

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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World Marxist Review:**Problems of Peace and Socialism**Theoretical and Information Journal
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P. VILLON: War and the Working Class	3
V. GRISHIN: Soviet Trade Unions and Communist Construction	11
K. BACKSTROM: Swedish Social Democracy and Working-Class Unity	18
G. OBICHKIN: Lenin and the Party	23
E. ARAB-OGLY: 1960 is Africa Year	30
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS	
What are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class? Our Questionnaire and First Comment	37
PAGES FROM HISTORY	
Patriotic Deeds of the Communists (15th Anniversary of the Defeat of Hitlerism)	57
IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES	
Algerian Communists and the War of Independence	64
CHANG YUN-HOU: Publication of Lenin's Works in China	65
K. MOHL: Conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Impressions of a Delegate)	67
R. GENOVEZI: United by Common Interests	70
J. GONZALEZ: Instructive Experience of Mass Action	71
SHORT NOTICES	72
Anniversaries (Fortieth Anniversary of the Communist Parties of Spain and Indonesia)	75
REVIEWS	
S. EFIROV: From Revisionism to Bourgeois Ideology	77
COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT	
R. MATEO: The French People Fight for Democratic Education	84
T. BORG: German Imperialism and War	87
Against the Persecution of Democrats — Greece (Letter from Aegina Jail), Union of South Africa, U.S.A.	90
SUPPLEMENT	
Expanding Economies — A Survey of Economic Development in 1959 in the Socialist Countries	93

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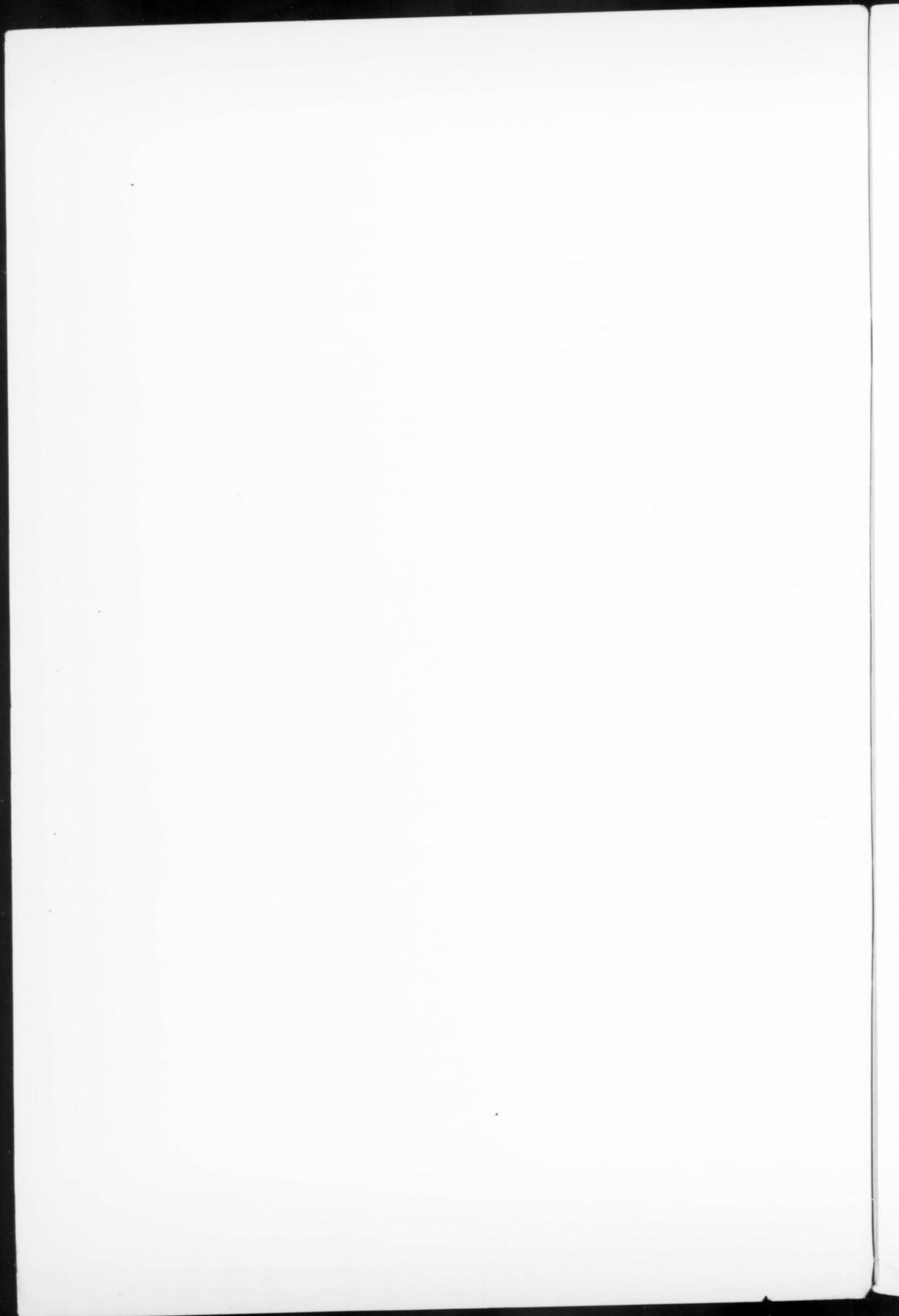
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War and the Working Class

Piere Villon

FROM ancient times, in poems, songs, prayers and philosophical dissertations, the people have complained about war as the most dreadful calamity that could befall them. The sufferers could only shed tears, pray and dream of a golden age without wars. And so it went on for centuries and it could not be otherwise.

War is a Social Phenomenon

As the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, taught: war is not caused by the evil will of people, by the bellicose spirit of any nation, or by the whim of a ruler; nor is it a retribution exacted by God, the outcome of a blind constantly operating biological law of the kind suggested by Malthus, nor is it original sin; it is not, then, something eternal. *War is a social phenomenon found in a society divided into antagonistic classes.*

A society divided into classes in which the minority rules and exploits the majority, and in which, for this reason, violence is both normal and inevitable, was a necessary stage of social development. It was because in the successive epochs of slavery, serfdom and wage labor the minority appropriated the fruits of the labors of the majority that mankind developed its productive forces, and in the long run made available unlimited power resources and built robots in vast numbers so as to be able to provide for the needs of all, and not only for the few.

In those days war was inevitable; for the ruling minority it was one way of adding to the productive forces at its disposal. Although war meant untold suffering for the exploited, the question of putting an end to wars, like that of building a classless society, could not be placed on the agenda until the productive forces were fully able to meet the material and cultural requirements of *all*.

The Proletariat is the First Class in the History of Mankind Which Can Put an End to War

The working class is the first, the only revolutionary class called upon to overthrow the old social system not in the interests of a new minority, but of the vast majority. This

is the first and only class in history which is able to replace a society divided into classes not by another class society, but by classless society. What it wants to build (and is able to build) is an "association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Communist Manifesto*.)

In a society without exploitation or oppression war is unnecessary, for it benefits no one; it is an absurdity. Consequently, the moment the working class establishes itself as a social force it seeks (for the first time in history) to end war. As capitalism exhausts its progressive role in expanding social production, the problem of putting an end to wars becomes a *practical task of the working-class movement*. And the founders of scientific socialism have equipped the working class with the theory which enables it to set about accomplishing this task.

The Communists, says the *Communist Manifesto*, "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole." They are the vanguard. And when the working class becomes the leading class of the nation, its Communist vanguard has no interests separate and apart from those of the nation. And since the working class accepts responsibility for the future, the Communists are concerned with the problems confronting mankind as a whole. Communists are equipped with a scientific teaching which expounds the laws of social development, thereby enabling the masses to influence the operation of these laws. Knowledge of these laws led the founders of scientific socialism to the conclusion that the abolition of war once and for all is closely connected with the historic mission of the proletariat — the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism.

This is the message contained in the *Communist Manifesto*: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is ended, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be ended. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Struggle Against War In the Conditions of a Single World System

Thus the founders of scientific socialism set before the revolutionary movement the task: to explain to the working class that war, like all other social ulcers and defects, is caused by class antagonism, that in order to abolish these the capitalist system—their source—must be abolished.

In laying bare the internal contradictions and laws of capitalism which engender war Marx and Engels, and even more so Lenin, who further developed scientific socialism on the basis of his analysis of the imperialist phase, warned the working class against the illusion that war could be ended so long as capitalism reigned supreme in the world, because under capitalism wars are inevitable. Even Jean Jaurés, despite his idealism, understood this when he accused the capitalists, saying: "Your society of chaos and violence . . . is fraught with war in the same way as the thundercloud is fraught with a storm."

However, neither Marx, nor Lenin contented themselves with merely exposing war in *general terms*, as an ulcer of capitalist society, or with appealing to the proletariat to transform that society. By distinguishing between the character of the war of 1870-71 prior to the fall of Napoleon III (as a war of defense on the part of Germany) and *after* his fall (a war of aggression against the people of France) Marx and Engels showed how the proletarian vanguard should act each time a military conflict occurs with a view to deepening the class consciousness of the workers and influencing developments in the direction favorable for the socialist revolution. Although, because of the relative weakness of the working class, international conflicts were beyond the control of the First International, it, nevertheless, was in a position to direct the mass struggle connected with these conflicts.

The Paris members of the First International wrote in their manifesto of July 12, 1870: "French, German and Spanish workmen! Let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war! . . . Brothers of Germany! Our division would only result in the complete triumph of *despotism* on both sides of the Rhine. . . ."

The call of the French workers was taken up in Germany. A big workers' rally in Braunschweig on July 16 adopted a resolution which ended with these words: "With

deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a war of defense as an unavoidable evil; but we call, at the same time, upon the whole German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible by vindicating for the people themselves the power to decide on peace and war, making them masters of their own destinies." In Chemnitz a meeting of representatives on behalf of 50,000 workers of Saxony passed the following resolution: "Mindful of the watchword of the International Working Men's Association: '*Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!*' we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our *friends* and the despots of *all* countries are our *enemies*." In his friendly exchange of peaceful messages between the workers of France and Germany at war, the First International was quite right in seeing a "great fact unparalleled in the history of the past," which "opens the vista of a brighter future." Although Britain did not take part in the war, the British working class also raised its voice in response to the call of the International, and campaigned for recognition of the French Republic, against the dismemberment of France.

In the new conditions of imperialism, Lenin warned the proletariat that it was necessary each time *a war broke out to determine its character*, bearing in mind the exclusive interests of the people. Lenin indicated the progressive bourgeois character of the national-liberation and anti-monarchist wars between 1789 and 1871. The Socialists, he emphasized, should always distinguish between just and unjust wars. (It should be said that wars of liberation still retain their progressive character, for they are wars that the colonial peoples are forced to wage because the imperialists refuse to recognize their independence. The war of the Viet Nam people was such a war, and this is also true of the war now being waged by the people of Algeria.) But Lenin was always firmly opposed to attempts at using the old yardstick in judging the wars that were unleashed in the 20th century by the big capitalist powers; for these were *imperialist wars* irrespective of the intentions proclaimed by the belligerents, the circumstances that attended the outbreak of the wars, or the régimes then in power. Lenin showed that the wars kindled by the big imperialist powers were neither just nor defensive wars, neither progressive nor patriotic wars, and certainly not wars of liberation. These were wars for a redivision of the world between the imperialist powers, and

were rooted in the latter's uneven development.

How should the proletariat react to such wars, particularly to those which threatened peace at the beginning of the century? Like some of the other leaders of the Second International, Lenin maintained that the Socialists should do two things. Their first duty was to explain to the masses the organic link between capitalism and war. But it would be criminal to refuse to fight against war preparations (or to underestimate the significance of the anti-war struggle) on the grounds that war is the natural product of capitalism. As Jean Jaurés put it: "the International would not want us to dream on the soft cushion of doctrinairism, passively awaiting the collapse of capitalism to put an end to war." This is precisely why the resolution adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International (1907), after the intervention on the part of Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and other revolutionary Marxists, called on the working class to resist the preparation of the imperialist war with *all* means available; the resolution added that in the event of war, it was the duty of the Socialists to work to bring it to a speedy end, and to use the ensuing political and economic crisis for drawing the masses into the struggle with a view to accelerating the downfall of capitalism. The Copenhagen and Basle Congresses too reaffirmed this line.

Lenin's contribution to the subject was decisive, and its significance for the further development of the working-class struggle was enormous. This is confirmed also by his replies to the naive and semi-anarchist views expressed by Herve who called on the working class "to 'reply' to any war by a strike and an uprising." While not denying the "living stream" of this attitude, Lenin said that calls of this kind were but an empty threat. With the threat of war imminent, and especially after its outbreak, the bourgeoisie, disguising the true character of the war by pleading "defense of the country," mobilizes the working people into the army and thus settles the question to its own advantage. Consequently, only a persistent and concerted effort against the war preparations and war itself—a revolutionary effort determined by the actual correlation of forces and the concrete conditions—can paralyze the actions of the imperialist instigators of war.

When the First World War broke out this, the only correct principle, was betrayed by most of the Socialist Parties. Renouncing their own resolutions, they took the path of class

collaboration and began to preach the policy of the imperialists in the working-class movement. The Bolshevik Party alone, which had adopted Lenin's analysis of imperialist wars and which adhered to its revolutionary Leninist position, fought against the war to the end in the interests of the masses.

The Existence of the Socialist State Changed the Conditions of the Fight for Peace

The October Revolution of 1917, which was the test for Lenin's conclusions, was also an event which for the first time radically changed the conditions of the struggle for peace.

The first change pertained to the political organization of the world proletariat. Inspired by the example of the Bolsheviks, the working-class vanguard in many countries in the early twenties chose the new, Leninist International. To preclude further deception, and to fight effectively against imperialist wars, the proletariat needed a Party capable of heading its struggle in the same way as Lenin's Party had led the workers of Russia. The Communist Parties which emerged at the time became reliable bulwarks of their people in defending peace.

But the main factor which tipped the scales of the struggle for peace was the birth of the world's first socialist country. Its rise did not abolish, naturally, the basic antagonisms of imperialism. What is more, to the old contradictions the existence of the Land of Soviets added a new one—the contradiction between the capitalist countries and the socialist country. But at the same time, and this is most important, it provided the peace movement with *new means and with new forces*.

The October Revolution gave birth to the first country in which the majority, and not the minority, holds power. This country is not in need of war as a way out of its internal conflicts between the exploited and the exploiters—these no longer exist. In the Soviet Union there is no one with a stake in war: the working class, the peasantry and intellectuals—masters of the land of socialism—know that wars mean suffering and misery. The Soviet Union is not in need of foreign territory; it does not seek a redivision of the world, nor is it in need of seizing foreign markets, for crises of overproduction are alien to socialism, since the steady growth of output is accompanied by increased purchasing power. Nor does the Soviet Union have to secure higher profits through the export of

capital. Thanks to the abolition of capitalism, of finance capital in particular, and thanks to the transformation of private ownership of the means of production into socialist ownership, society has passed from a system whose main law is the drive for maximum profit to a system whose main law is maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people.

Contrary to the slanders spread by the enemies of the socialist country, it does not need a war to "achieve the triumph of socialism on a world scale." Why should the Soviet Union plunge headlong into a devastating war when the socialist system (whose superiority is attested by a higher rate of growth of output) is winning the peoples without war, when the USSR's peace policy is winning more and more supporters? Obviously the Soviet Communists, like their brothers elsewhere, would like to see socialism triumph on a world scale, but they would never dream of seeing it triumph through war. From the very inception of Soviet power its foreign policy has been based on peaceful coexistence between the two systems. This is not a propaganda trick or a tactical maneuver, it is a fundamental principle which logically follows from the Leninist thesis on the possibility of building socialism in a single country. The Soviet Union is for peaceful coexistence, first because it facilitates socialist construction (or communist construction—today) whereas war does the opposite, and, second, because Marxists-Leninists appeal to the sound sense of people and want them to base their conclusions on facts and on experience: a socialism brought from without, by force of arms, through war, is contrary to Marxism. Replying to those who urged the Soviet government to continue the war with a view to giving a "jog" to the revolutionary movement in the other belligerent countries, Lenin in February 1918, said: "Such a 'theory' would be completely at variance with Marxism, which has always been opposed to 'jogging' revolutions, which develop with the ripening of the class antagonisms which give birth to revolutions."*

That is why Soviet power from the day of its birth, when the Decree on Peace was adopted on November 8, 1917, has pursued a consistent policy of peace, inherent in the very nature of the socialist country and corresponding to the interests of the people, which it expressed. And being aware of the support of the people, Soviet power never bowed to

the flat "no" with which the imperialist states have replied to its proposals on peace and disarmament.

The socialist country and its persistent peace policy have enabled the peoples, and above all the working class of the capitalist countries, to see better the source of the war danger and those responsible for it. This has greatly facilitated the carrying out of the task which Lenin regarded as a condition for the success of the anti-war struggle: ripping off the mask of deceit with which the bourgeoisie concealed the outbreak of wars and which enabled it to embroil the working class without its knowing the origins of the war. The masses have been alerted to the maneuvers of the aggressors. The growing might of the Soviet Union and its policy have helped to rouse public opinion against the war-mongers. The peoples have now the answer to the question: "Who is for peace and who for war?" The wish of Jean Jaurés has at last been realized: "All these longings for peace lack resolution, they are split and divided. Oh! How strong they could be if only they had an organized center with a clearly expressed will for peace!" Such a "peace center" has now appeared in the shape of the socialist country.

The qualitative changes in the struggle for peace were already manifest during the imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia. For the first time in history the actions of the masses headed by the working class — demonstrations, refusal to deliver munitions, mutinies in the interventionist forces — were decisive in stopping the war. The end was achieved even without the overthrow of the capitalist system in those countries.

The reasons for the successes gained by the international proletariat are worth analyzing. The fact that the war was waged against the country where the working class, in alliance with the poor peasants, was in power, brought into clear relief the *imperialist* character of the war, a point that was not so clear to the masses in 1914. The people, aided by their class consciousness, were not affected by chauvinism. The deepening class consciousness was furthered by the First World War, during which, as Anatole France put it, "people gave up their lives for the capitalists thinking they were dying for their country." In Germany and Bulgaria the workers and peasants imparted a revolutionary spirit to the struggle for peace while the First World War was still on. During the foreign intervention in Russia the outburst of popular

*Lenin, *Sel. Works*, Two-vol. ed., Vol. III, p. 401.

sympathy in France sparked off the insurrection in the French fleet in the Black Sea—the men solidarized with the young Soviet country; in Britain the dockworkers refused to load arms for the counter-revolutionaries. And in the summer of 1920 the British workers formed “councils of action,” threatening the government with a general strike should it send troops again against the Soviet Republic.

Churchill regretted that the bourgeois governments had not strangled socialism in its cradle, while it was still weak. He simply forgot that the imperialists had failed to do so because the peoples of their countries would not let them.

In the next eighteen years proletarian solidarity with the country of socialism, and support on the part of the broad non-proletarian sections—which saw in the USSR a champion of peace—were obstacles which prevented the imperialists from unleashing an anti-Soviet war. *Proletarian internationalism* gained considerably in strength in this period, asserting itself more and more as an essential factor of peace. Another important development was the launching of the peace movement. Inspired by the working class and its Communist vanguard, this movement attracted other sections and various political trends. The mass movement initiated by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland was an example; this peace movement was not confined to the class-conscious workers, nor did it pursue any class aims such as the overthrow of capitalism. Its aim was to defend peace against the fascist warmongers.

This struggle for peace was based on three great ideas set forth by Lenin: to rip off the veil of secrecy with which the imperialists conceal their preparations for war, to bring home to the people the truth about war and alert their vigilance; to organize the masses and help the peoples to intervene in the questions of war and peace by taking recourse to mass action, to force the rulers publicly to give account of their actions, to place them under the public control and exert pressure on them in the interests of peace; and, finally, to force the imperialists to recognize the need for coexistence between countries with differing economic and political systems, namely, the need to coexist with the socialist system.

At that time, however, the peace forces were not strong enough to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. The Soviet Union was the only socialist country, the only country which put everything into the

fight for peace. Its international prestige was already high; but its military might, while adequate to check the execution of the imperialist war plans, was not yet sufficient to prevent aggression. The fascists crushed the working-class movement in Germany, Italy and Japan, in Spain and Portugal. In other capitalist countries the peace forces were divided and, consequently, were unable to compel the governments to pursue a policy of close alliance with the USSR, which alone could have curbed Hitler and Mussolini.

The Social Democrats, too, bear their share of responsibility for the war; their attitude was highly instructive. The right-wing Socialist leaders, by supporting the “non-intervention” policy in Spain and the Munich surrender, in the hope of buying peace by making concessions to the fascist aggressors, and by rejecting the unity of all the peaceful and democratic forces, thwarted the formation of a united peace front. The lack of unity among the peace forces and, above all, of the working class in the European countries (apart from other factors) opened the door to fascist aggression. The reason why the Social Democrats pursued this line can be found in Lenin’s analysis of the class roots of reformism. The labor aristocrats, feeding on the crumbs from the capitalist table, and the proletarianized petty-bourgeois elements, have always tended towards alignment with the imperialist bourgeoisie, and have often ended with defending the latter’s class interests. The political agents of these elements in the working-class movement fear mass action, independent organization and working-class unity, because these factors, more than anything else, contribute to its leading role. To justify their surrender to the fascist violence, they proclaimed the slogan which is at once absurd and contemptible—“better slavery than death!” Think of the thousands of rank-and-file Socialists who later fell at the hands of the Hitler butchers just because their leaders accepted slavery! Their alternative was false, being calculated to disguise their true aim: “Better Hitler than alliance with the land of socialism!” The ideological onslaught of the Social Democrats between 1936-39, while appealing to petty-bourgeois pacifism to the detriment of the proletarian struggle for peace, objectively contributed to the Hitler aggression.

Thus the peace forces could neither seriously delay nor prevent the outbreak of war in 1939. Still, the fight put up by the Communist Parties, for example, the French Com-

munist Party, which called for collective security and fidelity to the Franco-Soviet treaty, brought about the rapid growth of their influence later on when the masses became convinced that the Communists were right. This ensured for the Communists the prestige they needed in order to head the Resistance Movement. Every struggle waged on behalf of the people is bound to benefit the general movement for social progress, even though the aim is not directly secured. *In the fight for peace the working class, while it was unable to avert wars, has "capitalized" on the results of its persistent peace efforts; it is "drawing the dividends" today,*

Thus, the working-class struggle for putting an end to imperialist wars is already in itself a tremendous achievement, one of the basic factors enabling the working class, provided it draws all the necessary conclusions, to continue the fight to a victorious end.

It can safely be said that completely new prospects are opening up for the working class.

The Possibility of Abolishing War is at Hand

Whereas it was not possible to prevent the outbreak of the two world wars, today the job of abolishing war, always an aim of the working class, can be accomplished. As early as 1950 Maurice Thorez said: "War is the natural consequence of capitalism. *But it is not inevitable, . . .* (For) the forces of capitalism are steadily declining, whereas the forces of democracy and socialism, the forces of peace, are steadily growing." The question was elaborated by the Twentieth and the Twenty-First Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Dwelling on the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the inevitability of war, given the existence of imperialism, Khrushchov recalled that this thesis dated from the period when capitalism held sway as a universal world system, from the times when the forces having no stake in war were not sufficiently organized to deter the imperialists. Even today this Leninist thesis is valid in the sense that so long as imperialism exists, the economic conditions for unleashing wars will also exist, as well as the gravitation towards war as a means for seizing markets, perpetrating colonial oppression, overcoming internal contradictions and, lastly, as a means of destroying the socialist system. A gravitation towards war is inherent in the nature of imperialism. The desire of the Bonn government to secure military bases in Spain, on Sardinia, and even in France, is

illustrative of the lengths to which some imperialists, the West German in this case, will go in striving to secure strategic and economic leadership in capitalist Europe, with a view to provoking a military conflict with the socialist countries. But it should be borne in mind that war is not solely an economic phenomenon. *"Whether there is to be a war or not depends in large measure on the correlation of class forces, political forces, the degree of organization and the awareness and resolve of the people."* (N. Khrushchov.)

In this respect a new situation has developed: *For the first time in history war is no longer fatally inevitable.*

What are the features of the new situation? The first basic feature is that the working class, in alliance with other sections of the working people, has taken power in a whole number of countries, and not in just one country. The socialist countries with a population of one billion are making rapid progress. The moral and political unity of their peoples (internally and between the socialist nations) is a fact, and the will of the people for peace is but an element cementing this unity. The policy of the working class, now the ruling class, is a faithful reflection of this will. Another feature is the military superiority of the socialist camp thanks to the scientific and technological achievements of the Soviet Union (for instance, the space rockets). The economic, scientific and technological potential of the USSR, and the unity and high morale of its peoples, are indicative of the crushing retaliatory power in its possession. The imperialists cannot afford to disregard this.

On the other hand the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, its peace policy, its disinterested aid to the newly independent countries, its initiative in working for a *détente* and peaceful coexistence are conducive to the growth of the peace forces outside the socialist camp. Many African, Asian and Latin American countries, no longer the reserve of imperialism, are now fighting for peace. As it gains strength, the working class of these countries engages in more effective action against colonial wars, atomic weapon tests, etc. In the imperialist countries, too, the working-class movement has grown stronger, and big sections of the people, wiser after the last war and conscious of the danger of an atomic holocaust, are better organized and working for peace with much greater resolve than was the case before 1939. The world peace movement is illustrative of this. These develop-

ments cannot but affect the designs of the aggressors, who are uneasy about their strategic bases and their rear-lines; they have fear even for the morale of "their own" people and armies.

The early discontinuation of the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt, brought about by the joint stand taken by the Soviet Union and the masses in the non-socialist countries, demonstrated that the possibility of averting war is very great indeed.

It is precisely the growth and consolidation of the peace forces that have brought about discord among the imperialists. Proof of this is the trend among the ruling circles of a number of imperialist countries (the United States and Britain, for instance) which, notwithstanding its inherent differences and inconsistencies, is in favor of a more realistic policy if not a genuine *détente*, at any rate a trend opposed to "brinkmanship."

It is hard to foretell the future, but one thing is certain: when the overall production of the socialist countries will be more than half the world's industrial output, when the USSR, after completion of its Seven-Year Plan, becomes industrial power number one, when the newly liberated countries align themselves with the peace-loving states, when the peoples of the world, as a result of the tireless efforts of the Communist Parties and the world peace movement, feel that war is no longer permissible, then it will be possible to forestall any imperialist attempt to unleash war.

In other words, the new developments attest that, even before socialism triumphs as the sole world system, war may cease to be an instrument of policy, that even now, *while capitalism still holds sway over a part of the world, the possibility of excluding world war from the life of society is at hand.*

The peoples will not allow the imperialists to have their way. *The peoples want to see the contradictions between the two systems solved in a peaceful way, through economic and ideological competition.* This competition, of course, implies struggle, but not armed struggle which, with modern weapons, would turn vast areas into a Hiroshima. The competition implies the battle of ideas, rivalry for the best production indices for industry and agriculture, for living standards. Were the capitalists confident of the superiority of their system, of its ability to ensure the welfare of the peoples, a theme on which bourgeois propaganda constantly harps, it would

not reject this challenge to peaceful competition.

And should the capitalists be reckless enough to start a world war this would be the end of them. Moreover, the preparation for war, the arms drive, the unprecedented militarization of the highly developed capitalist countries by virtue of their internal dialectics threaten the very existence of capitalism. Engel's words to this effect have been confirmed to a degree he could have hardly foreseen: "The modern warship," he wrote, "is not only a product, but at the same time a specimen of modern large-scale industry, a floating factory—producing mainly, to be sure, a lavish waste of money." At the same time "a ship is almost always not up to requirements, already out of date, before it is launched." This is all the more true of modern warships, mammoth bombers and other costly weapons. The first victim of this development, as Engels pointed out, is . . . violence itself. ". . . In this competitive struggle between armor-plating and guns, the warship is being developed to a pitch of perfection which is making it both outrageously costly and unusable in war, and this struggle makes manifest also . . . those immanent dialectical laws of motion on the basis of which militarism, like any other historical phenomenon, is being brought to destruction as a result of its own development." Of course, this process does not occur automatically, and if "militarism collapses by the dialectic of its own evolution" this takes place for two reasons: as a result of a "financial crash" caused by intensive militarization of the economies of the capitalist state, as well as of the possibility opened to the people, as Engels put it, "to make its will prevail" in opposition to the militarist governments. The acceleration of this process brings closer the death knell of militarism. This gives real hope for complete and general disarmament. No matter what the capitalist governments do, it can be affirmed that today the conditions for such disarmament are at hand.

As Engels foresaw, "the inevitable explosion of militarism" is on the agenda; it will be the result of the simultaneous operation of both the *internal* factors inherent in militarism itself, and the *external* factors, such as the economic and technological might of the socialist camp, the political struggle of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the world for peace.

The perspective, the contours of which Engels charted more than half a century ago,

is in our days a realistic perspective, a *practical possibility*. International *détente* is an important step along the road to peace. But the peoples know only too well that an armed peace is no real peace. Hence, as they see it, their main task is to force the unwilling governments to disarm. Even a partial step in this direction will find support on the part of the peoples. But a partial step will be only one stage along the road to the ultimate aim: general and complete disarmament. That is why the peoples are all for the Soviet proposals, which have been submitted again to the Ten-Power Disarmament Committee.

The prospect of a world without war will be all the clearer the more the working class relies on its experience and works to ensure the conditions which will guarantee peace. These conditions are: first, the growing technological and economic might of the socialist camp, for which the completion of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan will be of immense importance; second, the peace policy of the socialist countries, expressed in the Soviet Union's initiative and persistence, which makes it impossible for the imperialists to conceal from the masses the true intent of their maneuvering; third, the activity of all Communist Parties, which show the masses how to approach the questions of war and peace and which organize their intervention in these matters under working-class leadership; fourth, patient work to extend the peace movement—an independent organization uniting the most diverse forces which, by virtue of the prestige it commands, can influence government policy; fifth, strengthening and spreading proletarian internationalism among the various sections of the people; sixth, persistent ideological struggle against the subterfuges and lies of the warmakers and their greater isolation in each country and throughout the world.

The Responsibility of the Working Class

The fight for peace can be won. In the socialist countries its success depends on the efforts of every citizen fulfilling and over-fulfilling the production plans, because this will add weight to the efforts of their governments to secure a *détente*.

In the capitalist countries the success of the peace movement depends largely on the efforts of the working class and above all of its Communist vanguard, whose constant duty is to warn the common people of the danger, to rally them and draw them into the struggle for complete disarmament, for negotia-

tions, for any agreement or settlement aimed at easing tension in any part of the world.

The working class is the only class in history which has proclaimed the abolition of war its class aim. In working for this aim it must draw the other social strata into the struggle for peace. The attempts made to charge us with "craftiness" and "pursuing tactics" are really revolting, because all we want from those men and women who for reasons of their own do not wish to work for socialism, is to join hands in the fight for peace. Some fear that by aligning themselves with the peace movement they will increase the forces of socialism and thus contribute to its ultimate triumph. This merely shows that they are not sure of the soundness of the system they prefer. As for us we, in upholding peace, are not afraid to join hands with those who stand for capitalism; because we have no fear that by doing so we will be helping to bolster up that system. While we are atheists, we are not opposed to joint action with those peace supporters who believe in God. Capitalism grows weaker when it is prevented from executing its "natural" functions of exploiting, oppressing colonies and waging wars. It is also true that by taking part in the peace movement the people learn from their own *experience* about the tendency of imperialism to resolve its contradictions through war; they also learn of the desire for peace inherent in the socialist system. There is, of course, no guarantee that the people will arrive at such conclusions. But the politicians who for these reasons refrain from joint action for peace with the Communists and who hold back the masses under their influence, nevertheless cannot stop this process. Sooner or later, with persistent efforts on the part of the Communists, the masses will come to realize that rejection of an alliance with the Communists, who, as experience shows, are in the van of the peace struggle, splits and weakens the peace forces, and plays into the hands of the warmongers. The politicians, especially the Social Democratic leaders, who, while claiming to be peace partisans, refuse to use the means to secure peace—i.e., joint action by all peace forces—will have to face this fact unless they wish to sacrifice their prestige and influence.

The working class will make every effort to rally the peace partisans and will carry out its duty to the peoples of the respective countries and to humanity, for whose future—a future without war—it has accepted full re-

sponsibility. The Communists, well aware of their responsibility as leaders, are justly proud of this, because this future—a world without

war—will be the most valuable contribution which socialism can make to the history of mankind.

Soviet Trade Unions and Communist Construction

V. Grishin

IN the USSR the trade unions are the biggest mass organizations of the working people, uniting as they do some 53 million factory, office and professional workers — the most numerous detachment of the international trade union movement.

The Soviet trade unions, militant organizations of the working class and champions of its fundamental interests, play a prominent part in public life and in building communism. They are part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, as organizations of the “*ruling, dominant, governing*” class, to use Lenin’s words, participate actively in State and economic construction.

Does this mean that the unions are State organizations? By no means. Lenin resolutely combated the incorrect thesis that trade unions should be “governmentalized.” The trade unions, he emphasized, are not state organizations. They are educational organizations, they are schools, schools of administration, schools of management, schools of communism.

The Leninist precept that the trade unions are also schools safeguarding the interests of the working people is as valid as it was thirty-eight years ago. And although our trade unions are no longer called upon to wage an economic class struggle, they nevertheless still have to protect the working people from bureaucracy and red-tape, etc. In this sense they are protectors of the working people, co-operating with the State in the capacity of the *independent* organization of the workers.

Recently Slesarev, a factory manager in Lvov, was removed from his post on the demand of the trade union organization for violating labor legislation, forcing workers to do overtime and even work weekends, without the sanction of the factory trade union committee. Furthermore, Slesarev ignored the factory committee and tried to belittle its role

in production, housing and other matters. The Lvov Regional Committee of the Food Industry Trade Union adopted a decision demanding the manager’s removal. The complaint which Slesarev lodged with the Regional Council of Trade Unions was turned down as being unjustified, and the Board of the Lvov Economic Council removed him from his post.

This kind of co-operation between the trade unions and the State, a perfectly regular proceeding when the working class is in power, and the natural resources, the land, industrial enterprises, banks and trading establishments are owned by the working people through the State or co-operative organizations, has nothing in common with the policy of class collaboration pursued by reformists in the West. Their talk about the “harmony of labor and capital” — designed to justify their subservience to the monopolies — is sheer humbug, because capitalist production aims at securing maximum profits for the *owners of capital* by intensified exploitation of the working people and lowering their standard of living. The actions of these leaders confirm Lenin’s words that these traitors to the working class cause, who claim to be friends of the people, are greater advocates of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself.

Western critics of communism claim that the socialist system is “undemocratic” because, they say, the right to strike has been taken away from our workers. How do matters really stand? As we know, strikes testify to the antagonisms between labor and capital; they are inevitable under capitalism. They do not occur in Soviet society, since there are no antagonistic classes in it and since all members of society are equally interested in seeing the economy develop and the standard of living improve. Hence demands advanced by the workers do not give rise to conflicts; they are discussed with the

representatives of the trade unions and management, and just and satisfactory solutions are reached.

There is no need for our trade unions and the workers to resort to strikes, although they have never been deprived of this right under the law. In the early years of Soviet rule, when we were taking "only the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism," as Lenin said, occasional strikes did take place. Thirty-eight years ago Lenin wrote: "... the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the trade unions must never forget, and must never conceal from the workers and the mass of the working people, that the strike struggle in a State where the proletariat holds political power can be explained and justified only by bureaucratic distortions of the proletarian State and by the survival of all kinds of remnants of the old capitalist system in government institutions on the one hand, and by the political immaturity and cultural backwardness of the masses of the working people on the other."* Such profound changes have since taken place in Soviet society, in the economy and in the minds of the working people that strikes are no longer called for. Freed from the rule of capital, socialist production is developing not to bring profits to capitalists, but to satisfy the growing material and cultural requirements of the people as a whole. In the USSR everything produced by the workers and peasants, in other words, the entire national income, is placed at the disposal of society. About 75 per cent of it goes to satisfy the personal requirements of the people, the remainder to develop industry and for State needs, i.e., for the benefit of society as a whole.

The situation is different in the capitalist countries. The long strike of half-a-million U.S. steelworkers in 1959 showed how deep are the class antagonisms in capitalist society. Strikes are a necessary working class weapon there. And so the monopolies constantly attack the right to strike. The Taft-Hartley Act, under which the U.S. Government can suspend strikes, was the first step towards prohibiting strike action. In September 1959 Congress passed a law that went still further; in effect, it placed the trade unions under the control of the authorities, thus making nonsense of the rights for which the unions had fought for years, and providing for the suppression of strikes.

That is how matters stand with regard to the right to strike in the Soviet Union and in the West.

In the Soviet Union the position of the working class differs fundamentally from that of the workers in the capitalist countries and, accordingly, the functions of Soviet unions differ radically from those of the unions in the West. Our unions are one of the pillars of the Soviet system because they consistently express and uphold the interests of the working people generally. On behalf of the workers the trade unions get in touch with state and public organizations on labor, cultural and other questions. The unions participate directly in drafting the laws on these questions, and decisions taken by the central and local State and economic bodies are agreed upon with the trade union organizations. Social insurance is administered by the trade unions; they see to it that labor legislation, labor protection and health regulations are observed. They supervise the functioning of trading establishments, canteens, kindergartens, clubs, holiday homes and sanatoriums, conduct educational work and help in raising the workers' cultural and technical level; they have the rights, the necessary means and facilities for this.

With the advance to communism, the trade unions will play an increasingly important role. They will take a greater part in industrial management and, undoubtedly, will take over some of the functions now carried out by government bodies.

II

In the Soviet Union the working people are directly interested in producing more and in seeing the national income steadily grow, because this means a further rise in their well-being. It is not fortuitous that the collective agreements which the trade unions sign every year with the managements of works and factories and economic organizations include such points as fulfilment of production plans and better working and living conditions. *Under socialism efforts to raise labor productivity and improve conditions are two aspects of one and the same problem: to raise the standard of living.*

That is why the Soviet trade unions consider it their cardinal task to rally the people to work for technological advance, higher labor productivity and further progress in all spheres.

*V. I. Lenin, *On the Road and Tasks of The Trade Unions.*

In the nationwide efforts to build the material and technical base of communism as speedily as possible the Soviet man's consciousness and his fidelity to communism develop and come more and more to the fore. Is not Valentina Gaganova, a young worker from the Vyshny Volochok cotton mill, a case in point? Gaganova was leader of one of the best teams of spinners, earned good money and was held in esteem by her workmates. This, one would think, should have been enough to satisfy a person. But not Gaganova. Some of the work-teams were behind with their plan and, on her own initiative, motivated solely by the desire to help her workmates and the collective in general, she joined the most backward team. That she would temporarily be earning less did not worry her in the least. In a year's time this team became one of the best, and in October, when it was completing its production plan for 1959, was given the title of Communist Labor Team.

No mean achievement when one considers that there are about 200,000 teams, shifts and sectors, in all about three million workers, engineers and technicians, in the Communist Labor Team movement. These heralds of the future, eager to apply the latest techniques, firmly put their foot down against sluggishness and backwardness, and aim at being leading people not only at work but in their day-to-day lives and study.

Our trade unions consider these teams to be one of the most splendid phenomena of our time, and, as Lenin taught, they carefully tend these shoots of communism, and do everything to encourage their growth. This attests to the *political maturity* of our people, to their ability to carry on production in a socialist way, and take an active part in management.

In the early years of Soviet rule, Lenin said that the trade unions — a "reserve of State power, schools of communism, schools of management" — should participate in managing the national economy as a *single economic entity*. Rejecting the anarcho-syndicalist views, Lenin emphasized that it was not a question of the trade unions directly managing an industry or an enterprise; any substitution for personal responsibility for management of the enterprises was *undoubtedly harmful and inadmissible*. For Lenin trade union management signified maintaining constant contact between the government bodies and the working people, enlisting the majority of the population into the management of the national economy.

It is in this direction that the functions of the Soviet trade unions are developing in the period of all-round communist construction. In his union the Soviet worker, the master of production, is attending a practical school of administration, a school of management.

The unions help to draw up economic plans — the draft plan submitted by enterprises cannot be examined at higher levels without being discussed beforehand at meetings of workers. Plans are also discussed at trade union conferences and congresses. For example, the draft of the current seven-year plan was discussed in 1958 at trade union congresses. Over 70 million people took part in the nationwide discussion of the plan, and all in all 4,672,000 people tabled amendments and suggestions.

Trade union members participate in management through production conferences, which are a permanent feature of all enterprises and big factory shops. This standing body, elected at general meetings of workers and guided by the works' trade union committee, includes representatives of the management and the social organizations in the enterprise. Over seven million workers take part in these conferences.

On the suggestion of the trade unions, the Government has granted wide powers to the production conferences, including the right to hear all reports by the work's manager on economic activity. At these conferences a worker can air his views on production matters, criticize shortcomings in the work of the executives and put forward proposals. This is a good means of combining one-man management with control exercised by the workers.

