North America, which wanted the land divided among the farmers. In their *Anti-Kriege Circular* (1846) Marx and Engels, while categorically denying the socialist character of this movement, recognized that given certain conditions it could be "the initial stage of the proletarian movement" which, "by virtue of the conditions in which the class from which it derives exists, was bound to develop further into a communist movement."

Lenin carried forward Marx's teaching on land nationalization. Taking account of the specific conditions in Russia, Lenin paved the way to the practical solution of the agrarian question in Russia. He maintained that nationalization of the land under capitalism was both possible and feasible at the early stages of capitalist development in agriculture when the bourgeoisie had not yet bought up land and when large-scale land ownership had not yet lost its specifically feudal features, which were in contradiction to bourgeois progress. Such was the situation in Russia at the turn of the century. The Russian peasant was that "radical bourgeois" who, because he had not yet acquired land, was all for revolutionary abolition of the private ownership of land.

But Lenin never regarded land nationalization as the only way to solve the agrarian question, irrespective of historical or other conditions. He pointed out, for example, that the demand for land nationalization, correctly advanced in Germany during the 1848 revolution, was no longer applicable there at the beginning of this century because feudal ownership had largely been re-

placed by capitalist ownership of the land. This being the case, the peasants would not have supported the slogan of nationalization and confiscation of the land. In Hungary, for example, during the 1919 revolution the land of the confiscated landlords' estates instead of being divided among the land-hungry peasants was reserved for state farms, and this was one of the reasons for the defeat of the revolution.

The worker-peasant alliance is the decisive factor of the agrarian revolution. This vitally important thesis, corroborated by the entire course of the agrarian revolution in Russia, is examined in detail in the book under review. The author shows the importance of working-class help to the peasants in their struggle for the land when the bourgeois-democratic revolution was developing in the direction of the socialist revolution (when it became absolutely clear that the bourgeoisie was incapable of solving the agrarian question), and how the alliance between the rural poor and the urban proletariat gained in strength.

In order to establish class strongholds in the countryside it was necessary for the proletariat to unite and organize the farm laborers—the most brutally exploited part of the working class. By nature of their occupation, the farm laborers were dispersed because of the temporary character of their employment (seasonal, day-work or piece-work), they had no organization of their own. Lenin attached considerable importance to uniting the farm laborers and the rural poor. In July 1917 he advanced the idea of forming a union of all the farm laborers in Russia which would "embrace all who were mainly, or even partly, employed as hired workers" in agricultural enterprises. Lenin admitted the possibility of uniting in one common organization both the farm laborers and the poor peasants who in addition to working on their plots were partly employed as hired workers.

"The important thing," he wrote, "is that the basic class interests of all who sell their labor power are identical, and it is absolutely essential to unite all who earn even part of their livelihood by hiring themselves to others."*

The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were the basic organizational form of the alliance of the working class and the poor peasants; the soldiers for the most part came from the peasants, and their representatives in the Soviets acted in unity with the workers' deputies. At the same time in the capital and in the big industrial and provincial centers there were Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, which in a number of places either coordinated their actions or united with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

V. I. Lenin, *The Need for an Agricultural Workers' Union in Russia*.

The *associations* established in the towns by men and women from the same village, *volost*, *uyezd* or *gubernia* were also an effective link between the workers and peasants. Their Rules, drafted by Sverdlov, pointed out that their aim was to rally the proletarian and semi-proletarian sections of the peasantry for joint defense of their political rights and satisfaction of the economic and educational needs of the village. Members of these associations travelled to their native places, organized peasant meetings and helped to carry out various measures.

The author quotes an appeal addressed by the Moscow Regional Committee of the RSDLP (B) to Party members in Moscow (August 1917): "You, proletarians of the city and all members of the Party, are the elder brothers of the rural poor. And it is your revolutionary duty to help the village in its fight for land and freedom. The village is waiting for you. Be its teachers and leaders." The military bureau of the Moscow Party Committee also formed associations among soldiers and workers.

In Petrograd associations of this kind had been formed even earlier. By September 1917 there were 20 *gubernia*, 33 *uyezd* and 19 *volost* associations. The from-town-to-village movement of revolutionary workers and soldiers spread to many parts of the country.

An important place in Lenin's program for the agrarian revolution was allotted to the *peasant committees*, or as he often called them—the local land committees. Lenin maintained that at the time when the bourgeois-democratic revolution was growing over into a socialist revolution these committees should confiscate the landlords' estates, assume the management of the confiscated land prior to the convocation of a Constituent Assembly and establish new land relationships.

The bitter class struggle that flared up around these committees when they were in the formative stage showed beyond doubt that the bourgeoisie would try to take control of these revolutionary bodies and use them for its own aims. The Cadets (Constitutional Democrats), for example, opposed the establishment of democratically elected land committees, and insisted that both landlords and peasants should have equal representation. In point of fact the party of the Liberal bourgeoisie sided with the landlords and sought to turn these committees into bureaucratic bodies of landlord rule.

Acting on Cadet instructions the Provisional Government enacted a law in April 1917 calling for the establishment of land committees as governmental bodies under the Ministry of Agriculture. But the Provisional Government and its local officials raised every obstacle to the creation of *volost*

land committees — those nearest to the peasant masses and most democratic and, consequently, particularly dangerous to the bourgeoisie. The law provided for the establishment of these committees only in some of the *volosts*, and no funds were allocated for their maintenance.

The peasants, however, were vitally interested in the *volost* committees, which began to spring up *everywhere*, especially in the areas where the land was a pressing problem. Disregarding the law of the Provisional Government, the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in June 1917 called for the establishment of land committees in *all* *volosts*. And the committees immediately got down to the job of reconstructing agrarian relations.

For instance, when re-examining the rent agreements between peasants and landlords, the committees ignored the instructions of the Ministry of Agriculture and unilaterally—on behalf of the peasants—cancelled the long-term agreements for the lease of large tracts of land, particularly those which were sublet to other tenants. The land usually rented was distributed among the land-hungry peasants. In a number of places where sharecropping and labor rent existed, the committees abolished the extortionate agreements and prohibited them altogether. Rent was substantially lowered (in some cases by half).

Not infrequently the local peasant committees took over the landlords' estates to safeguard them from destruction by their owners.

The book cites numerous facts testifying to the important role played by the committees in organizing the peasants politically in the fight for the land, and also in the general revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants, and in coordinating the actions of the peasant movement with those of the militant bodies of the proletariat — the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

The book deals with still another point which is worthy of mention. The experience of the agrarian movements in Russia, and in other countries, shows that the time comes when the peasants can no longer tolerate any further delay in solving the land problem and seize the land *regardless of law and order*. This, too, is an important factor accelerating the agrarian revolution.

The statistics contained in the book show that in Russia the wholesale seizure of the landlords' estates was the main form of the peasant movement in the final stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, at the time of its growing over into the socialist revolution. During the first seven months of 1917 (according to incomplete official figures) there were about 3,500 registered cases of "transgression of the land laws," i.e., on the average 500 cases each month (in July—1,122),

whereas in 1905-07 there were 150 cases a month. A feature of the situation in 1917 was that the seizures were carried out in an organized manner under the leadership of the local peasant committees and the Soviets.

The peasants rejected the solution offered by the Cadets and the other bourgeois parties which counselled waiting for the Constituent Assembly to pass a land law. They responded to the call of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin who said: *"If you wait until a law has been drafted, and fail to display revolutionary energy, you will find yourselves without either law or land."**

Equally unsuccessful were the attempts made by Tsarism and later by the Provisional Government to sidetrack the peasant movement against the landlords by fomenting discord among the peasants. This was precisely the aim of the so-called Stolypin reform (1906-16) which enabled the richer section of the peasants to grab the communal land and establish big farms. Although the reform greatly accelerated class differentiation in the village, and led, particularly in 1917, to more and more clashes between the majority of the peasants and the "Stolypin farmers"—the kulaks—the class struggle among the peasants was a little thing compared with the mass struggle against the landlords. Until October 1917 the agrarian movement of the peasants was in the main spear-headed against the landlords.

