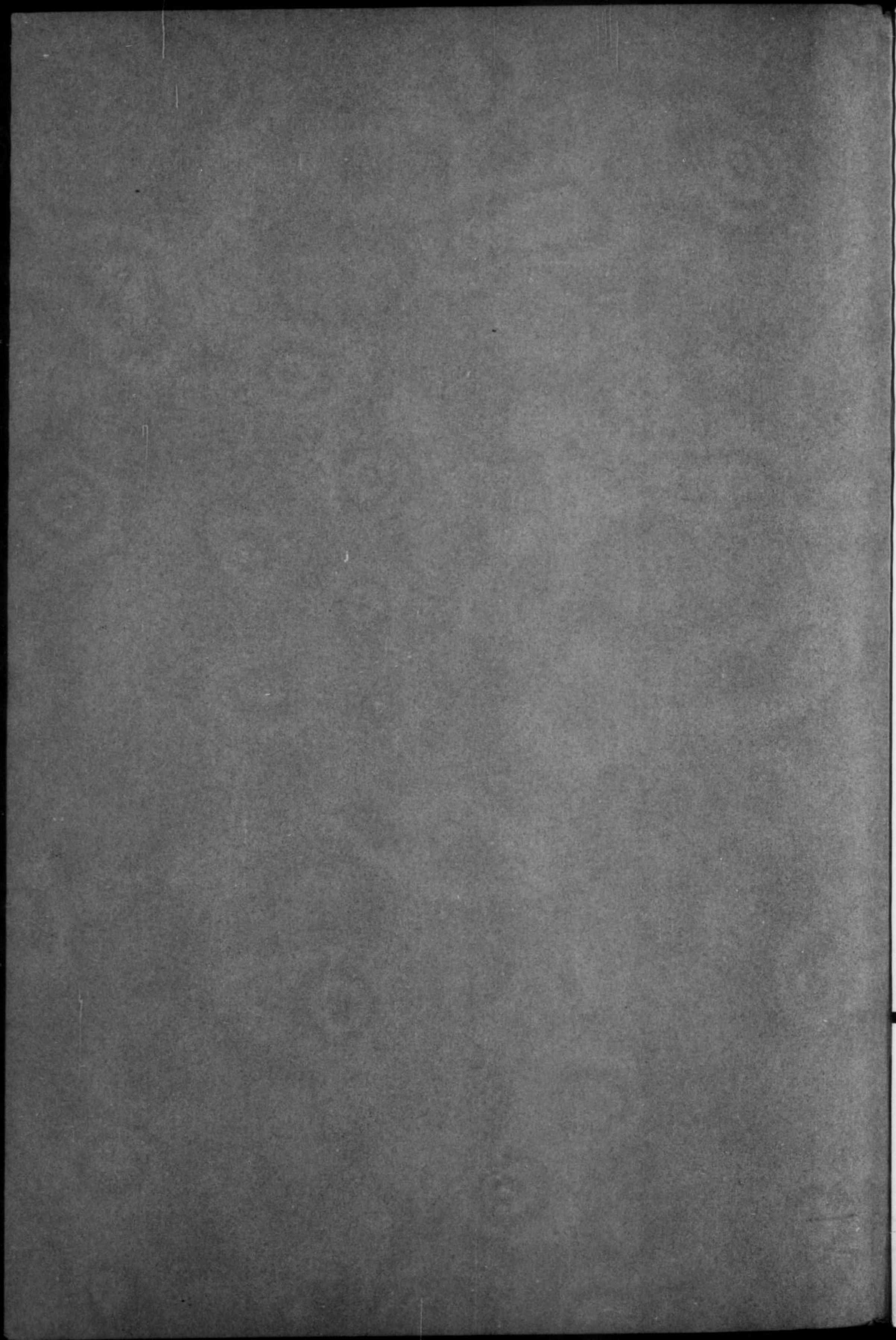


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

World Marxist Review

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PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Lenin Documents

We print below hitherto unpublished letters relating to the period of the First World War written by Lenin to the Dutch Left Social Democrats D. Wijnkoop and H. Gorter.

Written in May-July 1915 in connection with the preparations for the first International Socialist Conference (the Zimmerwald), they reflect Lenin's indefatigable struggle against social chauvinism and centrism and for proletarian internationalism.