What exactly are the functions of these production conferences? As an example let us take the Kharkov heavy electrical equipment works. Its general production conference and the shop conferences consist of over 650 people, two-thirds of whom are workers elected at general meetings. These conferences are open to any who wish to attend and speak. And the workers use this right: in the past eighteen months every ninth worker in the plant has exercised this right. Important questions connected with the running of the plant were examined, including measures to raise labor productivity, plan fulfilment, the preparations for passing over to a shorter working day, labor protection measures, material and technical supplies, economizing non-ferrous metals. In addition to reports by

the management the conferences heard reports by representatives of the trade union organization.

A striking example of workers actively participating in industrial management is provided by the shipyard's trade union organization in Stalingrad. Assembly shop workers found defects in the design of the machine they were handling and reported the matter to the shop's production conference. It was decided to put in a request to withdraw the machine from production. A commission consisting of representatives from the management, the economic and trade union councils of the region upheld the suggestion, but the Planning Committee of the Russian Federation would not agree. Two shipyard workers, one of whom was a representative of the production conference, were then delegated to Moscow, where the question was favorably settled. The workers thus prevented the manufacture of bad machines.

Another way of drawing the working people into management is to encourage them to make rationalization proposals and to further their inventive abilities. The All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, sponsored by the trade unions, is proof of this. This society helps its members (of whom there are some 1,500,000, mostly workers) to develop their proposals, i.e., to make calculations, prepare blueprints, etc., to get them tested in the factories and applied. If necessary it protects the patents taken out by inventors and rationalizers. All in all, over 3,300,000 proposals were submitted in the past year for improving production processes. Over two million of these have been introduced and it is expected that an annual economy of over 11 billion roubles will result.

The trade unions direct the scientific and technological societies, embracing nearly a million researchers and engineers. Here is an example of the activities of the Scientific and Technological Society of the Building Industry attached to the Kiev "Teplostroiproekt" Institute. After the Institute completed designing the Yermakovskaya thermal power station, one of the biggest of its kind, the Society arranged a public discussion on the project with the participation of building and power experts. A number of important suggestions were subsequently adopted by the Institute management, and it was possible to reduce building costs by nearly six million roubles.

III

While helping to develop the productive forces — the basis for further economic progress — the Soviet trade unions are at the same time working to improve the conditions of the workers, to raise their standard of living.

In contrast to the position obtaining in capitalist countries, in the Soviet Union, the right to work, a right guaranteed by the Constitution, has long been realized in practice. The problem of abolishing unemployment does not, and cannot, face the Soviet trade unions, for the socialist economy is developing under a single plan. In view of the fact that the next six years will see a tremendous rise in production, while the public catering network, trading, communal services, public health, scientific and cultural establishments will be considerably extended, *the number of factory, office and professional workers is expected to increase by 12 million.*

The seven-year plan is permeated with concern for the well-being of the people. Wages and pensions will go up. The Soviet Union will have the shortest working day and week in the world, with a simultaneous rise in the standard of living. Houses, educational, recreational and other establishments will be built on a large scale. There will be a big increase in consumer-goods output; trade turnover will grow and the communal services improve.

The trade unions help in every way to implement planned measures and play an active part in regulating wages. Obsolete wage rates and scales are being revised, and steps taken to see that people working in kindred professions receive equal pay — for in the situation which obtained when industries and building were under ministerial management people doing the same job did not receive the same pay. As a result, wages have risen substantially in the past couple of years. In the coal industry, for instance, where the working day has been reduced from seven to six hours, a miner's average monthly wage has risen by 20 to 25 per cent.

A resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in September 1959 provides for the transition to the seven-hour day — in some industries to six hours — being completed this year. It is planned to start going over to a six-hour day in 1964. As Khrushchov has pointed out: in the event of the Soviet pro-

posal for total disarmament being accepted, a huge army, "half the workers in our country could be switched to a six-hour day during the period of the current seven-year plan."

In agreement with the trade unions, the local economic organizations are taking steps to go over to the shorter working day. New technology is being widely introduced and labor organization improved. This will facilitate the fulfilment of production plans and bring about a further rise in labor productivity with a shorter working day. Labor is being made less arduous, while heavy manual labor is gradually being eliminated. Conditions for the free worker of socialist society are being improved in every enterprise, and the government allocates huge sums annually for labor protection, health and other measures.

Under the law a worker, depending upon his job, is entitled to receive overalls, boots and protective equipment free of charge. In some industries, the chemical, for instance, a worker enjoys free of charge every day milk, a lunch consisting of food rich in vitamins, and a high-calorie three-course dinner, to increase his resistance to disease.

The union technical inspectors see that labor laws, labor protection and health regulations are observed, and their instructions on labor protection are *obligatory* for factory managements. Not a single industrial enterprise, and not a single project, can be put into commission without the permission of these inspectors; they have the right to halt work on any sector if the labor-protection regulations are not observed.

The management cannot dismiss a worker unless the trade union organization agrees. The two million voluntary inspectors and members of the labor protection commissions, in other words, the factory and office workers themselves, see to it that labor laws and regulations are strictly observed.

On the initiative of the unions the Government often takes decisions on improving work conditions. Not long ago, for example, it was decided to install more lighting in industrial enterprises, to increase output of sanitary and technical equipment, work-clothes and protective equipment, and to improve their quality. The unions displayed initiative in drawing up Draft Principles of Labor Legislation. A Bill which has been submitted jointly by the Government and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is now the subject of a nationwide discussion.

Welfare funds allocated by the Government are in large measure handled by the unions. Factory and office workers in the USSR have two-, three- and four-week annual paid holidays. They enjoy free medical services. Kindergartens and creches cater to millions of children either free of charge or on favorable terms. Secondary and higher school education, as well as vocational training, is free. Students receive monthly grants, and large sums are allocated for housing, the building of schools and hospitals.

The social insurance budget is in the hands of the unions, and the Government transfers to them the insurance dues collected from the factories and establishments. These add up to big sums. The social insurance budget for 1959 totalled 70,200 million roubles, that is, *nearly 1,200 roubles per worker*, or about 10 to 12 per cent of his annual wage.

Where does this money go? In the first place it is used to pay sick benefits: from the day a worker is on the sick list and until he fully recovers, or is officially invalided, he receives in benefits up to 100 per cent of his wage. The trade unions also use the money to provide medical treatment and recreation for working people. We have more than 3,000 sanatoriums and holiday homes where about 3,500,000 workers annually spend their vacations, the passes for which are given either free of charge or for 20 to 30 per cent of the cost. So-called night sanatoriums have been established at many enterprises. They are managed by unions, and in them a worker can obtain the medical treatment prescribed by the doctor and relax after his day's work. And this is free of charge.

The Government and the unions take special care of women workers. A woman has 112 days maternity leave and the benefits she receives from the social insurance fund equal as a rule her full wage.

Old-age pensioners in our country are held in esteem and surrounded with care. The trade unions took part in drafting the law under which pensions were more than doubled. All workers are entitled to an old-age pension — men from the age of sixty and women from fifty-five, while miners, metalworkers and workers in some other industries are granted pensions on reaching the age of fifty for men and forty-five for women. Invalids, too, receive a pension. Should the bread-winner die, his family is given a pension. The trade unions take part in determining the size of a pension and supervise the activity of social security bodies.

Housing, it goes without saying, is an important factor in raising the living standard. The old Russia left the people a poor legacy of dwellings. But even these resources were greatly depleted in the course of the civil war and foreign intervention and, later on, during the Great Patriotic War. Suffice it to say that the last war left over 25 million people homeless.

Much has been done to make good the ravages of war. In the current seven-year plan period we are going to build a further 15 million flats in the towns and seven million houses in rural areas and to help millions of workers build their own homes. The unions check up on how building plans are being fulfilled and the quality of the work, and are jointly responsible in passing completed buildings for occupation. The management and trade union organization together take many factors into consideration in deciding who should be given flats in the houses built by the enterprises. And trade union representatives also have their say as to who should receive flats in houses under the jurisdiction of the local Soviets.

Vast numbers of trade union activists—some 1,700,000 public controllers—keep an eye on how the public utilities function. They see to it that trading regulations are observed, work to improve the public services, and verify the work of trade organizations and the retail shops.

In a word, the functions of the trade unions are designed to raise the standard of living, and are yielding tangible results.

IV

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU pointed out that with our advance towards communism, socialist democracy would develop still further, the mass public organizations including the trade unions would play a great role, and the sphere of their activities steadily widen. Inner democracy is a prerequisite for enhancing the role of the trade unions.

The Soviet trade unions are organized on the industrial principle and function on the basis of democratic centralism. Even before the October Revolution the Russian unions were the first in the international trade union movement to go over from being local and craft unions to united organizations on the principle of one enterprise, one industry—*one industry, one union*. This made for the best conditions for working class unity both

in the factories and on a nationwide scale. There are now twenty-three trade unions in the USSR, each of which unites workers employed in the same or several kindred branches of the economy. The internal life of each union is regulated by its rules. Democratic centralism, on which the rules are based, stipulates that all union bodies are elected and accountable to their members, that decisions are adopted by a simple majority.

The Soviet trade unions are independent of the Government. According to Soviet legislation they are not required to register with Government establishments. What is more, the law provides that the Government bodies should help the unions in every possible way.

Union work is guided by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which is elected by secret ballot at a trade union congress, the delegates to which are also elected by secret ballot at trade union conferences on the principle of proportional representation. Each union has an elected central committee. The work of the local unions is directed by trade union councils, which enjoy a great measure of independent action, and by the Committees of the Republics, Territories and Regions of the various Unions. Local committees guide the work of the unions in the enterprises, on state farms, construction sites, etc.

This organizational structure ensures centralized leadership, and at the same time leaves plenty of scope for initiative and independent action by the local organizations. It also enables the unions to take due account of the workers' conditions in the different industries. There is another important point. The way in which our unions are organized is in line with the existing structure of economic management. This means that the given economic body has a corresponding trade union organization; an economic council has a council of trade unions, an industrial board of an economic council—a regional trade union committee, etc. In this way workers are able to exert *greater influence on the economic bodies*.

The unions work under the guidance of the Communist Party, the organizing and guiding force of Soviet society. That is natural, for the trade unions unite the whole working class, while the Party, made up of its vanguard, leads the working class towards communist society, mankind's cherished dream.

The Communist Party and the working class have the same interests. It was the Communist Party that led the revolutionary struggle of the working people of Russia against

tsarist autocracy and the bourgeois-landlord system, and brought them to power; the Party ensured a swift economic and cultural advance, a high standard of living and an unparalleled flowering of science and technology. The working class is conscious of the efforts made by the Party to improve the well-being of the people, and knows that it is successfully guiding their struggle to build communism in our country.

The Communist Party's policy is aimed at steadily enhancing the role of the unions in economic and cultural construction and in public life.

V

In all their activities the Soviet trade unions are guided by proletarian internationalism. They seek to strengthen their international contacts and take an active part in the work of international organizations fighting for peace and friendship among the peoples, for an end to the cold war, for the unity of the world trade union movement.

Our trade unions have warmly supported the proposal for general and complete disarmament submitted by Khrushchov to the U.N., and the Soviet Government's foreign policy of peace. They welcomed the law recently passed by the Supreme Soviet for a further considerable cut in the Soviet armed forces. The working people fully appreciate that this law signifies an important step towards general and complete disarmament.

The fight for peace is the common cause of the international trade union movement. The Soviet trade unions co-operate closely with the unions affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. And despite the opposition of the reactionary leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Soviet trade unions have established contacts with the trade union centers in Austria, Australia, Algeria, Morocco, India, Iceland and some unions in Britain, Sweden and other countries. We also maintain contact with autonomous trade unions in Asia and Africa.

Delegations are being exchanged on an ever-increasing scale. Two hundred and eighty trade union delegations visited the Soviet Union last year. These included 188 delegations from forty-eight capitalist countries. One hundred and thirty-four Soviet trade union delegations visited different countries.

During the Second World War our trade unions co-operated successfully with the Am-

erican CIO and the British TUC. Our people welcomed this co-operation, which furthered the people's fight against the Nazi aggressors, and consolidated international working class unity. The World Federation of Trade Unions was formed which, for the first time in history, realized the idea of organized unity irrespective of political, economic and ideological views. An exchange of delegations between the AUCCTU, the CIO and the TUC, resulted in the establishment of Soviet-American and Anglo-Soviet trade union committees to extend useful co-operation between the working people and the trade unions in the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain.

Since the war, unfortunately, the right-wing leadership of the American trade union center and the British TUC have supported the cold war and have severed relations with the Soviet trade unions. The right-wing leaders have exerted no little effort to isolate the American and British working class from the working class of the USSR and other socialist countries. But their treacherous activity has not yielded the desired results. In fact there are considerable forces in the American trade union movement who support peaceful co-existence of the two systems and who stand for friendship and co-operation with the Soviet trade unions in the interests of peace and progress. The progressive forces in the U.S. trade union movement will, undoubtedly, continue to grow, and demands by the workers for renewal of the contacts with Soviet trade unions will increase.

The Soviet trade unions are ready, as they have always been, *for friendly relations with all unions in the capitalist countries*, including those in the United States, Britain and West Germany. Guided by the decisions of our last — the Twelfth — Trade Union Congress, we declare that trade union workers and active trade union members in all countries, conscious of their responsibility before the working class and ready to work for peace and for social progress, can and must *find a common language*, though their views may differ from ours as to how this struggle should be waged. It is their international duty to work patiently and indefatigably for better relations between all countries, for contacts between their trade unions, and to strengthen unity.

In all their activity the Soviet trade unions will seek to strengthen their contribution to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Swedish Social Democracy and Working-Class Unity

Knut Backstrom

THE Communist Party of Sweden has had to overcome not a few difficulties in the struggle for working-class unity. The Communists are proud that with their active support the Swedish workers have won a number of democratic social and political rights, and that their Party has been able to emerge from an extremely difficult situation more monolithic and tempered. This is so because the Communist Party unites in its ranks the best, class-conscious forces of the proletariat. But the Communists are well aware that it would be a grave error to rest content with the ties they have established with the working class. This could end in the isolation of the Party from the masses and play into the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Swedish Communists are now faced with the task of extending the Party's influence among the workers and other strata of the working people, with a view to fighting more effectively for the interests of the people. The building of a people's front against the reactionaries is now on the agenda of the day. In this connection the question of Communist-Social Democratic unity comes to the fore. When speaking of this unity we have in mind, of course, the rank-and-file Social Democrats and the electors who vote for the Social Democratic Party.

I

The Social Democrats and the Communists have some experience of solidarity and joint action, but this is sometimes forgotten by comrades infected with sectarianism. For instance, during the Second World War the rank-and-file Social Democrats defended the Communist Party against the reactionaries who began to persecute it and even wanted to ban it. Here is an example from fairly recent times. During 1957-59 the progressive forces were pressing for a law under which the workers, in addition to old age pensions, would receive long-service pensions (guaranteed by the state) at the expense of the employers. The monopolists and their political

organizations did everything to kill the Bill. But the Communists and Social Democrats, aided by trade unions, acted jointly against the other political parties and were successful. The united strength of the working people was so impressive that the leadership of the Conservative Party (the party of the monopolists) was compelled early this year to withdraw its reactionary proposals to cut social services and abrogate the new pension law. The Conservatives feared that their proposals were too risky in view of the parliamentary elections scheduled for this autumn.

Sweden's policy of steering clear of alliances is also the result of the joint struggle and vigilance of all the working people supporting both the Social Democrats and Communists. The Conservative leaders have maneuvered adroitly with a view to changing this policy. But every time they began a discussion on this question public opinion, as reflected in the statements of the two working-class parties which defend Sweden's neutrality, forced the reactionaries to retreat.

In the political situation that obtains today, the Communists, who usually take the initiative in advancing progressive proposals, would not have gained such success single-handed. Without the active support of the entire working people, and particularly those who follow the Social Democratic Party, the democratic forces might have been defeated. Joint action by the two working-class parties, which ensured unity on some of the vital issues, has benefited the people as a whole.

The Communists cannot disregard the fact that the Social Democratic Party plays an important role in the working-class movement. There are objective factors helping the Social Democrats to retain a considerable influence among the factory and office workers at the time when this influence is diminishing in practically all West European countries.

The Social Democratic Party first formed a government in the autumn of 1932, when the

Communist Party was weakened as the result of a serious internal crisis. It has been in office for twenty-eight consecutive years, apart from a few months in 1936 when for tactical considerations the Social Democrats withdrew from the government.

The Social Democrats came to power at the time of the acute world economic crisis, when unemployment had reached a record figure. The Social Democrats promised then to overcome the slump and end unemployment. A boom began relatively quickly, and since then Sweden, by virtue of favorable world economic and political factors, has not experienced a similar upheaval. The 1937 economic crisis, which was cut short by the war, did not affect Sweden deeply. Nor did the country experience the horrors of the war. The working people know today that this was mainly due to the firm stand of the Soviet Government, which supported Sweden's neutrality. But they learned this only in 1945, after the war; before it ended, the Social-Democratic government had taken all the credit. The post-war economic crises did not have a noticeable effect on the country. There was partial unemployment, but the Social Democrats explained this by structural changes in industry. They have upheld the foreign policy of steering clear of alliances. For these reasons the working people prefer a Social-Democratic government to any bourgeois government. It would be a grave error to disregard these sentiments in working out our policy.

The Communists who maintain everyday contact with the Social Democrats have often impelled the Social Democratic Party to adopt a more or less firm stand in conflicts with the bourgeoisie. The Social-Democratic leaders could not ignore the Communist Party's standpoint, for it has influenced the rank-and-file Social Democrats. The workers respect the Communists for their principled approach to the issues of the day. In the factories, in the trade unions and other mass organizations, there is solidarity between the Social Democrats, Communists and non-party workers.

Even the anti-Communist Social-Democratic leaders cannot ignore the fact that in 1956 the Communist deputies in the Riksdag tilted the balance in favor of the Social-Democratic government, ensuring a majority for it in both chambers.

The success gained by the united forces of the working people has resulted in sharpening the class contradictions, which is reflected also in the relations between the bour-

geois parties on the one hand and social democracy on the other. The financial magnates, aided by the monarchy, launched a series of attacks aimed at overthrowing the Social-Democratic government. The reactionaries did not conceal their intention of depriving the working people of some of their political and social gains. To facilitate this the bourgeoisie sought to weaken the militancy of the Social Democratic Party and make it capitulate to big capital. The monopolists tried to get the Social Democratic Party to break with the theory and practice of class struggle by plugging the slogan: "We (the workers and capitalists.—K.B.) are in the same boat."

The campaign for the complete subordination of the Social Democratic Party was launched three years ago by Ture Bruwald, director of Svenska Handelsbanken, one of the three biggest banks in the country. In an article published in *Economisk Revue*, organ of the Swedish Banks' Association, Bruwald attacked the concept of class struggle to which, he noted with regret, the Swedish workers adhere. The "economy" (i.e., big finance capital), he wrote, needs an ideology which would substantiate in a new form the old idea of class collaboration. Then came Bruwald's colleague, Gustaf Soderlund, director of the Scandinaviska Banken, who, in his book *Riot Against the Welfare State*, declared that the social gains of the working class should be abolished, particularly the very modest democratization of the educational system effected under pressure from the people. Parliamentary democracy, in Soderlund's view, should be abolished, and sovereign power vested in the Supreme Court, which would have the decisive say in matters pertaining to the government and the Riksdag. And this regime, under which the people would be deprived of their rights, is, in the language of the Swedish reactionaries, known as a "state of law."

It would seem that the Social-Democratic leaders should have rebuffed the bourgeois onslaught. But it turned out otherwise. Most of the leading officials and reformist leaders of the Social Democratic Party were helping to spread Bruwald's bourgeois ideas among the workers and peasants. Joint action by the Communists and Social Democrats was not to their liking. They feared that such action would strengthen the workers' belief in class struggle, a belief which is profoundly alien to the right-wing leaders. It should be noted that the Bruwald supporters in the Social

Democratic Party are primarily the young men (the so-called "fourth generation" of Social-Democratic leadership) who have graduated from the state universities in which an open struggle is being waged against Marxism, and Marxism does not appear in a single educational syllabus, which it does even in America, in Britain and in other capitalist countries.

From the ranks of the Social Democratic Party we heard statements of the following nature. Olle Swenson, editor of *Folket*, the Social-Democratic newspaper, wrote in a series of articles by Social Democrats entitled *On the Threshold of the '60's*: "The main task of the Socialists of my generation is to revise in the same critical way (as Bruwald did.—K.B.) the outmoded concepts of struggle which one encounters in the working-class movement." In an attempt to discredit Marxism, the reformist Klas-Erik Udner depicted it in his pamphlet *The Future of Socialism* (1957) as "a religious teaching on salvation." This gentleman revealed an astonishing ignorance of his subject. One of his gems is that, according to Marx, the content of the socialist revolution is the "exploitation of the exploiters" (instead of the "expropriation of the expropriators"). Another reformist, writing in *Tiden*, organ of the Socialist Democratic Party which occasionally features articles "refuting" Marxism, called on the workers to abandon the concept of class struggle and "become polite to the employers," obviously implying class collaboration.

The "theorists" of the right-wing Social Democrats have borrowed their ideas from the American bourgeois economists, and chiefly from Galbraith, whose *Affluent Society* they regard as their bible. Not long ago *Tiden* carried a series of articles which claimed that Sweden was on the highroad to an "affluent society." "In the quiet corner of the world allotted to us," the Swedish reformists write, "we can safely put Marx aside, for we have begun to build a society based on the values of which the Utopians dreamed."

In another article in the *Tiden* the right-wing reformist, Professor Folke Schmidt, simply erases the working class and even the category of workers. "Workers Are Becoming Employees" runs the headline of this article. The old workers, he admits with a heavy heart, will probably regard themselves as workers till their dying day. "But the youth," he adds with undisguised satisfaction, "the rising generation which receives a nine-year education, will regard itself as employees."

The learned Professor forgets that even if some Swedish workers do believe in the bourgeois rubbish about the disappearance of classes, they still belong to the proletariat and they are still exploited.

The reformist leaders appeared in their true colors during the revision of the Social Democratic Party's program.* We shall dwell on this question below.

II

In the past the Social Democratic Party tried to create the impression that it was a Marxist party. For nearly fifty years it had a fundamental program drawn up on the pattern of the old Erfurt Program of the German Social Democrats. The new program, adopted in 1944, signified a retreat from the old program with socialism as its final goal, to a more or less open renunciation of genuine socialist ideas and aims.

Ernst Wigforss, who took a leading part in drafting the 1944 program, calls himself an exponent of "revisionist Marxism," or of the old Social-Democratic reformism founded on Bernstein's ideas. Like Bernstein, Wigforss claims that for him socialism is the movement itself, and its ultimate aims — nothing. But the 1944 program was critical of the bourgeois way of life, though this criticism remained on paper. It proclaimed "an antagonism between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' contradictions between the capitalists and the wage-workers," and enunciated four guiding principles of the Party's socialist reconstruction of society: "The influence exerted by society on the productive forces, the participation of the working people in the management of property, planning, and equal rights for citizens." The reformist nature of these principles is obvious since they do not envisage the abolition of capitalism, but the program at least acknowledged that it was a very long way from bourgeois Sweden to socialism.

In line with this, Wigforss, while depicting Sweden, the United States and the other highly developed capitalist countries as "welfare states," noted in his book (*After the Welfare State* (1956), and *Can the Deadlock be Overcome?* (1959) that countries of this type are not yet socialist. He warns against the defeatist conclusions drawn by right-wing Labor in Britain, who blamed their defeat in

*The draft of the new Social-Democratic program was drawn up by a commission under the leadership of the Party chairman. The program will be submitted to the Party congress in May.

last year's General Election on nationalization, etc. Since the same voices are now heard in the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Wigforss sees in this continued swing to the right a danger to international social democracy. Speaking recently on TV about the numerous "refutations" of Marxism and socialism which have appeared in the Social-Democratic press and which have developed into a real campaign, he regretted that "Marxism had been subjected to heavy and ignorant attacks." Wigforss upholds the principles of the 1944 program. "They can be re-written," he said, "but their basic content cannot be abolished." Thus he is against any further revision of the program.

Of course, in criticizing "the fourth generation" Wigforss, despite his advocacy of "socialism," remains a reformist and an anti-Marxist. Nevertheless, together with Georg Branting, Gustaf Moller and others, he embodies a certain connection with the past of the Party when the Social-Democratic leaders did not openly attack Marxism and socialism, trying rather to "adapt" them to the needs of the Swedish reformists. At the same time he reflects in a way the discontent felt by many rank-and-file Social Democrats over the break with the glorious traditions of the Swedish working-class movement.

In what way was this bourgeois ideology, openly propagated by reformist leaders of the "fourth generation," expressed in the draft program? The answer to this was given by Kai Bjork, who commented on the draft in *Tiden*. "The thoughtful reader," he wrote, "will discover that 'class struggle' does not exist. . . . The talk about 'class struggle' was too schematic and simply gave rise to confusion. 'The historical mission of the working class' has disappeared completely."

While the 1944 program stated that "the majority must be freed of dependence on the minority of owners of capital," the new draft says vaguely: "The majority must be freed of their dependence on all kinds of groups in power and above its control . . ."

Thus the Swedish reformists are directing their fire not against "the minority of owners of capital" but against "all kinds of groups in power." A careful study of the program shows that this formulation is used for attacking the socialist governments in the USSR and the People's Democracies. It should be said that the draft gives a queer assessment of the people's democratic revolutions: "In many cases these regimes claimed they rep-

resented one or another variety of socialism, whereas in fact they enabled a handful of people to exploit the majority of the population." The Social-Democratic leaders gloss over in silence the fact that owing to "these regimes" some of the recently backward countries have developed into industrial states, that all the workers in these countries have jobs and the peasants have land, and that the standard of living is rising steadily.

The right-wing leaders think that by spreading slander about the USSR and the People's Democracies they will divert the workers' attention from monopolies — the real enemies of the people — and suppress class struggle. That is why the section of the draft program dealing with principles say nothing about Sweden's problems. It can be said that in this section the draft is not a Swedish program. The authors repeat the well-known propositions of the Socialist International, in particular the anti-communist diatribes of the West German Social Democrats. The draft program is levelled against the international Communist movement.

In abandoning the slogan of nationalization the right-wing leaders declare in the draft that social democracy "will encourage private enterprise." And further: "The Social Democratic Party will support those forms of enterprise and ownership which best serve material progress and human welfare." Thus they ignore the indisputable international experience which shows the irrational use of the productive forces, particularly manpower resources, under capitalism and that only socialism can utilize the productive forces in the best way, in a planned way. True, the draft says much about "planned economy," but, judging by the private capitalist basis on which the Social Democrats intend to develop this "planned economy," it is a sheer utopia which can only engender harmful illusions among the rank-and-file Social Democrats. Much is said also about "full employment" which, according to the authors, is the main feature of the "welfare society." But the draft says not one word about any guarantee of full employment, nor unemployment. Unemployment stems from the very nature of capitalism and since monopoly capital continues to hold sway, the former is not ruled out.

The authors of the draft program could not, of course, completely ignore the traditions of the working-class movement. Here and there it is said that the Social Democratic Party "will work for the socialist reorganization of

society" but again without a single word about the prerequisites for this reconstruction. If the Swedish reformists are prepared to tolerate the existence of the monopolies then all their talk about socialism remains an empty phrase, a screen which slightly veils the bourgeois content.

It should be noted in this connection that neither the many years of government office nor the Social-Democratic majority in Parliament have been used by the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders to extend public ownership. The co-operative societies are not increasing the output of consumer goods any faster than are the private employers. The co-operatives are not making any inroads into heavy industry and other key branches. As for the local government bodies, their functions are confined to the social services. True, the state owns the railways, the largest ore mines in the north and some of the timber enterprises. But the Social Democrats have had nothing to do with this: most of these enterprises had been transferred to the state on the initiative of the preceding bourgeois governments. The Social-Democratic government has built Norbotten, a large state-owned iron and steel works in Luleå. But this is the only example of its kind. It is at this time that monopoly capital has consolidated its economic power, extending its ownership in large-scale industry and retaining the commanding heights in the economy.

The authors of the draft are in a way compelled to admit the fruitlessness of the activity of the Social-Democratic governments in the matter of reconstructing society. And though the draft mentions "the welfare state" in Sweden, it stresses that this is not yet socialism. According to the authors, the laying of the foundations of socialism and the political and economic democratization of society, which the reformists imply by socialism, are a matter for the future.

The reason for this "modesty" is obvious. When talking about the actual state of affairs in Sweden the authors admit that the "welfare society" has "many of the elementary features of capitalism." Listed among these are "unequal distribution of property and incomes," "class boundaries and social distinctions," and "preservation of authoritarian and undemocratic relations in production." "In the welfare society," the draft goes on, "a small group of people still dominates in the decisive sector of the private economy . . . A handful of owners of big estates, and heads of big enterprises, financial offices and

branch organizations have concentrated in their hands considerable economic power . . . Private economic interests act as a factor of force in the political struggle. . . . There is as yet no effective democratic control over the key positions in the economy. Large numbers of wage-workers employed in the private capitalist sector depend on decisions made by an insignificant minority which is guided first of all by personal interests. Small industrial, trading and agricultural enterprises also depend in large measure on this minority which holds economic power." And, lastly: "The concentration of power in private hands was also in many cases an obstacle to the appearance of new viable enterprises."

The question arises at the very first acquaintance with this assessment: How can a society with such repellent features be called a "welfare society?" The picture of this system fully accords with the generally accepted concept of modern monopoly capitalism. Here we have one of the many contradictions in which the authors of the draft have become enmeshed. They thrust Marxism aside but it is objectively manifest in their assessment of the present situation in Sweden.

The draft of the fundamental program is supplemented by the draft of the everyday political program. The latter merits close attention, because the everyday program always contained many vital and just demands (especially before the split in the Social Democratic Party in 1917), some of which have already been carried out.

The everyday draft contains many slogans which, not being realistic, are likely to engender dangerous illusions among the workers, because these slogans can be realized only after the abolition of capitalism. These are "full employment," "planning" and "economic democracy" which means "obliteration of the class boundaries" and "a just distribution of incomes and property."

Some of the demands, however, are realistic and meet the interests of the working people. These include the call for a republic, freedom of art and scientific research, an unswerving policy of neutrality, Sweden's contribution to universal peace and worldwide disarmament, a single school system, abolition of economic barriers in education, a 40-hour week, flats with amenities for all, etc. These demands can be helpful in building broad unity between the Communist, Social-Democratic and non-party workers.

* * *

The situation in Sweden testifies to a growing divergence between the rank-and-file members of the Social Democratic Party and its voters and the policy of its leaders as expressed in the draft program.

The right-wing leaders are trying to make the working class into a docile servant of the bourgeoisie, to detach it from the Communist Party. A vain attempt! "You cannot build a dam of ice in the spring," said one of the pioneers of the socialist movement in Sweden to those who tried to render this movement harmless in the same way as the present leaders of the Social Democratic Party are trying to do. It should be borne in mind that the united trade unions encompass nearly 100 per cent of the workers. In the last twenty years there has been not a single case of violation of proletarian solidarity by the workers during strikes and other mass

actions. Despite the opposition of the reformists, the Swedish working-class movement has never been so united.

But the new draft program ignores the growing will of the working people for unity. If the draft is adopted as the Social Democratic Party program the rank-and-file Social Democrats will only regret it. In a situation when relations between the Social-Democratic and the bourgeois parties have deteriorated, the Social-Democratic leaders should pay more heed to the opinion of their members and voters.

The striving of the Social-Democratic workers for unity with the Communists will become stronger the moment they realize that some of their new leaders are capitulating to the bourgeoisie. But the Communists too, must understand how important it is in this situation to extend the well-tried unity of action.

Lenin and the Party

G. Obichkin

THE new phase in the international working-class and Communist movement is associated with Lenin's name. The activities of the Bolshevik Party, which he founded and guided for many years, fully corresponded to the new objective conditions. This was why the Bolsheviks were able to cope with the tasks posed by life. Elaborating the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin developed a comprehensive theory of the Party as the leader of the working-class movement, mapped out its program and policy, its strategy and tactics, its rules, and the principles of Party leadership.

The New Phase Called for a Party of a New Type

The Communist Party appeared at a turning point in history when capitalism had already entered the phase of imperialism, when the socialist revolution had become an immediate task of the working class. The entire course of social development had placed the proletariat of Russia in the van of the international revolutionary movement.

Lenin, when founding the Party, had a thorough grasp of the situation and of the

problems it posed before the working class. No other Marxist, either in the West or in Russia, had such an insight into the peculiarities of the new phase and of the new tasks facing the working class and its revolutionary vanguard. It was Lenin who made a profound analysis of the new historical situation, revealed the growth and aggravation of the contradictions in the social system, and demonstrated that capitalism had entered upon its final stage. On the basis of this analysis he set forth the tasks which the Party was called upon to perform, and defined the features which were to distinguish it from the working-class parties of the earlier period.

In founding this new type of Party Lenin was blazing new trails. History offered no ready-made model which could be utilized. Lenin highly valued the experience of the German Social Democratic Party. But neither its example, nor that of the other West European Socialist Parties, could be followed, for these parties were adapted to the relatively peaceful period of capitalist development. Moreover, the rust of opportunism had begun to corrode them. Nor was the example of the narrow conspiratorial organizations of the

Russian Narodniks, divorced from the people, of any use, though Lenin made a careful study of their experience. What was needed was the Leninist ability to penetrate deeply into the essence of things, in order to work out the new type of political organization of the working class which would be a militant revolutionary party capable of coping with the tasks of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship and socialism.

The Bolshevik Party was built to meet the specific Russian conditions. But the Russia of those days was a country where the highest forms of capitalist production (including big monopolies) were closely interwoven with feudal survivals both in the economy and in politics, a country in which, more than in any other, the labor, agrarian and national questions were burning issues, a country in which the general laws of capitalist development and its antagonistic contradictions were plain for all to see.

In building the Party of a new type Lenin and his followers proceeded from the experience of the working-class movement both in Russia and abroad. As Lenin put it, Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, veritably through suffering, through half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, selfless searching and comparison with European experience. "Thanks to the enforced emigration caused by tsardom, revolutionary Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century possessed a wealth of international connections and excellent information about international forms and theories of the revolutionary movement such as no other country in the world possessed."*

Lenin founded the Party on the principles of proletarian internationalism. He was irreconcilable to any attempts to bring the spirit of nationalism into the Party, or to split the Party branches on the basis of nationality. The consistent struggle waged by the Bolsheviks against any manifestations of nationalism played no small part in educating the working people of all the nationalities inhabiting Russia in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in cementing the friendship of peoples, and enhancing the Party's prestige in the international working-class movement. The principles of Party structure, which Lenin elaborated mainly for Russia, were, in essentials, suited to the needs of the working-

class movement in all countries, both in developed and underdeveloped countries, democracies and non-democracies alike. Lenin's teaching on the Party of a new type was an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of the world Communist movement. It is of tremendous international importance, and the experience of the subsequent decades justified Lenin's words: "Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all."*

Clarity of Aim

A feature of the Party of a new type is clarity of aim, the scientific basis of its whole policy, and its form of organizational structure. In contrast to the Bernstein motto: "the aim is nothing," Lenin maintained that only fidelity to the ultimate aim and a correct balance between the fight for immediate needs and the struggle for socialism can guarantee a correct Party line and a principled and flexible approach towards its problems. Bourgeois propagandists try to make the workers believe that the "ultimate aim is simply a snare" set by the Communists. But, as experience shows, the real snare, and a dangerous one at that, is the attempt made by the bourgeoisie to divert the peoples from general issues, to draw their attention away from the future perspective, as well as from problems bearing on the very existence of capitalism.

At the dawn of the working-class movement in Russia the question of choosing the road, of "what was to be done?" was already acute. The Economists — the first opportunists in the working-class movement of Russia — advised the workers: "concentrate on improving your own conditions, your great-grandchildren can take care of themselves." Lenin showed that had this trend prevailed it would have signified the end of an independent working-class movement, the end of the idea of an independent political party and, consequently, conciliation with capitalism. The experience of the various countries now shows how little the workers have gained under opportunist leadership and how much they have gained under the banner of Leninism.

Even widely differing ideals are brought closer together by struggle, whereas peace with the actual system of exploitation puts off for a long time the winning of even those things which can be secured today. Lenin

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

*V. I. Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.

equipped the working-class movement with the ideology of active struggle and a clear perspective.

A clear perspective is derived from revolutionary theory — the science of the laws of social development. Without a revolutionary theory, said Lenin, there can be no revolutionary movement. It is not fortuitous that the spread of opportunism is invariably accompanied by neglect of and contempt for theory. In the case of a genuine Marxist Party theory and practice are one.

The impact on the world of the working-class movement of Russia — the birthplace of Leninism — has been very great. One of the main reasons for this is the contribution which the Russian Marxists have made to theory. "We have never regarded Marx's theory as being something complete and immutable," Lenin wrote in 1898, "on the contrary, we are convinced that it has merely laid the cornerstone of that science which the Socialists *should* further develop in all directions if they do not want to lag behind life. We think that for the Russian Socialists an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially necessary because this theory sets out only the general *guiding* principles which, in *particular*, are applied in a different way in Britain than they are in France, and in France in a different way than in Germany and in Germany differently from Russia."*

This creative approach to theory, theoretical generalization of experience and learning from it, have become a tradition in the Party founded by Lenin, have enabled it confidently to solve the complex problems of the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism. Fidelity to theory and its constant enrichment — these are the features of the world Communist movement. All the Communist Parties help in elaborating both the general theoretical concepts and their application to the particular conditions of their respective countries. That is why (and this is a point which even the anti-Communists concede) the Communists have the answers to questions which are the concern of all, why they are able to map the course of the further advance, while the Social Democrats, by taking the road of revising Marxism, ultimately ended up in an ideological impasse. The Social Democratic Parties lack a comprehensive world outlook and clarity of aim. This is only one of the reasons for the disappointment experienced even by those who still support them.

*V. I. Lenin, *Our Program*.

The new program of the German Social Democrats, for instance, says that their Party is "an association of people of various beliefs and outlooks." But this is to be "omnivorous," to follow in the wake of bourgeois ideology. Such is the logical outcome of their revising Marxism — from emasculating the revolutionary Marxist spirit in the matter of particulars to complete rejection of Marxism, to loss of face as a working-class party, and to bourgeois degeneration.

Irreconcilability in Ideology and Readiness to Enter into Alliances

Lenin saw not only the things that divided the adherents of revolutionary Marxism from those who rejected it, but also foresaw where this rejection would lead. When travellers set out on a long journey into the unknown country they check their compass. A deviation of one-hundredth of a degree may appear negligible at first, but, as time goes on, the divergence becomes greater and greater. For the Leninist Parties revolutionary theory is the compass. That is why Lenin never tolerated not only direct attacks on Marxism, but even any false note in ideology, no matter how insignificant. This irreconcilability was not merely a personal trait of Lenin, as our adversaries claim, it was a reflection of the objective processes encountered in life.

When the "legal Marxist" Struve criticized Marx for the tendentious and polemical character of his system, Lenin replied: "'Marx's system' is 'polemical' not because it is 'tendentious' but because it gives an exact presentation in theory of all the contradictions that are found in life. . . . The 'polemical character' of the system is merely the exact reflection of the 'polemical character' of capitalism itself."* The Leninist Parties never slur over the contradictions that exist in life, they uncover them fully and try to determine the class origins of the various views irrespective of the guise in which they appear.

Irreconcilability in ideology by no means excludes contacts, alliances or joint action with people of differing views. Lenin's principledness, his irreconcilability towards the slightest manifestations of bourgeois ideology, and his insistence on ideological unity without which a Party cannot exist, are well known. However, another equally important feature of Leninism — flexibility, readiness, after the ideological differences have been hammered out, to act jointly with other

*V. I. Lenin, *Once Again on the Theory of Realization*.

parties in the interests of the working class — should not be forgotten either. Lenin often emphasized how important it was that any compromise, agreement or temporary retreat should leave unsullied the revolutionary fighting banner, preserving fidelity to the cause of socialism.

In his *"Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin mentioned only a few of the compromises which the Russian Social-Democrats reached with the bourgeois liberals, Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. "The whole history of Bolshevism, both before and after the October Revolution is full of instances of maneuvering, temporizing, compromising with other, bourgeois parties included."

The enemies of the working class try to intimidate the other political parties by saying that under working-class rule the Communists do not permit other parties, and even destroy them physically. They distort the situation in the People's Democracies such as China, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, where, side by side with the Communist Parties, other parties exist. As to the compromises the Bolsheviks made during Soviet rule, they are not even mentioned.

Here are only a few facts testifying to the keenness with which the Communists sought agreement with the other parties and organizations. The bloc, say, with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. In January 1918 the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets elected the Central Executive Committee proportionally to the number of votes commanded by each of the parties at the Congress: 160 Bolsheviks, 125 Left Socialist Revolutionaries and numerous representatives from five other petty-bourgeois parties. In April 1918 the Decree on Consumer Co-operatives was adopted, which implied agreement with the bourgeois co-operatives and the workers' co-operatives maintaining a bourgeois stand. It is also known that right up to 1920 in the Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, besides the Bolsheviks, there were the Borotbists (Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries) who enjoyed equal rights as members of the Government. In March 1921 Lenin wrote to the Georgian Communists to the effect that a "policy of concessions in respect to the Georgian intellectuals and small traders was needed," and further that it was "tremendously important to find an acceptable compromise

for a bloc with Jordania or other Georgian Mensheviks like him."*

It was not the fault of the Communists that their frank and sincere intentions failed to meet with a response, that the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties, blinded with hatred for the new system and instigated from abroad, used these agreements for the purpose of hatching plots and putsches, and, as a result, isolated themselves completely.