While breaking up the old agrarian relationships, the peasants as a rule carefully tended the land and looked after the inventories confiscated from the landlords. In areas where there was an acute shortage of land, the landlords' estates were leased to the poor peasants for a term of one year at a definite rent which was now paid not to the landlords but to the committees. The terms of the lease were fixed in a special document. When-

*V. I. Lenin, *Report on the Agrarian Question*. (May 11-April 28-1917.)

ever the land was given to the peasants who had no draft animals or implements of their own, they were entitled to use those of the landlord free of charge, but had to return them when the seasonal work was over.

A different attitude was adopted by the peasants to the landlords' estates in the areas where they were run efficiently and where the land hunger was not so keen. The book gives a number of examples of peasant committees establishing control over the estates, ousting the old managers and appointing new administrators. That is how the management of the landlord estates was re-organized in the Kherson Gubernia, where the farm laborers, following the example of industrial workers, established for the first time laborers' control over the estates. District commissions consisting of representatives of the laborers' committees on the bigger estates and of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were established, and each exercised control over all the estates in its district. On each estate there was, in addition, a control commission consisting of members of a laborers' committee.

* * *

The agrarian movements in Russia at the turn of the century and right up until the October Revolution were not as yet socialist movements. And this circumstance brings them closer to the agrarian reconstruction for which the peasantry in a number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are fighting today. Hence the book under review can be of service as a guide for the patriots and democrats in these countries, who are deeply concerned with the agrarian question, and who are capable of applying, in a creative way and avoiding a mechanical and stereotyped approach, the rich Russian experience of the days when the bourgeois-democratic revolution was growing over into the socialist revolution.

I. LAPONOGOV

Foreign Capital in Brazil

STUDENTS of Latin American affairs will no doubt find much to interest them in the book *Foreign Capital in Brazil*,* by Aristoteles Moura, well-known economist and prominent figure in the democratic movement in Brazil. The first edition was so successful that a second printing was found necessary.

Brazil, the largest of the Latin American countries, has everything needed for building her own industry and for modernizing her agriculture—a numerous population of diligent and industrious people, a wealth of mineral deposits, considerable resources of hydro-power, fertile soil and a benign climate. It has often been called “the land of unlimited opportunities.” This being so, why is Brazil still a backward country with a poorly developed industry, a one-crop agriculture, “a land of coffee” wholly dependent on foreign markets? A detailed examination of the penetration of foreign capital, especially U.S. capital, leads the author to the answer: basically, Brazil’s backwardness is the result of many years of exploitation by foreign capital; the foreign monopolies are the chief obstacle to the development of a national industry.

Since World War II the North American monopolies have tightened their grip on Brazil. U.S. direct investments rose from \$194 million in 1929 to \$1,209 million in 1956, i.e., more than six-fold. British capital, which was dominant before the war, is being ousted by U.S. capital. British private investments fell from £164 million in 1938 to £28 million in 1956. Since the 1950’s the U.S. monopolies have been challenged by new rivals—West German, French, Italian, Japanese and Swiss companies.

A new feature of U.S. postwar expansion, testifying to the parasitic nature of monopoly capital, is the growth of their investments mainly through ploughing back part of the profits. Moreover, the vast profits pumped out of Brazil represent a direct deduction from her national income. Between 1955 and 1958 foreign capital invested in Brazil grew by \$1,095 million, while the profits transmitted abroad amounted to \$2,020 million; in other words, the profits pumped out of the country exceeded investments by \$925 million. According to Sergio Magalhaes, Brazilian M.P., foreign companies transmit abroad over \$200 million a year.

Monopoly policy, especially that of the U.S. trusts, known as the “parasitic trusts,” has an adverse effect on the economy and is the source

of growing apprehension among democrats in Brazil.

The author describes all sorts of bookkeeping manipulations and dodges to which foreign enterprises resort in order to conceal the actual size of their profits, mislead government agencies and evade the already low taxation.

The distribution of U.S. investments is also unfavorable for Brazilian economy. This can be seen from the following table (p. 68):

U.S. Direct Investments in Brazil
(in million dollars)

	1929	1943	1950	1954	1955	1956*
Industry	46	66	285	534	565	610
Oil (including sale)	23	30	112	178	194	213
Trade	16	29	73	128	137	138
Public utilities	97	88	138	150	156	180
Other branches	12	20	36	60	63	68
Total:	194	233	644	1,050	1,115	1,209

* Incomplete data.

It should also be noted that nearly half of the U.S. investment in industry is channeled into the processing industry. There is nothing accidental in this. National industry in Brazil is chiefly processing industry (footwear, food, textiles, etc.). The foreign investments which have already invaded these branches are a hindrance to their development, accentuate the rivalry, check the growth of national capital and even oust it. The complications are greater when U.S. capital is invested in heavy industry. The U.S. monopolies prevented Brazil, a country rich in oil, from establishing her own oil industry. The U.S. companies which have monopolized the power industry cause no little injury to the national economy. They systematically boost electricity charges, thus exacting a high toll from the people and from the national industry. Systematically wresting credit from the Brazilian government, the monopolies retard the development of the national enterprises and restrict their power consumption.

The purpose of this policy is clear—to prevent Brazil’s independent industrial development and to retain this vast market for U.S. goods.

Experience makes nonsense of the assertions of imperialist apologists and their agents in Brazil to the effect that foreign investments further the accumulation of capital and help to develop national industry.

The author does not confine himself to showing the predatory nature of foreign capital which de-

*A. Moura, *Capitais estrangeiros no Brasil*. Sao Paulo, Editora Brasiliense, 1959, 381 pp.

forms the economy of the countries in which it operates and retards their development. He points to the dire political consequences of foreign investment which undermines national freedom and independence. This is true of both private investments and government loans.

"It is common knowledge," he writes, "that the U.S. government uses loans granted by the Export-Import Bank as an instrument for wresting concessions from the recipient countries." According to a report of the U.S. Department of Commerce on foreign aid between 1940-51, the Export-Import Bank has become an important instrument of U.S. economic policy in the Western Hemisphere. Turning to the 1956 U.S.-Brazil agreement on grain shipments and the Joint Declaration signed in the same year by the Brazilian mission and the Export-Import Bank (pp. 237, 238, 247 and 248), the author notes that the U.S. government insisted, as a condition for granting a loan, on Brazil severing trade relations with countries which the USA would regard as "undesirable." The declaration stipulated that the anti-inflation program of the government of Brazil should provide for cuts in government expenditure, curtailment of Bank credits, reduced allocations to the government-controlled commercial enterprises and more realistic charges for communal services. The author justly sees this as interference in the affairs of the Brazilian government, as infringing the national sovereignty and running counter to the interests of the people.

Adolf Berle, former U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, is quoted as saying that "some companies with large and widespread overseas interests frequently maintain their own edition of a tiny State Department. Their overseas subsidiaries, branches, and representatives report more or less regularly. Their economic departments keep them informed of business and financial conditions. They have their own resident or travelling diplomats. Emphasis is given to cultivating personal relations with the proper officials in government both in America and abroad, and, so far as possible, developing a favorable state of public relations." In another place the author quotes George Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union: "As Adolf Berle has recently pointed out, the modern corporation may well share with government ability to influence the course of foreign affairs" (page 338).

Moura shows that these pronouncements are not just empty phrases, that this is what the monopolies have long been doing in Brazil and in other Latin American countries.

But in pursuing this policy of expansion the U.S. monopolies and the State Department come up against a powerful democratic and patriotic movement. The working people of Brazil, headed by the working class, and the patriotic forces, including the national bourgeoisie, are intensifying their struggle for economic and political independence, against international imperialism and its associates in the country — the reactionary landlords and a thin crust of the big bourgeoisie aligned with the foreign monopolies.