Lenin's idea that ideological differences are no obstacle to alliances and agreements was not widely implemented in the specific conditions of the socialist revolution in Russia. However, it is being translated into life in the policy of united action pursued by the working class and all democrats — in the policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries. The Leninist Parties are ready to enter into any agreement or compromise, provided it is in the interests of the people, provided it brings nearer, and does not delay, the victory of socialism.

A Party of the Masses is a Party of Action

For Lenin questions of theory and ideology were never an aim in themselves. He elaborated these questions in close connection with revolutionary practice, as a guide to action. The Leninist Parties are distinguished for their active intervention in life and constant initiative. Action signifies above all organization, and it is this that Lenin had in mind when he said that "in the struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization."** It is the Party, the working-class vanguard capable of heading the mass struggle, that organizes the labor movement. So carefully and in such detail are the questions of the organizational structure elaborated, and so exactly do they reflect the objective processes and the requirements of the working-class struggle, that it can be said that Lenin elevated these questions to the level of a science.

Lenin began with building a hard core of professional revolutionaries, but that this core could replace the Party was a thing he never conceded. On the contrary, Lenin maintained that this core would justify its mission only by becoming a steadily growing aggregate of activists, by becoming the nucleus of a truly mass party. A real revolutionary should never, not for a second, be isolated from the masses. Under tsarism the Party was forced into the underground, but even in these con-

*V. I. Lenin, *Letter to Orjonikidze*.

** V. I. Lenin, *One Step Forward, Two Step Back*.

ditions the revolutionary maintained close contact with the workers, rallying them round the issues of the day. It wasn't only the professional revolutionary that was *called upon to act as organizer*, but also each member of the Party who, in Lenin's concept, was a man of action capable not only of making political speeches but also of taking part in concrete action. In the recently published Book XXXVI of the Lenin Miscellany we find Lenin's notes on Kuusinen's article and theses for the Third Congress of the Comintern. Saying that he had read the materials with pleasure, Lenin emphasized the importance of active work for each Party member. "It should be set forth in greater detail that in most of the legal parties of the West this is precisely what is lacking. There is no *day-to-day work* (revolutionary work) by each Party member. This is the main evil."

By the day-to-day revolutionary work of each Party member Lenin understood above all active work among the masses, educating and organizing them. The more numerous, the broader and the firmer the Party's contacts with the people, the greater its strength, the more successful it will be as the political leader of the working people.

In Book XXXVI of the Lenin Miscellany the plan of his thesis on the trade union appears for the first time. This condensed plan, written in expressive language and devoted to the significance of contact with the masses, sounds like a commandment.

"Live among the masses
 "Know their sentiment
 "Know everything
 "Understand the masses
 "Know how to approach them
 "Win their absolute confidence.

"The leaders should not be isolated from the masses led by them, nor should the vanguard be isolated from the entire army of labor."

Averse to high-sounding words and political drum-beating, Lenin held that the Party would gain prestige in the eyes of the masses and establish its leadership of them only if its political line was correct, i.e., provided it corresponded to the interests of the masses, provided this line was not merely proclaimed, but that practical tasks were set, for the fulfilment of which the masses were being organized.

This was precisely the course of action pursued by the Russian Communists both before the victory of the October Revolution

and after they came to power. This efficiency of the CPSU, its ability to organize tens of millions of people in a new way, is one of the main reasons for the prestige it enjoys among the masses.

The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union worked out a grand plan of communist construction for the next seven years. Having defined the main tasks, the general line for this period, the Party has taken care to see that each of its organizations can do its bit in fulfilling the general tasks. "What is particularly needed now," said Khrushchov to the Congress, "is correctness and singleness of purpose in all our work, and a thorough knowledge of what is to be done and how to do it. General talk and general appeals are of no use whatever."

Effective organizational work, the ability to involve ever greater numbers of people in this work — this has always been a distinguishing feature of the Leninist Party.

Centralism and Inner-Party Democracy are Inseparable

While outwardly the Social Democratic Parties observe all the democratic niceties, it is extremely difficult for the rank and file to influence the Party line, which is worked out by a small group of professional politicians. The internal life of these Parties is characterized by the standards and concepts of bourgeois democracy with all their restrictions, hypocrisy and formalism.

The leaders do not deem it necessary to conceal the immoderate role they have arrogated to themselves. The Utrecht Conference of the Socialist International, held last January, discussed a report, one of the sections of which was entitled: "A Mass Party of the Elite." The report stressed the allegedly special role played by the élite, which is called upon to decide all Party matters. As to the masses whose pulse the élite is supposed to feel, they are simply a reserve. The cynical assertion is made that only such a reserve can provide the working-class movement with the financial support it needs for the struggle.* Thus "the élite" decides all matters in Parliament, in the Government and in the trade unions, while the masses provide for money.

The relations between leaders and members in the Communist Parties are the opposite of these. They, so to say, anticipate the relations in a classless society. The Party is a

*Orientation. Socialism Today and Tomorrow. Amsterdam, 1959, p. 22.

voluntary union of like-minded people who enjoy equal rights, have united in order to act in the name of the lofty ideals of communism, by working together and taking part in the elaboration and implementation of a common policy. The democratic character of the Leninist Parties is also determined by their truly democratic composition. These Parties unite the cream of the working population, with industrial workers forming the core. Lenin always insisted that the workers should play a decisive role, that the leaders and the organizers should be drawn from their ranks.

Replying to doubts raised at the Third Party Congress (1905) as to whether there were workers whose qualifications would permit them to be brought on to committees, Lenin said sharply: "I cannot sit quietly when I hear people say that we have no workers capable of being committee members." People develop in practical work, and Lenin always combated the tendency to keep people back, to show servility to those in office. He insisted that capable people should be promoted. Steady promotion of new cadres and their periodical replacement is an important feature of inner-Party democracy. In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union up to 30 per cent of the members of Party Committees are replaced at the annual meetings. This is convincing proof of the implementation of Lenin's principles of inner-Party democracy.

But democracy alone does not ensure militancy and efficiency. Unity of action calls for unity of will, for centralized leadership. Only in this event will the diverse efforts of all and each be merged into a single mighty force many times greater than its numbers and, given this, the organization will acquire an iron discipline without which a Party ceases to be a Party.

This organic unity of democracy and centralism was expressed by Lenin in the great and yet simple principle of democratic centralism. While the relationship between democracy and centralism may vary, depending on the conditions, the two components must always be present, because without democracy centralized leadership may degenerate into bureaucracy, and without centralized leadership democracy tends to foster empty talk typical of the debating society rather than of a militant political party.

Democratic centralism implies organization, leadership, discipline and broad inner-Party democracy; it ensures the functioning of the Party, guarantees its strength, and the

activity of all its organizations and members. Party unity can be secured only on the basis of democratic centralism and by consistent struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory and Party principles. It is not fortuitous that in their attacks on the Communist Parties the latter-day revisionists direct their fire against democratic centralism. They calculate that if democratic centralism can be undermined, then all the rest of the Party structure will fall to pieces.

Democratic centralism is also expressed in collectivism which, according to Lenin, is the supreme principle of Party leadership. The normal functioning of the Party branches and of the entire Party is possible only if this principle is strictly observed, which means that all Party matters are decided jointly and that the collectively adopted decisions have the force of a Party law binding on all. Collectivism, according to Lenin, is a guarantee against one-sided decisions and at the same time a condition providing for joint responsibility by all members for the common cause, as well as for the execution of jointly adopted decisions.

From his first steps in forging the Party and throughout the entire period of his work Lenin always relied on the collective mind of the Party, on the experience of the rank and file and the branches. Book XXXVI of the Miscellany carries Lenin's reply to Joffe, which sets forth his attitude to collective leadership. In his letter Joffe had addressed Lenin as if he were the Central Committee. This is what Lenin replied: "You are wrong in repeating (more than once) that 'I am the C.C.' You, must have written this in a state of extreme nervous excitement and overstrain." Lenin was indignant at the idea of substituting an individual for the collective. Lenin never adhered to the view that collectivism should be interpreted as belittling the role of the leaders. A real political party is unthinkable without leaders, and rejection of authority would only play into the hands of the enemies. As Lenin put it: "Not a single class in history has ever come to power without advancing its political leaders, its leading representatives capable of organizing and leading the movement."*

The fact that the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries have recognized leaders steeled in struggle is an earnest of the successful development of these parties, of

*V. I. Lenin, *The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement*.

the continuity of their revolutionary experience, and of the combination of firm leadership with broad inner-Party democracy.

No Party can Develop Without Self-Criticism

In the Party, as in any living organism, contradictions arise. While the Party is a union of like-minded people, it is not insulated against bourgeois or petty-bourgeois influence or deviations. In the Communist Parties working under capitalism, or during the transition from capitalism to socialism, these contradictions reflect the class antagonisms and the interests of the various social groups. In a society where antagonistic classes no longer exist, the contradictions largely take the form of struggle between the new and the old, between the progressive and the conservative. What is true of individuals is often true of parties: "Only the man who does nothing does not make mistakes." And the Communist Parties engaged in active struggle, always in extremely complex conditions, are not guaranteed against mistakes or defects. These can be rectified and the contradictions resolved only by the Party itself, and this can be done only by constant self-criticism aimed at strengthening the Party spirit. Lenin said: "There can be no doubt about it, self-criticism is absolutely necessary for any really live and vital party. There is nothing more banal than self-complacent optimism."* This conscious need for self-criticism is one of the essential features of the Leninist Parties.

One point is worth noting: that shortly after Bolshevism made its appearance the question arose whether or not criticism would be injurious to the Party fighting in hostile surroundings, whether or not self-criticism would supply the enemies with ammunition for their attacks. Lenin gave a straightforward reply. In the preface to his *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* he wrote: The enemies of the Party "gloat and grimace over our controversies; and, of course, they will try to pick up isolated passages from my pamphlet which deals with the defects and shortcomings of our Party, and use them for their own ends. The Russian Social Democrats are already steeled enough in battle not to be perturbed by these pinpricks and to continue, in spite of them, their work of self-criticism and ruthless exposure of their own shortcomings, which will unquestionably and

inevitably be overcome as the working-class movement grows."

Time has reaffirmed the truth of this thesis. Experience cannot provide a single example of a Party which did not, as a result of bold criticism, grow stronger, though at times the self-criticism caused some difficulties. At the same time there are plenty of examples of Parties which, because they preferred to conceal their shortcomings and to hush up their inner contradictions, and because they preferred outward shine to self-criticism, lost their capacity to fight.

The Party founded by Lenin has consistently implemented his behests in respect to self-criticism. Only a Leninist Party could have the boldness to denounce, as the CPSU did, the consequences of the personality cult which gained currency in the last years of Stalin's life. Some thought that since denunciation of the cult caused complications in the socialist countries and created difficulties for the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries the matter should not have been thrashed out by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

Addressing the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party last year Khrushchov touched on this question. It is true, he said, that after the Twentieth Congress a number of Parties, including the CPSU, experienced difficulties, something like a fever. But, he added, the question had to be put sharply. "All the Parties," he said, "experienced this fever in varying degree, but after it was over they grew stronger and are now advancing with greater confidence along the path mapped out by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the path to communism."

The consistency and boldness the CPSU is displaying in overcoming its shortcomings improve the work of the Party and enhance its leading role.

The Broader the Movement, the Greater the Party's Role

By bringing political consciousness into the mass movement and organizing it, the Party imparts to it great strength. The broader the movement, the greater the Party's role as the leader, organizer and teacher of the masses. In his early work *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin formulated this mutual dependence between the dimensions of the movement and the role of the Party. "The greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, and the more widespread the movement," he wrote, "so much

*V. I. Lenin, *On Mixing Politics with Pedagogy*.

the more rapidly grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of our Social Democracy." The experience of the world Communist movement has confirmed this vital thesis. A mass movement has often failed to yield the desired results largely because the Party was not able to cope with the job. At the same time dozens of cases testify to the immense force acquired by the mass movement when it is led by a Party well equipped theoretically, a Party displaying political flexibility and highly skilled in the art of organization.

The guiding and leading role of the Party becomes greater still during the building of socialism and communism, i.e., when the conscious factor, purposefulness of effort and profound knowledge of the laws of social development — all that the Party imparts to the movement — are of decisive importance. During this period the masses are much more active in building the new life. The scale of the mass participation is also different; nowadays the conscious builders of socialism and communism number not hundreds of thousands but millions and tens of millions. That

is why it is so important to make a careful study of the experience of the masses and to use this experience in practical leadership. This task can be performed only by the Party. Its role grows not because the role of the other organizations declines; on the contrary, the growth takes place because the other public organizations now play a bigger role.

With the extension of democracy under socialism the Communist Party comes more and more to the fore as the leader of all public organizations, as the vanguard of all the working people. As Khrushchov put it at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU: "All the experience gained in battle for the triumph of socialism and communism, both in this and other socialist countries, confirms one of the key principles of Leninism, namely, that in the process of building Communist society the role of the Party must increase, not decrease, as the latter-day revisionists maintain."

Our epoch, the main content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism, is marked by the triumph of Leninism, and of its most vital component — Lenin's teaching on the Party.

1960 Is Africa Year

E. Arab-Ogly

DESPITE its seemingly regional character the Second All-African People's Conference, held in Tunis, January 25 to 31, evoked worldwide interest. Over 130 delegates, representing some sixty political parties, trade unions and other public organizations from thirty African countries, discussed fundamental political, economic and social problems, and adopted important resolutions aimed at strengthening the solidarity of the African peoples in their fight for independence, unity and progress.

Year of Decision in Africa

There were weighty reasons for the Conference declaring 1960 Africa Year. And indeed it does promise to be a year of striking political changes in Africa, the second largest continent. The current year will see five new independent countries on its map: Cameroon, Togoland, the Belgian Congo, Somalia and Nigeria. The Mali Federation, Madagascar,

and probably some other autonomous republics, will become sovereign states within the framework of the French Community. Within one year, therefore, the part of Africa freed from colonial dependence will have doubled, forming two-thirds of the territory and population of the continent. And most of the remaining colonies (including Tanganyika, Kenya, Basutoland) will be granted self-government. "Year of Decision for Africa," "A Continent in Ferment," "Storm Clouds over Africa" — these are the headlines now seen in the world press. Africa's growing importance in the world is evident from the fact that statesmen from capitalist countries have visited the continent. Shortly after Eisenhower's visit to Tunisia and Morocco last December, British Prime Minister Macmillan made a five-week tour of African countries. And there is ground for expecting that the heads of other Powers will visit the continent before the year is out.

Inglorious End of the "Third Empire"

A chance visitor to the Stock Exchange building where the Conference was held might easily have thought he was in a law court. And in a way he would have been right, for in many respects the Second All-African People's Conference was sitting in judgment, and it was colonialism that was on trial.

To no continent has colonialism brought so much suffering as to Africa. Renowned in ancient times for the Alexandrian library, and in the Middle Ages for the university of Timbuctoo, this continent, which many scientists believe to be the cradle of the human race and civilization, has been reduced to incredible poverty and its social development retarded. (See Basil Davidson's *Old Africa Rediscovered*, London, 1959, pp. 27, 79). No matter what standard of comparison we take—whether it be the national income *per capita* of population, the degree of industrialization, literacy, or health services—Africa has always been on the lowest rung of the ladder. The effects of the slave trade, as a result of which the continent lost 100 million inhabitants, of the forced labor introduced by the colonialists, of the eviction of the local tribes from the fertile lands, are such that Africa, which in the sixteenth century accounted for 20 per cent of the world's population, accounts for a mere eight per cent in our days.

The continent, assigned a special place in the postwar plans of the Western powers, was intended to play the same role, in our days of state-monopoly capitalism, as that played by the colonial empire in North America in the period of primary accumulation, or by the colonial empire in South-East Asia in the period of industrial capitalism. *Africa—Britain's Third Empire*, a book published in London in 1949, laid bare the Western powers' plans. By exploiting the labor force and the virtually untapped natural resources of this fabulously rich continent, the monopolies calculated to make up for the loss of the Chinese market and their colonies in Asia. And there was certainly much to whet their appetites. Africa has the biggest known deposits in the capitalist world of gold, diamonds, uranium, chromium, antimony and phosphorites, and over 70 per cent of the manganese, 48 per cent of the copper, 47 per cent of the bauxites, and 40 per cent of the water-power resources, etc. Furthermore, as the recent discovery of vast oil and natural gas deposits in the Sahara shows, little is as yet known about Africa's mineral wealth. More than 10 billion dollars have been invested since the Second World

War—part of a far-reaching program to exploit the continent's natural resources and its manpower. But now the days of the "third colonial empire" are numbered.

Africa's liberation may be likened to a chain reaction: when the national movement succeeds in one country it spreads like wildfire to the neighboring countries. The delegates came to Tunis with the knowledge that 1960 would bring independence to four countries, but in the course of the Conference they were warmly congratulating the delegation of the Belgian Congo — the fifth country — on the independence it is scheduled to achieve in June. And the liberation struggle is now flaring up in that citadel of colonialism, the Union of South Africa.

What is Behind the Colonialists' Change of Front?

The rapidity with which the African national-liberation movement is developing has upset the colonialists' applecart and thrown them into confusion. Things are moving fast, "far too fast for ideal progress" is the view of Belgian (and not only Belgian!) officials in the Congo quoted in an article by John B. Oakes in a recent issue of The New York Times Magazine. The colonialists are not wholly disregarding the lessons of history—they have learned much from their vain efforts to hold back the tide of the postwar liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, and are becoming increasingly conscious that the colonial system is doomed in Africa too. To cite the London Observer: "The era of Europe's hegemony over Africa has, after 300 years, drawn to its close."

Today the colonial powers are acting cautiously, preferring as a rule to avoid the danger of armed uprising from which they would risk losing both their political influence and their economic interests. The instructive example of Holland, which forfeited her economic positions in Indonesia because of a reckless attempt to crush the liberation movement there, was fresh enough in the minds of the Belgian rulers to force them to make concessions to the leaders of the Congolese nationalist parties, and, with the threat of a national uprising hanging over their head, to promise the country independence this summer. "The wind of change is blowing through the continent," Macmillan had perforce to admit this during his African tour. He exhorted the European settlers in South Africa, in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to be sensible, to establish good relations with the

local population before it was too late, and not to cling hopelessly to their privileges and outlived racial prejudices. Otherwise they, and with them the positions of the capitalist West, would be swept away by the irresistible wave of African nationalism.

Monopoly capitalism would not be what it is if it did not ooze colonialism from every pore—the urge to the economic enslavement of other countries and peoples, and to political domination over them. Concessions, which the colonial powers make only when they are forced to do so, do not mean that they are suddenly seeing things as they are, or that conscience is pricking them. Concessions merely prove their inability to control events, to crush the national-liberation movement. While the colonialist diehards are clinging grimly to the outlived forms of colonial rule in Algeria, Kenya and Rhodesia, for example, the more far-sighted Western leaders, expressing the interests of monopoly capital, realize the need for change, and prefer, by making timely concessions, to retain the most important thing—their dominion over the so-called underdeveloped countries. Both, however, have one and the same object. As the ideologists of Neo-Colonialism put it “. . . the right course for the West is not to retreat or ‘get out’, but to find acceptable solutions in order to stay.”*

And the greater the sweep of the African people's liberation struggle, the more this “far-sighted” tendency predominates in Western policy. The Tunis Conference reaffirmed that *the iron logic of the national-liberation movement, which expresses an historic necessity, is that there is no way out of the situation other than by granting independence to the colonies.* On the one hand, any delay in doing this can only lead to the opposite result, to the “extremist elements” — as the colonialists call the more principled and consistent freedom fighters—taking over the leadership of the struggle; and, on the other hand, any political leader or party in Africa prepared to waive demands for independence for the sake of reaching agreement with the colonialists, an agreement which would be advantageous to narrow sections of the local bourgeoisie, feudal lords and the tribal chiefs, is bound to become discredited in the eyes of the people and be swept away by the march of events. This is appreciated by both the colonial powers and the African nationalists. As a rule, therefore, the former are not now so much concerned about preserving the colonial ad-

ministration intact as about wondering which of the more or less “reliable” leaders of the national movement could, and without delay, be entrusted to run the government, while the colonial powers would retain their economic and political positions. Even the more conservative nationalists are often prepared to make substantial concessions to the colonial powers in order to achieve independence.

Neo-Colonialist Maneuvers

One of the stock-in-trade arguments of the colonialists is that some of the territories are “not ready” for independence, for democracy, or political responsibility. This simply means that the colonialists have not yet trained their successors in the particular colony, or protectorate, i.e., have not yet nurtured the political forces into whose “reliable hands” they intend to transfer power. This explains the paradoxical fact that in the view of the British Government, Britain's more economically developed possessions in East Africa are “less fit” for independence than Ghana, Nigeria, and others.*

The question of granting independence to Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika is being complicated by the so-called European minority problem in these countries. These difficulties, however, arise not so much from concern for the fate of the European settlers, as the colonial powers would like people to believe, as from the fact that this minority (in Kenya about one per cent of the population) fills the place of the stratum of national bourgeoisie and intellectuals with whom, when they emerge, the colonial powers hope to come to terms in the interests of state-monopoly capital. The moment this stratum emerges—and vigorous steps are being taken in this direction (thousands of African students are being hastily trained in Western Europe and the United States) — the privileges of the European colonialists, as Macmillan's latest statement foreshadows, will be sacrificed to an alliance with the local national bourgeoisie, provided, of course, it is prepared to collaborate with the West.

In this situation, being unable to halt the national-liberation movement, the Western powers, as the bourgeois press reports, are placing their hopes of preserving their positions and influence in working “closely with the few outstanding African leaders who ap-

**The Idea of Colonialism*, Ed. by R. Strausz-Hupé and H. W. Hazard, N.Y. 1958, pp. 42-43.

*It is significant that in 1959 the electric power generated per capita was 7.5 kwh. in Nigeria, 9.1 in the Cameroons, 42 in Kenya, and 540 in Rhodesia.

pear to command most support."* Colonial officials on the spot are more cynical. It is true, they say, that there are not many Africans capable of taking charge of public affairs, but if one even can be found to be made Prime Minister — — "in these countries if there's one, that's already not too bad."**

The representatives of the African peoples at the Tunis Conference, naturally, did not ignore the danger of Neo-Colonialism. "The colonialists are not unarmed," stressed Abdoulaye Diallo, Secretary-General of the Conference. "They want to hang on at all costs, multiplying the repressions and maneuvering. . . . They want to get away with a whole skin, to strip independence of its revolutionary content." The call to the peoples of Africa to redouble their vigilance and determination sounded in the speech by Felix Roland Moumie (Cameroon): "Being unable directly to oppose the popular demand for independence and unity, the imperialists are leaving no stone unturned to deceive the people by carrying out petty reforms and even proclaiming a phoney independence. That is the way Neo-Colonialism now menaces the whole of Africa."

What is Behind the Slogan "Keep Africa for the West"

The granting of political independence to the African colonies does not in itself signify that the grim era of colonialism has ended on this continent. Neo-Colonialism, the iron hand in the velvet glove, is designed to replace the primitive, brutal colonialism. Its slogan is "Keep Africa for the West!" "Keep Africa for the West" politicians of the Roy Welensky type say: "In this East-West struggle it is probably now true to say that Africa holds the balance . . . Political independence is being granted to country after country and aid in millions of dollars is being poured in, in an endeavor to stabilize the continent and to retain its adherence to the west."***

Different meanings are attached to this slogan, depending on the country to which it is directed. To the peoples of Africa and the world public it is advertised as an expression of Western concern for the economic development of backward countries, the desire to spread Western civilization there, to implant democratic institutions, etc. For monopoly

capital this slogan means *maintaining economic and political domination on the rich continent, preserving it as an agricultural appendage, a source of cheap raw materials and a market for industrial goods manufactured in Western Europe and the United States, and retaining their military bases there, etc.* Behind the monopoly capitalists' efforts to retain their foothold in Africa is also the desire to use its natural resources, manpower and territory in the fight for world domination. The bourgeois press is quite explicit on this: "Whoever has Africa on its side can dominate the world. Keen rivalry for this is under way. The West must not fail again."*

The neo-colonialists are pushing through this program not only by means of agreements imposed on the governments of the former colonies at the time of granting them independence (the agreement between France and Morocco, Tunisia and Cameroon, Britain and Nigeria), but by the "Balkanization" of the continent, as many delegates noted at the Conference, i.e., by parcelling it into as many (up to 40) countries as possible, divided by the artificial boundaries of the colonial period, countries not independent economically and always at loggerheads. Preparing the ground for their next moves, the imperialists are trying to weaken the bigger countries like Nigeria and the Belgian Congo by imposing the principle of federation upon them, and to merge "doubtful" territories with "reliable" ones, for example, Nyasaland with Rhodesia, and to make Somalia quarrel with Ethiopia over Ogaden, Nigeria with Cameroon over the British Cameroons, the Belgian Congo with Tanganyika over Ruanda-Urundi, the UAR with the Sudan over the Nile waters, and so on. The spokesmen of Neo-Colonialism say that "the withdrawal of the Imperial rulers is likely to result in a considerable redrawing of boundaries, with inevitable conflicts between the new African States themselves."**

Playing on the contradictions they have created, the neo-colonialists want to do in Africa what the United States did in Latin America after the fall of the Spanish Empire in the New World. They hope to bind the African countries to the former metropolitan countries through the geographical division of labor established under capitalism. With this object in view the neo-colonialists are propagating the "interdependence" theory, according to which the economically backward countries will be fully dependent on the

*The Observer, January 3rd, 1960.

**New York Times Magazine, January 3, 1960, p. 13.

***New York Herald Tribune, Economic Review, Paris, March 1960.

*Combat, January 23-24, 1960.

**The Observer, January 3, 1960.

United States and West European countries for their manufactured goods; in return the latter countries will "depend" on them for agricultural produce and raw materials. "Interdependence" of this kind (for instance, the draft Eurafrika plan, attempts to extend the Common Market Agreement to the African countries) certainly suits the capitalist monopolies, who bank on acting in a united front against the disunited African countries, and on preventing their industrial development. Unless the African countries are industrialized, the loans and other forms of financial aid granted primarily for the development of the extraction industry and the extension of plantations, will, in the long run, simply sharpen the rivalry between these countries, and result in lower prices on the world market for farm produce and raw materials, thus enabling the Western powers to recompense themselves a hundredfold for whatever aid they have dispensed.

This far-reaching program of perpetuating the economic exploitation of the African countries could, unquestionably, count on success, were it not for the existence of the socialist world. Mutually advantageous trade with the socialist countries, their disinterested aid to the economically backward countries, and their experience in carrying out the industrial and cultural revolution, open up to the peoples of Africa the perspective of throwing off the shackles of slavery imposed by monopoly capital. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that anti-communism is always the concomitant of Neo-Colonialism.

"Independence and Unity Now!"

The significance of the Tunis Conference is that it put "paid" to the colonialist hopes of splitting the national-liberation movement. As a counterweight to the old imperialist slogan of "divide and rule" the Conference, voicing the will of the African peoples, called for "independence and unity now."

Time and again the delegates from the new countries of Africa underlined that their peoples would not give up the struggle for independence until the entire continent was liberated. The solidarity of the peoples was strikingly demonstrated during the discussion on Algeria. It is significant that whereas the struggle waged by the people of Kenya in the early 'fifties evoked no great response in other colonies, the Algerian war of liberation is now regarded by all the African peoples as their own vital concern.

As the Liberian delegate said, "... should the cause of freedom be lost in Algeria the process of re-colonization of North Africa will set in, and will spread East and South and, eventually, throughout the continent." The Conference resolutions recommended to all the African countries to recognize the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and to make contributions to it from their budgets. They approved the idea of forming an African volunteer corps to fight on the side of the Algerian patriots. The Conference unanimously adopted a resolution to boycott South African goods in protest against apartheid, called for the release of the freedom fighters, and demanded that the ban on progressive parties be lifted and the state of emergency obtaining in a number of colonies ended.

The political independence of the countries of the entire continent, as the African people's representatives justly affirmed, cannot be complete or lasting unless it is accompanied by economic independence and unity. The Conference pointed to the "absolute need for economic changes" — for rapid industrialization, agrarian reform, modernization of agriculture, co-operative development, etc., in order "to make Africa independent economically" and "to safeguard the interests of the people, ensure social justice and raise the standard of living."

Warning against showing too much eagerness to obtain foreign aid and loans, the Conference called on the peoples of Africa to rely on their own strength and resources. "The process of de-colonization will be completed only when the economies of the former colonial territories of Africa cease to be mere appendages to the metropolitan economies . . .," said J. B. T. Kakonge (Uganda). "Our progress involves lifting ourselves up by our own boot straps. What is needed is not so much external aid as the utmost sacrifice on the part of the African Communities. That is the only sure safeguard against the dangers of Neo-Colonialism."

The Conference was an important step towards the economic, cultural and, eventually, political unity of the continent. Delegations of political parties, trade unions and other organizations adopted resolutions to co-ordinate plans for the economic development of their countries, to extend and liberalize trade with one another; to form all-Africa transport companies; to set up an Africa Investment Bank and Africa Research Institute to investigate the continent's economic resources and

to train experts; to extend cultural contacts and jointly study the African cultural legacy. The United African Trade Union Center which is about to be established will end the division in the working-class movement, and promote the growth of its influence on Africa's political and economic life. The Conference noted the important role the working class will be called upon to play in the struggle for complete independence and unity of the continent, for democracy and social progress.

Any Path that Leads to Freedom is Justified

There was a long discussion on the lines along which the national-liberation movement is likely to develop. Most delegates thought that peaceful means of struggle should not exclude non-peaceful means, for to do so would be to create a "pseudo-dilemma" which, as F. R. Moumie put it, "the imperialists would take advantage of in order to render the liberation struggle ineffective."* As President Bourguiba of Tunisia and the delegates from Algeria, Kenya, the Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone and other countries pointed out, *any people would prefer to achieve freedom with as few casualties as possible. On the other hand there was no sacrifice they were not prepared to make in order to win independence.* So that when all other, peaceful, means of struggle had proved futile, the peoples resorted to armed uprising. To renounce force in such circumstances would be tantamount to betraying the national interests. "Any path to freedom is valid and justified!" declared Bourguiba. Round-table conferences — the colonial powers' favorite method of evading the issue — should not become like the Hatter's and the March Hare's mad tea-party in *Alice in Wonderland*, at which Alice discovered the Hatter's watch "doesn't tell what o'clock it is," and that it was "always six o'clock now . . . always tea-time." The issue of granting national independence cannot be put off forever.

The Conference re-affirmed that the result of the neo-colonialist attempts to cling to Africa, on the pretext of "defending" it from "world communism," was growing suspicion of the West. We are often told, said Mainza Chona (Northern Rhodesia), that the system we hate "is necessary in order to fight against Russia. But are we going to suffer exploitation simply because of a quarrel between two tribes? We have our own problems—poverty, freedom and justice—and it is for other tribes

to solve theirs." The African peoples see for themselves that the socialist countries, who are not seeking spheres of influence or war bases in other countries, and are always prepared to give economic aid to the backward countries in their efforts to achieve national independence and social progress, are pursuing a consistent policy of peace. The socialist countries' stand during the Suez crisis, their economic aid to Guinea and Ethiopia, the building of the Aswan dam, the opening in Moscow of the Friendship of Peoples University, etc., are striking proof of this.

That is why demands for the abolition of the Western military bases, and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the continent, were unanimously approved by the delegations, who proclaimed that the only policy consistent with the tasks of the liberation movement was the policy of neutrality and steering clear of military alliances. On the day the Conference opened there was a big demonstration against using the Sahara as a proving ground for the French A-bombs.

The Conference spurned the colonialist attempts to teach the Africans democracy. Delegates from the British colonies in East Africa denounced the plans to establish a so-called "multi-racial society" in these countries, and to introduce an electoral system under which the will of a few tens of thousands of European settlers would outbalance that of millions of natives. True democracy, the representatives of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Rhodesia said, does not consist in perpetuating indirect colonial rule under the hypocritical pretext of "safeguarding the rights of the European and Asian minorities," but in consistent application of the basic democratic principle of "one man one vote," and in the forming of a government which would express the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Democracy for us, said Oskar Kambona (Tanganyika), means "freedom from hunger, disease and ignorance. It must mean freedom from any form of indignity or oppression by fellow citizens or by any government of free Africa."

In the Interests of Mankind

The national-liberation movement in Africa is not directed against Europeans or Western civilization, as the colonialists aver in order to win public support in their countries. The nationalist slogan "Africa for the Africans" is, since there is no big imperialist power in

*Le Patriote Kamerunais, No. 11-12, p. 5.

Africa which could use it for its narrow ends, a progressive slogan, a slogan spearheaded against imperialism and colonialism. That is its fundamental difference from the Monroe Doctrine of "America for the Americans!" which cloaked the expansion of U.S. monopoly capital in the Western hemisphere, and the slogan "Asia for the Asians!" sounded by the Japanese militarists before the Second World War. The Africans, explain the leaders of the national movement in Africa, include all the peoples on the continent, irrespective of race, color, religious belief or origin, and also the settlers from Europe and Asia. "While we believe that Africa belongs to the Africans, we are not racists or chauvinists," declared Kojo Botsio, head of the Ghana delegation. "We welcome into our midst peoples of other races, other nations, other communities who desire to live among us in peace and equality. But they must respect us and our rights: our right, as the majority, to rule." While Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was threatening Africans refusing to recognize the supremacy of the Europeans with the fate that befell the North American Indians, Rhodesia's representative at the Conference said: "I wish to repeat what we have always said, that we welcome all good Europeans to Africa and

are ready to give them a share of our wealth. . . . This point is supported by the fact that there are more Europeans in Ghana now than before independence."

The leaders of the liberation movement have no intention of driving out the European population, or of isolating the continent from the world. "A free and independent Africa, free to mobilize its human and material resources, free to rebuild its culture and civilization has much to offer the world. The cultural treasures dormant in our nations, whose development was arrested by colonialism, hold out the greatest promise to humanity. What is more, the world economy will be enriched when the African countries, working freely, and at liberty to co-operate with the whole world, utilize their oil resources in the Sahara, the copper and uranium in the Rhodesias and the Congo, and the coffee and cotton of Kenya and Uganda."* The African peoples look upon their struggle for independence, freedom and unity as an integral part of the struggle being waged by progressive humanity for peace, democracy and social justice. And for this reason they have the sympathy and support of the world public.

*Uganda Renaissance, January 1960, pp. 19, 21.

Exchange of Views

What are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class?

Our Questionnaire and First Comment

For purposes of a thorough study of this problem the Editorial Board submitted a list of questions to a number of progressive research organizations and publications, namely: the U.S. Labor Research Association, the German Institute of Economics, "Marxism Today" (Britain), "Die Arbeit" (Austria), "Economie et politique" (France) and "Politica ed economia" (Italy). We print below the first of the answers* and a preliminary comment on these. It is the hope of the Editors that these materials will initiate a broad exchange of views, and all students of working-class problems are invited to take part.

FROM THE U.S. LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

1. From which Social Strata is the Working Class Replenished?

In the U.S. the working class is replenished from three main sources: first of all from its own ranks, from those engaged in agriculture and from the ranks of the self-employed. Before examining the three sources it is necessary to agree on what we mean by the term "working class."

Who Should be Included in the Working Class?

Some bourgeois economists have tended to limit its coverage only to so-called blue-collar workers, i.e., manual workers engaged directly in the production of commodities. At the same time they have included all so-called white-collar workers, not only clerks and office workers, draughtsmen, foremen, all kinds of supervisory workers, engineers and technicians, but even manual workers in the service industries, as a kind of "new middle class." On the basis of this loose definition these economists draw the conclusion that the working class in the U.S. is shrinking.

Needless to say, this definition has no scientific basis. We include in the working class all those who depend exclusively on the sale of their labor power for a living, and who are not owners of the means of production.

The Working Class is Growing Numerically, While the Number of Self-employed is Declining

On that basis the working class of the U.S. is growing rapidly, as can be seen from the following

figures. Out of a total U.S. civilian labor force of 44.9 million in 1940 the self-employed made up 9.8 million, or almost 22 per cent. At the same time wage and salary workers (practically all members of the working class) accounted for 33.6 million, or 75 per cent of the total.

In 1956 the wage and salary workers comprised 52.4 million out of a total labor force of 64 million, or nearly 82 per cent. The self-employed in the same period remained about the same in number, but had declined to about 15 per cent of the labor force.

The rest of the labor force (about 3 per cent) in both 1940 and 1956 consisted of unpaid family workers.

The figures above refer to the total labor force, both agricultural and non-agricultural. However, if agricultural employment is excluded because of the special problems connected with that sector of the economy, we find that in 1956 the total non-agricultural labor force was 57.6 million, out of which nearly 89 per cent consisted of wage and salary workers.

It should be noted that U.S. statistics lump together all wage and salaried workers. They put corporation presidents drawing \$300,000 a year in the same class as office clerks making \$60 a week, or hospital workers getting starvation wages of \$34 a week.

The high-salaried personnel can be eliminated from the total of wage and salaried workers by

*The answers are slightly abridged.—Ed.

using the figures of the Department of Commerce and Internal Revenue Service covering the distribution of income. On the basis of these figures we can reduce our estimate of wage and salaried workers in the labor force from around the 89 per cent noted above to around 85 per cent.

The professional workers are in a special category. U.S. statistics usually consider all of them as belonging to the "middle class." But what is the state of affairs in reality? The proportion of self-employed among these professionals is steadily decreasing, while the proportion dependent on wages and salaries is increasing. About half of the physicians and lawyers in the United States may still be self-employed; the other half, however, are attached to big institutions, law firms, hospitals and clinics, and are entirely dependent on their salaries. This is even truer of the lower professionals, for example, nurses and medical technicians.

Another group of professionals—engineers and technicians—although increasing rapidly in number, is gradually being squeezed out from the category of the self-employed. While there are still some engineers, scientists and higher-paid technicians who are more or less self-employed, since they sell their services to different corporations at different times and have a voice in determining the compensation for their services, the majority are now on the payroll of corporations.

Farmers

The number of farmers (classified in the census as self-employed farmers and farm managers) has been declining not only relatively in proportion to the entire labor force, but also absolutely. In 1910 there were 6,100,000 farmers in the U.S., making up 17 per cent of the total labor force. By

1940 the number was reduced to 5.1 million, or 11 per cent of the total. By 1950 it had declined to 4.3 million, or less than eight per cent of the labor force; and by 1956 the number of farmers had dropped to 3.7 million, or less than six per cent.

Due to the continued crisis in U.S. agriculture the self-employed farmers are either being reduced to the position of farm laborers and foremen, or squeezed out entirely from agriculture and forced to seek employment elsewhere.

The number of farm laborers and foremen in the same period declined from 4.7 million in 1910 to 3.1 million in 1940, and to 2.9 million in 1956. As a percentage of the labor force, the decline was from 13 per cent in 1910 to about seven per cent in 1940, and to about 4.5 per cent in 1956.

Because of the process of mechanization on farms the total number of persons engaged in farming is continuing to decline. The total number in 1956 dropped to 6.6 million, or slightly over 10 per cent of the total labor force. The overwhelming majority of those squeezed out of farming replenished the working class.

Migrant Farm Laborers

A large part of the farm labor is migratory and comes from across the border, from Mexico, from the British and French West Indies and, in recent years, also from Japan and the Philippines.

A recent study, *Report on Farm Labor*, based on public hearings of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, indicated that the total average number of hired farm workers of American origin had declined from about 2.4 million in 1942 to about two million in 1958. But in the same period the number of foreign workers employed on U.S. farms had increased to 448,000.

FROM "MARXISM TODAY" (BRITAIN)

Some Facts and Figures About the Social Make-Up of the U.K. Population

There are many somewhat inexact estimates made for purposes of advertising and so on. The only official division of the population is by income ranges. But this does not show the social basis. The following data, prepared by an Oxford University group, refer to 1953. They underestimate the holdings and income of the high-level income groups, who anyhow supplement their incomes by capital gains, expense accounts from their businesses and so on. For the lower income groups property is mostly houses, as they "own" their houses through loan arrangements or just mortgages on them.

	% of all Units	Mean Gross Income £
Self-Employed	4.4	844
Managers and Technical Staff	7.3	977
Clerical and Sales Staff	13.9	403
Skilled Manual Workers	34.7	466
Unskilled Manual Workers	17.0	377
Retired or Unoccupied	22.7	195

Out of the 23 million income units there are some five million only who own property in large or small amounts, i.e., most of the workers, wage and salaried, do not own any property, except a few pounds in savings banks.

The last group is a false category: it includes the mass of old age pensioners—and the rentier rich!

As to the rentiers who get large investment income (they may also get "earned" income as directors, etc.), there are some 21,000 persons who get £205 million (each getting £5,000 per annum or over).

The changes in the distribution of the labor force in the U.K. economy during the period from 1948 to March 1959 are shown in the table.