An important means of achieving economic independence, writes Moura, is trade with the USSR and the other socialist countries. ". . . Their capital is used for financing, it takes the form of loans. This is not the capital of private enterprises Trade conducted without stock exchanges and cartels and the new system of technical aid typical of socialism may change the system established by the United States and Western Europe" (p. 210).

Most of the factual material and quotations in Moura's book are culled from U.S. or Brazilian official sources, from government agreements and statements. Other sources are the National Bank of Economic Development, the Brazil Bank, university studies, etc.

Some sections lack the theoretical analysis which would have given greater weight to the conclusions. The author has not examined, for instance, such an important source of imperialist exploitation as the purchase of raw materials for low prices and the sale of U.S. manufactured goods for high prices, which adversely affects the economy of Brazil.

The book will be useful for anyone who wants to learn something about the economic situation in Brazil, about the factors retarding her development. It is not intended for the specialist alone. This study fully complies with the aims of the national and popular movements. Its three main theses are: 1. U.S. monopoly investments in Brazil are growing as a result of re-investing part of the profits; the other part, immeasurably greater, is drained off to the United States. 2. The investments of U.S. monopolies like those of other international monopolies are undermining the national industry. 3. Politically, monopoly capital imposes on Brazil conditions which infringe her national sovereignty.

Such is the analysis of the economic situation, such are the basic conclusions of the study. Moura's book is an angry protest against the yoke of the foreign monopolies.

Frederico Sa

A Problem of Concern to All

THE banning of nuclear tests is an issue which still agitates people everywhere. Expressing the will of the peoples, the 14th UN General Assembly unanimously urged the participants in the Geneva talks to make still greater efforts to reach an early agreement, to abstain from resuming the tests. The Soviet, United States and British delegations voted for the UN resolution. The Soviet Government had pledged earlier that it would not resume experimental testing so long as the Western powers abstained from doing so. This raised hopes that an appropriate international treaty would shortly be concluded.

The Three-Power talks resumed in Geneva are progressing very slowly, and through no fault of the Soviet Union.

But, at the end of 1959, President Eisenhower announced that the United States no longer felt itself bound by the moratorium on nuclear tests. Soon the press reported intensified preparations in the United States for resuming the tests next summer.

This announcement shattered the hopes of the peoples for a solution to a vital international problem. For in the conditions of today resumption of the tests by one of the powers would inevitably impel the other nuclear powers to do the same. Testing of nuclear weapons of all sizes may be started again with the result that pollution of the atmosphere with radioactive fall-out may reach a menacing degree.

It is not only that resumption of the tests would add to the tension, would mean stepping out along the road leading to war. Experimental explosions are harmful to mankind even without war. It has been established that without any resumption of the tests the earth will be affected for years to come by the radioactive substances accumulated in the upper layers of the atmosphere.

That is why a worldwide tidal wave of protest is mounting against those who persist in turning a deaf ear to the warnings of scientists. In Britain, thousands gave up their Christmas holiday and despite the inclement weather marched with the slogan: "Ban Nuclear Weapons." The marchers were welcomed by delegations from the local trade unions, the Labor and Communist parties, student organizations, religious bodies and local councils.

In the United States, nuclear tests have been condemned by the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the National Women's League for Peace and Freedom and other organizations.

The Presidium of the World Peace Council addressed a letter to President Eisenhower requesting him to revise the decision to abandon the moratorium or at least not to resume the tests until the summit meeting.

torium or at least not to resume the tests until the summit meeting.

"Stay the Hand of the Atom-Maniacs!"—that was the demand of the world public, protesting against the testing of the French A-bomb in the Sahara.

The governments of the independent African states have made their official protest known to Paris. The heads of 25 Afro-Asian delegations handed a letter of protest to the UN Secretary-General.

Protests have been voiced by other countries, political parties, trade unions, peace committees and other public organizations in Europe, North and South America and Australia. All insist that the French Government adhere to the General Assembly recommendation, which urged France to abstain from tests.

Strong opposition has come from scientists—experts in radioactive radiation, because they realize better than anyone else the grave dangers involved.

"As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make those dangers known." Thousands of scientists all over the world have subscribed to these words of Linus Pauling, the American biochemist.

The effects of nuclear tests and the hazard emanating from radioactive fall-out are examined in *Recherches internationales a la lumiere du marxisme* (No. 16, 1959, Paris). This Marxist journal displayed a useful initiative in collecting statements made by scientists at different times in the press and at conferences and the new data obtained in various countries on the effects of experimental explosions for the purpose of rousing public opinion against the tests in the Sahara and for the success of the Geneva talks.

The articles by British, French, Soviet, United States, Czechoslovak, Japanese, Italian, German and other scientists, published in this issue, contain a vigorous appeal to end the tests.

By means of verified data the scientists expose those, fortunately few, American scientists who serve the ultra-reactionary groups and persist in their assertion that the amount of radiation caused by nuclear explosions is harmless.

The introductory article points out that radiation resulting from radioactive fall-out makes up five per cent of background radiation. It may appear at first glance that this is an insignificant increase. But that is not so. First, owing to their chemical properties, such radioactive isotopes as strontium-90 and caesium-137 penetrate into the tissue of living beings, including man, and accumulate in such quantities that internal radiation becomes the

same or even greater than external natural radiation. Second, we should reject the idea of the average dose of radiation harmful to the living organism. There is no such thing as an average dose for all people. Scientific data show that even the slightest increase in background radiation is harmful.

The studies by Linus Pauling (United States), Jean-Pierre Vigier (France), Sakata, Tomonaga and Yukawa (Japan), analyze and sum up the articles by other authors on the hazards of radioactive fall-out. They draw conclusions from the discussion among scientists from various countries about the "threshold" dose of atomic radiation. The very idea of "threshold" dose is at variance with the data obtained through experimentation. The scientists make the point that any radiation dose is harmful to man.

These conclusions have been confirmed by new findings. The incidence of leukemia and of other grave illnesses has increased. The Japanese medical scientists point out in their article that in the last thirteen years the number of leukemia cases in Hiroshima has risen to 202. One hundred and seventy-two of these ended in death. Another 25 people died of leukemia in Hiroshima early in 1959.

The research conducted by scientists in cities showed that soil, water and vegetation were contaminated with radioactive fall-out. For example, strontium-90 has been found in cereals, vegetables, milk, meat, fish, and especially in fresh water and drinking water. Tests of drinking water carried out in New York between 1954 and 1956 showed a steady growth of strontium-90. In Canada "strontium hazard" has been discovered in dried milk; in Japan—in water, tea leaves and rice. The penetration of radioactive strontium into the human body is, then, inevitable, depending on diet and the metabolism properties of the individual. A diet in which vegetables preponderate, for example, is more favorable for strontium penetration. And vegetables form the staple food of nearly half the population of the world.

The journal devoted much space to the possible effects of A-bomb testing in the Sahara.

"Nuclear tests planned by the French government," wrote the French scientists Lefort and

Riou, "are a dangerous, costly and senseless anachronism."

The scientists note that according to known meteorological data not only the Sahara area may suffer from heavy radioactive precipitations, the Sahara sand raised in the air will fall out over the Mediterranean, and over the European continent.

"It should be borne in mind," they continue, "that the Sahara is far from being an uninhabited desert. Over a million people live there. Even if the most remote place were chosen it will be only a few hundred kilometers from populated areas which may suffer from heavy fall-out. . . ."

The meteorological conditions likely to contribute to widespread radioactive fall-out as a result of an explosion in the Sahara are also the subject of articles by the French scientists Berenger and Beaulieu and Czechoslovak scientists Prokop, Horak and Podzimek.

Five Italian scientists, professors Cignolini, Businco, Capul, Meldolesi and Turano recalled the frequent cases of wind-borne Sahara sands reaching Sicily, Sardinia and other regions of Italy, and expressed the view that during nuclear explosions these air streams will lead to heavy radioactive fall-out in these regions.

Such are the views of scientists on the effects of the contemplated tests in the Sahara. People in all countries, including France, are asking more and more frequently: why explode an A-bomb now when the preparations for a summit meeting are under way? It is doubtful if possession of an atomic weapon will add greatly to France's strength. One thing is certain, the testing can only cause harm to the people.

Hence, today, when there is still time to stop the reckless gamble with a force capable of annihilating everything created by man down the centuries, each of the other nuclear powers should follow the example of the Soviet Union and declare that it, too, will not be the first to resume tests. This would create a climate of mutual trust in which it would be easier to reach an agreement on the termination of nuclear tests for all time.

A.M.

FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

This issue was already in the printers' hands when it became known that the French government, ignoring the UN recommendations and the sentiments of the world public, exploded an atomic device in the Sahara.

This action, which has shocked people all over the world, testifies to the imperative need for all countries to sign an agreement on ceasing nuclear tests for all time. It shows, moreover, that the struggle to impose a ban on the tests must be intensified by all who cherish peace and universal security.

Communications and Comment

Some Aspects of Cultural Work in the German Democratic Republic

IN this letter we shall mention some new developments in our socialist culture.

In 1959 the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party held several conferences on the role of the press and education, a writers' conference, and talks between Party leaders and different groups of intellectuals.

Socialist literature and culture were discussed at a conference in Bitterfeld. Among the 700 delegates were writers and literary critics, scientists, workers and technicians belonging to the socialist labor teams in industry, worker-correspondents and editors of factory papers. Party and Government leaders were also present.

The report by Prof. Alfred Kurella, head of the cultural commission of the Political Bureau, the speeches of delegates and the summing up by Walter Ulbricht outlined the ways of further developing socialist culture. "The basis of the new national culture," said Walter Ulbricht, "is the new production relations in industry and agriculture and the worker-peasant rule. This basis provides the conditions for new relationships among the people and for genuine humanism, conditions which inspire our writers and artists to noble deeds."

The Bitterfeld conference discussed the cultural tasks in the light of the seven-year plan. Solution of the main economic task — to surpass West Germany in the consumption of basic products per head of the population — requires higher consciousness and all-round development of the masses, the fostering of everything new and progressive. The initiative of the working class with its thousands of socialist labor teams is becoming a distinguishing feature of our life. The slogan: "Work, Study and Live in a Socialist Way" is a genuine expression of the principles of socialist morality formulated by the Party. Free creative labor in the conditions of socialist production is moulding the new man. The new relationships are taking deeper root among the socialist labor teams and factory collectives. The seven-year plan is not an economic target only, it is also a guide in promoting cultural life, well-being and happiness. Many teams extend their activity beyond the sphere of production. Not infrequently mem-

bers of these teams and their families enjoy social evenings together, go to the theatre and concerts, read and discuss new books.

Our art, naturally, turns to the history of the nation, to the anti-fascist resistance, and to life in the past. But the main task of the writers is to give a complete picture of life, to show the new relationships between people at work and in daily life. An important function of our writers and artists is to portray socialist labor, humanist ideas of friendship among peoples, and the struggle against the forces of the old world.

The artist should be active in public life, inspire people to noble deeds, enrich them spiritually and help them understand that they are makers of a new, peaceful and happy life. Our cultural workers are equipped with the most progressive science, Marxism-Leninism.

The artist is obliged to keep in touch with present-day realities. Such masters of socialist culture as Becher and Brecht owed their success precisely to their direct contact with life. The latest works by A. Seghers, W. Bredel, Kuba, E. Strittmatter and other writers derive from the life of the people. There are, however, art workers who maintain that the essence of the life of today can be fully understood only many years from now. This is a wrong and harmful view. "In our opinion no one can better elucidate the problems of the day than the writer or the working man who is taking part in this new life and is changing it. He will do it better than those who will write about the events of 1959 ten years from now," said W. Ulbricht.

Many examples could be cited of the close contact between writers and the socialist labor teams. Writers are painting a true and vivid picture of our workers.

The problem of craftsmanship in portraying the life around us in an important one. In some of the works written in recent years the characters are schematically endowed with positive and negative qualities. Contact with the people enables the writers properly to reflect all the problems of the day. They now have a better understanding that for many labor has become a vital necessity,

that the new, socialist way of life is superseding the old customs and habits. This process is replete with conflicts.

The Bitterfeld conference was addressed by Regina Hastedt, a writer. In 1958 the Party organization of the Writers' Union in Karl-Marx-Stadt suggested that she go and live among the miners in order to become better acquainted with their life and work. She did so and soon became accepted as "one of them." Sepp Zach, a leading miner, often accompanied her to the pit, explained things to her, and invited her to attend production conferences and Party meetings. Regina Hastedt read excerpts from her book to her new friends. Their helpful criticism enabled her to give a more exact and truthful portrayal of working-class life, to show the strength of the working class.

Regina Hastedt, on her part, was able to help the miners. Some of them, including Sepp Zach, who had splendid records in production and were active in public life, were not too well grounded in literature, the theatre and music. So the writer told the miners about new books and plays and helped them deepen their understanding of music.

The outcome of Hastedt's stay among the miners was an interesting book about their life and work. This example, like that of other writers, shows the importance of daily, comradely contact with working people — contact which enriches the writer.

After getting to know members of socialist labor teams better, many writers said that they differed greatly from the workers they had known a few years ago. Now the writers are anxious to penetrate deeper into their thoughts and feelings, to know more about their worries and their aspirations. Many of them often help workers to keep socialist team diaries in which they record the progress made.

A new feature of Hastedt's literary work nowadays is her association with leading workers and innovators. At first she experienced difficulties; the new duties seemed at times to be a heavy burden. But she soon realized that contact with workers would help her as a writer.

Another method of friendly co-operation nowadays is that new works are discussed in the unions of art workers.

We want these unions to help the cultural workers to get acquainted with the people, their work and their problems. This will enable them to give a truthful portrayal of our life.

* * *

The well-read man has always played a notable part in the German working-class movement. He typifies thirst for knowledge which is so common

among the working class. But in the past it wasn't easy for workers to get books and scientific literature. The reactionaries tried to stifle this thirst for knowledge. The Nazis consigned to the bonfires not only Marxist books but also many outstanding works by classical and modern authors. Immediately after the defeat of fascism, the Party set about restoring national culture.

We are proud of the cultural legacy created by the German nation and by all peoples. Acquaintance with the treasure-house of literature and art promotes spiritual growth and all-round development of artistic ability. Amateur art is now very popular. After the Bitterfeld conference many workers joined literary circles. A theatrical group organized at the Wismut Plant staged a play devoted to the life of their workers; both authors and actors were workers.

How absurd are the assertions that art has no place in the age of technology. Socialist society provides boundless opportunities for the all-round spiritual development of man.

In the early postwar years we had to satisfy the cultural requirements of the people mainly through cultural establishments which formerly had served the ruling classes. Now, however, the old establishments no longer meet our needs. That art is really accessible to people can be seen from the following. Theater attendance in 1958 in the Democratic Republic was over 17 million. In the Federal Republic the figure was roughly the same (in 1956), although the population is three times that of the Democratic Republic. There are 3.3 theater seats per thousand of the population in the Democratic Republic; the corresponding figure in West Germany is 1.6. We have an annual average of 986 theater attendances per thousand of the population, whereas in the Federal Republic the figure is 343.

Professional art alone is unable to satisfy the growing needs of the people. Consequently we are wholeheartedly supporting amateur art groups in the factories, in the houses of culture, village clubs, etc.

We are finding it necessary to change teaching methods in the art schools. Until recently art students were enrolled directly from secondary school. Only on very rare occasions did members of amateur art groups enter the theatrical institutes to become professional actors. At present, they can easily enter art colleges or attend the courses held by some theaters for training professional actors or artists. Clearly, the specific features of the particular art should be taken into account. For example, the training of dancers and of some music performers should begin from early childhood.