	Labour Force at March 1959 (1,000's)	Changes in period from 1948 to 1959 (1,000's)
Agriculture	950	— 238
Mining	836	— 40
Manufacturing	8,844	+ 914
Building	1,470	+ 20
Gas, Electricity, Water	376	+ 55
Transport	1,666	— 121
Distribution	2,934	+ 450
Professional, financial, etc., services	4,228	+ 274
Public Administration (includes teachers)	1,294	— 88
Unemployed (Registered)*	539	+ 257
Working Population†	23,137	1,483

*Not those who have fallen out of trying to get work, e.g. wives or old people.

†Excluding those on active service.

Let us now turn to the sources from which the working class is renewed.

Agriculture

The main switch from the workers on the land to industry took place in its final form by the eighties of last century. The proportion of people working on the land is now some four per cent of the total working population. There are a number of small tenant farmers who cling obstinately to their small holdings. The persistence of small holders is remarkable. A good many of them, in spite of government subsidies, are living on their capital, like small shopkeepers. There is a diminution of the wage-workers employed on the land. This factor goes along with the considerable increase in mechanization of the larger farms. Output in agriculture has gone up, despite the fall in number.

Agricultural Labor Force
(Thousands)

June	Regular		Casual	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1924	662	82	124	179
1934	601	72	92	128
1939	546	55	72	111
1944	522	95	100	173
1948	580	73	73	74
1954	530	53	109	64
1958	509	74	54	42

But, in fact, the numbers concerned are not considerable, viewed as a source of recruitment for the urban industrial proletariat. There is possibly a development towards setting up light engineering component manufacture or building material works in the small towns to attract the wives and daughters of the farm laborers or owners of small holdings.

Colonies, Foreign Countries and Other Sources

One of the main sources of recruitment is from Ireland, both the Settlers' Sixth and the Republic. Also from the West Indies, Cyprus and parts of West Africa. The numbers of this migrant labor force run into hundreds of thousands of workers. They go primarily into the service trade, but also into building in considerable numbers and to some extent into engineering.

Another source of marginal recruitment of the labor force has been women and in particular married women.

The Petty Bourgeoisie

There are in the U.K. large numbers of individual traders and small partnerships (i.e., two or three joint traders) and even small companies (there are many man-and-wife companies, formed into this sort of unit for financial reasons). In many cases, particularly in building and clothing and small sub-contracting firms in engineering, they pass in and out of employed jobs.

Those individuals or partners or companies which make under £1,000 a year can be regarded as small. Out of a total of 1,904,700 units recorded for profit assessment in 1956-57 there were 1,506,009 in this group. This must account for some 2,000,000 individual persons. Their total number of units was 79 per cent of all units; the combined profit was 12.2 per cent of all profits. These people are potentially a source of proletarianization, though they cling to their little properties.

FROM THE GERMAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

**We Include Salaried Workers
Among the Working Class**

Let us say at the outset that we include most salaried workers in the ranks of the working class, because their economic and social status is much the same as that of wage workers. Like the latter, they do not own means of production, and they sell their labor power. The price received for this commodity—their salary—rarely exceeds the wage of the manual worker.

Despite this, most office workers do not regard themselves as being part of the working class and, ideologically, gravitate towards the bourgeoisie. This is explained by the fact that the nature of their work differs from that of the wage worker in industry. We tend to the view that, with the advance of technology, the work of this category will continue to change in the direction of the wage worker. The important thing to note is that the relatively stable employment hitherto enjoyed by the salaried workers is gradually being replaced by the insecurity with which the working class is familiar; and this, clearly, will in the course of time bring this section closer to the working class.

With these preliminary remarks out of the way, we can now proceed to the question of the growth of the working class.

In West Germany the number of wage and salaried workers rose from 15,310,000 in 1950 to 18,675,000 in 1958.

The main sources of this fairly considerable increase in the labor force are as follows:

Settlers

During these years the bulk of settlers from the former eastern regions, who in the past had mostly been salaried and wage workers, entered industry.

In addition, the fairly considerable numbers of "middle class" small businessmen who had lost their independence joined the ranks of the working class.

The following figures testify to this: in West Germany the settlers comprise a mere seven per cent of the people in "business," but their proportion in the number of workers reaches 19.2 per cent. This is especially true of agriculture. While peasant settlers own only 2.6 per cent of the cultivable land, 34.1 per cent of the farm laborers are recruited from this category.

Women in Industry

In 1951 females accounted for 31 per cent of the wage and salaried workers in West Germany: for 1958 the figure was 34 per cent. During these years the number of females employed in industry rose

by 45 per cent, with the corresponding figure for the males only 27 per cent. The growth of female labor (most are unskilled or semi-skilled) can be attributed to the low wages of the majority of workers and to the bad plight of the middle sections.

The Middle Sections: A Downward Trend

About half of the replenishment to the working class comes from the middle sections, chiefly impoverished peasants. From 1950-51 to 1957-58 the number of peasant family members permanently employed in agriculture diminished from 4.4 to 3.3 million. In other words, 1.1 million abandoned agriculture. The number of peasants forced to seek supplementary employment—mainly as wage workers—has likewise grown considerably. In the two years (1954-56) the proportion of the latter in the total farmers rose from 29.8 to 32.8 per cent. And this proletarianization of the countryside, it should be said, is proceeding apace.

"Social Mobility" or a "Social Scandal?"

In West Germany the bourgeoisie takes pains to impress on the working class that the latter is rising to the status of the middle sections, that there are no longer any proletarians. But, as the figures cited above show, the process is just the reverse—the middle sections are being reduced to the status of proletarians; growing numbers of small businessmen, losing their independence, are becoming wage-workers. Whereas in 1949 there were 863,000 small workshops in West Germany, by 1958 their number had dropped to 760,000. Thus 12 per cent of the handicraft enterprises became the victims of the monopolies, their owners being forced to seek employment as wage-workers. A similar process can be observed also among the retail traders. We should point out that although some of the handicraftsmen and traders manage somehow to retain at least a vestige of formal independence, the great majority are on the payroll of the large firms to which they sell their commodities.

When we speak about the narrowing gap between the working class and the middle sections we have in mind that the conditions of the middle sections are steadily approaching those of factory workers, and many members of these sections actually join the ranks of the working class.

It is true that the incomes of the workers and the greater part of the middle sections are being streamlined. But how? In what way? In 1956 only 10 per cent of the workers had a wage of more than DM 500 a month, while in the same year, according to official statistics, 51 per cent of the

small workshops, 65 per cent of the small trading enterprises and 36 per cent of the holdings not exceeding five hectares, had monthly incomes of less than DM 500. Moreover, in most cases this sum had to be divided between two (in the countryside among three and more) working members of the family.

Thus there can be little doubt that the incomes of the bulk of the "middle sections" are smaller—and their working day is much longer—than those of the average wage worker. It would be the height of nonsense, however, to infer that the worker is being elevated to the status of the "propertied bourgeoisie." The reverse is the case.

In 1950 the wage and salaried workers in West Germany comprised 70.8 per cent of the labor force; by 1957 the figure had risen to 79.5 per cent. This fact testifies not to the social consolidation of the "independent" small businessmen and their family workers, but to the social down-grading of the middle sections.

In the attempt to shore up their theory of a higher social status attained by the working class, the spokesmen of monopoly capital claim that working-class purchasing power is rising (buying more

TV sets, motor cars, etc.). But the number of workers who can buy these durables is not very large, and, as a rule, they are bought by those families where women also go out to work. It should be added, moreover, that money needed for these purchases is "saved" by cutting expenditure on food. The food consumption of West German workers, for example, is less than before the war.

The scribes of the monopoly bourgeoisie are at pains to hush up the steady growth of exploitation. The facts, however, show that between 1950 and 1958 a 58 per cent rise in man-hour productivity was obtained through intensification of labor. One result of this was a rise in the number of industrial injuries from 1,134,000 in 1950 to 2,515,000 in 1958. The prevalence of premature disability is also highly indicative. West German workers are forced to retire usually at the age of fifty-four.

These facts, then, give the lie to the nonsense preached about the higher social status attained by the West German working class. Even the right-wing union leaders admitted at the Fifth Congress of the Amalgamated Trade Unions, held in Stuttgart in September 1959, that the income distribution in West Germany was a "social scandal."

FROM "DIE ARBEIT" (AUSTRIA)

An Intake of 620,000 Workers

The number of workers employed in handicrafts and other industries increased by approximately 567,000 between 1937 and 1958. In trade, transport and in the social services the rise was not so conspicuous—in all, some 53,000. The total increase in the labor force during these years amounted to 620,000.

The sources of recruitment were as follows:

(1) The natural growth of the working class and replenishments from the ranks of the unemployed and females, mainly housewives. The number of females employed in industry increased by 110,000 compared with 1937, while another 15,000 found employment in transport and in the service branches.

(2) The inflow of settlers (chiefly from the countries which formed part of the Austro-Hungarian empire), among whom we find not only workers and handicraftsmen but also peasants and members of the bourgeois strata. The settlers were, in most

cases, workers, since it was difficult to resume life on the land or to get white-collar jobs. About 250,000 settled in Austria. At present there are no data for their distribution in industry.

(3) Former agricultural laborers and the children of the small and middle farmers who could not live on the parental income. A total of 120,000 people left agriculture for industry.

Thus, though complete statistics are lacking, we can state that the workers now employed in industry have come from various sections of the populations.

355,000 More Salaried Workers

The number of the salaried workers has increased by 355,000 persons (including 140,000 females). This considerable growth (almost threefold) in the number of the white-collar workers engaged in handicrafts and other industries has changed the ratio between the wage and salaried workers in favor of the latter. In 1937, for every ten white-collar workers employed in industry there were seventy manual workers, by 1958 the figure had fallen to fifty-six.

2. What is the impact of technological progress, particularly automation, on the structure of the working class in the capitalist countries? In what way has the social status of clerical workers been changed by the mechanization of bookkeeping and accounting operations?

FROM THE U.S. LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

The Number of Non-Production Workers is Growing

Automation and mechanization have greatly affected the occupational distribution within the working class.

In the first place, the distribution of the working class between commodity-producing industries and service industries is changing in favor of the latter.

In 1920, out of a total of 27.1 million in the non-agricultural commodity-producing industries about 46 per cent were employed in mining, construction and manufacturing. But in 1958, out of a total of about 51 million only about 37 per cent were employed in these three sectors of the U.S. economy.

In transport and in the public utilities industries, counted as production industries, although U.S. statistics classify them as service industries, there were employed in 1920 almost four million workers, or nearly 15 per cent of the total non-agricultural labor force. By 1958 the total in these two industries was still around 4.2 million but they represented only eight per cent of the total non-farm labor force.

Now look at the growth of the service industries which include wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate and all other miscellaneous services such as teachers, barbers, etc. If we add them to the government workers we find that in 1920 the two together employed 10.5 million, or about 39 per cent of the total non-farm labor force. But by 1958 the total in these groups had risen to around 28 million, or about 55 per cent of the total non-agricultural workers.

While the number of workers in the non-commodity-producing industries (service and government) has been growing at the expense of the commodity-producing industries, we find also that within the commodity-producing industries themselves the number of auxiliary workers, who do not participate directly in the production process, has increased much faster than the number of production workers. The best illustration is in manufacturing.

Increase in the Number of "White-Collar" Workers

The number of production workers in manufacturing industry increased only one per cent in the ten years 1947-57. But during the same period the number of white-collar or non-production workers increased by over 50 per cent. In 1947 the non-production workers made up only 16 per cent of the work force in manufacturing. But by 1957 they represented over 23 per cent. In some engineering industries where new technological developments or the introduction of automation have called for

more technicians, the proportion is larger than the averages for manufacturing as a whole. For example, the ratio of non-production workers in the ordnance industry rose by 1957 to 40.5 per cent; in electrical machinery to 28 per cent; in instruments to 33 per cent; in some aircraft and missile plants to almost 50 per cent.

Is the Office Worker a Proletarian?

The number of clerical workers has been increasing rapidly in the U.S. — from less than two million in 1910 and almost five million in 1940 it rose to 7.23 million in 1950 and to 9.06 million in May 1959. This trend is closely linked with technological advance.

The continuous process of mechanization even as early as 1939 had affected at least 80 per cent of clerical workers. The use of typewriters and dictating machines was followed by electric typewriters, calculators, computers, bookkeeping machines and even more complicated installations.

The first electronic computers came into use around 1950. By 1958 more than 800 medium computers and 200 large-scale computers were in use in the larger offices of insurance companies, banks and utilities. In a utility company, for example, one of these electronic computers will print the customer's name on the bill, list each separate item, adding taxes and other charges. It will compute the payroll, print checks for individual employees and perform other work previously done by rows of office clerks. In general the jobs of clerks employed in routine, the repetitive jobs can be taken by the various new types of mechanical equipment. On the other hand, certain types of filing clerks, private secretaries, receptionists are not so easily displaced.

As summarized by the AFL-CIO in *IUD Digest*, "Many white-collar jobs are becoming similar to those of machine tenders. Inevitably fewer white-collar workers will be required just as fewer workers are being required for production."

The general mechanization, which has been increasing at an accelerating rate since World War One, tends to eliminate the differentiation between white-collar workers of the lower and middle echelons and the blue-collar workers. This tendency relates not only to wages but also to security of employment and general status.* In other words, if at one time there may have been some objective

*Even in 1950 the median income of clerical and kindred workers in the U.S. was \$2,320 a year, or not much higher than the median for workers in all occupations combined—\$2,312. And it was substantially lower than the median for all manual workers which was then \$2,470.

conditions influencing these white-collar workers to consider themselves as a kind of middle strata, these conditions have now disappeared. But their own subjective estimate of their position still lingers on and in many cases presents an obstacle to unionization.

Workers' Skill and Automation

The effects of automation, at first glance, seem to be toward the development of more skilled workers. In factories, for example, the semi-skilled would be replaced by those able to handle complicated machines. But the management may also, as the U.S. Autoworkers' Union has pointed out, seize upon automation as an excuse to attempt to break down the lines of demarcation between the existing skilled trades by pressuring workers in one trade to do the work of those in others.

The skilled workers, as a result, become general maintenance men, and the tendency is to replace skilled workers with new men who can be trained specially to handle the maintenance and repair of particular machines.

The general tendency is thus to degrade the skilled laborers to the level of semi-skilled maintenance men. The semi-skilled workers on production lines are also turned into indirect labor. Most of them may be forced, assuming they have any job at all with the company, into the lower indirect labor jobs. And many are forced out altogether and compelled to seek jobs elsewhere.

Automation is Squeezing Out Workers

The displacement of workers by automation devices, although originally considered a minor problem, is assuming greater and greater importance. Warner Bloomberg, Jr., Assistant Professor of Sociology at Syracuse University, has noted that "an uncounted number of industrial and office workers—more than likely going to the hundreds of thousands—are 'temporarily out of work' because the automatic devices of the new technology have taken over their functions."

Dun's Review (May, 1959), a leading business magazine, noted that "many of the unemployed are semi-skilled workers who have been laid off by automobile, steel and other metalworking plants. Automation has taken their jobs, and their former employers don't need them any more."

Some of the displaced workers by reason of automation may, of course, get some kind of a job, but in the course of doing so they may lose seniority rights, insurance, pensions and other

benefits. They have to take much less congenial jobs at lower wages and under worse conditions.

It was claimed by the Ford Motor Co. that when it made a particular introduction of automation some years ago in its engine department nearly 2,000 workers were displaced, but that all were "absorbed in other operations." However, labor economists pointed out at that time that this statement was meaningless unless other facts were known. The displaced workers, for example, may have been put on additional jobs or absorbed because other workers with less seniority were laid off. Or they may have been recalled to fill a vacancy when some worker died or moved away. Or they may have been given other jobs with the company because automobile parts formerly subcontracted to other companies were now made by Ford itself, in which case other workers (in the contracting companies) would have lost their jobs. Or Ford may have increased its share of the automobile market at the expense of other companies and other workers and was thus able to keep the displaced workers employed.

The effects of automation are described by W. S. Buckingham, Jr., Professor of Economics and Industrial Management, Georgia Institute of Technology. Writing in the symposium handbook, *Automation and Society* (Philosophical Library, 1959) he says the immediate consequences are that "many direct production jobs are abolished." And "a smaller number of newer jobs requiring different and mostly higher skills are created." He quotes the study of David G. Osborn of the University of Chicago, who revealed that in twelve cases of automation ranging from chocolate refining to railroad traffic control the reduction in employee requirements ranged from 13 per cent to 92 per cent, with an average reduction in employment of 63.4 per cent. "The worker displaced is not fired," says Buckingham, "he is the one who is not hired."

As for the long-run effects of automation and similar developments, one is inclined to agree with the conclusions of William Glazer in his contribution to *American Labor in Midpassage* (Monthly Review Press, 1959) that, "we have on our hands . . . an economic system that has no machinery to deal with sweeping technological change smoothly and without bringing about the displacement and unemployment of workers. Automation is not responsible for this condition—capitalism is. And trade union policies are not the vehicle for coping with economic problems of this magnitude."

FROM "MARXISM TODAY" (BRITAIN)

Production is Growing Faster than Employment

The spread of automation is changing the character of the work and its forms. Some of the more

repetitive and less skilled jobs are eliminated, but this has not yet led to large-scale dismissals of workers because the industries which are introduc-

ing automation most rapidly — motor vehicles chemicals, electric power, etc., — tend also to be the industries where production is increasing most rapidly. The number of workers employed remains stationary or increases only slightly while output per head and production increase rapidly.

This trend can be seen from the following table:

Indices of Production and Employment
1948 = 100

	1938	1954	1958	1959 (1st qu.)
Output				
(whole economy)	—	122.5	129.6	130.5
Total manpower	96	103.8	105.5	104.7
Males available	99	101.3	103.1	102.5
Females available	87	108	110.8	109.5
Manufacturers' output ...	—	133	141	142
Manufacturing manpower	83	110.2	111.5	110.4

These figures show how far the new techniques have had an overall effect on productivity. The overall figures show the role played by the entry of women into the labor market.

Old and New Trades

On the other hand, automation means that the workers have to acquire all kinds of new skills, which involve greater responsibility. At the same time there is an increase in the need for maintenance workers with an even higher degree of skill and technical knowledge than before. Thus it seems likely that automation will raise the proportion of workers doing skilled work, but it is difficult to produce figures which prove that this has already happened, as automation is still in the early stages in most industries in Britain. The industries which have 'flow' methods of automated production keep the line of workers who supervise the machines in a rather lower position than a former skilled man. They are, in effect, watchmen. They have low wages and lack the unity of working among masses of workers.

The spread of automation, and particularly the coming control by electronics, call for skilled designers, draughtsmen and planners. There is a certain intermixing between the skilled men and the draughtsmen; but at the same time the draughtsmen and other run-of-the-mill planners (and architects, etc., in building), even foremen of the lower grades, are coming to the union movement; they are getting, to this extent and with all their prejudices no doubt, proletarianized.

Many of the top scientists and planners are bosses' men. How far the sons and daughters of the workers reach this sector depends on higher education, the opportunities for which are still fairly restricted.

Trade Unions Face New Problems

The advance of automation is creating big problems for the trade unions and may in the course of time have big effects on the relations between different unions. The use of glass bricks is an example. Who is to lay them, the bricklayer who normally lays clay bricks or the glazier who normally puts in windows? This is not a case of automation, but it is a good example of the kind of problem that is caused by automation. Normally the employers will take advantage of these disputes between the trade unions, and therefore various trade unions are already discussing the problems of automation with a view to reaching agreement among themselves. Thus the building trade unions held a conference on the effects of new methods and mechanization in the building industry.

Trade unions are also trying to reach "redundancy agreements" with employers to safeguard the workers who have lost their jobs through the spread of mechanization and automation. But it is extremely difficult, unless a trade union is in an exceptionally strong position to place very much limitation on the employer's power to sack his workers, which he naturally regards as one of his most sacred rights. Most redundancy agreements simply provide for consultation with the trade union about which workers are to be sacked and how much notice they are to get. A few agreements provide for small compensation payments and place some duty on the employer to employ redundant workers in other jobs and to help in retaining them. Some unions are demanding that no workers should be sacked until they have been found other jobs and given any necessary training for them, but it is extremely difficult to get any employer to agree to this.

The Perspective for Salaried Workers

It should be stated beforehand that the proportion of salaried workers is increasing in those industries where the spread of automation is greatest.

By way of example we shall take the following three industries: petroleum refining, steel, radio and telecommunications. In the first of these the proportion of administrative and technical personnel was 24.8 per cent in 1951, 25.1 per cent in 1954 and 27.1 per cent in 1957; in the second the respective figures were: 12.4 per cent in 1950 and 16.6 per cent in 1959; in the third case 23.3 per cent in 1951, 24.9 per cent in 1954 and 26.4 per cent in 1957.

Special mention should be made of office workers. During the past thirty years or so there has been a steady increase in the use of office machinery, such as accounting machines of different kinds, and as these are normally operated by women it has reinforced the trend towards the employment

of an increasing proportion of women. The increasing use of machinery in offices is also tending to diminish the traditional difference in status between the office and the factory worker. Although the majority of office workers are probably not yet conscious of this, the fact is that their conditions of work (and rates of pay) are slowly becoming less different from those of the factory workers and in time this is bound to have a very big effect on their political and class consciousness.

The introduction of the electronic computers marks an entirely new stage in office mechanization and is bound to accelerate all the changes we have mentioned. There is even the possibility of shift-working in an office, a hitherto unheard-of

thing! Traditional forms of work, such as book-keeping, may largely disappear in large offices and banks, eliminating the routine work done by thousands of clerks and accountants. But these developments are still in the future. Electronic computers have so far only been installed in a handful of the largest offices and banks. The volume of clerical work has in the past been increasing so that the use of machinery has not yet caused many office workers to lose their jobs. But this is undoubtedly a problem which will arise in the future.

Trade union organization is slowly extending among clerical workers and the spread of automation will undoubtedly stimulate a further strengthening of the trade unions.

FROM THE GERMAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

Technological Advance is Downgrading Skills

Judging by the scanty information available, in the recent decade the advance of technology has resulted in reducing the proportion of skilled workers in West German industry. The metal-working industry can be taken as an example:

Proportion of each group in total labor force

	1935	1958
Skilled male workers	50.3	44.8
Semi-skilled male workers	24.3	26.8
Male laborers	12.5	9.3
Female workers	12.9	19.1

Here we can see the decline in the proportion of skilled male workers. The proportion of male laborers has also dropped. The percentage of semi-skilled, especially of females, shows an increase. It should be pointed out, however, that the decline in the proportion of skilled workers is actually greater than is shown in the table. The 1935 statistics show only trained skilled workers, and those for 1958 include in this category also workers who have acquired an equivalent skill "through many years of experience." The 1935 statistics, unfortunately, do not subdivide females according to their skills. But the 1958 figures show that only 1.7 per cent of the women employed in the commodity-producing industries were skilled; 40.3 per cent were semi-skilled, while 58 per cent were laborers. Thus the rise in the proportion of female workers has been attended by an increase in the share of semi-skilled laborers.

Thus the changes in capitalist technology in the recent decade have resulted in the rise of the numbers of semi-skilled and there are no indications of this process being altered in the near future.

Machine v. Man

Unfortunately, we do not have at our disposal any information concerning the allocation of work-

ers according to skills in automated enterprises. But there are, in our view, grounds for saying that in these enterprises, too, the proportion of semi-skilled workers and laborers has increased at the expense of the skilled.

It is pretty obvious that the technological progress renders large numbers of workers, in the first place older workers, redundant. The new conditions necessitate a special type of worker, capable of withstanding terrific mental strain—a worker who, without any serious exaggeration, can be likened to the pilot of a plane. Older workers and those in poor health will hardly be able to retain their jobs in the automated factories.

Automation signifies a greater exertion not so much of the muscles as of the nerves—this is already the case with mechanization. We should not, of course, draw the hasty conclusion that here we already see the bridging of the gulf between mental and manual labor. In any case this is not so, if we understand under mental activity creative work. On the contrary, there are grounds for believing that as time goes on this gap will be widened even among the technical staff, when the isolation of the planners from the run-of-the-mill technicians will be more pronounced than it is now.

Technological progress, accompanied by increased nerve strain, leads in capitalist industry to a gradual wearing-out of the entire labor force, to a shorter average working span for the able-bodied people. Even bourgeois labor experts admit that there are occupations in capitalist factories in which, because of the increased mental and physical strain, the worker has a working span of ten years at the most.

In 1937 some 51 per cent of all working men and women lost the ability to work and were laid off before reaching pension age (sixty-five years). In 1956 the figure was as high as 68.8 per cent. This holds true especially for female workers: the per-

centage of women quitting their jobs prematurely because of disability rose from 57.5 per cent in 1937 to 75.8 per cent in 1958. In very many cases the disability was caused by the constant nerve strain.

The above statistics do not take into account disability through industrial accidents. The spread of mechanization, partial automation, and intensification of labor have brought in their wake a rise in the number of industrial accidents.

FROM "DIE ARBEIT" (AUSTRIA)

Mechanization and the Austrian Workers

Technological progress has already resulted in the reduction of the labor force. But since in Austria this process is much slower than in other capitalist countries its impact on the labor market is not as yet very pronounced.

Moreover, since the war industrial output in Austria has sharply increased (about 2.5 times as compared with 1937), and employment is at an all-time high. This explains why redundant workers have no great difficulty in finding jobs. But the 1958 recession, which coincided with the temporary lay-offs as a result of technological re-gearing in industry, caused anxiety among the workers.

The growing mechanization will in all probability bring about greater redundancy. Bearing in mind that age is less important for male workers than it is for females, we can say even now that the growing mechanization will cause greater unemployment among women. Moreover, since technological advance under capitalism is accompanied by intensification of labor, the former will inevitably cause greater physical and mental strain, which cannot but affect the health of the workers. Hence the demand to reduce the retiring age for males (now sixty-five) and for females (now sixty) assumes very great importance.

As far as automation is concerned we should say that in Austria it is still at its early stage.

Clearly, the technological progress will sharpen the antagonisms between mental and manual labor, because a process of differentiation is under way between semi-skilled and unskilled, on the one hand, and the leading technicians, on the other. The body of skilled workers, who make up a considerable proportion of the working class, is gradually being reduced. Technicians are being turned

into bosses' men and, with the sharpening of the class struggle, enter into conflict with the workers. The policy pursued by the right-wing union leaders, and their advocacy of class peace, facilitate this process.

Office Workers: Position and Consciousness

Mechanization of office work is proceeding very slowly and chiefly in big establishments—insurance companies and large enterprises such as Unilever factories.

So far it has not caused so much redundancy as more or less strict bans on taking on new workers. Because of the bans and some occupational re-arrangements, coupled with the help rendered by the trade unions, it has been found possible to avoid lay-offs.

Computer departments are being established in the big enterprises mentioned above. The tendency is for computer operators to enjoy a privileged position not only in relation to manual workers but also to the other office workers. Salaries of this group are, on the average, higher as compared with other salaried workers. This is explained by the fact that these departments employ a great number of highly-skilled office personnel.

These workers should be regarded as part of the working class. But in outlook they are farther from the working class than the other sections of office workers. This is explained not only by their somewhat isolated position in the enterprise, but also by the greater opportunities for promotion. As a rule the computers are operated by young people who hold higher posts and are better paid than their older colleagues. Moreover, their work brings them into closer contact with the management.

3. What changes have occurred in the composition and status of the labor aristocracy?

FROM THE U.S. LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

The "Labor Aristocracy" in Modern America

It is difficult to say what group would be classified as the "labor aristocracy" in the U.S. today. From the point of view of wages paid, and in terms of unionized workers, those in the construction industry might be considered in this category. The conservative craft unions have been among the strongest from the very beginning of the U.S. trade union movement. A high wage scale in Northern

California now brings plumbers \$4.41 an hour, while in Essex County, N.J., carpenters are getting \$4.30 an hour. In Chicago, electricians have recently won a wage rate of \$4.10 an hour and structural iron workers \$4.15.

This building trade "aristocracy" is largely replenishing itself through the customary methods of closed shop control of the job, admitting to apprenticeship those in the families of members

or their friends who qualify according to union rules.

Other groups in the "aristocracy" might be the metal trades workers in the factories whose work is also based upon some apprenticeship and a gradual acquiring of the special skills of their trade. This group, however, at least in certain industries, has lost some of its former strength. An example is the case of the skilled workers in the automotive plants, especially around Detroit, Michigan. It was estimated in early 1959 that probably 35 per cent of about 8,000 unemployed of these highly skilled tool and die workers would not get their jobs back after the last recession.

And when these specially skilled workers, certainly among the former "aristocrats" of the automobile industry, tried to take effective action to protect their jobs they were opposed not only by the employers but by the administration of the Autoworkers Union, which, of course, is based on the votes of the semi-skilled assembly-line workers the number of whom has grown considerably in the Union. Our reference above to the influence of automation shows the same general tendency—steadily to weaken the importance of the old-time skilled craftsmen who were originally so strong in the American labor movement.

Other groups of former labor "aristocrats" that have lost power and prominence are the railroad brotherhoods and the railroad workers generally. This is due partly to the decline of the railroad industry in relation to other forms of transportation as well as to technological improvements which have displaced some 400,000 railroad workers since 1953. Whereas they were once among the highest paid workers in the U.S. they now come eighteenth on the government list of major industries in terms of average hourly earnings.

The coal miners form another group that has lost its influence due to the decline in this industry and also in technological changes that have replaced hundreds of thousands of workers by machines. Its labor leaders were all important in the American Federation of Labor as well as in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, but today they are independent and play no important role outside their own declining industry, with the union membership fallen from around 750,000 in 1923 to less than 200,000 now.

Today the mass industrial unions, such as the auto workers, the steel workers and the rubber workers have taken the place in influence and power once held by the craft unions.

FROM "MARXISM TODAY" (BRITAIN)

Skilled Men are Losing their Prestige

The composition of the aristocracy of labor has changed very much in the last fifty years from the point of view of its industrial composition. It used to consist of skilled men who had served an apprenticeship, whose fathers probably had served as a "laborer" in the same trade, who were union men (unions were exclusive minorities). The dominant trades were engineers—the skilled sections, craft unions—printers, cotton and woollen textile workers mainly.

Transport workers, including railwaymen, dockers and shopworkers were not included in the labor aristocracy before the First World War. Nor, though they had union representatives at the TUC, were miners. They were a marginal case. Electrical engineering was only just beginning.

Between the First World War and the Second World War these three groups, railwaymen, transport workers and dockers, merged with the labor aristocracy. Although the miners had a decisive say in TUC policy, they did not belong to the labor aristocracy. During these years the textile unions began their decline both in trade union influence and in wages. Print remained and indeed was strengthened as far as conditions went. Steel workers got better off and played a more important

role in the trade unions. The electrical engineering trade union got its teeth in.

The present position is that the labor aristocracy does not predominantly consist of skilled men in the old sense. The textile unions are weak in pressure and low on the scale of rates paid. The miners are firmly there, and until the present crisis in the industry with great improvement in pay and conditions. The printers are still there but, as usual, more effective outside union politics, though well paid.

The woodworkers and builders do not play the part or get the conditions they could. The role of the distribution workers (mainly based on organizing co-operative shops) has grown. So has the role of the "white-coated" workers, particularly the draughtsmen. The scientific workers and foremen and technicians are poorly organized and badly paid—compared with conditions in the U.S. at any rate. The teachers play no great part in TUC policy and are badly paid.

The hard core of the pre-Second World War set-up in the labor aristocracy preserves its power in union policy because of the set-up organizationally of the TUC and the power of the trade union bureaucracy.

There is not the same differential in pay and

conditions inside an industry between skilled and unskilled, owing to the prevalence of flat rate increases to earnings (by factory or pit negotiations); the distinction between male and female earnings remains but the youth have improved their relative position. Apprenticeship is no longer the powerful factor, though belonging to the "old boys" set-up in any particular industry is.

The amounts earned for men in shillings a week in October 1958 show the range of pay at present (before deducting tax or insurance payments):

<i>Earnings in industries</i>	<i>Shillings per week</i>
Average	256.7
Coal Miners	308.2
(Minimum underground)	197.5
Worker, Print	296.3
Metal Manufacture (steel)	280.4

Automotive Industry Worker	280.7
Manufacturing	296.3
(Fitter)	186.7
(Laborer)	157.4
Dock Worker	268.7
(Dock laborer) (minimum guarantee)	169.6
Building Contracting	249.2
(Rates bricklayer 44 hours)	205.3
(Rates laborer 44 hours)	181.5
Transport (not nationalized)	246.9
(Rate Truck driver)	159.0
Food, Drink, Tobacco	240.4
Textiles	232.4
Railways	232.0
(Porter)	151.5
Government Service (industry)	200.7
Local Authority Laborer	169.5
Agriculture	195.6
(Agricultural laborer)	150.0

FROM THE GERMAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

Bourgeois Corruption of Some Sections of the Workers.

The proportion of fixed capital per worker is now very considerable and continues to grow. In the West German economy there are industries in which every worker's place accounts for DM 500,000 in investment (it is useful to compare it with DM 5,000—the average annual wage). It is clear that nowadays the bourgeoisie abhors stoppages much more so than in the past, since these mean that a much greater part of fixed capital stands idle.

The same consideration impels the bourgeoisie to step up its efforts to corrupt those workers who

cannot be replaced when the situation demands it, as general workers can be. In doing so the capitalists resort to familiar methods of "people's capitalism": pension schemes, factory houses, "sharing in profits and investments." Theoretically speaking, the portion of the corrupted workers may increase. Whether this is really the case depends on many factors. On the one hand, there is no reason to believe that all the attempts to corrupt the workers end in success. On the other hand, we should not underestimate the opportunities which present themselves to the bourgeoisie in this respect. In any case the fight for these proletarians is of great significance for the working class.

First Comment on the Questions and Answers

From the standpoint of Marxist theory and practice the changes in the structure of the working class in the capitalist countries present one of the most complicated problems. The problem is closely related to questions such as broadening the social base of the working-class movement and the hegemony of the proletariat. An all-round examination of the composition of the working class at a given stage and the trends of its development will make it easier to unearth the roots of reformism and revisionism in the working-class movement, and to enter the lists more vigorously against the modern bourgeois concepts of the "middle class" and the "social mobility" of the workers.

Clearly the as yet little explored and controversial question of the structural changes that have taken place in the modern working class can be

resolved only through the medium of an international discussion, the Marxists from the different countries taking part. *The materials of the questionnaire should be regarded as only the opening round of the discussion, the preliminary exploration of the difficult approaches to a problem which awaits solution.* On our part we would like to focus the attention of our readers on some of the basic issues of the exchange of views.

1. The thing that strikes the eye is the tendency in the more highly-developed capitalist countries for the numbers of non-production workers (mainly clerical workers) to increase, while the numbers engaged in the commodity-producing industries show a relative decline. The tendency, clearly revealed in the answers, is further confirmed by an analysis of bourgeois statistics. For instance, in

Austria the share of office workers in the labor force rose from 21.5 per cent in 1934 to 32 per cent in 1951, in Denmark from 20.1 per cent in 1930 to 28.9 per cent in 1950, in France from 18.2 per cent in 1921 to 23.3 per cent in 1946, in Italy from 15.6 per cent in 1936 to 18 per cent in 1954, in Norway from 20.7 per cent in 1930 to 28.5 per cent in 1950, in Sweden from 28.6 per cent in 1940 to 34.9 per cent in 1950, in Switzerland from 21.5 per cent in 1920 to 29.6 per cent in 1950.

The statistics concerning the occupational changes, published in the capitalist countries, cannot, of course, be taken wholly at their face value. In a number of countries the bourgeois statisticians divide the national economy into three spheres: primary (agricultural and the extracting industry), secondary (processing) and tertiary (trade, services, transport); research and designing carried out in scientific and educational establishments are often listed as services. This is an arbitrary division which excludes many categories engaged in production as, for example, transport workers and large numbers of researchers and designers. But even when we make allowances for the tendentious class nature and defective methods of bourgeois statistics, the numerical growth of those employed in the non-production spheres becomes more obvious.

The imperialist bourgeoisie explains these processes in its own way, distorts the reasons for them and uses the growth in the numbers of non-production wage and salary earners as an argument in favor of its theory of the "social mobility" of the working class. In the light of this we can see how important it is to make a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the changes in the structure of the labor force in the capitalist countries.

What factors have caused these changes? The reasons, which we shall confine ourselves to, are three: the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, the growing parasitism and the economic difficulties encountered by capitalist society, the features associated with modern mechanized and automated production.

The interference of the capitalist state in the economy has greatly increased. It extends to the management of many industrial, transport, credit and financial enterprises and banks. A basic function is regular alienation of part of the income of the population, and the redistribution of the value and surplus value created by the national economy as a whole in favor of the monopolies. These developments have stimulated a rapid growth in the numbers of workers employed by the state in redistributing the national income in the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The rapid growth in the numbers of government employees—chiefly civilian and military officials—

is conditioned also by the growing parasitism of capitalist society, which is strikingly expressed in militarization of the economy and in the intensified political and military-police suppression of the working people.

Growing economic difficulties, particularly a sharp aggravation of the problem of markets, are specific features of twentieth-century capitalism. It is here that the most dramatic battles between the monopolies take place, and it is here that the rivalry is keenest. The struggle for markets and spheres of investment lies behind the expansion of the service industries, which include wholesale and retail trade, finance, bank credit, insurance and advertising. Today we are witnesses to a new and very significant phenomenon—a steady flow of capital into the services sector. This enormous swollen sector has become an inalienable and organic part of decaying monopolized production, and the labor of the growing numbers of wage and salaried workers employed in this sector has become the necessary condition for the extraction of monopoly profit.

2. One of the most difficult points in the questionnaire is that concerning *the economic and social boundaries of the working class, the correct demarcation between the proletariat and the other social strata of capitalist society*. In recent years it will be recalled, bourgeois spokesmen have assiduously propagated the theory of the proletariat and bourgeoisie "dissolving" in the "growing middle class." They are having great difficulties in putting over the line that the working class is being absorbed by the real middle classes (peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie) and the intermediate sections (professionals, etc.). These social groups—owning very little of the means of production and living off their own labor and incomes from their small enterprises—are being squeezed out and are a permanent source of replenishment for the proletariat of town and countryside. Hence the bourgeois sociologists put the accent on the "new middle class" by which they mean professionals, engineers and technicians, skilled workers, teachers, doctors, managers and members of company boards, civil servants and private clerical workers including petty clerks, i.e. representatives of both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the intermediate sections. Confusing the concept of classes, they are speculating on the new processes, seeking to capitalize upon the truly complicated nature of the social relationships of twentieth-century capitalism, particularly the constantly changing dividing lines between the lower and upper middle classes and the intermediate sections, on the one hand, and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, on the other.

Combating bourgeois ideology the Marxists in a number of countries have written a series of interesting works on the social structure of modern

capitalism. These studies show that their authors, while in agreement on the basic issues of class relationships, hold different views on some of the new phenomena in capitalist life. A lively debate is under way on the subject of the class affiliation of some of the intermediate sections of the working people—rank-and-file engineers and technicians, shop assistants, accountants and clerks, most of the salaried intellectuals, those, in short, who are usually bracketed as salaried workers.

After reading the answers to our questions one gets the impression that all the authors are more or less categorical in asserting that the bulk of the salaried workers form part of the working class. Other Marxist theoreticians say, on the other hand, that it is tantamount to conceding to the bourgeois idea about the merger of all strata of capitalist society into a single class, that it brings confusion into the teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat. The thing, then, is, by means of a thorough discussion, to find the yardstick with which to determine the composition of the modern working class.

Obviously the key to a correct understanding of the social boundaries of the proletariat should be found in the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, particularly Lenin's definition of classes. "Classes," Lenin wrote, "are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in an historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy."* Marxists have always maintained that the decisive element in this combination of class features is the relation of a particular group of people to the means of production. The proletariat is distinguished from the bourgeoisie, the traditional middle classes and the intermediate strata by the fact that it is deprived of the means of production, is fated to hire itself to the capitalists to whom it sells the only commodity it possesses—labor power—and, consequently, subjected to growing exploitation. This distinguishing feature of the workers as a class was emphasized by Engels who, in a note to the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, wrote that by proletariat is meant "the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live."

*V. I. Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.

Capitalism not only makes proletarians of the working people, it also declasses them. There are in the capitalist countries growing numbers of personal servants, of those who are known as *lumpen-proletarians* and people with no definite occupation. This makes it all the more important for us to remember the Marxist conclusions that the people who can be listed as belonging to the working class are those whose labor creates surplus value or filters it into the coffers of the capitalists. To produce ever-increasing quantities of surplus value—such is the main labor function of the working class in the capitalist countries, the function that determines its place and role in the system of capitalist reproduction. It is immaterial to the capitalist class how the worker produces the surplus value, whether directly—in the shape of commodities—or in a round-about way, creating by his labor the conditions for a redistribution of the surplus value from the other sectors of the economy. In capitalist society, Marx pointed out, "‘productive labor’ is that characteristic of labor which, directly, has absolutely nothing in common with the *definite content* of the labor, with its specific usefulness or the specific use value in which it is expressed."* From the standpoint of capital personified in the capitalist, work in the non-production industries for the purpose of syphoning surplus value for the capitalists is every bit as productive as work in industry, transport and in other sectors. Basing himself on these theoretical postulates, Marx regarded as proletarians not only such production workers as engineers and technicians but also part of the salaried professionals, as, for example, a definite section of teachers. **True, the author of

*Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*.