Sometimes during discussion we heard the question: will amateur art oust professional art? The advance along the road to socialism and communism opens up broad vistas for art. Professional art workers, those associated with the people, have splendid prospects. The professional actors and writers look on the members of the amateur art groups and the worker-writers as friends, not competitors.

There is still another aspect that should be taken into account. Art requires profound study and painstaking everyday practice. It would be wrong to identify and equate professional and amateur art, for this would lower the artistic level. Socialist national culture is the product of the marriage of the great art treasures of the past with the creative achievements of our times.

Socialist society makes literature, music and the theater accessible to all. But this does not mean that we disdain variety theater, dance music and the music-hall. The art of recreation and entertainment also expresses joy of life and optimism. The socialist art of the "merry muse" is developing in the struggle against sterile art, against the false in art, and against bad taste. By means of song hits, films, theatrical performances, comics, radio and TV, the imperialist propaganda centers are trying to corrupt the youth, to create a false impression of the capitalist way of life. In the guise of "thirst for life because of fear of life" they laud everything vile, mean and perverted.

The "merry muse" arouses noble feelings in people, gives them confidence in the morrow, in their strength and the joy of socialist labor. The variety and concert parties founded in the enterprises prove that workers are successfully developing the art of folk humor, make good use of ridicule and laughter in combating shortcomings. It should be borne in mind that for many people the road to other genres lies through the works of the "merry muse."

The Socialist Unity Party gives guidance to the movement for all-round development of a socialist national culture. The Party makes heavy demands on the workers in the spheres of the arts; they should be organizers and innovators in developing the many-sided cultural life of the working people. It is most important to secure the services of professional art workers to help train the amateur art societies. The workers on the art front should change their style of work: they should give much more practical help to the cultural work in the factories and in the villages.

Last year witnessed the first workers' festival in our Republic. Over 11,000 members of amateur

art groups and about 5,000 professional actors gave nearly 300 performances attended by 625,000 people. The festival showed that the working-class amateur art groups were actively implementing the Party decisions on culture; it showed once again how broad and varied are the cultural needs of the people. From now on the amateur art festival will be an annual event.

The Haendel commemoration and the bi-centenary celebration of the birth of Schiller showed that the people in the Democratic Republic treasure the cultural heritage of the whole of Germany. The foreign guests who came to the Haendel and Schiller celebrations in Halle and Weimar could not but admit that the classical heritage had become a vital component of cultural life in the Democratic Republic. Many of them noted with surprise that German art workers were studying and analyzing art works of the past. And although the West German propaganda centers made not a few attempts to discredit the cultural achievements of the Democratic Republic, many guests from West Germany and other countries were full of praise for them.

It is worth noting that in staging Goethe's "Faust," Gustav Gruendgens, the well-known West German actor and producer, made the central character not Faust, who sought to find the truth and understand the meaning of life, but Mephistopheles, the nihilist and cynic. Perhaps this interpretation reflects the decadence and scepticism engendered by life in the Federal Republic.

The Socialist Unity Party reveres the humanistic traditions of German classical art. These traditions are carried forward in the works of socialist art.

The 1960 season will be a busy one for us. The Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture and the Kulturbund are preparing a cultural conference to be held in the spring. This conference will discuss the basic tasks in the sphere of culture outlined in the seven-year plan.

The genuine humanism of the socialist way of life is the answer to the enemies of our nation, to the German imperialists; the desperate attempts of the latter to thwart the tendency towards a détente are bound up with pessimism and decadence in culture. The growth of socialist culture in the Democratic Republic contributes to solving the basic conflict between the West German imperialists and the peace-loving Germans led by the Democratic Republic. A truly people's culture is the expression of the noble and humane socialist society.

Siegfried WAGNER

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

THE persecution launched by the Cairo authorities against the Egyptian and Syrian Communists, democrats and those who disagree with the policy pursued by Nasser since December 1958 has angered the majority of the people in the UAR, in the other Arab countries and the champions of peace and freedom everywhere. Thousands of patriots, prominent fighters against imperialism—workers, peasants, trade union leaders, writers, lawyers, architects, university lecturers and students—were arrested during this campaign.

A second group of Egyptian Communists and democrats—48 persons—was put on trial in Alexandria at the end of 1959. Earlier, 64 patriots had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from ten to fifteen years. The Supreme Court which tries these cases consists of officers notorious for their anti-democratic sentiment. The law under which Communists and democrats are tried, enacted by Royal Decree in 1946, failed to secure the approval of Parliament at that time. Most lawyers in Egypt have declared this law invalid.

The 1,200 page indictment against the 64 patriots charged them with being members of an illegal organization and with conducting "activity against the present order with a view to establishing the hegemony of one class over the other and the dictatorship of the proletariat." The evidence included books, pamphlets, leaflets, the publication of which was attributed to the Egyptian Communists. Thirty-two witnesses had been brain-washed for this trial. All of them were agents of the secret police and received instructions from the chief of the anti-communist bureau, who, it is said, is in touch with the British and U.S. intelligence services.

The present trial of the 48 Communists and Democrats is also being held in camera. The accused are denied the right to defense, a right guaranteed by the laws of all countries, including the UAR. Sentences of ten to fifteen years hard labor await them. The verdict of the court is final and is not subject to appeal.

In a letter to the International Association of Democratic Lawyers 48 defendants point out that "the gains of the Arab national-liberation movement have engendered fear among the imperialists, reactionaries and their agents who are still plotting against the national movement and the Iraqi Revolution of July 14. They have developed extensive activity with the aim of undermining the unity of the national forces and breaking the

contact between our republic and the Republic of Iraq, and they have succeeded in this. The UAR government has allowed itself to be drawn into conspiracies. "Our crime," the letter continues, "consists in the desire to uphold the gains of our people, to rally all the national forces and the entire Arab world in the struggle against imperialism."

A statement issued by the Communist Party of Egypt and published in a number of democratic newspapers of Lebanon and Iraq says that 21 women now held in Egyptian prisons are subjected to torture. The women's group, which will also be tried in Alexandria, includes actresses, writers and factory and officeworkers; each of them has a record of struggle against imperialism, for the emancipation of their people and national independence.

The purpose of these trials was made clear by Professor Fouad Morsi of Alexandria University, a prominent democrat, in his speech for the defense during the trial of the first group.

"Today," said Professor Morsi, "the policy of our country is to seek 'friendship' with imperialist states, first and foremost with the United States, and to rally all the reactionary circles of the Arab world. This signifies a departure from positive neutrality, from Arab nationalism and national unity. We are waging war against friends and seeking friendship with enemies . . . The slander campaign against the Arab Communists, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries cannot injure communism, it is injurious only to our country, to our prestige in the world . . . Nasser has performed the miracle that baffled the imperialists — he has shattered national unity. . . .

"It was our belief that in the course of the liberation struggle greater attention would be given to democratic demands, but the steps taken testify to a design to suppress freedom and to intimidate the people. For us it is difficult to understand why the unification of Syria and Egypt resulted in disillusion among the democratic public, why it led to the abolition of the Syrian and Egyptian Constitutions and Parliaments and to the prohibition of all parties and political activity in Syria. The aims of the national-liberation movement cannot be attained without democracy, without a progressive home and foreign policy . . . The suppression of strikes, the refusal to satisfy the demands of

the peasants and the mass organizations, lack of attention to the economic and democratic demands of the people—all inevitably resulted in the government compromising with the foreign imperialists and the reactionaries at home. . . .

"The modern history of the Arab people is replete with examples of the heroic struggle waged by the Communists against imperialism. Honor and glory to them! It is not the Arab Communists who are compromising with imperialism, they are not taking the imperialist road. The Communists are in the van of the national forces fighting for independence and social progress. And when the government begins to pursue an anti-national policy it, inevitably, encounters the resistance of the vanguard of the people. That is why the government has launched a slander campaign against the Communists, saying they are preparing to seize power; that is why communism has suddenly become more dangerous to it than imperialism."