We remind readers of some of the points made by Marx. "One and the same kind of labor can be both **productive and **non-productive**. For example, Milton who received £5 for his *Paradise Lost*, was a **non-productive worker**. . . . But the Leipzig proletarian writer who, on orders from the publisher, turns out books (for example, a guide to political economy) is a **productive worker** because from the very beginning his work is subordinated to capital and is carried on only for the purpose of adding to the value of this capital. The soprano who sings for money at her own risk, is a **non-productive worker**. But the same singer employed by an agent who, for the purpose of making money, arranges for her to sing, is a **productive worker** because she is then producing capital." "In educational establishments, for example, teachers can be ordinary hired workers of their employers, the owners of the establishments; educational establishments of this kind are numerous in Britain." "With the spread of the specifically capitalist mode of production in which a considerable number of workers jointly produce one and the same commodity, the direct relations between the labor of some or other workers and the object of the production inevitably become very different. For example, general workers in a factory are not directly related to the processing of raw materials. Workers acting as overseers over those workers who do the processing stand till farther away. The attitude of the engineer is again a different one, and in the main he works only by his brains, etc. But the **combination of all these workers**, possessing labor-power of varying value . . . produce a result which . . . finds expression in a **commodity**, in a **material product**. These workers in the aggregate, as a single production body, constitute a living machine for the manufacture of these **products**. . . ." "A **feature of the capitalist mode of production is that it sunders** the different kinds of labor one from the other, and consequently, also divides mental and manual labor . . . and

Capital pointed out that these specific forms of productive labor were "so insignificant compared with production as a whole that they could safely be ignored."* But if we abstract from the specific features of certain trades, the points made by Marx concerning productive labor in non-production sectors acquire a special importance in our times when the growing share of surplus value is assessed, as stated previously, through the exploitation of the workers employed in the trade and service industries.

Such, roughly, is the Marxist-Leninist outline of the most general features of the working class. This outline gives us, so to speak, a methodological compass, which enables us to steer our way through the numerous zig-zags and turns encountered in everyday life and to see the basic line of social development, its general contours. If, equipped with this compass, we approach the complex social relations of twentieth-century capitalism, relations that have been confused by the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, its needle will undoubtedly point to the correct trend of the research. And the trend is *the steady numerical growth of the proletariat, the increased weight of those of its sections employed in the non-production spheres, the proletarianization of salaried workers and their growing tendency to merge with the working class.*

As in the past, the industrial workers form the backbone of the working class, its pivot, its most powerful section. At the same time the number of "white-collar" workers, i.e., those not performing manual work, is rapidly increasing. Between 1950-58 the number of managerial and technical personnel in the United States rose by 57 per cent, the number of office workers rose by 18 per cent, trade workers—by six per cent. For the same period the increase in the number of manual workers was only four per cent.

A large part of working people classified by bourgeois statistics as salaried workers is by its class attributes not different from the proletariat. By way of example we can mention the numerous run-of-the-mill engineers and technicians, the shop assistants in the big department stores, the operators of computer centers, the staffs of advertising bureaus and other independent enterprises of the service industries who work for the capitalist market. These categories sell their labor power to the capitalists, their labor time is divided into necessary

and surplus, and their labor, being productive labor, is an important source of monopoly profit.

In capitalist society each year witnesses the intensified exploitation and proletarianization of salaried workers who, by virtue of their conditions, can be described as semi-proletarian. Figures—the impartial registers of the historical processes—testify that as a rule the earnings of most salaried workers do not exceed those of industrial workers.

In 1952, for example, the mean annual income of a salaried worker in the United States was four per cent lower than the average for the manual worker. In 1957 bank employees received on the average 10 per cent less than industrial workers, and shop salesmen—16 per cent less. And salaried workers, in the same way as industrial workers, fear the morrow, fear the prospect of finding themselves among those laid off. They are burdened by taxation and by the credit yoke. It is not without reason that the strike movement among salaried workers is assuming ever greater dimensions. The past half year alone has witnessed big strikes of salaried workers, including civil servants, in France, Italy, Argentina and other countries.

When we speak about salaried workers we have in mind, naturally, the lower-paid, most numerous sections—the millions of "white-collar" workers oppressed by the monopolies. It would be absurd to equate with the working class or to speak about the proletarian status of the managers, directors, engineers vested with administrative power and other top-ranking personnel of the private and state-owned companies. These are "salaried workers" only in the official capitalist statistics and in the books written by bourgeois sociologists. In reality they are the men of the monopoly bourgeoisie, full-fledged members of the capitalist class. They are spokesmen of the private and the mixed (state) property of the monopolies, hold key posts in the hierarchy of industrial and banking capital and, in the form of shares, high salaries and gratuities, appropriate a big slice of the unpaid labor of both factory and salaried workers.

Nor can one associate with the working class those civil servants employed in political offices and those who help to carry out the military-police functions of the capitalist state. These officials have no place in capitalist production, they neither produce surplus value nor syphon it off. In one way or another they all participate in keeping the working people in subjection, for which functions they are paid by the bourgeoisie out of its profits.

But even those salaried workers whose economic conditions coincide in the main with those of the proletariat cannot be mechanically fused with industrial workers. A vital difference between them and manual workers is that not an insignificant part

allocates the two types of labor to different people. . . . But this separation does not alter the fact . . . that the relation of each of these people to capital is invariably the relation of a hired worker, the relation of a **productive worker** in this specific sense. In the aggregate these people . . . directly exchange their labor for money as capital, and consequently not only reproduce their wages but, in addition, directly create surplus value for the capitalist." (Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*. Part I.)

*Ibid.

of the salaried workers, in addition to being exploited by the bourgeoisie, objectively serve as an instrument of exploitation of the working class. This is true of those salaried workers, including engineers and technicians, who carry out administration functions in the capitalist enterprises. Generally speaking, it is typical of the bourgeoisie to shift its managerial duties on to hired servants. This practice mirrors the objective process of growing alienation of capital as property from capital as a function, which is a law of modern capitalist society.

It is important to keep in mind also the social origin of the new proletarians and semi-proletarians. Many salaried workers are of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois origin. This partly accounts for the fact that their political consciousness, as is evident in the answers of the German Institute of Economics and the American Labor Research Association, lags far behind their actual status and is affected by bourgeois ideology.

Most of the proletarian salaried workers are not yet conscious of their belonging to a *particular class* — the proletariat which is opposed to the bourgeoisie and combats it. They are not yet clear as to who is their friend and who the enemy; nor are they aware as yet that their fundamental interests coincide with those of the workers. Tending towards individualism and passivity, they are against class solidarity, organization and discipline. In the turbulent class battles of our days some of them often side not only with the right-wing reformist leaders but also with the avowed reactionary parties.

The imperialist bourgeoisie spares no effort to erect all kinds of artificial barriers and exaggerate the differences between industrial and salaried workers. It skilfully plays on the feelings of those who dream of room at the top, of becoming an independent capitalist. It is no accident, for example, that the remuneration paid to certain higher grades of salaried workers is deliberately called a salary, and that of the workers—wages. The former have special dining rooms, special conditions; they get longer paid holidays and bigger pensions. This specific form of paternalism heightens illusions about the privileged status of these salaried workers, about the possibility of climbing up the rungs of the social ladder, and thus further isolates them from the bulk of the workers.

As we see it, however, the *ideological and political backwardness of some grades of salaried workers is not in itself the yardstick with which to determine their class affiliation*. Firstly, there are in the capitalist countries many salaried workers with progressive views and who persistently combat the bourgeoisie. Secondly, the modern working

class, too, is not a homogeneous mass. Together with the workers in heavy industry, who make up the core of the proletariat, the working class includes farm laborers, those employed in small businesses and in handicraft industry, the unemployed of the most diverse trades and other groups. Among these there are politically backward elements whom the reactionaries use in their struggle against the progressive forces. This being the case, a special responsibility in carrying out the leading role of the working class in the anti-monopoly struggle of the working people devolves on the industrial workers, the most conscious and best organized section which is called upon to unite and lead all the other oppressed groups of the population.

The complex composition of the working class is one of the reasons why guidance of the working masses by the revolutionary proletarian vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist parties — is essential. If we were to wait until all sections of the proletariat became conscious of the status and class aims of their own volition, we would have to wait until doomsday. By working patiently and painstakingly to inculcate class consciousness among all sections of the proletariat, the Communist parties are, in very large measure, accelerating this process; they are taking the working masses on to the highway of political struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of capitalist society.

3. The materials show the importance of discussing the effects of the *technological progress* — mechanization and automation* — on the *structure of the working class*. True, automation is as yet in its infancy in the capitalist countries, and its full impact will be felt only in the future. But in view of the exceptionally rapid rate of technological development it is safe to say that the future is not so very far away.

What has been the effect of technological advance on the skills and qualifications of the workers? All the answers, without exception, point out that mechanization and automation are ousting a whole number of old jobs and creating new ones. Those workers whose trades are disappearing are most anxious about the morrow. Demotion and even expulsion from production (particularly where older workers are concerned) and chronic unemployment — these are the grim prospects.

Another effect of technological advance is the changed nature of the work done not only by workers, but also by engineers, technicians and office clerks. In the conventional mechanized plant the qualifications needed by the workers are narrow craft skill and the know-how engendered by ex-

*While mechanization presupposes machines performing individual operations, automation presupposes machines carrying out a series of operations regarded as a single whole, and electronic control and supervision of the automated machinery.

perience, i.e., if we have in mind a worker operating a machine-tool, and mechanical precision and dexterity in the case of a man tending a conveyor-belt. But the worker in charge of an automated machine-tool should have a heightened feeling of responsibility and powers of observation; the maintenance man supervising an automatic line should possess, in addition, general technical knowledge sufficient to have a clear idea about the operation of the automated line. There are, then, no grounds for saying that switching from mechanization to automation entails a downgrading of skills. Since the automation or automated lines are far more complex devices than the ordinary machine-tool or conveyor — even simple supervision presupposes a higher degree of skill and education. Nevertheless, since under capitalism the grading of personnel is wholly in the hands of the employers, the latter deliberately downgrade their workers in order to lower wages.

The unnaturalness of this becomes all the more obvious because work in the automated factories is much more complicated. The workers' operations must have specific elements of "mental" labor, which calls for a greater expenditure of nervous energy. As a result, they become fatigued much more quickly than in non-automated production. Many workers long for the conventional labor conditions and prefer to work in an ordinary factory. In a paper read at a conference on the social effects of automation, held in the U.S. in December 1955, Charles R. Walker, Director of Research in Technology and Industrial Relations, Yale University, quoted a worker in an automatic steel mill, who said: "I'd rather have to work hard for eight hours, than have to be tense for eight hours, doing nothing with my muscles the way I now do."

As for the greater part of the engineers and technicians, their labor becomes more and more like that of the workers. In a capitalist enterprise the work of the run-of-the-mill engineer gradually loses its creative character; nor does the worker, though his functions are now more complex, acquire a genuinely creative approach to his work. *In an automated factory on average engineer or technician is being demoted from officer's rank to that of a private in the industrial army.* The engineer supervising an automated line may not have a single worker under him. Take, for example, the business machine plant of the International Business Machines in San Jose, California. It employs over 2,000 workers. Of these 700 are engineers, many of whom perform the functions of ordinary workers. In plants of this kind the engineers and technicians are continually keyed up, tending the automated line, with the result that they become every bit as fatigued as manual workers. In other words, if in the conventional plant the worker and the

run-of-the-mill engineer fulfil different functions—the worker expending physical energy, while the engineer expends mental energy, in the automated plant the two are straining their nerves all the time. By obliterating the difference in the conditions and operations capitalist automation presupposes intensified exploitation not only of skilled and unskilled workers but also of engineers and technicians.

Big changes have taken place in the conditions of work and in the status of office workers. The use of typewriters, calculators and now electronic computers means that large numbers have become mere appendages to these machines. It is not unusual for a stenographer or a man sorting out correspondence to perform more physical labor than a worker operating a machine.

"It is not easy to gauge the difference in the responsibility and skill involved in selling groceries in a store, copying figures on a machine, and working 'on the line' in a radio-equipment factory," reads a report of the International Labor Office at the forty-third session of the International Labor Organization. "Yet those engaged in the first two occupations are normally classed as 'non-manual workers' and those in the third as 'manual workers.' Furthermore, the development of mechanization and automation, to which reference has been made above, has already brought with it a modification of the content of many traditionally non-manual occupations. Mechanization of office work has resulted in the employment of subordinate personnel many of whom have received very little education or training and who may be compared to semi-skilled workshop operatives. At the same time organization of production and automation in the factory have changed many jobs out of all recognition: where once an overalled worker operated a machine-tool, now a white-coated worker watches a bank of dials. Is the latter to be classed as a manual or a non-manual worker?"

Are we to infer from this that capitalist automation lessens the difference between manual and mental labor? The four organizations which replied to the questions said this was not the case. The capitalist system is an obstacle to raising educational and cultural standards so far as the masses are concerned. It is not accidental that even the leading Western countries are experiencing a shortage of scientists, engineers and technicians. Nor is it accidental that capitalist automation is accompanied by the absolute and relative growth of semi-skilled workers, although automation calls for highly-skilled workers. To this we should add that even when the technological level of society is high the capitalist often finds it more profitable to make use of the cheaper physical energy than to install costly machines. Capitalism would not be capitalism if it did not use the latest tech-

niques cheek by jowl with the most primitive forms of labor. This is acknowledged even by many bourgeois researchers. In the above-mentioned paper Professor Walker said that at the automated steel mills in the U.S. "there were the old fashioned, automatic, hard-work jobs—anachronisms right in the middle of automation—jobs which hadn't changed since the process was invented fifty or seventy-five years ago."

4. Under capitalism technological progress affects employment. This does not mean, of course, that automation will render all workers superfluous. These things never develop in straight lines. Although automation implies a reduction of the labor force, a certain part of it is bound to be absorbed in the expanding economy. Automation engenders new branches of industry which require additional labor. Moreover, the growth of unemployment can be, and is, checked by the struggle waged by the workers against dismissals. Cases of this have occurred in France, Belgium, Italy and in other countries. Still, the fact remains that under capitalism automation adds to unemployment. The example of the Ford factories mentioned in the American reply leads to the conclusion that unemployment will increase largely because of displacements in the small and medium non-monopoly enterprises rather than in the big corporations. With the advance of technology many of these enterprises will be closed because of the excessive production costs. The spread of automation, while increasing the output of commodities, makes the problem of markets on a world scale more acute for all capitalist countries, and this inevitably will increase the reserve army of labor.

The Damocles sword of unemployment hangs ominously over office workers in particular. That is why in our questionnaire we focused attention on this category. Evidently, the reason for their anxiety is that in the office, as distinct from the industrial enterprise, the time lag separating the processes of mechanization and automation was not very great. Steam power is separated from atomic power by a gap of 200 years, whereas only half a century lies between the typewriter or the arithmometer and the electronic computer. And while this category is not yet greatly affected by unemployment, this, as our British colleagues explain, is due to the increasing volume of clerical work engendered both by the growth of the services industry and the extensive study—commenced only recently with the application of "econometric" methods and the use of electronic computers — of the state of the market, commodity stocks, etc. The demand for more staff is, therefore, still in excess of the labor saving in offices caused by mechanization and automation.

This social aspect of the technological advance under capitalism and in its effects on employment

will, evidently, also be the subject of a thorough study.

5. The effects of technological progress under socialism are fundamentally different. In the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies priority in mechanization and automation is given to arduous processes and processes injurious to the health of workers. This is only natural, for production here is stimulated not by the thirst for profits but by the desire to create the conditions for all-round development of the individual and society. The workers as owners of industry are vitally interested in expanding it to the utmost. As a result, the work of all members of socialist society becomes a much more conscious effort, much more creative. This can be seen in the spreading movement of innovators, inventors and rationalizers. *Under socialism, as distinct from capitalism, all working people are raising steadily their intellectual level, they are becoming "intellectualized," a process which is leading to a solution of the contradiction between manual and mental labor.*

In the socialist countries automation paves the way to a shorter working day and is accompanied by higher wages. The seven-hour day is already the rule in some key branches of Soviet industry and it will become universal in the current year. Starting with 1964 in the USSR a 30-35 hour week—shortest working week in the world—will be gradually introduced. And this will be accomplished without unemployment, which has been banished forever.

The shorter working week will act as a powerful incentive to the development of the productive forces. The labor released by automation finds application in other shops of the same enterprise or in the same branch of industry. But even if we suppose that the given industry does not require new workers or that a particular trade is about to become superfluous, the planned system of economy guarantees the released worker re-training at state expense, and work in accordance with his new trade. With state aid the workers use their increased leisure to continue their education, and for better recreation. This adds enormously to the social value of the production energy of the worker. In preliminary notes written for *Capital Marx* revealed the economic significance of the shorter working week. "The saving of labor time," he wrote, "is the equivalent of increasing leisure time, i.e., the time needed for that complete development of the individual which, in turn, as the greatest production energy, has a reverse effect on the production energy of labor. From the standpoint of the direct process of production this saving can be regarded as the production of *fixed capital*; this fixed capital is man himself."* In this we

*First published in the *Bolshevik*, 1939, No. 11-12, page 65.

see the profound economic superiority of socialism over capitalism.

6. Our first question concerning the *aristocracy of labor* proved to be the most complex of all. It is not surprising therefore that the answers should be different. The U.S. and British authors maintain that the labor aristocracy could include particular trade unions and even whole industries (for example, builders in the USA and part of the miners in Britain). The German colleagues, while stressing the desire of the bourgeoisie to buy over certain sections of the workers, do not specify the limits of the term "labor aristocracy."

First of all we should discuss the economic basis of the labor aristocracy as a particular stratum in the working class in the capitalist countries. The founders of Marxism-Leninism held that the labor aristocracy was distinguished from the masses of workers by its privileged economic position which accounted for its opportunism, collaboration with the bourgeoisie and acceptance of its ideology and politics. Lenin stressed that the labor aristocracy consisted of a minority of "trained, well-paid workers." "Hence," he wrote, "the petty bourgeois, craft spirit in the ranks of this labor aristocracy which has been divorcing itself from its class, trailing behind the Liberals, and been contemptuous of socialism as a 'utopia'."* Now that the general crisis of capitalism and the class struggle have become more acute, the bourgeoisie is especially interested in bringing the working class under its ideological sway, dividing it and setting one section of the proletariat against another. In pursuit of this aim it has established an extensive system of corruption which enables it to buy over many groups of workers of diverse trades, and not only skilled workers. In order to ascertain the degree of this corruption, we should recall that the price of labor power lags behind its value, and this is a law of capitalism. If for a long period of time the wages of certain groups of workers are in excess of the value of labor power — the result of the corruption — this, in our view, could be the economic basis for the rise of the labor aristocracy.

The privileged economic position of the "labor aristocrats" impels them at times to side with the bourgeoisie. But this does not always materialize. The downward spread of the system of corruption to the lower-paid workers is the consequence of the fact that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism large numbers of skilled workers are overcoming the influence of the bourgeoisie and are supporting the Communist parties.

From the time of the First World War Lenin with growing frequency linked to the labor aristocracy the right-wing Social-Democratic members of parliament, the reactionary leaders and officials of

the trade unions, and other labor bureaucrats. Lenin's concept acquires a special significance in our times. The ranks of the labor bureaucrats have swollen considerably. Using the many levers — the trade unions, co-operatives, municipal councils, etc. — they keep large numbers of workers under their sway. These elements are pretty close to the capitalists. Many of them have passed into the capitalist camp. Take, for example, the reactionary bosses of the U.S. trade unions. Starting out as labor aristocrats, they have fused with the capitalist class, politically and economically.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism showed the sources of the corruption of the labor aristocracy — the monopoly profits obtained by exploiting the workers of a particular industry, or even whole countries through the capitalist world market and mainly through the plunder of the colonies and other underdeveloped areas. Figures show that each year the underdeveloped countries lose from \$14 to \$15 billion as a result of the unequal terms of trade dictated by the imperialist powers. Moreover, income from foreign investments in Asia, Africa and Latin America amounts to \$5 billion yearly, of which about one-half flows to the imperialist countries. These immense superprofits enable the bourgeoisie of some countries to breed at times a numerous stratum of labor aristocracy. In the first place this is true for the United States which exploits practically the whole capitalist world, and also for Britain, West Germany, France, Japan, Belgium and the Netherlands. At times a combination of favorable circumstances enables one or another capitalist country to supplement its profits on the capitalist world market. This was the case with Sweden, for example, which, taking advantage of its neutrality during the Second World War, traded with the two belligerent coalitions. This ensured huge profits for its bourgeoisie and, consequently, the possibility of buying over some sections of the working class. It goes without saying that the Swedish monopolists didn't care two hoots about the workers, whether they fared well or not. What they were concerned about was to weaken the class militancy of the workers and, by so doing, strengthen their own positions.

By virtue of the law of the uneven development of capitalism in the imperialist phase some countries come to the fore in the capitalist world system, others are relegated to the background. This causes fluctuations in the level of monopoly superprofits and, consequently, varying development where the labor aristocracy is concerned. In some countries it may show signs of decline, in others a tendency towards growth.

The development of the labor aristocracy depends on many factors. On the one hand the tendency of this stratum is to shrink. One reason for

V. I. Lenin, *On Britain*, L. 1960, p. 142.

this is the disintegration of the colonial system. Although the winning of political independence by the former colonies and semi-colonies does not necessarily bring with it an end to exploitation, it is, nevertheless, greatly hampered. Another reason is the economic aid of the socialist countries to the underdeveloped countries. Least of all concerned about profits, this aid also limits the opportunities for imperialist exploitation of these countries. A third reason is the tendency of the bourgeoisie to lower wages. If because of certain circumstances the capitalists pay higher wages to some workers, they immediately begin to look for ways and means of reducing the number of these wage-workers by introducing new techniques.

On the other hand, if in some of the capitalist countries which have lost their colonies the aristocracy of labor shows signs of growing or emerging, this is explained not only by their stronger economic positions on the world market but also by the exploitation of the "internal colonies." We have in mind backward areas such, for example, as South Italy the plunder of which has enabled the North Italian monopolies to corrupt some groups of workers. The "internal colony" can also include the small-commodity sector of the capitalist countries which, thanks to the growing omnipotence of the monopolies, is forced to yield them (through taxes,

interest on loans, the market, etc.) not only part of the surplus product but also of the necessary product. The system of state-monopoly capitalism which is developed in all the modern imperialist countries, enables the monopolies to pocket supplementary profits by exploiting all the non-monopoly sectors of the economy. The role of "internal colonies" is played also by the low-paid workers, as, for example, the Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and others in the United States, immigrants from the overseas territories of Britain, the Algerians and Italians in France, etc.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the labor aristocracy is a complex social phenomenon which arises and develops under the impact of a number of conflicting factors. Naturally, the *fluctuations of the labor aristocracy*, which increase with the sharpening of the imperialist contradictions, objectively pave the way to freeing this category from the grip of capitalist ideology. But how this is to be done depends on the growth of class consciousness among the working class as a whole.

To sum up, it is our hope that the discussion will supply the answer to the complex questions concerning the composition and trends of development of the modern working class, that it will be a contribution to the study of the class structure of modern bourgeois society.

Patriotic Deeds of the Communists

(Fifteenth Anniversary of the Defeat of Nazism)

GENUINE PATRIOTISM — the love one bears to one's country — is proved by deeds, not words, and this is especially true in time of trial, when the country's existence is threatened. The true worth of the patriot's words and deeds was revealed when the Nazi hordes overran Europe with the aim of enslaving its people. Many of those who in the pre-war years shouted vociferously that the Communists were unpatriotic and that the Communist Parties were anti-national, not only meekly kow-towed to the invaders, but became collaborators and betrayed the national interests.

The Communists were in the front ranks of those who were resolved to fight to the finish, and they proved themselves valiant defenders of their countries. Even their enemies cannot deny their heroism. In every country in Europe the Communists were the shock force which rallied around themselves patriots from all walks of life.

Volumes would be required to describe the heroism of the Soviet Communists, who performed their patriotic and international duty in defending their country and bringing liberation to enslaved mankind; volumes would be needed to re-create the picture of the struggle waged by the Communists of France and Italy, Norway and Denmark, Holland and Hungary, and to tell of the partisan war in Yugoslavia. And our journal is not big enough to give an account of even an iota of the contribution made by members of the Communist Parties to the defeat of Hitlerism. In connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the ending of the war in Europe, we would like to remind readers of the main line of policy pursued by some of the Communist Parties during the war and to recount a few facts about their activities. Taken together even these random facts build up an impressive picture, and delineate the sincere and intrepid image of the Communists — the force which represents the true interests of the nation.

The Nineteen Thirties. German Nazism and

Italian fascism are trying out their strength in *Spain* in preparation for a "big" war. The Spanish Communists are in the van of a people in arms. In March 1937, some 131,600 of the 249,140 members of the Communist Party of Spain were at the front. The Party formed the Fifth Regiment, which covered itself with glory and formed the basis of the regular People's Army. The Communist Party played the decisive part in halting the enemy on the approaches to Madrid in November 1936. In its appeal to the people of Spain, and to all those who cherished peace, progress and freedom, the Central Committee of the Communist Party set forth a clear-cut program of action against fascism, for the national interests. The appeal ended up with the words:

"Our Party, the Communist Party, which, thanks to its efficient organization and growing prestige, is the true mouthpiece of the popular will, repeats again that though its real strength is inadequately represented in the country's official leadership, it will, as always, without hesitation and without dispute, march in the van of the struggle to solve the problems arising from the need to win the war."

The Spanish Communists fulfilled their duty to the end.

* * *

In 1935, when the German monopoly capitalists were preparing for world war, and, through Hitler, fanning hatred of other peoples, the Communist Party of *Germany* addressed the following manifesto to the German people:

"We shall hesitate no longer! Let us together spread the slogan for anti-fascist struggle through the country! Against Hitler's war policy which is leading the German people to catastrophe!

"For the preservation of peace!

"For restoration of democratic liberties!"

At the Party Conference in Berne (1939) on the eve of the war, the Communist Party of Germany appealed to the patriotic forces in Germany to unite with a view to averting

catastrophe at the last hour. At that conference the Party put before the people the principles on which a united, democratic Germany could be built to replace the fascist state of violence:

"A liberated Germany, relying on the unity and freedom of its people and on the strength of its People's Army, in alliance with the Soviet Union, the peoples of France, Britain and America and all the peace and freedom-loving forces in the world will be a powerful Germany enjoying universal respect, a Germany which will re-establish the honor of the German nation in the eyes of the world."

Of the 300,000 members of the Communist Party of Germany, 145,000 were thrown into prisons and concentration camps, where more than 30,000 of them gave their lives for Germany; twenty-seven Communist deputies of the Reichstag were murdered by the Nazis.

Despite the terror, resistance groups sprang up all over the country. These groups united Communists, Social Democrats and other patriots. German anti-fascists fought in the partisan detachments of the Soviet, French, Polish, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak freedom fighters. Aware of their responsibility before the nation, the finest representatives of the German people, under the leadership of Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht, founded the "Free Germany" National Committee in 1943, and thus set up the Center for the resistance of all German patriots.

* * *

When in March 1938 Hitler's troops entered Austria, the Communist Party issued the following appeal:

"People of Austria! Defend yourselves, resist the invaders and their agents. Catholics and Socialists, workers and peasants, unite! Unite in a common front of all Austrians. This is essential, now more than ever before! All differences of views, all party differences recede before the sacred duty now confronting the Austrian people! Let us rise against Hitler in a united front and drive the Nazi soldiery out of Austria!"

The Communists acted without any hesitation, without giving way to despair even in the most terrible years of the war, when the life of the country and the popular will were paralyzed. The Communists took the lead in forming Austrian battalions in the Slovenian partisan units. In the autumn of 1942, the Central Committee appealed to the people:

"Austrians, fellow countrymen! Every Austrian is suffering under the rule of the Hitler gauleiters. Whoever wants peace must take part in the people's war against Hitler. The hour of decision has arrived. It must become the Austrian people's hour of trial. . . ."

Two thousand Communists, including thirteen of the thirty members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, fell in the fight against the Nazi invaders.

* * *

On September 30th, 1938, the government of bourgeois Czechoslovakia submitted to the Munich Agreement. Only the Communist Party resolutely opposed the surrender, and the Party's stand resulted in its activities being banned.

"The Communist Party," said the Central Committee's resolution of February 19th, 1939, "could not, and had not the right, to issue the order to start an armed struggle (at the time of the capitulation—Ed.). This would have isolated the Party and led to civil war without any prospect of a successful outcome for the working class and the working people, since Hitler, for whom the treacherous reactionary forces opened the frontier, would have had the chance to occupy the whole of Czechoslovakia."

When it went underground, the Party regrouped its forces and established a network of branches and local leaderships in the provinces. At the same time the Communists used all the legal possibilities still open to them. They continued to fight, while the other political parties announced that they were disbanding and established a single bourgeois party of so-called National Unity.

In March 1939 the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie gave up Czechoslovakia to Hitler. And immediately after March 15th, the Communist Party appealed to the people:

". . . There is only one way in which we can save the country today and that is THE WAY OF RESISTANCE, DEFENSE, STRUGGLE. . . . The indissoluble unity of the popular forces, persistent resistance on all fronts — that is how we should reply to the blows showering down on the Czechoslovak people. And the working class, which in the past has so often stood in the front ranks of those defending the country, will again become the chief force in our nationwide resistance. The Communists, who did everything they could to save the country, declare to the people frankly that they want to fight loyally and courageously in the van of the national strug-

gle for the re-establishment of the full freedom and independence of the Czech people."

The partisan movement organized by the Communist Party gained momentum in 1943-44 in Slovakia, where it developed into regular partisan warfare. The Slovak uprising in 1944 is one of the brightest pages in the history of the Czech and Slovak peoples. During the Prague uprising in May 1945, the Communists were in the forefront of those giving battle on the barricades.

Twenty-five thousand Party members fell in the fight against Nazism, and 60,000 went through the horrors of the concentration camps. The invaders destroyed three underground leading centers in the Czech lands and four in Slovakia. Even in the Nazi concentration camps the Communists continued to carry on their activities. Thousands of people came out of these camps convinced Communists, because they saw that to be a Communist meant to be a patriot, to fight for the future of their country.

* * *

When the Nazis invaded Poland the Polish Communists had no Party, because it had been dissolved in the summer of 1939.

"But the high sense of responsibility for the destiny of the country," said Comrade Gomulka on the occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Communist Party of Poland, "led the Communists to display unparalleled heroism and political maturity during that grim period. . . . The authorities decided to give up imprisoned Communists to the Gestapo torturers. Those of them who managed to escape immediately joined the Polish army, the detachments fighting the invaders or the battalions defending the capital. When the Nazi troops occupied the country, the Communists began to prepare for an armed resistance, for an armed struggle against them."

Early in 1942 the Communist Party was re-established under the name of the Polish Workers' Party. Its very first appeal contained a program of struggle:

"Form partisan units. Establish a second front in the enemy's rear. . . . At this decisive moment the people must unite their forces to fight the invaders, to fight a war to the death, to establish a NATIONAL FRONT OF STRUGGLE FOR A FREE AND INDEPENDENT POLAND."

Shortly afterwards the Party formed the People's Guard, which became the core of the mass partisan movement. According to a Central Committee resolution, every Communist

had at the same time to be a soldier of this Guard. Between May 15, 1942, and December 15, 1943, the People's Guard derailed 127 German troop trains, blew up thirty-six railway stations, destroyed fourteen aircraft, set free some 1,500 political prisoners, and fought 237 engagements with Nazi units.

* * *

It is 1940. France is occupied. The semi-corrupt National Assembly votes for Pétain. In the unoccupied zone, behind the screen of "Pétainism," France is being turned into a Nazi colony. The country is in an impasse, the threat of degradation hangs over it. But there is the working class, and the Communist Party which knows what to do and how to do it.

"Never will such a great nation be a nation of slaves. . . . France, with her glorious past, will not bend the knee before a handful of lackeys ready for any dirty work. . . .

"Who can regenerate France . . . that is the question now. It cannot be done by the defeated generals, swindlers, and politicians with damaged reputations. All they can do is to betray and sell her. The forces of national regeneration are not to be found in the midst of corrupt capitalists.

"It is in the people that the great hope for national and social liberation rests."

"And it is only around the working class, the zealous, magnanimous and intrepid working class which is full of faith, for the future belongs to it, only around the working class led by the Communist Party, the Party with a clean conscience, the Party whose honor is unblemished, the Party of heroism, that there can be established a front for the FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND REGENERATION OF FRANCE." (Manifesto of the Communist Party, July 1940).

The tocsin sounded by the Communists re-echoed throughout France, nor did it stop ringing until the last of the Nazis had been driven out of the country.

The Communist Party acted in many ways: dozens of underground editions of *l'Humanité* and other newspapers and leaflets appeared here, there and everywhere, although printshops were discovered and arrests were the order of the day . . . The Communists re-established their branches, aroused the young people and women to the struggle, built secret munition dumps, organized sabotage and attacks on the occupation troops; they appealed to the Socialists, Radicals, Catholics and other sections of the population, called for

unity and action. The recently published Paris dossiers of the Gestapo show that from the beginning of the occupation the Gestapo spearheaded their activities against the Communists whom they considered the principal danger and the main force of the emerging Resistance.

On May 27, 1941, the Communist Party illegally published a call for a National Front of Struggle for the Independence of France:

"Independence and Peace—that is what the French Communist Party wanted for France yesterday and wants for it today. And now that our country is in danger of becoming a Nazi colony, the Communists, the most courageous, the finest sons of France, tens of thousands of whom have sacrificed their freedom to defend the supreme interests of the nation, call on all people of good will to unite, to join in the common struggle."

The National Front made it possible to rally all the patriotic elements of the nation, it organized all forms of the mass armed struggle, and the Paris uprising of August 19, 1944, was its culminating point.

The uprising reflected the patriotic activities of the Communist Party in the period of the Resistance. In September 1943, on the initiative of the Party, the Paris Committee of Liberation was set up. It included representatives of the different parties and organizations of the Resistance. Subsequently such committees were formed in every district in the capital. The patriotic militia, established on the initiative of the Communist Party in factories, establishments and residential quarters numbered about 50,000 by the time the uprising started.

The Communists were the most resourceful, resolute and organized fighters in the leading Resistance bodies in Paris and on a nationwide scale,

The Communist Rol was commander of all the armed forces of the Paris District. The chief-of-staff of FFI (the United Patriotic Army of franc-tireurs and partisans which was formed in the spring of 1944) was the Communist Joinville, and of the three members of the Military Commission of the National Council of Resistance, two — Pierre Villon and Maurice Kriegel-Valrimont—were Communists.

The Communists took the lead in making careful military preparations for the uprising.

And, finally, taking advantage of the prestige they enjoyed in the Resistance Army, and relying on the enthusiasm of the working

people, the Communists foiled the attempts of internal and external reaction, first, to nip the uprising in the bud and, second, to let the Nazi garrison out of Paris.

There were demonstrations, thousands strong, in Paris and its suburbs in July. On July 14, the national holiday, some 150,000 workers took part in demonstrations and strikes. And on July 15, there was a huge strike of the Paris railway workers which was accompanied by a stepping up of the "battle of the rails."

The general strike, which began on August 18, preceded the uprising. On the night of the 19, an appeal by Communist deputies went through the city: "We call on the people of Paris and the suburbs to begin the uprising for liberation. It is the duty of the population to take part in it." Barricades went up all over the city. A bitter, relentless battle lasted for many days. On August 25, the Nazi garrison surrendered. The Communist Party's policy had won a brilliant victory.

The Paris revolt was "France's hour." Not only the Parisians, but all the people of France had said their decisive word: France was and remains independent and a great country. The regeneration of the nation, for which 75,000 Communists laid down their lives, had taken place.

* * *

The attack launched by the Italian fascists on Greece on October 28, 1940, failed and Nazi Germany had to help its ally. The country was unprepared for the Nazi invasion (April 6, 1941) and was virtually unarmed. The Communist Party was the only Party to unfurl the banner of the national resistance, and the National-Liberation Front, led by the Communist Party, became its core.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party declared on July 1, 1941, that it was the task of the Communists to organize the people's struggle. The Communists concentrated on setting up special fighting groups in all the important centers of the country.

Early in September 1941 the Central Committee issued the following call to the people:

"Unite, regardless of political views, with the object of fighting the conquerors, preserving the life of the people and throwing out the invaders—using for this purpose every method available to you—sabotage, strikes, demonstrations, armed action."

The resolution of the January (1942) Central Committee meeting, which was illegally

circulated all over the country, contained a detailed program for national liberation.

"We regard THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF GREECE to be our supreme duty, and are making sacrifices to achieve this end," stated the proclamation setting out the aims of the Communist Party in the liberation movement. The Communists fought selflessly for the independence and happiness of their country.

* * *

The only anti-fascist organization which never ceased to exist or to act in *Italy*, although the fascist terror was in the main spearheaded against it, was the Communist Party.

It regarded the struggle against fascism to be a national matter and its chief task to be that of uniting all the anti-fascist forces in order to build a force capable of overthrowing fascism.

And when fascism plunged Italy into the Second World War, the Communist Party, relying on the United Action Pact with the Socialists (1934) and on the experience of broader unity between Italians gained in the International Brigade in Spain, set about establishing a national front.

In the autumn of 1942 there sprang up in Turin and later in Milan and Rome, the first National Front committees which, in addition to the Communist and Socialist Parties, also included the petty-bourgeois "Action Party" and Christian Democrats.

The March strikes in Turin (1943), which dealt the first open blows to Italian fascism inside the country, immediately focused on the Communist Party the attention of all who were seeking a way out of the blind alley of war and fascist dictatorship. These strikes led to the establishment in June 1943 of the Committee of Opposition Anti-Fascist Parties and created the conditions for the coup of July 25 for the removal of Mussolini. During the "45-day" period when parties existed legally the rallying of the national forces proceeded apace. And on September 9, the day following the surrender, when the Germans began to occupy Italy and everything seemed to be crumbling, the *Committee of National Liberation* was established. Its proclamation stated in part:

"While Nazism is trying to re-establish its fascist ally in Rome and throughout Italy, the anti-fascist parties are uniting into a Committee of National Liberation in order to urge Italians to resistance and return to Italy her

rightful place in the community of free nations."

The logical continuation of the Communist Party's policy was the preparation for an uprising on a countrywide scale. In a situation of general confusion, when the State and army were disintegrating, and large numbers of soldiers and young people were fleeing to the hills to escape being rounded up, driven to Germany or mobilized by the fascists, the Communist Party worked to make the national-liberation committees mass organizations, representing people's power and ensuring the unity of the nation.

Acting in close co-operation with the other parties, first and foremost the Socialists, the Communists organized a partisan movement; army units were turned into partisan detachments and small groups of people's avengers appeared everywhere ("patriotic action groups" in the towns and "patriotic action detachments" in the villages).

The partisans increased the scope of their activities from month to month. They came down from the hills to the plains, to villages, towns and the main lines of communication. They established contact, reconnoitered, obtained supplies of food and clothing and medical treatment; they held meetings under the very nose of the enemy, and arranged public funerals for those who had fallen in battle; all this helped the Communists to draw the people into the liberation struggle. Guided by the Communist Party the working class, as it has always done, set the tone in developing the national-liberation battle. "Action committees" appeared in the factories. Working in close co-operation with the local national liberation committees, they fulfilled the functions of trade unions. They initiated and organized strikes, which put the Nazi's war production out of joint. And in March 1944 a general political strike by the workers in the industrial North astounded the Nazis: never once during their occupation of Western Europe had they ever come up against anything of the kind.

So it was that co-operation grew between the unarmed resistance army—the popular masses—and the partisan army, and the foundation was laid for the developments which led up to the nationwide revolt.

The front passed through Italy, and the Anglo-American military authorities there, aided by conservative elements in the country, did everything they could to prevent the Italian people's national problem being solved along democratic lines. It was necessary to

work out and consistently implement a liberation program which would also enable the conservative forces to make their contribution to the struggle for independence and, at the same time, paralyze foreign reaction's attempts to split the national unity and deprive the liberation movement of its democratic content. The Communists put a program of this kind before the country shortly after Palmiro Togliatti returned. This program was formulated in the resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party on March 31, 1944.

When the hour struck, in mid-April 1945, the working class initiated a national political strike which, on April 25, developed into a battle with the Nazis on a countrywide scale. Some 462,000 armed Italians, backed by the whole people, took part in the battle. And it was the patriotic efforts of the Communist Party that made this possible.

* * *

During the Second World War the Communist Party of Albania developed in conditions when the people were confronted with vital national problems. When the Italian fascists invaded the country the Communists were in a state of disorganization, which explains why they failed to rally the masses. But in their country's tragic hour they realized their responsibility. The best of them in the scattered Communist groups, first and foremost the Corce Communists, fought hard to restore the Party, because without a Party there could be neither working-class unity nor national unity in the struggle against the invaders. The Party was re-established in November 1941. And in a year's time it had already made the decisive step towards forming a national-liberation front: a conference of democratic organizations held on its initiative resolved to establish local "councils" — bodies for mobilizing the people for armed struggle and which, at the same time, would be the embryonic form of genuine democratic civil power.

Through these "councils" the Communist Party managed in a short space of time to draw the masses into the partisan movement. The partisans not only caused severe losses to the invaders and mercilessly destroyed traitors, they liberated towns and regions. The General Staff of the National-Liberation Army was set up in July 1943 and the partisan battalions and detachments were re-organized into brigades, regular units of the Liberation Army. In the course of dozens of battles

against numerically superior forces, they more than once found themselves completely encircled and were forced to make long and difficult marches through the mountains. Eventually they smashed first the Italian and then the German divisions. The 70,000-strong People's Army, formed and led by the Communist Party, restored independence to Albania and opened the doors to freedom and prosperity.

* * *

The imminent defeat of the Nazi bloc evoked a crisis in the fascist regime in *Rumania*. The so-called historical parties of the bourgeoisie (the National-Liberal and National Peasants' Party) sought a way out of the situation in the "Second Front," which the allies had opened in the Balkans.

The Communist Party saw the solution in uniting the national forces for the purpose of overthrowing the fascist regime, defending national independence and letting the people decide the question of their future for themselves. Early in 1943 the Patriotic Front was formed. In addition to the Communist Party it included the Ploughmen's Front (a mass peasant organization), the Patriots' Union (an organization of intellectuals), Madosz (the Union of Hungarian Working People of Transylvania), local organizations of the Social-Democratic Party, and some bourgeois groups.

From that time on the struggle against the Antonescu regime was stepped up and embraced various sections of the population and the army. From 1944 on partisan detachments began to operate in the mountains. The Communist Party formed militant groups of patriots in the towns, thereby making the initial preparations for an uprising.

The growth of the Party's prestige forced the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, under the pressure of the masses and the left-wing of the Party, to agree to establish a united workers' front. A manifesto of May 1, 1944, called upon "the whole working class, all organized and non-organized workers, on all the people of Rumania, on all social classes and sections, all parties and organizations, irrespective of their political views, religious beliefs and social status, to wage a resolute struggle" against the Antonescu regime, for a government of anti-fascist unity.

Thanks to Communist Party guidance, the united working class stood at the head of the national struggle. This forced the "historical" parties to reach agreement with the Communists within the framework of the National-Democratic bloc established in June 1944.

After heavy defeats on the Soviet front, many officers and even some generals began to seek contact with the Communist Party. In June 1944 the Communist Party held an underground meeting, which examined the plan for the armed uprising and set up a Military Revolutionary Committee to carry it through. The meeting was also attended by some of the generals.

The Communist Party's prestige was so high when the Soviet Army's August offensive was about to begin that on the appointed day, August 23, 1944 (immediately after one of the patriotic detachments had arrested Antonescu and his ministers), the army turned its guns against the Nazi troops, and patriots in various parts of the country rose in armed revolt.

The rapid success of the revolt forced the royal government to declare war on Germany. The Communist Party's efforts resulted in the Rumanian troops taking an active part in driving the Nazis out of the country and also in helping the Soviet Army to rout them in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

* * *

On March 2, 1941, the German troops, in collusion with the fascist Government of Bulgaria, crossed the Danube and began to occupy the country. Within five days *Rabotnichesko Delo*, the Communist Party's newspaper, published a declaration which stated in part:

"Together with the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people the Party strongly condemns the adventurist policy pursued by King Boris and the Filov Government, a policy which will bring untold suffering to the people and lead them to another catastrophe."

The Party immediately began to conduct underground work on a big scale and exposed the criminal fascist policy.

The Bulgarian people, linked by age-old bonds of love to the Russian people, were shocked by the news of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. On June 24, 1941, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party resolved to prepare for an armed struggle. The Military Commission, established under the auspices of the Central Committee, formed armed units and organized subversive activity behind the German lines. The Party called upon the people to hide their grain, sabotage production, and paralyze the German war effort. It advanced the slogan of fraternizing with and joining the Yugoslav and Greek partisans. The Communists formed the first partisan

detachment in the Razlog District on June 26, 1941. Shortly after, militant groups were formed in nearly all towns and in many villages.

The progressive forces in the other parties showed a wish to co-operate with the Communists in the fight against the Nazis, and accordingly on July 17, 1942, the Party issued the Fatherland Front program which was relayed by the secret radio station.

"The anti-people's policy of King Boris's Government," it stated, "is fraught with danger for the nation. Bulgaria is, in fact, becoming Hitler's vassal and the Bulgarian people the slaves of the German imperialists . . . At this historical moment it is the sacred duty of the Bulgarian people, of the army and the patriotic intellectuals to unite in a powerful Fatherland Front in order to save Bulgaria. . ."

This was a nationwide, democratic program which aimed at uniting all sincere people in the anti-Nazi struggle. By late 1942 the Party had set up over a hundred Fatherland Front committees and started to publish *Otechestven Front*, an underground newspaper.

After the Soviet Army's victory at Stalingrad, the Central Committee of the Communist Party reorganized the partisan movement. The country was divided into twelve strategic zones, in each of which partisan activities were now co-ordinated. And so the People's Liberation Army came into being. During 1943-44 it engaged considerable forces of the government troops, police and gendarmerie (over 100,000).

On the eve of the national uprising of September 9, 1944, six hundred and seventy Fatherland Front committees were functioning. The Soviet Army entered Bulgaria on September 8. On the order of the General Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army an uprising began in Sofia on the night of September 9 and spread through the country like wildfire.

"The revolutionary storm broke out with such spontaneous force that it swept the fascist reactionary groups from its path." (Central Committee's reply to a letter from G. Dimitrov.)

The people had taken the destiny of the country into their own hands, and it was the Communist Party, the Party of patriots, that had prepared them for this.

* * *

This concludes our brief survey. The facts, taken from the history of only a few of the Communist Parties in Europe, are fragmen-

tary, and can give only a faint idea of the Communists' deeds in those decisive days. They recall the suffering and hardships the Communists unhesitatingly underwent and the sacrifices they made to save the nation.

Events did not develop along the same lines in all countries, and the conditions called for this or that particular form of struggle. But

no matter what form the struggle took, it was invariably permeated with the spirit of patriotism, with the readiness of the Communists to fight to the last for the interests of their people. And the same spirit permeates the struggle the Communist Parties are waging today to unite the people against the monopolies, for democracy, peace and socialism.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Algerian Communists and the War of Independence

THE *Communist Party and the War of Independence*, a booklet published underground and meant for all sections of the people, is now being circulated throughout Algeria. It notes that after the failure of his policy of "appeasement" and of the policy pursued in the four preceding years, de Gaulle has been forced to recognize the Algerian people's right to self-determination. This is a big victory for the Algerian people and their National-Liberation Army.

On September 18, 1959, the Communist Party, and on September 28 the provisional government of the Algerian Republic, declared that recognition of the principle of self-determination was a positive factor and one which could put an end to the war and lead to a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem. Nevertheless the people have the right to demand guarantees and should be on the alert until words are followed by deeds. The January 1960 fascist putsch in Algiers and the subsequent shift in de Gaulle's attitude on how self-determination should be implemented show the need for vigilance.

Vigilance, therefore, means intensifying the struggle. And for this the people must be educated politically. The Party believes this to be a cardinal condition. And that is what the booklet aims at doing.

Here are some of its main points.

Guided first and foremost by the national interests, the Communist Party has played a notable part in the struggle against French imperialism.

Its numerical strength, ethnic composition, discipline, political and ideological unity and national policy had made it an influential force in the liberation movement by the eve of the insurrection in November 1954.

The Communists initiated many anti-colonial actions which have left their imprint on the liberation movement, enhanced the political consciousness of the workers and peasants, helped them to become organized and developed their sense of discipline.

The Party has always been in favor of unity of all the national and democratic forces irrespective of class distinctions. Thanks to the slogan "An Algerian National-Democratic Front of Struggle for an Algerian Republic" advanced by it as far back as 1946, the establishment in 1951 of the Algerian Freedom Front, and thanks to action by the masses, the idea of unity has taken firm root among Algerian patriots and fruitful experience has been gained in this field.

The Party successfully combated reformism in the liberation movement as well as attempts to withdraw into the national shell, explained the meaning of external alliances, and showed the importance of the link between the national-liberation struggle and the international working-class movement. In calling on the people to fight for peace and against world fascism, and to support the national independence movement in other countries, the Party has strengthened the bonds between Algerians and other peoples.

It worked hard before and after November 1, 1954, to bring many of the Europeans and Jews living in Algeria into the struggle against French imperialism. And even before the insurrection its activities had made an impact on all spheres of the country's life.

The Party's activity during the war of independence is the logical continuation of its preceding struggle. It immediately declared the national insurrection of 1954 to be a just and lawful one and

urged its members to join the guerillas. Before it was outlawed in September 1955 the Party took advantage of every possible legal opportunity to rebuff the "French Algeria" thesis and called for active support for the guerilla forces.

While pursuing its own policy, the Party at the same time worked to establish contact with the National-Liberation Front (FLN) in order to increase its contribution to the armed struggle. Since its proposals for unity of action were turned down, it set up a "Liberation Fighters" organization in 1955 and formed the first military units in a number of regions. Under an agreement signed with the FLN in May 1956, all its armed detachments were transferred to the command of the National-Liberation Army controlled by the FLN. The Party's desire for unity was not only felt in military matters, but determined its political activity and work in the trade unions. In November 1957 it called on its members, trade union activists, and all sympathizers who were union members to join the General Union of Algerian Workers for the purpose of achieving trade union unity.

The Party has fully supported the FLN's anti-imperialist activity from the first. This support is sincere and consistent because it is based upon a common platform. And it backs the provisional government for the same reason. The work of the Party's foreign bureau and the contact it established with other Communist and Workers' parties have helped to extend the movement of solidarity with the Algerian people and have enhanced the international prestige of the provisional government. By exposing the stand taken by the leadership of the Messali Hadj Party (the Algerian National Movement), a stand that is hostile to the government and the FLN, the Communist Party unmasked the plans of the colonialists who hoped to break the people's resistance by splitting their ranks.

At the same time the Party is working to explode the myth that the U.S. rulers are "anti-colonialist," and is also pointing out the danger with which Nasser's anti-democratic and anti-labor position is fraught for the recently liberated countries—an attitude which weakens national unity

vis-a-vis the imperialists and their agents. The Party showed how erroneous and dangerous was the opinion held by some nationalist leaders who believed that a free Algeria would need an authoritarian, dictatorial regime.

It is constantly telling the people how the achievements of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries are weakening imperialism and helping the Algerian people.

It was, and probably still is, the view of the FLN leaders that the Communist Party should dissolve itself. To do this would be contrary not only to the principles of any Marxist-Leninist Party, but to the national interests. The activities of the Communists confirm the correctness of the Party's decision to preserve itself as a politically and organizationally independent party of the working class and the poor peasantry, the party of national unity, the only party which includes members of European origin whom it educates in the spirit of Algerian patriotism. Self-dissolution of the Communist Party would be tantamount to passing censure on its past, its struggle and its traditions. There is no doubt that the Communist Party has helped to give a correct orientation to the national movement in Algeria, has contributed to its political and organizational development and success.

Working underground our Party is elaborating its policy in the heat of battle, on the native Algerian soil and in the midst of the people. Convinced that the future belongs to a socialist Algeria built upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism with due regard for the national peculiarities, the Party holds that the main problem before the Algerian people today is not the choice between "colonialism and socialism" but between "colonialism and national liberation." To illumine the path of national liberation the Party has amended its program and made it more explicit* in the booklet describing its contribution to the war of independence.

The Algerian Communists, believing firmly in the ultimate victory of the people, are in the van of the struggle for national liberation.

*The program was published in an article by Bachir Haji Ali. See *World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1959.

Publication of Lenin's Works in China

SHORTLY before the tenth anniversary of the founding of People's China, thirty-eight volumes of Lenin's works came off the press in Peking. This was a big event in the political life of the Chinese people.

Marx and Lenin were unknown in China before the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. "The salvoes of the October Revolution," Mao Tse-tung wrote, "awoke us to Marxism-Leninism."* And in

March 1918 a number of newspapers and journals began to feature articles on the life of Lenin and his cause. The first of his works to be published in China was an abridged translation of *Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat* which appeared in the Peking journal *New China* on December 15, 1919. This was followed by the publication of a gradually increasing number of

*On People's Democratic Dictatorship.

works. By the time the Communist Party was founded in 1921 the following Lenin works had been put out: *A Great Beginning; From the Destruction of the Ancient Social System to the Creation of the New; Report on the Party Program* delivered at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; Speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of Economic Councils*, etc.

The works of Lenin, which were published in journals and newspapers in many parts of the country undoubtedly played an important role in building a Communist Party of the Bolshevik type in China.

After the founding of the Communist Party an underground People's Publishing House was established in Shanghai where foreign imperialists and Chinese militarists then held sway. To avoid persecution its publications were marked "Published by the Canton People's Publishing House." In the space of a year it put out four of Lenin's works: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government; Letters on Tactics; The Successes and Difficulties of the Soviet Government; A Great Beginning*, and also *The Life of Lenin*.

Lenin's death in January 1924 was mourned by the Chinese people. The Party's weekly, *Guide*, carried an obituary. Memorial meetings took place in many towns and special Lenin issues came out. One of these, published in Peking, featured a front-page article entitled "Lenin is Immortal" by Li Ta-chao, one of the founders of the Communist Party, and a translation of Lenin's article "The Tax in Kind." Newspapers and journals such as *New Youth* and *Awakening*, a supplement to the *Republic Daily*, also published a number of Lenin's works and articles about him. The passing away of the great revolutionary leader was commemorated by widespread propaganda of Leninism.

On the first anniversary of Lenin's death, *New Youth*, the Party's journal published a special Lenin issue, containing the "Declaration of the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on the First Anniversary of Lenin's Death" and three articles by Lenin, namely, "On the History of the Question of Dictatorship," "The Third International and Its Place in History" and "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International." During the First Revolutionary Civil War (1925-27) other works of Lenin published in China included *The State and Revolution* (the first unabridged translation), the last chapter of "Left-Wing" Communism, an *Infantile Disorder* and *The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic*.

Between 1921, when the Party was founded, and August 1927, when the First Civil War ended, there

was a marked increase in the number of Lenin's works appearing in Chinese as compared with the time before the Party came into existence; this attested to the efforts the young Party had made in publishing and circulating Lenin's works.

During the ten years of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-1937) the Party, working under extremely difficult conditions, utilized every legal opportunity and underground methods to translate and publish more Marxist-Leninist classics. It is believed that thirty-eight of Lenin's works were published in that period. These included such important works as "Left-Wing" Communism, an *Infantile Disorder* (complete); *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism; Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution; The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky; Karl Marx; Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

In July 1937, the Chinese revolution entered upon a new stage—the war against the Japanese invaders. The number of Marxist-Leninist classics published in various parts of the country increased substantially during that period and the center of publication was transferred to Yen-an, the "Mecca" of the revolution. The Liberation Publishing House of the Communist Party in this town translated and put out eighteen volumes of *Selected Works of Lenin*, as well as such of his works on war as: *Excerpts and Remarks on Clausewitz' 'On War and Warfare'* and *Socialism and War*. Furthermore, this and the publishing houses in the anti-Japanese democratic bases in the enemy rear issued many works by Lenin and collections of his articles on special subjects. Even in Japanese-occupied areas the Communists found ways and means of publishing many works by Lenin and other classical exponents of Marxism. According to incomplete data, fifty-seven works by Lenin were put out in the eight years of the Anti-Japanese War.

During the War of Liberation (1946-49) there was another big increase in the publication of Marxist-Leninist classics: sixty-six of Lenin's works were published in those four years. During that period most of the publishing was done in towns in the liberated areas. By the eve of the liberation of the country nearly all of Lenin's major works had been translated into Chinese.

The founding of the Chinese People's Republic on October 1, 1949, was a great victory for Marxism-Leninism in China, and created exceptionally favorable conditions for the publication and circulation of Marxist-Leninist classics.

The new People's Publishing House, using the *Selected Works of Lenin* brought out in China previously as a basis, has issued a *Lenin Miscellany*, reprinted a two-volume edition of *Selected Works of Lenin* and many other works in separate volumes. This and other publishing houses attached to gov-

ernment offices, educational establishments, research institutes and enterprises have put out collections of his works on specific subjects. One hundred and forty-one titles (not counting those in miscellanies which include other Marxist classics) were published between October 1949 and late 1959. Twenty-four works have appeared in the languages of various national minorities. What is particularly important is that Lenin's works have finally been published in China in thirty-eight volumes.

In accordance with a Central Committee decision this edition was translated from the fourth Russian edition by the Bureau of Translators of the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin attached to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The first volume came off the press in 1955 and by 1957 seven volumes had appeared. The remaining thirty-one were originally scheduled to be

published by 1962, that is, by the end of the second five-year plan period. But the assignment was fulfilled three years ahead of time, i.e., in 1959, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. This means that it took less than two years to translate and publish volumes containing over 10 million Chinese characters, and the quality of the translation is high. This is indeed a big leap forward in the publication of Marxist classics in China, and it is the result of the Party's general line—"to build socialism by exerting every effort, and pressing ahead to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results." The publication of the Chinese edition of *Lenin's Works* is of tremendous help to all people in studying Leninism, further raising their theoretical level, upholding Leninist principles and accelerating socialist construction.

CHANG YUN-HOU

Conference of the Communist Party of Germany

(Impressions of a Delegate)

THE West German Press Agency (DPA) reported on March 4, 1960:

"Illegal Free Germany Radio 904 reported that a Communist Party conference had been held in the Cologne area during the first half of February. Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Central Committee, was able to state in his report that the political line set forth in the draft resolution had proved to be fully correct. The conference, which lasted several days, was held in an atmosphere of militancy, confidence and discipline. A new period was beginning in Party work. The Party would redouble its efforts to recover legal status. The time was not far off, the delegates noted, when the people would become strong enough to bring about a radical change in the policy of Federal Germany."

Bonn officials were probably none too eager to publish this report, but they could keep it dark no longer. Our radio station relayed information about the conference for several days. Its appeal and its slogans were heard all over the country. And now the official press has carried reports about it and millions of people have learned that the Communist Party of Germany is alive and giving battle and that the intrigues of its enemies are doomed to fail.

* * *

The report was delivered by Max Reimann.

"The Party meeting here," he said, "champions a just cause and proclaims to the nation: Our aim

is peace! While Bonn is hatching secret plans for a blitzkrieg, we regard it to be our bounden duty to rouse the workers and other people to action for peace and democracy in order to save Germany. There is nothing more glorious, more noble than to fight for this aim with sublime devotion, to show the working class and the people generally what it means really to love one's class, one's people, one's country. . . . What madness it is to try to ban the Communist Party! As if one could ban peace, stop the working class from voicing its grievances, ban the nation, or halt historical progress."

How deeply these words echoed the sentiments of the delegates who took the floor to tell the conference about the struggle being waged by the people. Their speeches were full of optimism, confident of ultimate victory. One could see they were made by leading Party members with a life experience behind them. While Schroeder, the present Minister of the Interior, was parading in the brown shirt of a Nazi storm-trooper, the delegates between them were serving sentences that added up to 330 years in hard-labor prisons and they have spent forty years in the prisons of Dr. Adenauer's state where that very same Schroeder now poses as a Christian Democrat.

Leading posts in the police and the espionage Protection of the Constitution Office are held by former SS and Gestapo-men. Ex-Nazis are again lording it in the judiciary of Adenauer's dictatorial regime. But these people cannot stop the wheel of

history, and this was convincingly proved at the conference.

* * *

It is important to note that the conference was attended by a large number of young members. Our Party has been working underground for over three years now, but young workers and students are nevertheless finding their way into it, combining their enthusiasm with the experience of the veterans.

A young delegate told us about the efforts of his work-mates in a town in the north of Germany. This comrade had had no practical experience before the Party was banned, but his zeal and class instinct have helped him to find the right way and to surmount difficulties. He led his work-mates in a demonstration. They marched through the streets carrying banners and posters protesting against the armaments program. They felt that their action met with general approval, yet most of the workers from other factories did not join them. The demonstrators then wrote: "How about you, comrades?" on the other side of posters and again marched past many factories. After this other workers came out and joined their columns.

The young delegate was followed by a veteran worker activist who described how he had persuaded trade unionists in his factory to protest against reducing sick benefits. Everyone knew the Communists were right. But were they strong enough to do anything? Some had their doubts, while one Social Democrat told our Party worker: "Yes, it's easy enough for you. You've got half the world behind you. But if I'm sacked even my own Party Executive would not support me." The Communists explained to their Social Democratic work-mates that this half of the world was also their world, in fact it was the world of all who labor.

The delegates related how, working among the masses in the factories, they strove to revive the faith of Social Democrats and trade unionists in the invincible strength of the working class, to enhance confidence in their own strength which those in power were continually trying to sap. Speaking of the strike that had taken place when Federal President Lübke was in the Saar, a trade union functionary noted that during this action the Social-Democratic workers had acquired more confidence in their strength. "Isn't it wonderful?" a Social-Democratic member of the production council had said to him. "I can imagine now how the eight-hour day was won, and what would have happened to the whole militarist clique if we had always held together."

* * *

Working-class unity is the people's chief weapon in their fight for peace, democracy and social well-being. United, the working class can move mountains and certainly curb the militarist clique.

Max Reimann called on the Party to act, to combat sectarianism in any form:

"The Party committees should now concentrate on guiding the comrades in the local organizations, especially the factory and trade union functionaries, on their approach to Social Democrats. There can be only one line: if we differ from them on nine questions out of ten, and agree with them on the tenth, then we should immediately set about starting a joint struggle for the solution of the problem on which we are unanimous. Only in this way can we acquire the necessary experience and understand each other better. We can then go on to solve the next problem by joint Communist-Socialist action to the benefit of the working class. In this and in no other way does unity develop."

* * *

It is not easy to work in the countryside where the progressive forces are still few and the clergy associated with Adenauer's Party firmly entrenched. The bishops, said a young delegate from Bavaria, have established a Union of Catholic Rural Youth with the idea of splitting the protest movement against compulsory conscription and atomic armament. Our comrades, he went on, succeeded in persuading some of the union's leaders to visit the German Democratic Republic. The visit was an eye-opener for them. When they returned they began to relate how the working people in the Democratic Republic were enjoying the fruits of freedom, to speak of the magnificent prospects the country offered to the youth and of the vistas for the development of the countryside. They explained that the GDR's policy aimed at securing peace and friendship between nations. The priest "supervising" this organization tried to intimidate them, and even resorted to threats. But to no avail, because they clung rigidly to the truth. Our comrades were later able to persuade other union functionaries to visit the Democratic Republic.

* * *

The attitude to the GDR is a very important issue, for this Republic stands in the way of the West German militarists extending their rule to the whole of the German people. The GDR personifies the future of a peace-loving and democratic Germany. Little wonder therefore that vilification of the GDR is an important component of anti-communism in West Germany. The conference showed that the Communist Party was learning to combat slanderous assertions and that the West German working class was beginning to break away from the pernicious influence of anti-communist propaganda. The delegates applauded a message of greetings from the Socialist Unity Party which reads in part:

"In the joint struggle against the warmongers, aggressive militarism and clerical-militarist reac-

tion, for peace, disarmament and mutual understanding, the West German working class and the Communists have, in the GDR, the Socialist Unity Party and the National Front of Democratic Germany powerful, loyal and reliable friends and comrades-in-arms. We are closely and indissolubly united in the fight for peace and democracy, to prevent another war. The socialist camp and all the peace-loving forces in the world, led by the Soviet Union, are on your side. Never before have the German Communists had such powerful friends and allies."

Amidst stormy applause the Saar delegate exclaimed:

"It has taken long years of struggle and sacrifice to build the GDR, but we are now reaping the fruits!"

* * *

The delegates made a realistic assessment of the situation. They knew they would give the lie to anti-communist slander in so far as social and political-economic questions were concerned, but vilification of the GDR was still preventing the German working people from making the most of the fact that there is a German Democratic Republic in existence. The delegates stressed the need to step up explanatory work among the masses and to popularize the achievements of socialist construction in the GDR on a still wider scale. The conference resolution reads in part:

"The seven-year plan endorsed by the People's Chamber shows that the German Democratic Republic is developing along peaceful lines. This is a plan of peace. Fulfilment of this plan will bring well-being and happiness to the workers and other people in the GDR. It challenges West Germany to compete peacefully in raising the living standard of the people and contributes to a peaceful solution of the German problem, for the stronger the GDR becomes as a socialist state, and the greater the successes of socialist development, the more rapidly will the influence of the peace forces grow, in West Germany, too."

Members submitted over a thousand proposals during the discussion (which took place in the Party organizations between November 1959 and February 1960) of the draft resolution on "The Situation in the Federal Republic and the Fight for Peace, Democracy and Social Well-Being." What other Party in West Germany can offer such an example of democracy in action? Surely not the Christian Democratic Party whose congresses are organized by a handful of leaders and tycoons without the participation of the rank and file. Or perhaps the Social Democratic Party whose extreme right-wing leaders told members and functionaries before the Godesberg Congress that all

proposals running counter to the "fundamental program" would be rejected out of hand?

The Communist Party gave an example of genuine inner-Party democracy. And this was appreciated by the delegates. They noted with satisfaction that every proposal was given consideration, with the result that the draft resolution was improved and concretized. The Party proved that even in conditions of underground work it was possible to exercise inner-Party democracy. The resolution was adopted unanimously, and this is further proof of the unity of our Party.

The resolution, the delegates noted, opens clear perspectives before the Communists; the Party's national policy has been drawn up for some time ahead. In this document Social Democrats will find what they have been vainly searching for in their Godesberg Program, namely, how to effect a change in Federal Germany's policy in a democratic way.

* * *

In our revolutionary struggle we Communists really do enjoy the support of half and more than half the world. It was with deep emotion that the delegates heard messages of greetings from the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, France, Italy and other countries.

The conference came to an end and the delegates returned home to Hamburg, Munich, Coblenz, Hanover and other towns. In the factories and in the countryside, among students and the middle sections, they are explaining the Party's slogan: "For peace, democracy and social well-being—the time is not far off when the people will be strong enough to bring about a radical change in the policy of Federal Germany!"

The conference adopted an appeal to the people of West Germany which says:

"Our people are entitled to obtain a solution on self-determination, they must have the right, through a popular vote, to have their say on how crucial issues should be settled: questions of the immediate cessation of atomic armament, the arms drive and the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two German States.

"Don't you think it's time Federal Germany should also make a contribution to an international *detente*? But Adenauer and Strauss won't even hear of it.

"Is it not vitally important to eliminate such a dangerous hotbed of war as West Berlin . . . to make it a free demilitarized city? But Adenauer wants to retain West Berlin as a base from which to wage the cold war, as a center of provocation for the preparation of a blitzkrieg against the Democratic Republic."

The war preparations being made by Adenauer and Strauss are bound up with the fascization of the country, and so the fight for peace should be linked with the struggle for parliamentary democracy. For this reason we oppose emergency laws and demand the removal of Oberlaender and Globke from their government posts. To this end we shall tirelessly explain to the people that neither prosperity, freedom nor democracy can blossom under the shadow of atomic armament. We are resolved to carry out the action program drawn up by the Amalgamated Trade Unions. Together with workers and doctors we are against the encroachments on sickness insurance. Together with the peasants

we are defending the farms. Together with the youth we are fighting against conscription and for their happy future. We say to our people: West Germany needs a legal Communist Party.

And we will see to it that that which Max Reimann said to the delegates comes to pass:

"There is no doubt that the Party banned by Adenauer, and the Communists outlawed by him will eventually occupy their rightful place in the political life of the Federal Republic, regain their legal status and work ever more actively among the people in carrying out their policy."

Duesseldorf

Kurt MOHL

United by Common Interests

SEVERAL months ago, 500 seasonal workers in Cavarzere (Venice Province, Northern Italy), a town which suffered severely from air raids during the war and from flood in 1951, took action against dismissals and curtailment of production and occupied the sugar factory. They did not leave it for twenty-four days, despite police interference.

In upholding their interests the workers at the same time defended those of the laborers and peasants, sugar-beet growers, traders and consumers who were demanding lower taxes and prices for sugar. Thus a close alliance has arisen between the workers and other sections of the people and political parties, an alliance which scored the first success in the anti-monopoly movement.

How did it happen?

Ilario Montezi, the owner of the plant, the "sugar king" as he has been dubbed here, heads one of the four biggest sugar monopolies in Italy. The high prices fixed by these monopolies have resulted in millions of families buying little or no sugar. Indeed, the *per capita* sugar consumption in the country was only 17.3 kilos in 1958, as against 29 in France and 29.7 in Belgium. The situation is still worse in other regions. In Lucania, for instance, consumption stands at 1.75 kilos, in Abruzzo 6.58, and in Calabria 6.77.

The 1959 sugar output was nearly 300 thousand tons in excess of demand. To keep up prices the monopolies stopped production, called for an increase in sugar exports and demanded that the Government make good to them any difference in price which would, of course, be at the expense of consumers. What is more, the monopolies tried to reduce the area sown to sugar-beet this year by one-third. This would have meant serious loss to farming in the North, the central part of the country and to many southern regions.

The reason for the workers' action in Cavarzere was, as we have said, Montezi's intention to cut down production. Backed by 180 regular workers, the seasonal workers began to press for an agreement under which the "sugar king" would be obliged to refine all the raw material in stock. Going back on his promise Montezi stopped work and fired the seasonal workers, thus reducing the eight-month period, for which they had been hired, to six.

The communal council convened a conference in which representatives of the Communist, Socialist, Christian-Democratic and Social-Democratic parties and of the Italian General Confederation of Labor and the Christian Workers' Association participated. At the request of the seasonal workers, the conference discussed many vital questions: restoring the area sown to sugar-beet to its original size, observance of labor agreements and organization of public works for the reclamation and exploitation of land. The Communists proposed that steps should be taken for the promulgation of a law which would help resolve the basic economic problems of Cavarzere. The bill was endorsed by all the parties, trade unions and other local organizations. With a population of 27,000, the town has 2,500 unemployed; some 9,000 have emigrated during the past ten years. It was estimated that in 1959 alone the total wages and incomes of sugar plant workers, loaders, builders, laborers, peasants, and small and medium landowners dropped by 400 million lire. The conference unanimously called for an end to the sugar monopolies' outrageous policy which was ruining the region. It stated in a resolution that "the first effective step towards solving the unemployment problem in the sugar industry, as well as the problems of the sugar-beet growers and consumers, would be to bring down sugar prices substantially."

The workers occupied the sugar plant. They took along blankets and mattresses, while their relatives managed to get food through to them despite the police patrols. The staunchness displayed by the workers evoked public sympathy. Numerous organizations, communal and provincial councils and deputations expressed solidarity with them and many meetings and conferences were held.

Communist deputies and senators tabled questions in Parliament and pressed for radical measures. A delegation of MP's, workers and spokesmen of the local Christian Democratic Party handed over the demands of the working people of Cavarzere to the Prime Minister personally. The General Confederation of Labor together with the Confederaterra, the Federation of Sugar Workers, the Peasant Union and the National Co-operative League sent a letter to the Ministry of Industry, demanding cuts in sugar prices at the expense of the profits made by the monopolies and lowering the enterprises' tax which, in effect, is paid by the consumers.

The "sugar king" refused to negotiate with the workers. Then the communal council of Cavarzere raised the question of expropriating the sugar plant. This and many other actions taken by local and provincial organizations and by the committee set up by the workers during the occupation of the plant were reinforced by a broad solidarity movement. Posters appeared in the shops bearing the words: "We Support the Seasonal Sugar Workers." The Traders' Association, co-operatives, the Christian Workers' Association of Venice, the truck drivers, the hospital personnel, the employees of the Agricultural Bank, etc., helped the workers with money and food. The communal council of Cavarzere and the Venice provincial council allo-

cated funds for needy families. A Women's League Branch in Venice did much to help the strikers and also issued a leaflet entitled "Let's Help Cavarzere." Though the seasonal workers needed help themselves they nevertheless collected funds for the unemployed.

The twenty-four day struggle yielded results. Montezi gave way and agreed to start negotiations and to satisfy the basic demands (to stop dismissals and resume work on the balance of the raw material). Only then did the strikers' committee decide to leave the plant. Singing songs the five hundred seasonal workers marched through the streets where they were warmly applauded by the townsfolk.

Though the workers were satisfied with their first victory they pledged to increase vigilance and continue the struggle.

The trade unions and peasant unions in the Veneto region have also drawn up a program of action for the workers, peasants, laborers and consumers. These actions are developing into a broad anti-crisis movement, into a movement for the development of sugar-beet growing and sugar refining, against monopoly rule, for democratic control and the nationalization of the sugar industry.

The Communist Party branch in Cavarzere has gained valuable experience in strengthening the alliance between the working class and other social sections, and in building unity. The Communists have also strengthened their own organization. All Communist seasonal workers exchanged their Party cards while they were occupying the plant. To pursue a policy of broad alliance successfully, a strong Party organization is a must.

Rocco GENOVEZI.

Instructive Experience of Mass Action

ONE of the most acute problems in Chile is housing.

A study made by the University of Chile in 1952 elicited the fact that a country with a population of over seven million had only 1,051,000 dwellings; 330,000 (36 per cent) of these were in good condition; 208,000 (19 per cent) were satisfactory; 332,000 (31 per cent) were in an unsatisfactory condition while 129,000 (12 per cent) were unfit for human habitation and in urgent need of repair. Three million people (40 per cent) are living in bad conditions and over a million in overcrowded slums and shanties. Profiteering has assumed such gargantuan proportions that thousands of factory and office workers, handicraftsmen, etc., are forced to live in the shanty-towns.

The people have often taken action for decent housing. A widespread form of struggle during 1938-1946 was preventing the eviction of tenants who owed rent or were not to the liking of the landlord. And if a family was thrown into the street, the people, paying scant regard to any pillar of authority present, re-installed them in their homes. The mass protests resulted in stopping the evictions for a long time.

A group of homeless workers in Santiago got together one day to talk over their troubles and decided to occupy a part of "Le Legua," a municipally-owned piece of wasteland in the suburb of San Miguel. Several Communists spoke at the gathering which eventually developed into a movement led by the local Party committee. Early one

morning hundreds of men, women and children made their way to "Le Legua" where they hoisted the national flag and began to erect dwellings. Threats, police blockade and provocations of all kinds were used against the squatters who were even deprived of water. But their determination, the solidarity of the people and the efforts of the Communist Party which successfully appealed to the trade unions, street committees and sports clubs for support won them through. That was in 1947. Now, thirteen years later, "Nueva La Legua" has running water, sewerage and electricity, and most of its streets have been paved.

This example encouraged others to follow suit. Shortly after, hundreds of families —Nueva La Legua's "neighbors," who had put up shacks near the settlement, occupied the land in the "German Riésco" area. They, too, withstood a twenty-eight day police siege and emerged with flying colors.

In 1954 squatters occupied privately-owned land on the "February 16" section, built houses there and began to fight for their right to live in decent conditions. Some 220 families now live there. Their six-year struggle finally compelled the Housing Corporation (a Government agency) to purchase the land, and the inhabitants now live there legally.

This experience, and the aggravation of the housing shortage, led to a mass "squatter" movement. Under the guidance of our Party, committees with a centralized leadership at provincial and national levels are functioning in Temuco, Concepcion and other towns and in the suburban communes of Santiago. The conferences and congresses held by the "squatters" elected their committees, which are now holding meetings, organizing demonstrations and placing their grievances before the municipal and central authorities.

This occupation of land and the setting up of a "squatters" organization is, in our view, a useful experience.

We shall recount in more detail the highly interesting experience of how the "Victory" camp was established.

The shanty-town known as "Zanjon de la Aguada" grew up in the space of a few years along the banks of an old irrigation canal in the suburban commune of San Miguel near Santiago. Thousands of people live in its hovels. The canal is filthy and is full of rubbish, it is a hotbed of infection in which, for lack of anything better, children often seek refuge from the intense heat of summer. Sunlight hardly penetrates into the hovels built of tin and cardboard. On wet days the shanties were difficult to approach because of the mud, water leaked through and there were outbreaks of disease.

In the summer of 1957 two fires destroyed the homes of 200 families. Even the bourgeois and semi-

official newspapers published appeals for help, but that was as far as they went.

The Party leadership suggested that land should be sought on which these families could find homes and to fight later for official recognition of the settlement. Contact was established with committees of the other settlements and with the trade unions, and talks were held between the leaders of the Communist, Socialist, Democratic and other parties affiliated to the Popular Action Front on the one hand, and the San Miguel municipal council in which the PAE spokesmen have a majority, on the other. The experience of occupying "La Legua" and other places was studied closely. It was finally agreed that the best site was "La Feria" where the land is Government property.

It was decided that the homeless families which could manage to leave "Zanjon de la Aguada" and other places on the night of October 29, 1957, should occupy the land in the Western part of San Miguel. It was not an easy matter to move hundreds of the people to a new site at night-time and to ensure that the authorities and the police would learn nothing about it beforehand. Every precaution was taken. The signal was given at the last moment and at about 1 a.m. the move began.

At 3 a.m. it became known that the police had detained some of the squatters. But the move continued. Those in charge of operations had maps of the commune and knew their way about, while cyclists kept them regularly informed as to whether the coast was clear or not.

The first light of dawn saw a moving picture. Hundreds of flags were waving in the breeze as if to confirm that the people gathered there were genuine patriots, those who create the wealth which, instead of being used for the benefit of the country, goes into the coffers of the U.S. imperialists.

Men and women, aided by their children, hastily placed poles in the ground and hung blankets over them. The police arrived but were powerless to do anything. During the day thousands of other families arrived; flags went up all over the camp which has since been called the "Victory" camp.

The next stages of the struggle were just as hard. The Communists invited a group of architects who, using the official town development plans, drew up a plan of the future settlement, marking the streets, sites for the school, library, park, square, football ground and swimming pool. Such was the militancy, so strong the solidarity and so widespread the sympathy aroused by the movement among the public, that the Government dared not resort to force.

Some 800 families (in all 4,800 people) occupied the land on the night of October 29, 1957. Now

3,270 families, totalling 22,000 people, reside in the "Victory" camp on an area of 82,000 square meters.

The squatters themselves built the school; they have electric lighting and hydrants have been installed. They are now fighting to get water laid on in every house. The people want to turn their camp into a clean and well organized garden-township.

As we have said, many organizations, and especially the Popular Action Front helped to establish the "Victory" camp. But the squatters have seen for themselves that the biggest contribution was made by the Communist Party.

The Communists have always been in the van of the struggle for housing. Not only prominent Party leaders but also local committees took part in this action. Communist councillors and MP's were active, too. No wonder therefore that the squatters have elected Communists to the responsible posts in their organizations.

The housing movement is part and parcel of the fight for a national-liberation front capable of defeating reaction and imperialism, that will open up broad vistas for Chile's advance and raise the standard of living.

Jose GONZALEZ

Short Notices

Panama

FIGHT FOR SOVEREIGNTY

THE moment for sovereignty is gaining momentum in Panama. On March 1, 1960, during the carnival parade on Constitution Day (which proclaimed the country's sovereignty over the Canal Zone), youth organizations organized a march to the Zone. The United States has turned this zone into a military base where it is forbidden to hang out Panamanian flags. The demonstrators carried posters demanding restoration of the people's right to the Zone. To befuddle them the American authorities hung out Panamanian and U.S. flags along the zone boundary. But the young people burned the Stars and Stripes and chanted anti-imperialist slogans, and it was only with the help of troops that the demonstration was dispersed.

Last October, the Laborers' Union of Colon called for a "hunger march" to the capital. The reactionaries tried to stop it, declaring that it was a Communist stunt, to which the workers replied: "That won't scare us, the march will take place." And it did. It started off with 500 workers, peasants and small traders who crossed the isthmus on foot. They were supported by the Unemployed Union and when, eventually, they reached the National Assembly in the capital, their number had increased to 2,000. They demanded a minimum wage, lower rents, an agrarian law and unemployment benefits. Troops and tear gas were used against them. But the marchers refused to budge and the authorities were forced to lower rents and fix a minimum wage. The fight for an agrarian law (for transferring fertile land in the Canal Zone to the peasants) has developed with renewed force.

Last November, meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country. A large group of workers from Chiriqui Province went to the capital

with the demand to safeguard national sovereignty. On November 3, the 56th anniversary of Panama's independence, students and other young people organized demonstrations along the Canal Zone boundary. A demonstration was held outside the U.S. Embassy in the capital; the demonstrators tore down the Stars and Stripes and threw stones at the Embassy windows. On November 5, some 200 patriots entered the Canal Zone and unfurled the national flag there. U.S. troops were brought into action. But the popular protest proved so strong and the attitude of U.S. troops so provocative that the President of Panama appealed to all Parliaments urging them to protest against their violence.

By conducting anti-communist propaganda and banning the People's Party, the reactionaries hoped to isolate this Party from the masses. But, though driven underground and numerically small, the Party is cementing its contact with the intellectuals, with the trade unions and the movement for national sovereignty and is helping the workers wage the struggle for their demands.

France

COMMUNIST PARTY RESEARCH CENTER

A MARXIST Study and Research Center has been opened in Paris. Vital problems of the development of Marxism in France were discussed at the opening meeting.