According to reports in the Arab and European press and reprinted in the Lebanese *Al Akhbar* (December 20, 1959), Egyptian Communists and progressives are tortured even after being sentenced. According to press reports Farid Haddad, a doctor, and Mohammed Osman, a worker, died as a result of torture. The life of many patriots, both those under arrest and those "convicted," is in danger.

It will be appreciated that these secret trials are spearheaded not only against the Communists and other patriots in the UAR, they are aimed first and foremost against freedom and democracy. The sentences imposed by the special courts are sen-

tences on the national forces; they are levelled against Arab solidarity and the Arab national-liberation movement. The anti-communist and anti-democratic campaigns, of which these trials are a part, will merely weaken the struggle against imperialism and retard the movement towards economic independence.

The charges levelled against the Communists are utterly groundless. The Arab Communists have always maintained that the main blow of the national-liberation struggle should be delivered against the imperialists. The Communists have always called for unity of the national forces, for struggle to thwart the imperialist plots and safeguard national independence, democracy and freedom. Nasser and the reactionary circles of the Egyptian bourgeoisie are rendering inestimable help to the imperialists who dream of restoring their domination over the Arab world, including the UAR.

All who cherish freedom and independence should protest against these repressions which play into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries. In the struggle against imperialism all patriots and the social forces working for the well-being of the people and their happiness should combine their efforts in order to safeguard national sovereignty and win economic independence.

The interests of the Arab people demand the release of all Communists, democrats and other patriots who have been languishing in prisons for a year now and whose sole guilt is that they fought against imperialism, for freedom and democracy.

Farouk MAHMOUD

MEXICO

IT IS now fashionable among top U.S. officials to shower compliments on their Mexican neighbor. Some of them have even learned to pronounce the word "revolution." And the U.S. Ambassador to this country, Mr. Hill, takes delight in counterposing the "revolution in Mexico" to the Cuban revolution, or to the October Revolution in Russia. Mr. Hill holds up Mexico as a model of "freedom and justice." Of course, not only a diplomat but even a parrot can be taught to pronounce the word "revolution." But what a gulf between the words and the deeds.

When the Mexican peasants carried out their revolution the "Northern neighbor" sent troops and cruisers against them. When the wholesale break-up of the latifundia began in the country U.S. diplomats bombarded the Mexican government with threatening notes, warnings and compelled it to renounce the agrarian reform. To the oil nationalization, the U.S. government replied with

economic sanctions and even sabre-rattling. It is not the revolution, the fiftieth anniversary of which Mexico celebrates this year, that gladdens the North American imperialists but the fact that it has been relegated to the museum, of interest only to tourists. They are delighted that the doors of this country open wide to the decrepit "yellow devil," that an erstwhile "rebellious" Mexico hastens to anticipate the wishes of Washington. Is it not a model of "Western freedom" when the Constitution is trampled underfoot, when democratic rights are abolished and the government carries out repressions which could be the envy of even some of the tyrant-dictators in Central America?

No sooner had the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigated "communist penetration" into Latin America (even after Nixon's ill-starred visit the United States continues to regard Latin America as its "domain") than the Mexican gov-

ernment, having used the railway conflict as a pretext, arrested some 5,000 people and threw them into prison without trial or investigation. Among those arrested were Demetrio Vallejo, Gilberto Rojo Robles and Antonio Sanchez, leaders of the Railway Workers' Union; Miguel Hernandez Alcala, leader of the oil workers, and J. Guadalupe Zuno Arce, a prominent student leader. The police raided the Communist offices and occupied the printshop in which *La Voz de Mexico*, the Party newspaper, was printed.

The U.S. ambassadors in Central America, including Mr. Hill, who met in Salvador to discuss ways and means of implementing the Senate recommendations on the struggle against the liberation movement in this region, could indeed rejoice at the "alacrity" with which the Mexican rulers hastened to imprison the Communist leaders J. Encarnacion Pérez and Reyes Fuentes Garcia.

As if to mark the meeting between the U.S. and Mexican presidents, the local authorities staged an anti-communist trial. What is more, they arrested Alberto Lumbreras, Secretary-General of the Worker-Peasant Party, and Maximo Correa, another of its leading members. The authorities displayed particular zeal in "red-baiting" before the visit of President Lopez Mateos to the United States. Anti-communist hysteria was whipped up throughout the country. The police arrested Dionisio Encina, Secretary of the Communist Party; Pilar Rodriguez, member of the Party Central Committee; the secretaries of Party committees in a number of states, including Gregorio Castorena from Coahuila, Jose Luis del Rio and Amadeo Hernandez from Sinaloa State, and many other Party activists. Miguel Aroche Parra, a leading member of the Worker-Peasant Party, was also arrested. In their desire to curry favor with the U.S. rulers the Mexican authorities stop at nothing. For example, Guillermo Garza Trevino, deputy chief of the secret police in Monterrey (Nuevo Leon State), and Captain Bonifacio Alvarez from the No. 7 military district arrested Ramon Guerra Montemayor, a railway worker and secretary of the Communist Party Committee in Nuevo Leon State, brought him to a cantonment where he was subjected to brutal torture. Pilar Rodriguez, who was arrested together with Montemayor, told how policemen handcuffed them and beat them all night. Guerra Montemayor died under the torture. To conceal their crime, the police mutilated his corpse, dumped it on the highway and then announced that the body of an "unidentified" man had been found. Although the relatives exposed the murderers, the latter went unpunished. The U.S. Consul in Monterrey and FBI agents were also involved in this crime. One of them, a certain Wilson, organizes the witch-hunt and anti-communist provocations

with the aid of military and police authorities of the state and agents of the Federal Security Board. The thousands of FBI agents act as if they were at home; political emigrants are arrested and deported to the United States even without the knowledge of the Mexican authorities.

There is a grave danger that other prisoners may share the fate of Guerra Montemayor. They are often beaten into unconsciousness, thrown into the punishment cells, denied meetings with relatives, and are not allowed books from the outside. The prison authorities instigate the hardened criminals against the political prisoners, placing them together in the same block. The threat of imprisonment hangs over the other leaders of the democratic parties for whose arrest warrants have been issued.

The Communist Party has described "the trials staged against hundreds of working people and revolutionary democrats in various parts of the country as anti-Constitutional; they infringe trade union and political rights and reflect the reactionary anti-labor policy of the Lopez Mateos government, a policy aimed at safeguarding the interests of the bourgeoisie and North-American imperialism to the detriment of the working class and the people of Mexico as a whole." These trials, the Party warns, seriously endanger civil liberties and national independence.

Wartime legislation, which runs counter to the Constitution, is invoked to bolster up the absurd charge of "corrupting society." The Communist Party has not been outlawed, freedom of thought is recognized by the Constitution, but Lopez Arias, the State Prosecutor, and Judge Tellez Crucez accuse the prisoners of holding communist views. Preliminary detention under a wartime law was needed by the authorities in order to deprive the working-class leaders of the right to bail and to impart a semblance of legality to their long incarceration. The infamous trial has dragged on for a year now, and the end is still not in sight.

The working people of Mexico know that the leaders of the trade unions and the democratic parties have been imprisoned unjustly. The Electrical Workers' Union, the delegates of the National Agrarian Congress, the People's Party and other public organizations have protested to the President. Ex-President Lazaro Cardenas and the democratic public have condemned the arbitrary repressions. One hundred and fifty intellectuals declared in their appeal that the persecution of people who defend trade union interests is instigated from abroad. A telegram sent to President Lopez Mateos by over 200 peasant delegates reads:

"The brutalities and the framed-up trials of the men accused of 'corrupting society' are monstrous crimes. An end must be put to them. We demand

the immediate release of the political prisoners and the arrested trade union leaders, that the anti-Constitutional pretext about the so-called corruption of society be abandoned."

The Mexican people, loyal to the glorious tradi-

tions of their Revolution, are battling bravely for the triumph of genuine freedom and justice, the path to which lies through the restoration of civil rights and sovereignty in home and foreign policy.

H. LARA

COLOMBIA

ON January 11, Jacobo Prias Alape, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, was foully murdered in the remote village of Gaitania. Better known as Fermin Charri, this hero of the civil war (1948-58) against the military-landlord dictatorships, a talented soldier born among the people, had dedicated the last years of his splendid life to making the former guerrilla units the core of a mass peasant movement, to rallying the peasants in their struggle for land and civil rights. Carrying out the general line of the Party, he achieved outstanding success in restoring peace and order in his area.

Having suffered defeat in open fighting, the reactionaries have resorted to terror. This, their latest crime, testifies to cold-blooded execution of a definite plan. Tried and tested peasant leaders are being murdered in the departments of Tolima, Huila, Caldas and Valle. On New Year's Eve the local priest instigated the murder of Jose A. Rojas, a noted peasant leader and Communist. A similar fate befell Silvestre Bermudez, leader of the Left-wing Liberals in Prado, Jose Rodriguez, treasurer of a rural trade union in Lerida, Atanael Vera, a comrade-in-arms of Prias Alape, and many others. The bandits also plunder and terrorize the local population and kill children. Many of the thugs are men serving in the police and in army units.

The latifundists are resorting to terror to perpetuate their rule, and to prevent the peasants, workers and other democrats from becoming organized. Their aim is to frustrate the policy of broad alliances pursued by the Communist Party, to prevent the formation of an opposition front, and thus maintain the anti-democratic system under

which the Liberal and Conservative groups have formed successive governments during the past 16 years.

This plan, carried out in the guise of "appeasement," is directed by influential government circles, the armed forces and the police, led by the Minister of the Interior, the War Minister and the Governor of the Tolima Department. It is no secret that the U.S. military mission and the FBI committee are active in the country, the local police were trained by the latter in the art of carrying out these reprisals. These two bodies "investigate" the activities of the democratic parties and organizations and their press, and draw up detailed plans for reprisals. This policy is inspired also by those politicians who do not want to see peace in the country, and also by the clerical elements. All of them operate under the banner of anti-communism.

The peasants and all forward-looking people are insisting that resolute measures be taken against the professional murderers. This demand has been forwarded to the President of the Republic by the Liberal Worker-Peasant Union in the south of Tolima, Huila, Cauca and Caqueta.

Peasants in Eastern Tolima and Sumapas have informed the government that in the event of it failing to ensure peace in the area, they themselves will disarm and arrest the bandits. The peasant organizations in other departments where violence is being perpetrated, are also raising this question.

The people of Colombia are determined to frustrate the terrorist plans of the latifundists and their North American "advisers," and to ensure democratic order in the country.

Jose RAMIREZ

Once Again About Peaceful Coexistence

NOT for many years had the St. Maria Maggiore Church in Rome witnessed a ceremony conducted with such pomp as that on January 7. On that day a public sermon, much publicized beforehand, was preached by Cardinal Ottaviani, recently appointed secretary (the chief, in point of fact) of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, or, in plain words, the Inquisition.

The subject chosen by the Cardinal was the situation in the socialist countries. Speaking about the Communist parties and people's power in these countries he laid on the black paint with a lavish generosity and made picturesque comparisons. It was the Communists, he proclaimed, who "slew Abel" and "slapped Christ."

It wasn't only the Communists who got it tough; all bourgeois statesmen who negotiate with the Soviet Union came in for their share. "No one is afraid any longer of shaking hands with the new antichrists," bellowed the Cardinal. "Moreover, a real competition is underway—everyone is eager to shake their hands as soon as possible and to exchange smiles with them." A sharp condemnation of these "punishable" deeds of the Western leaders followed. One rather thinks that had Ottaviani been given a free hand he would hardly have restricted himself to verbalism but — on the pattern of his predecessors, the inquisition chiefs of the Middle Ages—would have directly sent the branded statesmen to the stake on the traditional charge of being in touch with the Evil One.

It was perfectly clear whom the Cardinal had in mind, for President Gronchi of Italy was supposed to fly to Moscow on the very same day, and only a sudden illness postponed the visit to February. But as no names were mentioned, his philippic could equally be interpreted as an allusion to Eisenhower, de Gaulle and many other Western politicians.

Had it been delivered eight or ten years ago this sermon would have been taken for granted, because anathemizing the Soviet Union and calling for war against the socialist countries were at that time considered in good form by bourgeois speakers. But times have changed. Hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries who in the past never questioned the anti-Soviet foreign policy of their governments are now vigorously championing the idea of peaceful coexistence advanced by the socialist camp. And no longer can the leaders of the capitalist world ignore these changes. They hastened to disown the Ottaviani statement. *Relazioni internazionali*, a journal of the monopolies, found the sermon "inadmissible," while *Stampa*,

a Turin newspaper, somewhat irreverently asked the Cardinal the question: "Who, after all, are the Christians? Can we call the anonymous butchers—the organizers of racial riots—or even ourselves, Christians? For we use the Christian teaching in pursuit of our interests and often, far too often, accept it as a weapon with which to defend our civilization. So who is it that slaps Christ?"

Shortly after this Ottaviani had an audience with the Pope and, according to well-informed Rome circles, was given a severe reprimand.

In short, the ruling circles regarded the sermon as being obviously out of place and not in keeping with the times. It was as if the organizers of a celebration had invited a bandmaster who instead of playing a tarantella responded with the Dead March.

It is possible, or even probable, that some of the politicians and journalists who rebuked the church dignitary are themselves, at heart, opposed to peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, since this adds to Soviet prestige. But who would want to swim against the stream? The very fact of the Ottaviani lamentation that there is no longer any fear of the Soviet Union indicates quite clearly that mistrust in international relations is becoming a thing of the past.

The reaction to the St. Maria Maggiore sermon is by no means explained by any prejudice against Ottaviani who has long been known as the "cold war cardinal." In the West the public at large, including some bourgeois circles, find the open attacks on peaceful coexistence little to their liking. Chancellor Adenauer, for example, is much more cautious in his expressions than the secretary of the Sacred Congregation. At the opportune moment Adenauer has nothing against juggling with the word "peace." But since January last he has made several statements directed against peaceful coexistence. By way of example we shall mention his article in the Dutch weekly *Elseviers* (January 9). This is what he said: "The coexistence of the peoples marching along entirely different roads is an illusion which, unfortunately, is still (the word should have been "already" — C.E.) too widespread." Statements like this, in the same way as the Ottaviani sermon, have earned rebukes in the capitalist newspapers and journals, as was the case in Britain. After one of Adenauer's speeches the British and U.S. Ambassadors made special representations to the Bonn Foreign Minister.

The rebukes administered in the West to the traditional cold war talk testifies to the growing popularity of peaceful coexistence. Further evidence

is that some of the top leaders of the capitalist world are changing their tone and, at times, even the essence of their foreign policy statements. In the past, too, peace was one of the subjects discussed in the West, but peace through war—today they prefer to speak about peace through peace.

The reason for this turn is that the ordinary people in the West are, ever more resolutely, shunning the policy of preparing war against the USSR. And the capitalist leaders are forced to take cognizance of the new situation and modify their lexicon accordingly. But, as we shall see, the bourgeoisie is trying to use the idea of peaceful coexistence in its own way.

Nevertheless, we Communists do not regard the statements in favor of peace made by capitalist leaders as a maneuver pursuing a concealed aim; such statements bind their authors in many respects. This is why we welcome them and hope that they will be put to good use. It is the duty of all people of good will to see to it that they are realized.

Here is one of the recent statements to this effect. Pope John XXIII and President Eisenhower devoted much space to peace in their 1959 Christmas messages. The Pope stated approvingly that "the recent events have created an atmosphere of so-called disengagement"; he said that the Church looks with favor "on every initiative which can help to spare humanity new conflicts, new massacres, new destruction beyond calculation," and called for the elimination of "the causes of quarrels and wars." Expressing his will for peace Eisenhower said: "Our concept of the good life for humanity does not require an inevitable conflict between peoples and systems . . ."