The tasks of the center were outlined in the opening speech by Roger Garaudy: deeper study and further elaboration of Marxism and persistent efforts to apply dialectical materialism in the study of natural and social sciences.

One of the center's chief aims is to implement the directives of the Fifteenth Party Congress on extending the contact between the Marxist and the non-Marxist intellectuals who are ready to discuss things with Marxists. These contacts and a free exchange of views will further the development of scientific thought and will win the democratic intellectuals for the defense of progressive ideas.

Many research workers spoke of the futility of the attempts to dismiss Marxism as an abstract doctrine. "If Marxism were really a dead letter as far as science is concerned," said Garaudy, "it would be difficult to understand how it comes about that a country whose whole economic, political, scientific and technological development is bound up with Marxism, has made the most rapid and spectacular scientific and technological progress."

The center called on the Marxist scientists to prove by their research that modern science would gain by using Marxist methods, and to counterpose to pragmatism, theology and mechanism the method of dialectical materialism — a method which does not "put a strait-jacket on scientific thought but, on the contrary, frees it of everything that hedges it in."

"It is the aim of the center," Garaudy went on, "to carry forward Marxism, to 'emancipate' research." The center should become not "a school or a sect of doctrinaires," but a place where genuine research can be conducted and problems discussed with the participation of as large a number of intellectuals, both Communists and non-Communists, as possible.

The center has already held its first conference on "Modern Tendencies in Theory and Practice in the Science of the Earth"; a discussion on ethics was arranged with Catholics, and a conference on social progress is scheduled to take place.

Japan

INTENSIFYING WORK AMONG THE YOUTH

THE Japanese youth movement has become more active in recent years; although it now plays a bigger part in the struggle for the democratization of the country, much of its activity is

still of a sporadic character. The Democratic Youth League has no organizations in ten of the forty-six prefectures, while in twelve its organizations have less than one hundred members each.

The March (1960) meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted a resolution which called for extending and strengthening the Democratic Youth League. The objective conditions in the country, the resolution noted, favor a more rapid growth of the youth movement, but the Party is not making the most of these opportunities, nor is sufficient work being done to increase its influence among the youth and, in particular, to strengthen the Democratic Youth League.

"Being the central organization of the democratic youth movement in the country," the resolution goes on, the League "should develop into a strong national independent organization uniting, on the basis of democratic centralism, hundreds of thousands of young people ready to fight for a happy future for the nation, to help the young people to study and to raise their cultural level. Under the guidance of our Party, the League should concentrate on the following tasks:

"Work for a peace-loving, independent, democratic and neutral Japan, and for the economic, social and cultural demands of the youth; promote independent action by the youth and carry through cultural, sports and educational measures; assimilate Marxism-Leninism and spread it among young people; foster the international youth solidarity movement, and simultaneously, become the driving force in organizing a united youth front as an important link in the united national democratic front of our country."

The speedy strengthening of the League, the resolution stressed, is essential in order to extend and strengthen the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement as a whole. The meeting called on the members to improve the work among the youth, recruit them into the League, educate and temper them in practical work and, in this way, train reinforcements for the Party.

The prefecture and district Party organizations are now holding meetings to discuss the resolution; the plans now being drawn up pay due account to local conditions, and vigorous efforts are being made to increase the membership of the Democratic Youth League.

ANNIVERSARIES

The Fortieth Anniversaries of Communist Parties

ON APRIL 15, 1920, the Union of Spanish Socialist Youth proclaimed the founding of the Communist Party. A year later, the left-wing of the Socialist Workers' Party formed a Communist Workers' Party which subsequently merged with the Communist Party.

After the fascist military coup of 1923 the Communists were forced to go underground. The reign of terror and the sectarian, opportunist policy of its leadership prevented the Party from developing and extending its contact with the people, from coming out actively when the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1931 was being prepared and carried through. It was only in 1932, when the Party had purged its leading bodies of sectarian opportunists, that it began to grow into a mass party and initiated the struggle against the reactionary onslaught and the fascist threat, for the formation of a United People's Front. In 1934 the Party led the heroic uprising of the Asturian miners. At that time it had 20,000 members.

In 1936, when, on the initiative of the Communist Party, the People's Front, which gained an electoral victory over the monarcho-fascist bloc, was established, there were already 100,000 Communists in the country.

During the National-Liberation War (1936-39) the Party played the leading role in the nationwide resistance to the Franco insurgents and the Italian and German invaders. Relying on the support of the masses, and overcoming the resistance of the defeatist elements, the Party's efforts resulted in the formation of a regular people's army, in establishing a war industry under State control, carrying through an agrarian reform and in a number of other democratic changes which made it possible to repel the attacks of the numerically stronger aggressors over a period of thirty-two months. The Party's membership trebled in those years, rising to 300,000.

With the establishment of the Franco dictatorship in March 1939, the Party went underground and since then has been working, despite the brutal terror, to organize nationwide resistance to the fascist regime and to unite all anti-Franco forces.

The Party proceeds from the possibility of replacing the Franco dictatorship by peaceful means by a caretaker government which would help forward the struggle for democracy and socialism. Seeking to rally all the anti-Franco forces into a national front, the Party pursues the policy of

"national reconciliation" which was reaffirmed by the recent Sixth Congress.

The Party publishes *Mundo Obrero*, its central organ; *La Voz del Campo*, a newspaper for peasants; *Nuestra Bandera*, theoretical journal, and *Nuestras Ideas*, a journal for progressive intellectuals. A history of the Party is in the course of preparation. In popularizing Party policy an important part is played by the underground Radio Independent Spain.

The Party celebrated its fortieth anniversary in conditions when many people, particularly young people, were joining its ranks, when its influence among all sections interested in overthrowing the Franco regime is increasing.

* * *

On May 23, 1920, the Social Democratic Organization of Indonesia was renamed the Communist Party of Indonesia. Its first congress was held in 1924. The Party then numbered 1,500 members. In 1927 it was banned by the Dutch colonialists; many of its leaders and rank-and-file members were either exiled or executed. An illegal Communist Party was formed in Java in 1935 and became the core of the Party which regained legal status after the August Revolution of 1945. The reactionary Hatta Government, which came to power in 1948 in collusion with Dutch and U.S. imperialism, however, murdered prominent leaders of the Party. Musso, General Secretary, Sharifuddin, Darusman, Sarjono and others were killed; thousands of Communists were either murdered or thrown into concentration camps; the Communist Party was outlawed. It was only in 1951 that the Party was able to restore its organizations, to regain legal status and elect its leadership headed by Aidit.

Since then it has worked indefatigably to rally all patriots with a view to completing the August Revolution. It is the Party's aim to carry through the national and democratic revolutions, which are to abolish the two mortal enemies of the people — imperialism and feudalism. This task can be solved through the formation of a united anti-imperialist front with the participation of the national bourgeoisie; this front should be based on a worker-peasant anti-feudal alliance. The Party has worked out a program for co-operation with all democratic and patriotic forces, organizations and progressives, and has called for the realization of Sukarno's idea of guided democracy,

When in 1958 the right-wing parties (Masjumi and Socialist), aided by the imperialists, provoked a rebellion, the Communist Party played a big part in rallying the national-democratic forces against the insurgents. The Party organizations headed the resistance in the areas occupied by the rebels. This enhanced its prestige and influence among the people and weakened the positions of the right-wing parties. In the local election which took place at that time the Communist Party polled over eight million votes, more than any other political party in the country.

The Party supported the decision adopted in 1959 to return to the Constitution of 1945 after talks between the President and the spokesmen of the main bourgeois parties; it stressed the need to

combat attempts by the reactionary forces to use this decision to gain their own ends.

The Party is now carrying out measures designed to safeguard independence of the country, to ensure its development along democratic lines, extension of democratic rights and the formation of a Gotong-rojong (co-operation) Government led by President Sukarno, a government in which the parties and the various groups working to realize the aims of the August Revolution would be fairly represented.

The Communist Party now numbers 1.5 million members, and is one of the biggest and most influential Communist parties, the most consistent champion of the national interests, a party recognized by the people, a party rich in revolutionary traditions.

Reviews

From Revisionism to Bourgeois Ideology

REVISIONISM, as experience shows, is but a step on the way from Marxism to bourgeois ideology. For proof of this one has only to glance at the ideological evolution of Henri Lefebvre, who has finally disowned his past, his ideas and comrades, his deeds and books. Lefebvre's regret is that he was not expelled from the Communist Party a quarter of a century ago. This, in his view, would have ensured him twenty-five years of "free Marxist thought."

It is clear why in the past as well Lefebvre, as he now confesses, "disliked" some of his books. Although even in his best years—when still a Communist—his outlook was affected by speculative sophistry and very often by scholasticism, many of his works (*Dialectical Materialism*, *Existentialism*, etc.) played a positive role in disseminating Marxism in France, and denounced bourgeois ideology. For example, his books on Descartes, Diderot, Pascal and Rabelais helped to popularize the progressive traditions of outstanding French thinkers. Some of his books have been translated and published in the socialist countries. Neither Lefebvre's direct mistakes nor his inconsistencies were a secret to Marxist philosophers. But while justly criticizing his deviations from Marxism, the French Communists until recently were more than tolerant to him, being guided by the desire to help him and other philosophers to see the true essence of the problems posed. Today, however, Lefebvre is repaying them with ingratitude, denouncing them as his "censors."

Lefebvre's occasional lapses from Marxism developed into open revisionism in 1956, as was demonstrated beyond doubt in his *Current Problems of Marxism*, in a preface he wrote for the second edition of his *Critique of Daily Life*, and in his attacks on the Communist Party in *Temps modernes*, the organ of the existentialists. His anti-Marxist writings are published in Yugoslavia and are popularized in a big way in the West. He is a zealous supporter of Yugoslav revisionists and is helping them in their disruptive activity. Now that his evolution as a revisionist has run its full course, he finds himself in the camp of anti-communism, much to the delight of bourgeois ideologists and idealist philosophers.

The political and philosophical testament* of Henri Lefebvre that has recently appeared in Paris can

*H. Lefebvre, *La Somme et le reste*. Vol. 1-2. Paris, La Nef, 1959, 782 p.

be truthfully described as the confession of a renegade. As he emerges from the pages of this book the author is an anarchist whose views have been shaped by bourgeois philosophy. We are told that he "has taken seriously" only three things in life: "love, philosophy and the Party" (p. 343). The word "Party" is obviously out of place here because his entire life testifies to his non-acceptance of it. Lamenting the fact that he "shared ideas, did things and wrote books which he disliked," he confesses that his heart always rebelled against Party policies because discipline of any kind was utterly alien to him. For him discipline is unbearable: "When I am told," he writes, "to do even the things I want to do, when an order comes from without, even though it coincides with my inner searchings, the aim disappears and everything crumbles" (p. 296).

His years of incessant struggle against the Party are reflected in the manner in which he wrote his books. This is a story of the inner splitting of the personality, of deceit and self-deceit. Lefebvre hurls charges of "political amorality" and "Machiavellism" against the Communists. And these come from a man who is utterly unscrupulous about the means to achieve his ends! He confesses quite openly to any number of crafty subterfuges. For example, with a view to courting the support of Marxists for a book on aesthetics, he started it off first with a quotation from Zhdanov, a man he profoundly hated, and went on to a self-compiled quotation which he attributed to Marx.

In attempts to smear the Soviet Union, the Communist parties and their leaders, whom he regards with all the arrogance of an "unrecognized genius," Lefebvre falls back on the methods so dear to the yellow press. Pretentious, banal declamation in poetry and prose appears cheek by jowl with rumor and slanderous innuendo. And this is combined with a supreme confidence in his own self-righteousness and infallibility. And yet Lefebvre depicts himself and his life in a most unattractive light. The reader sees before his eyes a confirmed individualist, a man engrossed with self, suffering from an inferiority complex. "Basically I consider myself an individualist and proclaim myself as such" (p. 675).

But the ugly character of the author of this confession is perhaps the least important thing about it. What strikes the eye is its theoretical poverty. All that he had previously accepted—even though

his understanding of it was superficial and half-baked—is ridiculed and rejected; he is left with literally nothing, in the grip of a vulgar bourgeois eclecticism, incapable of a single original thought. Such is the price of apostasy; such is his inevitable end.

"Alienation" . . . from Materialism

In the first place Lefebvre renounces dialectical materialism, the philosophical foundation of scientific communism.

For years Lefebvre had regarded himself as a champion of Marxist philosophy and even pretended to be one of the leading theoreticians. Now he is sorry that he ever adhered to dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism, he says "is neither Marxism nor philosophy." It, he arrogantly declaims, is not worthy of a philosophical analysis; it is simply an incoherent heap of borrowed propositions; its basic features are eclecticism and dogmatism. Marxism, he suggests, should throw overboard a series of "encumbrances." Above all materialism. Following in the footsteps of bourgeois philosophers and reformists, Lefebvre tries to "overcome" the contradiction between materialism and idealism. "The old conflict between materialism and idealism," he says, "already resolved in advanced thinking" (p. 754), in point of fact ceases to exist "for the simple reason that both are abandoned the moment we begin to seek new paths for philosophy" (p. 702).

Attempts to overcome the contradiction between materialism and idealism, "to rise" above them, have been made many a time in philosophy. But as Lenin pointed out half a century ago, one thing was common to all of them—the "overcoming" always favored idealism. Lefebvre's program, which is counterposed to dialectical materialism, is a motley conglomeration of ideas lifted from the different idealistic systems now in vogue in the West. His philosophical credo is an idealistic interpretation of the "theory of alienation," the pragmatic "theory of practice," the existentialist "theory of moments," etc.

Without beating about the bush Lefebvre says that he is not interested in the primacy of matter, in the external world, the inter-relation of all things, etc. These, he holds, are accepted things, there is no need to repeat them, sometimes they may even do harm to the process of knowledge. Instead he suggests that Marxists should dedicate themselves to an analysis of "alienation." Only this, he avers, will save Marxism from "simplification."

In recent times bourgeois philosophers, reformist spokesmen and revisionists have turned to the idealistic interpretation of "alienation" with a view to lulling the vigilance of Marxists, penetrat-

ing into the fortress of dialectical materialism and seizing it from within. To divert the Marxist philosophers from the fundamental problems of social life and science and burden them with pseudo-theoretical speculative problems—such is the objective purport of Lefebvre's reasoning about "alienation," which is given much space in his book. His attitude on this question is not unlike that of neo-Thomists like Calvez, Bigot and others. "Alienation," according to him, is the pivot of any philosophy which, without this, "loses the right to existence." It has also played the decisive role, we are told, in the moulding of Marxism which, without the "theory of alienation," "remains trivial, . . . devoid of meaning and significance" (p. 123). That the views of Lefebvre and many bourgeois philosophers and critics of Marxism coincide on this question is no accident. If the basic feature of Marxism is the concept of "alienation," as they say, and not dialectical materialism, the materialist conception of history and the teaching about socialism and communism, then this "Marxism" becomes harmless and quite acceptable to the capitalists.

Joining the chorus of bourgeois anti-Marxist philosophers and Right Socialists, Lefebvre demagogically declares that the concept of "alienation" and the transference of human abilities and social relations to various objects and phenomena (often endowed with supernatural properties) or to individuals which follows from this concept, are often encountered in the earlier philosophical works of Marx, although in his mature works, as well as in the writings of Engels and Lenin and contemporary Marxist philosophers, these are relatively rare occurrences. But from this fact, correctly stated but incorrectly understood, the critics of Marxism draw the absurd conclusion that Marx and Marxists abandoned the "alienation" concept; lamenting this, Lefebvre and his like-minded fellows urge a return to "the earlier Marx." The ill-starred critics cannot understand that neither Marx nor his followers ever abandoned "alienation"; on the contrary they, from the materialist standpoint, consistently explained it, deepened and carried it forward; they specified it in its application to socio-economic relations (the theory of commodity fetishism), to social consciousness (the ideological doctrine), to the State, etc. To believe, as does Lefebvre, that Marx's substitution of "commodity fetishism" for "alienation" in his *Capital* is tantamount to renouncing the concept of "alienation" is as absurd as to claim that Marxists who now use the term "historical materialism" instead of the "materialist conception of history" have abandoned the latter.

Clearly the concept known as "alienation" has its significance in Marxist theory. Marxists are not against using it, but they are against misusing it

idealistically. That is why Lefebvre's claim that modern Marxists "fear" the concept "alienation" and for this reason ignore it, is utterly groundless. Ideas pertaining to "alienation" have been thoroughly analyzed by modern Marxist theoreticians, and not in the abstract speculative way of Lefebvre and bourgeois philosophers, but concretely, in socio-economic and philosophical research. Suffice it to recall the section "On Alienation" in R. Garaudy's *Marxist Humanism*, a book which makes a detailed analysis of the Marxist concept of "alienation." Lefebvre petulantly attacks this part of Garaudy's book. But petulance and bad language hardly make criticism convincing. They lead instead to exaggeration and distortion. And this is the case with Lefebvre. Garaudy, he writes, "reduces alienation to economic alienation" (p. 124). Let us turn to Garaudy. We read: "One should not content himself with pure and simple identification of 'alienation' and 'commodity fetishism.' The former term is broader than the latter: there is religious, political, ideological, etc., alienation. . . ." The author, it is true, says that he will examine only economic alienation in capitalist society. But does it follow from this that *confining* his enquiry to a particular form of alienation signifies *reducing* all the other forms to this common denominator? Such are the means used by Lefebvre in his critique of Marxism!

To advance the idealistic interpretation of "alienation" as the pivot of Marxist philosophy is tantamount to abandoning the essence of this philosophy. *Those who for the sake of the concept of "alienation" renounce the fundamental tenets of Marxist philosophy descend at once from "simplified" dialectical materialism to a refined idealism.*

Lefebvre is the classical example in this respect. Let us take his "theory of practice" which, according to the author, is a counterweight to materialism and is supposed to replace it. "Philosophical materialism," he claims, "disappears . . . since as a philosophy it is useless. The concept of 'matter' dissolves in the concept of practice . . ." (p. 33). Idealist philosophy has tried endlessly to "dissolve" the concept of "matter" in sensation, perception, imagination, will, and so on. There is nothing original in the attempt to "dissolve" matter in practice. The pragmatists, for example, have had many goes at this. Practice is indissolubly linked with human activity, with society. There is no practice other than human practice. If matter "dissolves" in practice it, consequently, does not exist outside of man and independent of him, it is his function, it is generated by him. This being the case, it could not exist before man. Thus, we have before us a very refined variation of idealism.

The concept of "practice" plays a very important role in Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxists,

however, do not substitute it for "matter." Although human practice is exerting an ever-growing influence on the material world and is transforming it, though the environment in which man lives is in large measure the work of his own hands, the primacy of matter is indisputable. Man is changing the world, but the world exists independently of him, and is the necessary basis for all his activities. By practice Marxism understands the activity carried out by the people to change the world—the practice of the creators of material and spiritual values, the practice of social struggle, scientific practice, etc. Lefebvre and his colleagues reject this understanding of practice, and interpret it pragmatically, in a purely individualistic spirit, as the sum total of the personal experience of individuals; they arrogantly dismiss the practice of the masses, the practice of the class struggle, of building the new world. The concept of "practice" thus becomes poorer, loses its objective character and degenerates into one of the hackneyed categories of speculative idealist philosophy.

The poverty of Lefebvre's philosophical views is revealed particularly in the so-called "theory of moments" which he lauds. The essence of this "theory," existentialist in origin, is that human life, consciousness and activity consist of a number of "moments" such as struggle, play, love, work, recreation, knowledge, poetry, etc. Nobody will deny, of course, that human life really includes these "moments." But, firstly, merely to state this fact is hardly a discovery. Secondly, it is not enough simply to enumerate and define these moments, as is done by Lefebvre, who cannot see the wood for the trees. What is important is to show which of them are decisive and which are of secondary importance. Lefebvre's "theory" is nothing more than the stunted tree of the "theory of factors" preached by bourgeois sociology and transplanted into philosophical soil. For him each of the "moments" is equal, having the same significance. Thus, all difference is obliterated between the biological and the social in the life of man, between production and social struggle, on the one hand, and recreation and amusement, on the other.

The aim of Lefebvre's "theory of moments" is to combat dialectical and historical materialism. As a matter of fact it is a subjective idealist theory. As he sees it, it "precludes ontology and understands 'being' as perceived by the human community or by the collective human being" (p. 653). In this as in other cases the contradiction between materialism and idealism is "resolved" by Lefebvre in favor of the latter.

Dialectics Takes Vengeance

At the present stage of his ideological evolution Lefebvre has arrived logically at denial of materialism, seeking a substitute for it in a conglomer-

ation of idealistic concepts. In relation to dialectics his attitude is, at first glance, somewhat different. Constantly appealing to it, he declares that the main thing in Marxism is dialectics. In Lefebvre's philosophical concepts, however, dialectics suffers in the same way as materialism. First he resolutely rejects the objective dialectics of nature and society. The latter, in his view, should be abandoned by the Marxists together with materialism. This shows that Lefebvre adheres to a typical tendency in modern bourgeois philosophy—if dialectics is to be recognized it should be recognized only as a method of thinking.

The partial "restoration" of dialectics in the twentieth century bourgeois philosophy, after the period of Hegelian dialectics was ignored, was not, as we know, a mere return to the dialectics of German classical idealism. The latter was radically "reformed" as a counterweight to the Marxist revolutionary transformation of dialectics. One of the features of this was the process of making dialectics subjective, a process which passed through a number of stages and assumed various forms. The modern bourgeois "dialecticians," while combating objective dialectics which presupposes the law-governed development of reality, want to exorcise it from both nature and social life. Joining with them, Lefebvre finds himself in the company of such prominent idealist thinkers as Croce, Gentile, Kojève and Merleau-Ponty.

The efforts of the modern idealist philosophers to get rid of the dialectics of the objective world are being brought to nought by the development of natural science. The latest advances in science, particularly in atomic physics, chemistry, genetics, etc., are, increasingly, revealing the objective dialectical character of all natural phenomena and processes.*

Modern physics, for example, has demonstrated the interconnection and interdependence of space and time, motion and matter. It has confirmed the thesis of dialectical materialism according to which space and time are the basic forms of the existence of matter. Demonstrating the untenability of the old metaphysical concept of the immutability of the atom, of the impossibility of splitting it, modern physics has disclosed the highly complex inner structure of the atom, the elements of which—particles, always in motion and undergoing change and transmutation—are in conflict with the surrounding fields and with one another. Modern chemistry and biology also afford convincing proof of the dialectics of nature. The changes in the properties of substances, caused by the number of atoms or groups of atoms and their location in the molecule, are a manifestation of the

universal law of dialectics, the law of quantitative changes leading to qualitative changes. The living organism is a highly complex whole which is contradictory in its unity. Constantly taking place in it are the struggle of opposites, decay and self-renewal, qualitative transmutations, interpenetration of the various parts and processes which exist as such only when they are in contact with others, only in a dynamically-organized whole.

As a matter of fact Lefebvre rejects not only the dialectics of nature; like many bourgeois philosophers he emasculates the dialectical method also as a means of cognition. He understands the dialectical method only in the sense of relativism and scepticism, and describes dialectics as a purely negative concept with the permanent aim of casting doubt on all things. Dialectics, as he understands it, is but the denial of any "lasting form." "The moment this form appears on the horizon," he writes, "dialectical thought tries to shake it. It prefers the doubts to certainty . . ." (p. 38).

Lenin demonstrated that although dialectics includes an element of relativism and scepticism, it is by no means reduced to these. But, as interpreted by Lefebvre, it becomes a kind of absolute scepticism. Marxism regards dialectics as the science of the common laws of nature, society and thought. Lefebvre for his part regards it as a collection of devices; to the living and effective materialist dialectics he counterposes his sterile nihilistic concept. Clearly this indirect denial of dialectics is every bit as untenable and harmful as denying materialism outright.

We are, then entitled to conclude that, by disavowing materialism and dialectics, Lefebvre has disavowed Marxism in philosophy and has swung over to bourgeois ideology. But what a price he has paid! In the attempt to "rise" above materialism and idealism, he has foundered in the morass of idealist philosophy.

Lefebvre, Peddler of Anti-Communism

The things that characterize Lefebvre's philosophical views can be seen also in his socio-political attitude. Having disavowed the basic theoretical precepts of Marxism, he tries to replace them with banal ideas borrowed from the bourgeois sociologists; these are thinly camouflaged in pseudo-Marxist phraseology, either wrongly understood or deliberately misinterpreted.

Lefebvre's socio-political views testify to the absence of political realism, to his misunderstanding of the dialectics of social development. For him a gross contradiction of what he designates as "official Marxism" is that while "theoretically proclaiming" the withering away of the state and statehood, politics, etc., Marxism actually keeps the state and politics "intact," and strengthens the state in

*Cf. E. Kolman's "Modern Natural Science Confirms Lenin's Prevision" in No. 4 of our Journal.

the socialist countries. "What has happened?" he queries. "How is it that proclaiming the end of the state and politics has become an apology for the state and politics? Surely an explanation is necessary here!" (p. 72).

This way of posing the question which, as we know, is typical of many modern revisionists, testifies to elementary political illiteracy. This metaphysically presupposes that the issue is either the consolidation of the state in the socialist countries or its withering away. The dialectics of the question is absolutely misunderstood, namely, that the withering away of the socialist state is preceded inevitably by its historically-justified consolidation at a definite stage of its development.

It would, of course, be wrong to believe that the withering away of the state is wholly postponed to the distant future. As Khrushchov put it, we are advancing towards the withering away of the state. Even now some of the functions performed by the state are becoming superfluous in the socialist states as, for example, the function of suppressing internal class enemies; other functions, including that of keeping public order, are gradually being performed by the people. Can Lefebvre mention a single capitalist country which would risk abolishing the Ministry of the Interior and transferring its functions to the local authorities and public organizations as was recently done by the Soviet government?

Lefebvre's attitude to the state and his stand on a number of other questions reveal pronounced anarchistic traits. This he admits: "I came to Marxism because of revolutionary romanticism which presupposes a complete and radical denial of everything existing." But he complains that he had to accept what romanticism rejected, namely: the state, state interests, Machiavellism, etc."

Everything "established" and "fixed" comes under his fire, particularly the forms of the state, public and political life in the socialist countries. Regarding the state in the capitalist and the socialist countries as being identical, Lefebvre writes: "I am resolutely against all authority. . . . I simply cannot stand people vested with authority. . . ; when I hear them speak about the state, when it is lauded, I grind my teeth" (p. 676). It is hardly necessary to say that for all its outward radicalism this anarchism, spearheaded against socialism, is, objectively, an ally of bourgeois statehood. In the present international situation, although it is far from being what it was when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, the complete withering away of the state is out of the question. To demand it is either political naivete or treachery, for the reactionaries, of course, would hasten to take advantage of any weakening of the socialist state as was the case in Hungary.

All political activity is anathema to Lefebvre. Making no secret of his disgust for politics which, we are told, is a "dubious" place for a philosopher, he proclaims: "I don't like politics. . . . When I joined the Party I wanted to take part in revolutionary activity which would signify the end of politics" (p. 159). *This verbal condemnation of politics, however, has not prevented him from becoming in fact an instrument of the most abject policy, that of bellicose anti-communism.* The Communists are rebuked for not giving up politics. They, he says, counterpose force to force, authority to authority, state to state, politics to politics.

But surely it is pertinent to ask, what should they do? Are they to abandon these things when they are confronted by the hostile imperialist forces? It is perfectly clear that such a policy would postpone the realization of communist ideas to the Greek calends, and especially the withering away of the state and politics. Moreover (and this is the main thing), Lefebvre, blinded by his anti-communism, fails to see that the force, authority, state and politics which the working class, fighting for social justice, counterpose to the reactionary bourgeoisie, have a new content, different altogether from that of the establishments and institutions of capitalist society. The eight per cent growth of the national income in the Soviet Union, the training of 860,000 young specialists with higher and secondary technical education, the government-financed construction of more than 80 million sq. m. of dwelling space—and all this in 1959 alone; the transition to a seven- and six-hour working day for all factory and office workers during the current year; Khrushchov's visits to the United States and France to end the cold war, and the unilateral reduction of the Soviet armed forces by 1,200,000, i.e., by one-third; the construction of a big iron and steel works in India and the building of the Aswan dam in Egypt—such, in short, is the policy of the Soviet socialist state.

The socialist countries are pursuing a fundamentally new policy: for the first time in history the people themselves are determining and carrying out the political line, for the first time they have become the subject and not the object of politics. The policy pursued by the socialist countries is the sole way to a social system in which the people will be able to do without politics. Such are the dialectics of history which Lefebvre, lacking the desire, has not been able to grasp.

Nor has he grasped the meaning of other important questions of the policy pursued by the Marxist-Leninist parties. Take, for example, the national question to which he devotes so much space. All the talk about the nation and about national grandeur is, in his view, bourgeois nationalism and, consequently, has nothing to do with proletarian

internationalism; he levels this charge against the French Communist Party. But here, too, his approach is metaphysical, the guiding principle being: either—or. Either stressing the national motive, which signifies for him bourgeois nationalism, or rejecting it, which, in his view, is proletarian internationalism. The Communist parties approach this question in a realistic way, relying on the objective dialectics of social development. Their premise presupposes that the national differences between people will be obliterated only in the distant future; at the moment the nation is a reality, and it cannot be ignored. But national and international aspects do not preclude each other. It is in their dialectical unity that the Communists find the correct solution to the national question. All-around development of the nations is possible only on the basis of genuine internationalism. Internationalism, in its turn, presupposes full and free development of initiative and talent. Unlike Lefebvre, the Marxists regard the national question not as an arena for exercises in sophistry. For them the correct solution of this question is the theoretical substantiation of their strategy and tactics. Since the working class cannot win emancipation without simultaneously emancipating all working people, the Communists, being the Party of the working class, act on behalf of the nation as a whole, on behalf of its traditions and its true grandeur.

Lefebvre, understandably, has a particular dislike for the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party, and revises it in the usual social democratic spirit. Rejecting all discipline, he argues that the Party should be a "free association" of people desirous of seeing the advent of a new society. There is nothing new in this definition. The Russian Mensheviks, right-wing Labor in Britain and the right Socialists generally have, with slight variations, advocated an amorphous "non-class" concept of the Party. Experience has shown that sooner or later this concept leads to a petty-bourgeois degeneration of the party which adheres to it.

The degeneration of the Communist Party into a shapeless "free association" is the life dream of all who would like to see it become a mere appendage to the bourgeois parliamentary system. But the Communist Party is the political organization of the working class. Its aim is not vote-chasing and ministerial portfolios, but the revolutionary reconstruction of society along socialist lines and the building of communism. Being guided by the theory of scientific communism, the working-class party cannot tolerate in its ranks reformist, opportunist and revisionist views calling for reconciliation with capitalism. It is not the purpose of the Communist Party to improve capitalism, but to convince the working people that, historically, it must of necessity be replaced by socialism.

In the ideological and political controversy between the Communists and right Socialists Lefebvre wholly sides with the latter. "Communism, because of the grave mistakes made by the Communists," he writes, "has separated itself from socialism and democracy and counterposed itself to them" (p. 687). As to who has set himself in opposition to socialism and democracy this can best be seen from the events of the recent decades. The Soviet people led by their Communist Party, having completed the building of socialist society, are now engaged in all-out construction of communism. Marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in building the new world are the fraternal socialist countries. On the other hand, we could mention more than one country where the right-wing Socialists have been at the helm of power for years. But in not a single one of them has any serious attempt been made to shatter the pillars of capitalism; in none has capitalism been replaced by socialism, or bourgeois democracy by socialist democracy. On the contrary, the interests of the working class and all working people have been sacrificed by the right Socialists to monopoly capital.

It is hardly necessary to enumerate all the concepts of historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism which Lefebvre has publicly renounced. The examples mentioned above suffice to show that his views are far from being original. He merely repeats what has been said in a hundred and one variations by bourgeois and Social Democratic theorists and anarchists. Apostasy imposes many obligations and above all the obligation to replay the outworn record of reactionary ideology.

"The Sole Marxist"

Concerning the present theoretical program of Lefebvre, it poses for himself and for all those in any way acquainted with it the legitimate question: what has all this to do with Marxism? Lefebvre's answer is unequivocal. If the basic components of Marxism are materialist philosophy, the teaching on proletarian dictatorship and the leading role of the Party, if Marxist philosophy is indissolubly linked with politics, and if, lastly, Marxism represents a class and Party standpoint—then, he says, his "program" has nothing to do with Marxism.

This, it should be said, is an exceedingly sober assessment of his own views. For there is not a single grain of Marxism in them. In substance his theoretical concepts do not rise above the usual level of bourgeois ideology. And in point of fact there is nothing he can do but recognize this. "It is said," he writes, "that there is a 'Marxist viewpoint' . . . together with other 'viewpoints.' But there is no such thing as a 'Marxist viewpoint'" (p. 529).

And yet Lefebvre calls himself a "Marxist." What a strange "Marxism" it must be— without a "Marxist viewpoint" and lacking the basic elements of Marxism! But Lefebvre does not limit himself to palming off his own particular crotchets for creative Marxism. Without undue modesty he claims that his concepts "do for our times what *Capital* did for the nineteenth century" (p. 720). Some claim! What effrontery to equate an eclectic babble that repeats the banal generalities of bourgeois ideology and propaganda with Marx's strictly scientific socio-economic analysis, an analysis that revolutionized human thought! Only a megalomaniac could make claims of such magnitude. In addition to claiming to be a Marxist, he believes that he is the only Marxist in the world. He lightly dismisses the theoretical works of Engels and Lenin, looks with contempt on the contemporary Marxist scholars, and denies them the right even to call themselves Marxists. Even the theoretical legacy bequeathed by Marx is questioned, and we are often told about his "utopianism" and his "philosophical incompetence."

Having "debunked" all Marxists — past and present — only one, Henri Lefebvre, remains, magnificent in his splendid isolation. And this "sole Marxist" of ours has an exceedingly high opinion of himself, an opinion which he eagerly shares with his readers. He defines his present role, for instance, as that of an arbiter in philosophy, as an impartial judge between two forces, or, as he puts it, "between death and the devil" — capitalism being death, while the socialist camp and the Communist parties are the devil. The function of our "philosopher" is to keep aloof from these forces and from the political struggle; his job is to utter the oracular words, the "final" say on all that is taking place.

We shall have to disappoint the oracle. For, like the many philosophers and politicians before him who tried and failed, Lefebvre cannot hoist himself into the position of being above classes. Whether he likes it or not, he is taking part in a political struggle in which he has sided with "death." The best proof of this is the wholehearted enthusiasm with which his apostasy and especially his latest book have been hailed by the capitalist press ("a

highly original book by one of the most significant of the Marxist philosophers," etc.). As the saying goes, show me your company and I'll tell you what you are!

Lefebvre's switch over to the standpoint of bourgeois ideology is so obvious that, after the publication of his masterpiece, even his Yugoslav admirers hastened to do without the services of such a compromised ally. But even in this case the Belgrade revisionists have remained true to themselves: as was to be expected, the blame for Lefebvre's defection is laid at the doors of "Stalinism" (cf. *Nasa Stranvost*, No. 1, 1960). This somewhat strange way of "defending" Marxism looks like an attempt to whitewash Lefebvre. Evidently one good turn deserves another.

Lefebvre appears to be agitated by the question, what is implied by "being a Communist." If it implies being the "new man," "knowing the truth" and being free from the contradictions typical of people of the capitalist world, then, we are told, he has never been a real Communist. So far as I am concerned, he writes, I want to share all contradictions of my times "all the way to sinking to the lower depths" (p. 685). We have no hesitation in assuring Lefebvre that he will have no great difficulty in doing so. For he is the living embodiment of all the contradictions and defects so common to the bourgeois intellectual. And we are ready to agree with him when he confesses that he has never been a real Communist. Being a Communist does not mean being the ideal, perfect. But the men and women in the ranks of those who are building the new world are genuinely new people, and their nature will forever be an enigma to Lefebvre and those like him. The Communists have a clear aim and a single purpose — they are fighting for the happiness of the working people; and this is the cause they will never betray.

The decline and fall of Henri Lefebvre is highly instructive. It shows the end of the road of revisionism, demonstrates the inexorable logic of its development. From criticism of separate concepts of Marxism to renunciation of its fundamentals and thence into the swamp of bourgeois ideology — such is the road of revisionism.

Svetozar EFIROV.

The French People Fight for Democratic Education

ON FEBRUARY 13 the National Committee for Secular Action launched a nationwide campaign for signatures to its petition. Teachers, supported by all democrats, all who stand for separation of the Church from the State, are determined to fight together until the clerical educational law adopted on New Year's Eve has been annulled.

The separation of the Church from the State and of the school from the Church was an historical victory for French democrats. It took nearly a century (1789-1882) to secure the enactment of a law on free, compulsory, secular education for all children from six to thirteen years of age.

In 1945 the overwhelming majority in the Consultative Assembly voted for the Communist proposal that the financial aid from the Vichy government to clerical schools be withdrawn. A network of schools under the Ministry of Public Education and financed by the State was established. Despite the exceedingly small budgetary allocations these State schools prevailed. The younger generation was educated in the spirit of enlightenment by teachers among whom the traditions of French materialism, rationalism and democracy are strong.

The general offensive waged against democracy was accompanied by attacks on secular education. The first move was the adoption of the Marie-Barangé (1953) laws under which the Republic subsidized the so-called "free" (clerical) school. These laws entitled the Church to an annual subvention of five billion francs for educational purposes. Local government bodies made an additional grant of up to 2.3 billion francs. For the Catholic hierarchy, however, this arrangement was unsatisfactory — they wanted education to be in their hands.

The Church is assailing secular education in the guise of defending "free" education. The hierarchy, however, is least of all concerned about "freedom"; the bishops are obsessed with the desire to abolish democratic education and to entrust this important matter to clerical obscurantists. On January 4, 1951, the bishops declared: "For a Christian there is only one satisfactory school—the Christian school. The Church imposes on the Catholic parents the duty to entrust their children to this school;

this duty is the corollary of their faith." In this instance, the Church is guided by the encyclical of Pope Pius XI issued on December 31, 1929. According to this document "without Christian instruction there can be no complete and comprehensive education." Generally speaking, the Roman Catholic Church rejects outright the principle of secular education; through the Pontiff it claims that "the existence of a so-called neutral or secular school from which religion is excluded is contrary to the elementary principles of education." French cardinals did not hesitate to question even the law of the Third Republic. "The secular education laws," they declared in 1925, "are not laws; the only thing they have in common with laws is the name and even that has been usurped. These are corrupted laws."

True, this was said many years ago. Today the world has been thrilled by the achievements of Soviet science, which owes much to the Soviet system of education. Many opponents of communism are now revising their views on Soviet education, which is based on the principle of separation of the Church from the State and of the school from the Church.

The Catholic clergy have renewed their attacks on this principle as set forth in the 1958 Constitution. A Catholic author points out: "This is practically the only case of its kind, for only the French Republic and the USSR fail to recognize any right of God in the sphere of official life." The Catholic Church, however, does not restrict itself to mere declarations about "God's right" in public life. It claims not only the right to teach religion on a par with other subjects, but even denounces atheists as enemies of the nation. A textbook for clerical schools says: "Whether one likes it or not God occupies too great a place in world history and in the concerns of the people to be ignored. One must be either for or against. . . . There can be no neutral position between truth and untruth, between good and evil, between health and sickness, between order and disorder, between France and anti-France." This last phrase has been lifted from a wartime collaborationist paper when all patriots who fought against fascism were denounced as

being "anti-France." The Catholic Church, which readily gave its support to Pétain, now stigmatizes those who reject its tenets as being "anti-France."

Today, despite the frantic efforts and lavish expenditure of the Church, despite the increased State subsidies to clerical schools and the cuts in the allocations to secular schools, the former prevail only in four of the ninety Departments: Vendée, Morbihan, Maine-et-Laire, and Loire Atlantique. These are economically backward Departments, where there are still big feudal estates. And the landlords, naturally, willingly subsidize the clerical school because it educates the children in a spirit of obedience.

The "freedom" of education to which the Church aspires does not imply freedom for all. Like any other freedom in an antagonistic class society it is a privilege enjoyed by the wealthy, by the Church in the first place, and by its supporters among the extreme reactionary circles.

Under the law of last December 31 the clerical school is entitled to an annual government subsidy of 40 billion francs, plus allocations from the local authorities. In effect, this means that clerical education now enjoys the complete support of the State; the clerical schools will have equal rights with the secular schools and will cut into the allocations for the latter.

The clerical schools educate the children in a reactionary spirit, in the spirit of contempt for the traditions of the French enlighteners. Voltaire, for instance, is depicted as follows: "In the name of tolerance he attacks Catholicism." Clerical textbooks besmirch the democratic traditions of the French revolution: "It is obvious that the spirit of revolution is a dangerous spirit. It is against all authority." The revolution, according to the textbooks, "was one of the worst periods in French history." Mass action is derided and the republican system condemned because it "has no respect for either poets or scientists who stand aloof from politics." On the other hand, the Christian virtues of kings and princes, even those who were enemies of France, are extolled and cautious praise is sung to fascism. "Mussolini," they said, "gave his country charitable institutions." Hitler's Gestapo "was well organized." The French Croix de Feu (Fiery Cross) were "true national leagues." Franco replaced the republic which "was against Catholicism" by a system which "favored the Catholic faith."