Any word spoken in defense of peace is, of course, valuable. But how much more valuable it would be if it were accompanied by deeds. President Eisenhower, for example, made a real and bold contribution to easing the tension by inviting Khrushchov to the United States. This visit has done more to avert war than dozens of international conferences. As to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, it has not made a single constructive proposal for strengthening peace, nor has it reacted in any way to the Soviet proposal at the United Nations for general and complete disarmament. And what better than disarmament can remove "the causes of quarrels and wars?"

Anyone who reads the Pope's message attentively, will notice the following paradox. While outwardly blessing peace, the Pope attacks the idea of peaceful coexistence. In his view, coexistence "because it is deprived of this inspiration of mutual dependence, raises barriers behind which nestle mutual suspicion, fear and terror." If one were to believe

the Pope coexistence is not only remote from genuine peace, it is not humane because, allegedly, it precludes friendship and cultural exchanges between the nations and is something like the behavior of wild beasts in the jungle: the states growl at one another but abstain for the time being from devouring one another. What a gloomy picture of peace founded on coexistence is painted in the Vatican.

And not in the Vatican alone. Eisenhower, too, does not regard coexistence "as a satisfactory state for mankind." "After all," he said in his message, "an uneasy coexistence could be as barren and sterile, joyless and stale a life for human beings as the coexistence of cellmates in a penitentiary or labor camp."

Although there isn't much that distinguishes this picture of "coexistence" from the traditional type of Western horror stories, the reader would be pardoned for smiling upon seeing it. Truly, what a metamorphosis has taken place in the capitalist camp: only yesterday its leaders rejected coexistence as hampering the arms drive and the war preparations—in a word they criticized it "from the Right"; today it is not accepted because it is hampering lasting peace—that is to say they are criticizing it "from the left."

So instead of coexistence the Pontiff in Rome and the Protestant President in Washington offer to the world their own alternative which, in their words, is as different from coexistence as heaven is from earth. Engaging in semantics, they call this alternative "convivenza" in Rome and "living-together" in Washington.

But with all due respect to Western statesmen, it should be said that not even the most accommodating patents bureau in the world could give them a certificate for the idea of peaceful cohabitation. Its originator was Lenin, the founder of the state whose foreign policy is now the subject of attacks. Replying to a question by the *New York Evening Journal* correspondent about the Asian plans of Soviet Russia, Lenin said on February 18, 1920: "The same as in Europe: peaceful cohabitation with the peoples, with workers and peasants of all nations awakening to a new life . . ." Lenin was the first to speak about coexistence in this sense. And if in the speeches of the Soviet leaders currency is given to the second term, this is solely because of the peculiarities of the Russian language. In this way the alternative to peaceful coexistence, spoken about in the West, proves to be false.

Is it true that peaceful coexistence precludes intercourse and friendship among the nations?

Let us look at Soviet foreign policy in action.

Soviet statesmen and journalists point to the relations between the USSR and India as a model

of peaceful coexistence. Although the two countries do not border on each other, they live as good neighbors and are successfully developing economic, political and cultural relations. The selfless aid of the Soviet Union to the Indian people in building their heavy industry has evoked admiration both at home in India and abroad. The village of Bhilai, where thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union a large iron and steel works has been built and put into commission, has become the symbol of this aid. It will not be out of place to refer to the point made by Soviet Vice-Premier Frol Kozlov in his speech in Bhilai on January 23. "In recent years," said Kozlov, "India has been buying about 300,000 tons of steel annually in the Soviet Union. With the construction of the Bhilai and other iron and steel plants we are losing this market. But this does not worry us. On the contrary, we are only too pleased that India will have steel of her own." Surely this is friendship rather than coexistence. A day later, at a reception given in honor of the Soviet statesman, Jawaharlal Nehru said that the relations between India and the Soviet Union are relations of close friendship and affection.

It is absolutely clear, then, that coexistence and friendship are not separated from one another by an insurmountable barrier. The first, naturally, presupposes the possibility of the second. The way to the all-round development of all nations—big and small—a way which is championed, as is evident at least from their words, by the U.S. President and the Pope, lies through peaceful coexistence. In an article on coexistence in *Foreign Affairs* which, it would seem, is known in Washington and Rome, Khrushchov wrote: "Contrary to what certain propagandists hostile to us say, the coexistence of states with differing social systems does not mean that they will only fence themselves off from one another by a high wall and undertake the mutual obligation not to throw stones over the wall or pour dirt upon each other. No! Peaceful coexistence does not mean merely living side by side in the absence of war but with the constantly remaining threat of its breaking out in the future. *Peaceful coexistence can and should develop into peaceful competition for the purpose of satisfying man's needs in the best possible way.*"

It will be seen, then, that the spokesmen of the Western world have distorted the idea of peaceful coexistence. And they have done so, it is to be presumed, because of the growing popularity of this idea, which signifies the growth of the international prestige of the countries which have advanced this idea—the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

Still, both the Pope and the President have hailed peaceful coexistence, albeit under a different

name; and this, although it has been forced on them, is progress for the capitalist West. And although at the outset we pointed to the positive side of this development, it is necessary to make at least one reservation.

The point is that John XXIII wants to extend his *convivenza* not only to inter-state relations but also to social relations in capitalist society. He proclaims that "no peace will have solid foundations unless the sentiment of brotherhood" is nourished in the heart, and hopes that "civil discord and the divisions, often profound, between the employers, for example, and the employed" will be settled.

And so, taking advantage of the popularity of the idea of peace, the head of the Catholic Church wants to graft it onto the relations between the antagonistic classes and thus get people to renounce the class struggle, in the belief, obviously, that his words would have the same effect on this struggle as Joshua's command to the sun. It goes without saying that the reconciliation of the classes is conceived so as to meet the interests of the bourgeoisie: the Pope insists on no slackening in the struggle against communist ideology and, in fact, calls upon the Communists to abandon their principles, although it is these principles that ensure the unity and militancy of the working class in upholding its interests.

Let us for a moment imagine the impossible—that the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, having taken the advice of the Vatican, have dissolved themselves and called on the proletariat to renounce all class struggle. There can be no doubt that the bourgeois governments would immediately wipe out all the political and social gains of the workers, reducing them to the position of slaves. But it is equally clear that the working class would never submit to this, that it would resume the struggle and restore its leading forces—the Communist parties. After all, the communist ideology of class struggle is not the invention of Karl Marx, it is the result of the objective development of society, and to demand that it should be abandoned is as unrealistic as to try to make the people of today believe that witches exist.

Renunciation of communist ideology would not, as the papal message claims, consolidate peace; on the contrary, it would undermine peace. The world communist movement—the most consistent anti-militarist force—has a restraining effect on the aggressive imperialist circles. It was not fortuitous that the fascist dictators who over the past 40 years came to power in the various countries, first outlawed the Communist parties and only after doing so did they launch their aggression against the other states. The anti-militarist role of the Communist parties is becoming clearer also

to many bourgeois peace supporters, one of whom, the well-known Italian lawyer and writer Calamandrei, once remarked: "If the Communist party didn't exist, we should have had to invent it."

We should in all truth pay tribute to the inventiveness of some bourgeois spokesmen who seek to utilize the noblest idea of our time—that of peace—for the purpose of covering the cracks in the crumbling edifice of capitalist society, a society which by its very nature is hostile to this idea. But this inventiveness has no prospects. We Commu-

nists champion peaceful coexistence in relations between states with differing social systems, and this means that above all we are against the interference of the capitalist states in the affairs of the socialist states and vice versa. But we are profoundly convinced that, by virtue of the logical outcome of the class struggle, the people now living in the capitalist countries will, in the final count, choose socialism.

Carlo ESPOSITO

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