The hierarchy play on the religious sentiments of the people. Cardinal Gerlier used to say: "Pétain is France and France is Pétain." And now, according to the Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes, "it is obvious that the Holy Ghost is with General de Gaulle," the man who had to fight against Pétain.

The new law, then, has given rise to the prob-

lems: defending the republic and combating home reaction and clerical obscurantism. Then there is the problem of the classes: the struggle of the working class and of all the progressives against big capital and fascism. The dignitaries of the Church make no secret of their aims; they are bent on consolidating the May 13 coup which helped establish one-man power by "a May 13" in the school. A point worth noting is that many of the deputies who endorsed this law were sympathetic towards the fascist putsch in Algiers. The law will inevitably split the nation, especially the youth, into two hostile camps. What is more, the clericals have not abandoned the hope of restoring the medieval division of society into estates. "The existence in human society of princes and subjects, of masters and proletarians, of rich and poor, of scholars and illiterates, of nobles and plebeians conforms to the divine order of things," wrote *Les Nouvelles de la Chretiente* in March 1957. "Justice is preserved if each gets what he deserves. This should not be confused with equality. If a landlord's son receives a different education from that of a farmer's son, this, of course, is inequality; but justice is preserved if the farmer's son gets the education he deserves; and the education he deserves is not one he is capable of assimilating but one that is necessary to enable him to get on in life in keeping with his standing."

The adoption of the law has caused no little discontent among the public. Committees for secular action, consisting of teachers and peasants, have started campaigning. Locally they are supported by the Communist Party and other democratic organizations. A meeting between the representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the National Committee for Secular Action agreed to draft a national petition demanding the annulment of the law. The campaign for signatures, launched on February 13, calls on all democrats to uphold the principle of separation of the Church from the State and the school from the Church, to stand by the republic and national unity. The eight million signatures collected in the first two months of the campaign testify to the popularity of the petition.

The growing movement in support of secular education explained the hasty resignation of the Minister of Education Boulloche, a Socialist. It took Premier Debré twenty-three days to find a successor. The new minister is already encountering difficulties: men whom he would like to have in his ministerial office have politely declined the honor: they have no desire to compromise themselves by having a hand in the present policy. The government is still in an unhappy position.

The Communist Party, in addition to campaigning against the law, has elaborated constructive proposals for a democratic system of education. It has

submitted an educational bill to the Bureau of the National Assembly, based largely on the proposals advanced by the National Committee for Secular Action.

The Communists say that each child, irrespective of sex, race, religion and of the views and economic status of its parents, should be entitled to an education which would ensure all-round development of its mental, artistic, moral and physical abilities, and also include civic and professional training.

The Communist bill envisages compulsory education for all children from six to eighteen years of age. Raising the school age has always been the demand of the working class and democratic movements. Progress was made in this respect by the People's Front as early as 1937. The demand was also contained in the "Draft Policy for Education" drawn up during the war by the Communist Party for the National Council of the Resistance Movement; it was advanced also in the education reform bill elaborated in 1947 by the Langevin-Wallon commission. But the Communist proposals were rejected by the reactionary majority in Parliament.

The present bill sets forth measures which would guarantee an education to those who cannot afford to pay for it. The point contained in the Constitution of 1946—to ensure equal access for adults and children to education, professional training and culture—is still a dead letter. These are now the basic demands of the Communist Party; the bill envisages free instruction and free textbooks in the public schools. Moreover, the Communists insist on grants for pupils who wish to continue their studies, but who lack the means.

Public education, says the bill, is the duty of the State (family education is to be permitted only in exceptional cases). The State education advocated by the Communists is not the same as State-controlled education. The bill says that in every administrative area education should be the concern of special councils in which pupils' parents (or students), teachers, and Ministry of Education officials exercising overall supervision would be represented on a parity basis. The object of these councils is to wrest the education system from the grip of the capitalist administrative bureaucracy.

The democratic management of the educational

establishments, the Communist bill says, would permit greater sincerity in teaching political and public morals, as well as in civic training; it would ensure a deeper scientific and rational approach to the teaching of various subjects. In this way the young people would be educated in the spirit of peaceful co-operation between the nations. Public education should be secular, due respect would be displayed for all philosophical teachings, religious and political views, and complete neutrality towards them would be observed.

The teachers, according to the bill, should be paid by the State. But should any local body wish to open a school, provided the principle of tripartite management is observed, it would have to meet the expenditure, though it might get a subsidy from the State. Normally, the expenditure on the upkeep of the schools should be shared equally by the Government and the local authorities. The bill also provides for employers to contribute to funds for professional training. Private schools would not be entitled to subsidies from the government or the local authorities.

The Communist education bill is a constructive proposal aimed at safeguarding the spiritual interests of the nation, at combating obscurantism and clerical reaction. It is not fortuitous that in capitalist France this proposal has emanated from the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. A point worth noting is that when the Socialist Party submitted a bill calling for nationalization of the private school buildings "where such a measure is necessary," Guy Mollet hastened to disavow it: "We are opposed to nationalizing education."

Secular education is an issue which is winning popular support. Communists, Socialists and republicans of varying views, Catholics and all free-thinking people are well aware that secular education along democratic lines is the concern of all; that is why they are active. Combined struggle for a common aim helps to restore contact and ensure rapprochement between the democrats, and these, in turn, further the fight for democracy, against reaction.

The united efforts of the democratic forces of France will safeguard the country's future.

R. MATEO

German Imperialism and War

*The Berlin Conferences of Soviet and German Historians**

FOR forward-looking historians German imperialism and the sinister role it played in preparing and unleashing World War II is an important subject of study. The subject is of interest also to the public in the countries which suffered from the German imperialist aggression. Peace-loving people, observing with alarm the dangerous intrigues of the West German revanchists, want to know the historical truth about the events which, twenty years ago, plunged the world into the most devastating of all wars, want to know the circumstances which led to this tragedy and the reasons for the inevitable defeat of those who caused it.

It is not surprising therefore that the Berlin conference (December 1959), which examined the role played by German imperialism in preparing and launching World War II, became an outstanding event not only in the scientific work, but generally in the public life of the German Democratic Republic. The spacious hall of the People's Chamber was crowded. The delegates and visitors (500 German and nineteen Soviet historians and nearly eighty from other countries) had the feeling that the subject was not only of academic interest. And it could not be otherwise, for many of them had taken an active part in the anti-fascist struggle. Some had fought in the International Brigade in Spain; others had worked in the underground during the Hitler period, participated in the Resistance and guerilla movements, had fought in the Soviet army or armies of the allied powers. This, naturally, found reflection in the contributions made by the speakers.

The conference got through a considerable amount of work. There were eight main reports, 126 supplementary reports, while fifty-eight persons took part in the discussion; moreover, fifty-four supplementary reports, which could not be delivered owing to pressure of time, were filed in the record of the proceedings; all the delegates were unanimous on the basic issues. This, of course, does not mean that views did not conflict. Conflicts there were, and there were lively debates. Most of the delegates were united by the common world outlook—Marxism-Leninism. They took a resolute

stand on revisionism and the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie.

Another point should be noted. The Leipzig meeting of the Commission, which also discussed problems associated with World War II, had at its disposal relatively few materials needed to supply the answer to many controversial issues connected with the character of the war, its various phases, the reasons for the defeat of German imperialism, the role played in this by the Resistance Movement, etc. Whereas the Leipzig meeting dealt chiefly with laying bare the reactionary essence of the main trends in bourgeois historiography of World War II, the Berlin meeting was able to make a thorough investigation of a series of problems on the basis of abundant factual material supplied by the archives.

This was especially true of the reports made by younger German historians, who were well represented at the conference. They did much to collect and study the archive sources. However, not all younger historians have as yet renounced the practice of drawing too general and superficial conclusions in their research. But shortcomings of this kind were few and, what is most important, they were subjected to criticism. The meeting proved to be a good school of Marxist-Leninist methodology for the younger research workers.

The reports and speeches, which were based on a thorough and painstaking study of the problems, constituted a formidable weapon in combating the bourgeois falsifiers of the history of World War II and the advocates of German imperialism. The speakers did not hesitate to discuss issues on which opinions differed sharply, including those so dear to the hearts of the reactionary historians.

The main reports were made by German and Soviet scientists on a parity basis. Their subjects were linked with the problems dealt with by the corresponding sections in which most of the reports were delivered.

An important point discussed by the meeting was the reason for the defeat of German imperialism. Most bourgeois historians regard the defeat of fascist Germany as being fortuitous; they try to explain it by Hitler strategic blunders, by the wrong policy of the Nazi diplomats, the mistakes of the leaders, and even the climatic conditions in the Soviet Union. In their contributions L. Stern (GDR) and N. Pavlenko (Soviet Union) showed the reasons for the victory of the freedom-loving nations. Basing himself on a study of documents and

*With a view to establishing closer contact between the historians of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union a joint commission was formed early in 1957 on the initiative of Walter Ulbricht. Its first meeting, held in Leipzig in November 1957, had two items on the agenda: "The Great October Socialist Revolution and Its Impact on Germany" and "The Main Trends in the Reactionary Historiography of World War II". The papers read at the meeting were published in two volumes. The second meeting (Moscow, November 1958) was devoted to the Fortieth anniversary of the November (1918) Revolution in Germany.

statistics, including the documents put out by Hitler's headquarters, Pavlenko showed how the main forces of the German army were concentrated on the Eastern front and how the Nazi war machine collapsed under the blows of the Soviet troops. The point that the superiority of the new, socialist system was the basic condition for the victory of the Soviet people was thoroughly substantiated.

The same idea was the keynote of Stern's report, but it was developed on a somewhat different plane; the author demonstrated the inevitability of the defeat of German imperialism as the ultra-reactionary force of a moribund social system. This nature of German imperialism explained the extreme aggressiveness and recklessness of its policy. One cannot but agree with Stern's conclusion that the present-day policy of the Federal Republic is also reckless and that any aggression on its part is bound to fail.

The ideology of present-day German imperialism is, as in the past, the ideology of aggression and war. Professor Yeruslimsky, Soviet historian, cited many facts to prove this thesis. The forms of this ideology have, of course, varied depending on the circumstances during the past decades, but its aggressive essence has remained constant. And though the imperialist ideologists of West Germany try to deny any association with the Nazi ideology and even denounce it, posing as champions of the "Christian spirit of Western civilization" and as "enemies of totalitarianism" they, in fact, propagate the same ideas of revanchism and racism; the only difference is that they deck them out in other feathers, but in their anti-communism they differ little from the Nazis. The entire evolution of the ideology of German imperialism testifies to the inability of the German bourgeoisie to create anything new apart from various combinations of the old aggressive ideas. The meeting hailed the concluding words of Professor Yeruslimsky which express confidence in the growing ideological influence of the Democratic Republic—the embodiment of the future of the German people.

The future prospects of the Democratic Republic were referred to in the reports made by D. Melnikov (Soviet Union) and S. Doernberg (GDR). The first of these dwelt on the significance of the victory won by the freedom-loving peoples, a victory which ultimately led to a radical change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, thus making for a situation in which it will be possible to banish war for all time from the life of society; the second dwelt on the perspectives of peace that opened up for Europe and, first and foremost, for the German nation, arising out of the existence and development of the GDR along socialist lines, and its political, economic and cultural advance.

Reviewing the developments of the recent past the speakers linked their conclusions and generali-

zations with the present tasks of the fight for peace, of exposing the aggressive designs of West German imperialism. The events of the more distant past—those associated with the preparations for the Second World War—were also discussed from this angle. One of the sections discussed the origin of the war and its character, which was the subject of the paper read by E. Boltin. The speakers who followed him ranged over a variety of subjects. The German historians Radant, Guenther, Schumann, Ludloff, Handtke and others spoke about the role played by the monopolies (the Deutsche Bank, the cement concerns, the Zeiss company, etc.) in building the military potential of Hitler Germany and in preparing the war. Citing archive materials, they pointed to the direct link between the Hitler state machine and the monopolies, to their responsibility for preparing the war and the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. These materials have a topical ring; they help to expose those reactionary historians and economists in West Germany now busily whitewashing the heads of the German trusts and portraying them as "ideological opponents" and even "victims" of Hitlerism.

Equally important in debunking the myths cultivated by the reactionary historians was the exposure of the role played by Nazi diplomacy in preparing the war. The meeting would hardly have been able to round off the picture of pre-war diplomatic relations had not the speakers from the different countries supplemented one another.

This international co-operation was a general feature of the meeting. A. Teichova, a Czech historian, adduced new data on the secret negotiations that took place before the war between Nazi Germany and Britain. A. Rothstein (Britain) dwelt on the tie-up between the Nazis and some British monopoly circles. The valor displayed by the British workers during the war years, Rothstein said, testified, among other things, to the long and favorable influence exerted by the Communist Party, and to the failure of the anti-Soviet campaign conducted over the years by the bourgeois press.

Two Spanish historians—Galan, a civil war veteran, and Eloina Rapp-Lanteron, a young research worker—spoke on the role played by the Spanish people in combating international fascism. Galan dwelt on the political, strategic and economic reasons for Hitler's intervention in Spain, and noted that West German imperialism was again seeking to obtain a foothold in that country. Colonel-General I. Kinov, Bulgarian military historian, spoke about the participation of the Bulgarian armed forces in the final phase of the war. Hungarian, Rumanian and Italian historians also contributed to the discussion.

The active participation of people from other countries was explained, among other things, by the fact that, as recent developments show, fascism

is being revived in West Germany. The meeting was a powerful reminder of the crimes perpetrated by German fascism, crimes that were described by the Polish historians Popiolek and Kaminski, the German historian Koeller, and many others. L. Smirnov, Deputy President of the Supreme Court of the USSR, who was one of the prosecutors at the Nueremberg trial of the major war criminals, uttered a serious warning to the neo-fascists and their patrons. He showed the importance of the materials of the trial in exposing German imperialism, and gave a pointed rebuff to the attempts by some people in West Germany and some other countries who claimed that the trial was unlawful.

It will be seen, then, that the meeting was something more than a session of the Commission of historians of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. The participation of representatives from another eighteen countries made it a profoundly international event. And this is very important. The people of West Germany are daily and hourly subjected to the propaganda of the reactionary and aggressive forces; neo-fascism in its various aspects is again raising its head, while political clericalism has become the exponent of the ideology of German imperialism. Consequently the help given by the historians from other countries to the progressive historians in Germany in their struggle against the ideological offensive waged by the reborn imperialism was of extreme importance. Speaking at a reception given by the GDR government for the historians Walter Ulbricht said: "... Your meeting is of great significance for peace and for resolving the national question of the German people. Uncovering the roots of the two world wars, bringing to light the secrets of the origin of war, and explaining the reasons for the defeat suffered by German imperialism in the two wars, you are helping the German people in their struggle against German imperialism."

From beginning to end the meeting was permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, a spirit particularly manifest during the discussion on the anti-fascist Resistance Movement, which was a special subject. It would be no exaggeration to say that this aspect was the best contribution to the study of the history of the Second World War. In his paper Ludwig Einicke, ex-Resistance fighter and now director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Berlin, made the first attempt in Marxist historiography to give an overall picture of the resistance struggle in all countries throughout the various stages, beginning from the preparations for the war and ending with the defeat of Hitler Germany. And while the speaker, because of the immensity of the subject, was unable to deal in detail with the specific forms of the resistance to fascism, other delegates supplemented his paper

with new data and conclusions based on a study of local materials.

The historians who spoke on the subject included both Resistance fighters and younger men whose studies were based on archive materials. A comprehensive analysis of the Resistance Movement is particularly important for the German people, for cultivating internationalism and hatred for German imperialism. International proletarian solidarity found striking expression in the reports describing how the Soviet POW's, who continued the struggle in the Hitler concentration camps, co-operated with the German anti-fascists, the comradeship of the Polish and Soviet partisans, and the part played by German anti-fascists in the French Resistance Movement.

The subject included research into all the forms of the anti-fascist struggle—from the activities of the underground group in Germany to the guerilla movements in the occupied territories. Polish historians, for example, interpreted in a new light the role played by the working class in defending Warsaw in 1939. Ex-partisans L. Kizya and I. Kravchenko spoke about the partisan warfare in the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Delegates pointed out that reactionary historians in West Germany were doing everything in their power to misrepresent the anti-fascist struggle in Germany, reducing it almost entirely to the anti-Hitler opposition of the bourgeoisie and the generals—"men of July 20"—while the struggle waged by the best sons of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party is either ignored or distorted. The meeting showed that historians in the GDR and in other countries had accumulated such a wealth of factual material that it was now possible to turn from elucidating isolated problems of the Resistance Movement and the history of individual groups, to the writing of a comprehensive work. Thought should be given to reproducing the history of this movement in all countries, and the book should define once and for all the role it played in smashing German fascism. Such a work, naturally, calls for joint efforts by the Marxist historians in many countries. Simultaneously this would help to overcome the weaknesses of some of the contributions—for example, underestimation of the role played by the non-proletarian sections of the population.

The conference was held literally a few steps away from the Western sectors of Berlin. Yet the West German press pretended "not to notice" it. Only a few days later *Die Welt* gave it a brief mention but did not try to analyze the questions discussed, reducing it all to a few trite anti-Sovietisms. The reactionaries, presumably, had difficulty in concocting suitable arguments against the conclusions drawn by the conference. This makes

it even more imperative to popularize the reports and papers and to publish its proceedings in their entirety. When this is done it will be easier to write a Marxist history of the Second World War,

and such a book will be of great help to the progressive forces in Germany in their struggle against German imperialism.

T. BORG

Against the Persecution of Democrats

GREECE

(Letter from the Aegina Prison)

Dear Editor:

ON October 23, 1959, the government of our country amnestied 743 Hitler war criminals guilty of countless crimes against the civil population.

On November 5 the government released Max Merten, a man who, during the occupation, sent 50,000 Greeks to the death-camp furnaces; before sending them to death Merten robbed them of all their belongings. Merten, arrested two and a half years ago, was sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment. Merten was the only Hitler headman who landed in a Greek prison. His 743 associates, partners in the Hitler crimes committed in our country, received no punishment whatsoever; they did not spend a single day in prison.

The government can pardon these criminals while we who, the moment Greece was attacked by fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, went to the front to fight for our country, have languished in jail for the past fifteen years. And when the gloom of fascist slavery descended upon Europe and our country, we were in the front ranks of the Resistance Movement. In the mountains and in the valleys, in the towns and in the villages, we fought with arms in hand, destroying the enemy tanks and attacking the fascist hordes. We fought against the death, hunger and slavery which accompanied the fascist plague. We frustrated the mobilization of our men and women for slave labor in the Nazi munitions plants, and together with our people we were the first to defend the freedom of the country. The Greek patriots made their contribution to the allied victory in the anti-fascist war.

While our people and the people of the world are proud of our national Resistance Movement, our rulers regard it as a curse. The war had barely ended when, as a result of foreign intervention, the Resistance fighters became victims of persecution and wholesale reprisals; people were tried without witnesses and without defense counsel. Thousands of death sentences were passed on patriots charged with the "murder" of traitors and collaborators. The prisons were filled to overflowing with Resistance fighters.

Then began the civil war which was also the consequence of the foreign intervention. On the basis of emergency laws, more death sentences were imposed on fighters for freedom and democracy. The prisons could no longer accommodate the masses of prisoners. Room was made for newcomers by executing the inmates.

Fifteen years have passed since the great victory over fascism and the day of our imprisonment; ten years have passed since the end of the civil war. Our people are trying to consign the past to oblivion, to forget the civil war and to concentrate on economic construction. This they have voiced repeatedly during election campaigns; this is the demand of all the opposition parties. This has been promised also by the ruling party. But the government, while it releases the Hitler butchers, regards us, patriots, as being dangerous criminals.

The authorities want us to renounce our political convictions; then, they say, we will automatically cease to be criminals (!) and we will be released. What, then, are our crimes? Crimes there are none. For the past fifteen years they have held us in prison as political hostages, merely because we are their political opponents.

Of the 450 political prisoners in the Aegina prison 183 fought against the Italian invader in 1940-41, and all 450 took part in the Resistance Movement. Fifty were wounded and became invalids; 67 lost their families; 54 were in Nazi prisons and concentration camps for their anti-fascist activity.

We, fighters for freedom, democracy and peace, like all the 2,500 political prisoners and 500 political exiles, have been deprived of freedom for fifteen years without trial.

We ask every ordinary man and statesman, every anti-fascist, every man who loves his country and respects its patriots—fighters for freedom—to come to our aid. We ask all of you to take action to secure the release of the Greek political prisoners, for a general amnesty, and for the restoration of democracy in the country where it had its birth.

Believing that you will publish our letter in your journal, we warmly thank you.

Yours sincerely,

On behalf of the 450 political prisoners in the Aegina prison:

Lules KONSTANTINOS, Lawyer
Pastros GEORGIS, Teacher
Scortsatos IOANNIS, Student
Sorokelis PERCILIS, Factory Worker
Tasos DIMITRIS, Clerical Worker
Pulis PANAJOTIS, Peasant.

Aegina prison, December 20, 1959.

* * *

No one can read this document telling about the inhuman sufferings of the finest sons and daughters of the freedom-loving Greek people without being deeply moved. It reminds us once again of the fate of the Greek democrats languishing in jails.

People all over the world cannot have an easy conscience as long as these outrages take place on our planet. The reactionaries have turned Greece into a country of fear and terror. Thousands of patriots who fought against fascism during the Second World War are held in jails and concentration camps, and among them are invalids, aged men and mothers. Thousands more live like exiles at their place of residence. Their freedom and even their lives are at the mercy of the police. Although the Constitution guarantees freedom of action for all parties, freedom of assembly and association, the Communist Party has been illegal for the past thirteen years, while the EDA, the first Parliamentary opposition party, is subjected to constant persecution.

Turning a deaf ear to public protests, the reactionary authorities continue to keep in prison Manolis Glezos, hero of the Greek people. The appeal lodged by Glezos' counsel for a review of the sentence has been rejected. In an attempt to justify this decision the police staged a number of new trials during April and May. Patriots are charged with "espionage" on the basis of the reactionary Law 375 enacted during the Metaxas fascist dictatorship. Under this law the most severe sentences can be passed without supplying any proof, merely on denunciation by provocateurs.

In violation of the universally accepted (including Greek) legal standards, the democrats who will be tried for alleged offenses against the state have been held for six years without trial. The fact that Rakindzis, director of the Athens police, is chief witness for the prosecution, shows that this "espionage case" is only another secret police frame-up.

According to press reports, the "espionage" trials are designed not only to crush the democratic movement in the country but also to foment hatred for the socialist countries. The indictment contains the most fantastic nonsense about a "Communist Party espionage network."

Progressive public opinion all over the world is profoundly shocked by the continued reprisals in Greece and by the maltreatment of the imprisoned democrats. And the voice of public opinion will resound with renewed force in protest against the arbitrary action of the Greek authorities.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE bloodshed in South Africa has shaken the world. The police fusillade against a peaceful demonstration has aroused indignation everywhere.

What was the "guilt" of those who fell in Sharpeville and other towns? It was simply that they could not tolerate any longer the position of slavery in which the colonialists have placed the native population.

The apartheid policy prosecuted by the government of the National Party, which represents the reactionary imperialist elements, tramples under foot the elementary rights of the nine million natives.

A 96-page pass book tells what the African cannot do. He must carry this book—if he does not, he is liable to be arrested, fined or imprisoned. Without permission an African cannot travel with his wife to another town or village, or give a night's lodging to a relative, etc.

Brutal colonial exploitation is the order of the day. The country's natural riches are squandered by foreign monopolies. In industry Africans perform

only the arduous, low-paid work, for the "color bar" law forbids them to do skilled work.

As for the rural population, the following point of the apartheid laws testifies to their position: no African can own land. Slave labor is imposed in the guise of contracts. Breach of contracts entails arrest, fines, imprisonment or exile to the special reservations for the "transgressors" of law, "suspects" or simply progressive Africans.

The natives are virtually barred from taking part in political life. Only 0.5 per cent of the Africans have the right to vote. The natives must be taught that equality is not for them—said Verwoerd, the prime minister.

But neither the reprisals nor the intimidations can stay the movement for emancipation. Progressive mankind is solidly behind the fighters for freedom. Indignant protests against the bloody crimes of the police have been lodged with the government of the Union of South Africa by some of the big international organizations—the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Peace

Council; many governments have officially condemned the racial acts of violence; demonstrations and protest meetings against the shootings of unarmed people have been held in many countries. A special resolution adopted by the UN Security Council recognizes that the developments in the Union of South Africa could be a danger to peace and security throughout the world. The resolution urged the government of that country to abandon its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. The South African authorities, however, are ignor-

ing the protests and warnings of the world public. They are continuing their reprisals against the African population, against progressive organizations and individuals.

The people of South Africa, defending their freedom and human dignity, are paying dearly. But the day will come when they will shake off the yoke of their torturers and become the masters of their country.

A. M.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICIAL circles in the United States deny that there are any political prisoners in the country. "American democracy" is extolled on the radio, television and in the press. But things are not what they are painted.

Henry Winston, Gilbert Green and Bob Thompson, Communist Party leaders, are still in prison. Nor has the charge against William Foster, Chairman Emeritus of the Communist Party, been remitted. Foster's right to travel is restricted—he is still denied permission to go abroad for medical treatment. The authorities have refused to parole Green, Winston and Thompson although they have qualified for this right by serving more than half of their time. Twice they have been denied paroles by the authorities, who during the same period granted parole to 75 per cent of the embezzlers, 37 per cent of the kidnappers and 31 per cent of the narcotics violators.

Winston, Green and Thompson were convicted under the infamous Smith Act which, at the time of the cold war and McCarthyism, became a major weapon in the hands of the reactionaries in their attempts to smash the Communist Party. Hundreds of American and other public figures have appealed to the government for the release of the Communist leaders. In December 1957 when President Eisenhower was on a visit to France, he was presented with a petition signed by outstanding intel-

lectuals, including Frederic Joliot-Curie, Pablo Picasso and Roger Vaillant.

The release of the Smith Act victims, in addition to being an act of justice in keeping with the human-rights law, is demanded by elementary humanism. Imprisonment has gravely affected the health of all three. A murderous attack on Thompson, a World War II veteran with an outstanding war record, in the Federal House of Detention in New York City, fractured his skull. Maltreatment and lack of medical aid brought on Winston's brain tumor. For a long time Winston was accused of "malingering," and only when he was partially paralyzed and almost blind was an operation performed. Although in a critical state, he has been denied parole for the third time. The world will watch the fate of Henry Winston—read the posters with which the members of the Committee for the Freedom of Henry Winston picketed the White House.

That people in the United States should be jailed for their political views, views which are beginning to be shared by growing numbers of Americans, is contrary to the U.S. Constitution, to the elementary standards of democracy. True democrats should fight for the release of all the Smith Act victims and other political prisoners.

M. STRANG

SUPPLEMENT

Expanding Economies

A Survey of Economic Development in 1959 in the Socialist Countries

THE socialist countries have published the results of the work on their 1959 economic plans. The statistics show that their economies have made good progress and that the standard of living has risen.*

The plans were overfulfilled in all countries. Compared with the results for previous years the 1959 figures indicate quite clearly that a rapid rate of development is an objective feature of socialist economy. The 1959 industrial output was up 19.7 per cent in Albania, 24.9 per cent in Bulgaria, 12 per cent in Hungary and the German Democratic Republic, nine per cent in Poland, 11.1 per cent in Rumania, 11 per cent in the Soviet Union, 10.9 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 39.3 per cent in the Chinese People's Republic, 7.3 per cent in the Mongolian People's Republic, 53 per cent in the Korean People's Democratic Republic and 58.7 per cent in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. For the socialist countries as a whole the growth of industrial production in 1959 was 16 per cent instead of the scheduled 12 per cent.

The statistics make nonsense of the claims of some bourgeois economists that a rapid growth of production is possible only in those socialist countries which were economically backward in the past. The data show that accelerated economic growth has taken place also in such industrialized countries as Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. In Czechoslovakia the average annual growth of output in recent years has been several times greater than in pre-war times. In the GDR the rate of industrial expansion shows a steady increase: output rose six per cent in 1956, eight per cent in 1957, 11 per cent in 1958, and 12 per cent in 1959.

What stands out against the background of this general industrial expansion is the swifter rate of development of heavy industry. This can be seen from the following figures covering the annual increase in output of means of production (group "A") and output of consumer goods (group "B"): for Hungary the respective figures are 16 and seven per cent; for the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam 60.5 and 56.6 per cent; for the Chinese People's Republic 43.3 and 34 per cent, for the Korean

People's Democratic Republic 60 and 44 per cent; for Poland 11 and six per cent, the Soviet Union 12 and 10.3 per cent, Czechoslovakia 13 and eight per cent.

In all socialist countries emphasis is laid on the key industries, such as power, coal and oil, iron and steel and building materials. Last year the following results were obtained in these industries:

Country	Power (000 mln. kwh)	Coal* (mln. tons)	Pig iron (mln. tons)	Steel (mln. tons)	Cement (mln. tons)
Bulgaria	3.9	15.3	0.1	0.2	1.4
Czechoslovakia	21.9	80.2	4.2	6.1	4.7
Hungary	7.1	25.3	1.1	1.8	1.4
GDR	37.2	217.1	1.9	3.2**	4.2
Poland	26.4	108.4	4.4	6.2	5.3
Rumania	6.8	8.0	0.8	1.4	2.8
USSR	264	506.5	43	59.9	38.8
China	41.5	347.8	20.5***	13.4***	12.3
KPDR	7.8	8.9	0.7	0.45	1.9

*Hard and brown coal.

**Steel ingots only.

***Minus the steel and iron smelted in local smelters.

The 1959 output of power in the socialist countries was 15 per cent more than in the previous year (two and a half times as much as in 1950), pig iron 17 per cent more, steel 11 per cent and cement 14 per cent more than in 1958.

The socialist countries are rapidly expanding their machine-building industry; the 1959 output in the USSR was up 15 per cent, in the German Democratic Republic 17.6, in Czechoslovakia 17, Poland roughly 18, Hungary 16 per cent, Bulgaria 49 per cent, while the Korean People's Democratic Republic doubled its output. All branches of industry received new and more productive equipment. In the Soviet Union alone over 2,000 new types of machine-tools, automated equipment and other machinery were designed and produced, of which some 400 types were put in serial production.

The socialist governments are devoting special attention to the chemical industry. In 1959 in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland this branch developed much more rapidly than industry as a whole. In accordance with the plans to launch a large-scale construction of new chemical plants and enlarge the existing plants the output of equipment for the chemical industry increased last year in the Soviet Union 55 per cent, and in Czechoslovakia and Rumania 25 per cent.

Consumer goods output, too, is on the increase. The 1959 growth (as compared with 1958) in the textile, footwear and other light industries is shown below:

*Because of the differing structure of the results for the particular countries the total figure for all the countries is, in some cases, not given. Where this occurs the survey cites the data for the countries in which they have been published.

Country	Cotton fabrics mln. meters per cent		Woollen cloth mln. meters per cent		Silks mln. meters per cent		Footwear mln. pairs per cent	
Albania	—	7.3	—	1.5	—	—	—	14*
Bulgaria	209	23	19	31	10	39	7.8*	22
Hungary	227	4	24.5	3	26	17	17.7	11
GDR	—	—	19.8	42	—	—	22.9	16
Poland	653.6	7	80.3	3	104.4	7	37.5	8
Rumania	218**	5	28.1**	2	22.4**	6	28.2*	17
Czecho- slovakia	424	5	45	7	60	7	39	14

*All footwear.

**Sq. meters.

Last year the Chinese textile mills turned out 7,500 million meters of cotton fabrics, exceeding the 1958 output by 32 per cent and reaching the target set for 1962. The Soviet mills produced about 5,700 million meters of cotton, woollen and silk fabrics—303 million more than in 1958; Soviet footwear output was 389 million pairs (leather)—33 million pairs more than in 1958.

Output of TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines and other durables was also growing rapidly. The socialist countries doubled the output of TV sets, produced 26 per cent more refrigerators and washing machines and 20 per cent more motorcycles and scooters.

The food industry also exceeded the 1958 output of butter, meat, sugar and fats.

Industrial output is directly dependent on the growth of labor productivity. Last year a further increase was registered as a result of better methods and conditions of work, improved skills and new technology. Compared with 1958 labor productivity in Bulgaria rose 5.9 per cent, five per cent in Hungary, 10 per cent in the GDR, 15.5 per cent in the Chinese People's Republic, seven per cent in Rumania, 7.4 per cent in the Soviet Union and Poland, and eight per cent in Czechoslovakia.

Socialist emulation, the mass movement for setting up socialist or communist work teams and the movement of inventors and rationalizers also contributed to the growth of labor productivity. In 1959 Soviet workers suggested 3.3 million technical improvements, Czechoslovak workers over 250,000 and Rumanian workers 30,000 improvements.

* * *

Last year saw a further development of the Soviet production relations in the countryside. In the socialist world as a whole more than nine-tenths of the total arable land is concentrated in the socialist sector—in producer co-operatives, collective and state farms. The number of the producer co-operators and the area under cultivation increased considerably in most of the People's Democracies. In 1959 the socialist sector in Czechoslovakia accounted for 84.4 per cent of the farm land, 55.8 per cent in Hungary, 45.1 per cent in the GDR (producer co-operatives only), and 73 per cent in Rumania. In Bulgaria the socialist sector turns out 97.3 per cent of the agricultural production. Following the example set by the peasants of People's China and the Korean People's Democratic Repub-

lic, nearly all the arats* in Mongolia have joined co-operatives. In the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam 45.4 per cent of the peasant households have also joined the producer co-operatives.

Agriculture was supplied with thousands of tractors, grain harvesters, seed drills, harrows and other machines. In the Soviet Union, for instance, it received an additional 234,000 tractors in 1959 (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 77,000 trucks, 52,000 grain harvesters, 127,000 tractor drills, 18,000 tractor-drawn potato diggers, and other machines. In Albania the number of tractors increased 32.6 per cent, while that of harvester combines 18.5 per cent. In Hungary agriculture received four times more tractors than in 1958, double the number of seed drills, eight times more harvesting machinery and seven times more silo combines.

Agricultural output in the People's Democracies rose despite unfavorable weather conditions in the second half of the year. Here are data for the overall and per hectare wheat yield in these countries.

Country	Wheat harvest (000 tons)			Per hectare yields (000 kg.)		
	'59 in p.c.			'59 in p.c.		
	1958	1959	of 1958	1958	1959	of 1958
Bulgaria	2,328	2,420	104	16.1	17.3	107
Hungary	1,487	1,909	128	12.5	17.0	136
Poland	2,321	2,468	106	15.7	17.2	110
Rumania	2,914	4,000	137	9.8	13.4	136
Czechoslovakia	1,346	1,643	122	18.3	22.8	125

Grain output in the socialist countries accounts for 45-48 per cent of the world output. Statistics for the past few years testify also to higher rates of socialist grain production as compared with the capitalist production. If the 1954 output is taken as 100, the 1956 grain production in the socialist countries amounted to 123, the figure for the capitalist countries being 107; the respective figures for 1957 were 119 and 107; for 1958, 146 and 108. In 1959 the Chinese People's Republic advanced to first place in the world as regards overall grain output, and although natural calamities (heavy rains and drought) befell the country, agricultural output rose 45.8 per cent compared with 1957. China harvested 270 million tons of grain—20 million more than the target set for 1962. The 1959 grain crop in the Soviet Union—124.8 million tons—was 10 per cent greater than the average crops for the years 1954-1959.

The socialist countries had excellent industrial crops, primarily cotton and sugar-beet. In 1959 Soviet cotton growers gathered 4.8 million tons of cotton—the largest crop ever—and emerged to first place in the world for per hectare yield, exceeding that of the USA by 50 per cent. The Soviet Union is now one of the world's biggest cotton producers alongside the Chinese People's Republic and the United States.

China's cotton crops showed a 14.8 per cent increase over the 1958 figure; other industrial crops

*Livestock breeders.

were also good. Thanks to the success achieved in growing fodder crops, chiefly to the extension of the area under corn, the socialist countries have increased the head of livestock and the output of animal-husbandry products. This is particularly true of pig-farming. The socialist countries now account for 50 per cent of the total number of pigs in the world. The increase in the head of livestock and poultry has resulted in a substantial rise in the basic products of stock and poultry farming. Rumania, for instance, produced over 900,000 tons of meat in live weight (six per cent more than in 1958), seven per cent more wool and eight per cent more milk and eggs than in 1958. Similar increases were registered in Bulgaria and other countries. The Soviet Union took the lead in this respect; in 1958 it outstripped the USA for overall production of milk and in 1959 for per capita output of butter.

This signifies more raw materials for industry and a greater abundance of food products for the population.

* * *

The growth of investments in the socialist countries testifies to their progress and guarantees continued rapid development during 1960-65. In Albania the 1959 volume of investments exceeded the figure for 1958 by 13 per cent, in Bulgaria by 49.4 per cent, in Hungary 20 per cent, in the GDR 14 per cent, in China 24.5 per cent, in the Korean People's Democratic Republic 37 per cent, in the Mongolian People's Republic 28.2 per cent, in Poland 14.4 per cent, in Rumania 17 per cent, in the Soviet Union 12 per cent and in Czechoslovakia 15.6 per cent.

Many new enterprises were put into operation last year while many old ones were enlarged. Of 1,431 large enterprises under construction in People's China 671 were either commissioned or nearing completion. Out of 75,000 small enterprises under construction 54,000 were built. Out of 130 big enterprises under construction in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam sixty were put into operation.

In Poland five new coal mines and three iron-ore mines, a large open-hearth furnace, a cement factory and other enterprises were commissioned; a coal enriching plant, a power station and a plant turning out prefabricated materials were put into operation; iron and steel enterprises, chemical and other factories were built in Rumania. The Soviet Union commissioned over 1,000 big industrial enterprises and a considerable number of new shops at existing plants.

* * *

The year 1959 saw a further rise of the well-being of the people. The concentrated expression of this is the steady growth of the national income.

In Bulgaria the national income rose 20 per cent, in Poland and Czechoslovakia five per cent, in Rumania 13 per cent, in the Soviet Union eight per cent, in People's China 62.9 per cent, etc. This ensured a greater accumulation of funds, both for expanding industry and raising well-being through wage increases for workers, higher incomes for peasants and extending the social services.

There is no unemployment in the socialist countries. In 1959 the number of wage and salary workers rose 3.1 per cent, or 1.7 million in the Soviet Union, 2.3 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 1.6 per cent in Poland, 2.9 per cent in Rumania, four per cent in Hungary, and 15 per cent in Albania.

Both nominal and real wages are rising parallel with the growth of the labor force. Last year, for instance, nominal wages rose 11 per cent in Rumania and 2.2 per cent in Czechoslovakia. Real wages went up still more—by five per cent in Czechoslovakia, eight per cent in Albania, 4.1 per cent in Bulgaria, 4.6 per cent in Poland.

Last year over 13 million Soviet workers and other employees switched over to shorter hours—six and seven-hour working day. At the same time wages in some industries rose substantially. This was particularly true of the low-paid workers.

The standard of living in the socialist countries is characterized mainly by social consumption, in contrast to the capitalist countries where personal consumption is the main factor. In 1959 the socialist countries allocated vast sums to public health and education, social security, mother and child care, etc. The GDR allocated for this purpose 16,800 million marks, or 37.7 per cent of all state expenditure. The number of rural out-patient clinics in the GDR rose to 360. In Czechoslovakia the number of hospital beds increased by 3,400 compared with 1958; in Rumania the growth was 2.5 per cent.

In Czechoslovakia the average pension paid to aged workers and to those suffering from disability rose to 610 crowns. Pensions were raised also in other socialist countries. Ever greater numbers of kindergartens and crèches are being built.

The scale of housing construction in all the socialist countries is immense. In the GDR alone, 79,800 flats were built—a 26 per cent increase compared with 1958; in Czechoslovakia 67,000 flats, or 25 per cent more; and in Hungary 45,000, or eight per cent more were built. In the Soviet Union workers and other employees received 2.2 million flats. In addition, about 850,000 dwelling houses were built in the countryside. The Soviet Union ranks first in the world for rate of housing construction per head of population.

In 1959, 376,000 rooms were built in Poland; in Rumania 20 per cent more flats were built. Total urban dwelling space multiplied in other countries, too.

The socialist countries have every reason to be proud of their educational and cultural progress. In the Soviet Union the attendance in the general educational schools, including evening schools for adolescents and adults, amounted to 33 million, or 1,850,000 more than in 1958. The overall attendance in educational establishments of all types was in excess of 50 million. In the Chinese People's Republic the enrolment of students showed a 23 per cent increase over 1958, thus reaching the figure set for 1962; the attendance at evening schools, both secondary and higher, doubled, amounting to 10 million. In Hungary enrolment of students was

10 per cent and in Rumania 8.8 per cent greater than in 1958.

More cinemas and theatres were opened, newspaper circulation rose, and more books were sold.

The statistics for 1959 testify to the steady growth of the economy and culture of the socialist countries, to the growing well-being of the working people. These successes herald another step towards the building of socialism and communism.

Compiled by

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