In these letters Lenin raised the question of the publication of an international journal by the Left Social Democrats of a number of countries. He wrote of the need for a joint declaration by the Left and of united action by them at the conference. Lenin pointed to the importance of establishing contact with the Left in Britain, Belgium and other countries, and asked whether it would be possible to publish in America an English translation of his *SOCIALISM AND WAR*, which elucidates the resolutions adopted in February 1915 by the Conference of the Foreign Sections of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in Bern.

Lenin's letters are an important addition to those already published regarding his activities during the First World War (see *WORKS*, Fourth Edition, Vols. 35 and 36).

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C. of the CPSU

1.

TO H. GORTER¹

Comrade H. Gorter

Dear Comrade Gorter,

Comrade Radek² has showed me your letter.

It would undoubtedly be a good thing if we could manage to found an international Social-Democratic journal to be edited by Pannekoek³. We must combat the "Neue Zeit's"⁴ abominable way of defending with sophisms the worst kind of opportunism.

The only question is: have we enough money and writers to found the journal at once?

If not, then we must certainly, without waiting for the end of the war, publish a booklet (or two) in German. It should consist of articles by Russian, Dutch, German (Radek), French (perhaps Merrheim)⁵, and British (perhaps Rothstein)⁶ comrades who believe that a relentless struggle must be waged against the traitor-opportunists (including Kautsky).

In my view we *should on no account* defer this undertaking. It is necessary to tell the whole truth now, while the war is still on, — not, it goes without saying, in Germany, but in Switzerland, so that we can speak about the revolutionary struggle freely and without censorship.

If a French or British contributor cannot be found immediately we should not wait; it is better to bring out the first booklet ourselves (i.e., without the French or the British). We can content ourselves with translating Merrheim's view (namely, that it is *deception* to talk about a "war of liberation").

Radek says that your pamphlet has come out in *English*⁷. I am very glad to hear that: now I shall be able to read and understand everything. I under-

stand about 30 to 40 per cent of the Dutch language. I congratulate you on your splendid attacks on opportunism and Kautsky. Trotsky's⁸ main error is that he does not attack this gang.

Best Wishes,

Yours,

N. LENIN

My address: Wl. Uljanow,
Waldheimstrasse 66, Bern.

Write me a post-card *when* you intend to come.

Written May 5, 1915.

*Printed from a copy of a manuscript by D. Wijnkoop
Translated from the German*

2.

TO D. WIJNKOOP⁹

Zoerenberg (Canton Lucerne) 22.7.1915

Dear Comrade Wijnkoop,

I attach the resolutions drawn up by our Party¹⁰ and translated by Comrade Radek. It appears to me — after reading through your resolutions — that there is undoubtedly agreement in principle between us.

Comrade Radek writes me that we ought jointly to work out theses, and not resolutions (we — i.e., the Dutch Social Democratic Party, our Party, the Polish Social Democratic "opposition," and, probably, also the Latvian Social Democracy). In my view, it does not matter whether they are theses or resolutions: the important thing is that we should formulate the revolutionary tactics clearly and in a popular way, that we should expose the imperialist character of the war more precisely, and defend Marxism from falsification by Kautsky, Plekhanov & Co.

Unfortunately, Radek has not yet sent me his draft of the declarations. I hope you will let me know *as speedily as possible* after you have read our resolutions whether you agree with us in principle. Everything must be ready by August 7-10.

If you can say quite definitely that someone will be in Bern by August 7th-10th¹¹, then, perhaps, it may be possible to hold a small meeting in Bern and work out the theses together. If not, they will have to be agreed by letter, and this needs a *lot of time*.

With best wishes,

Yours,

N. LENIN

P.S. Radek has told me that you are on very good terms with *Charles Kerr*, the *Chicago* publisher. We intend to publish a booklet (about 100,000 printed characters) of our resolutions and explanations in Russian (and later in German). Could you ask Charles Kerr whether he would be prepared (and on what conditions) to publish our booklet in English?¹²

P.P.S. I shall try to draw up a draft and send it on to you.

We certainly fully approve your suggestion to establish contact with other Lefts (in Britain, Sweden, France, etc.).

*Printed from the manuscript
Translated from the German*

3.

TO D. WIJNKOOP

30. 7. 1915

Dear Comrade,

I have received your letter and post-card and am sending you a complete French translation of our Manifesto¹³; I have already sent you Radek's translation of our Party's resolutions. You now have all the documents (with regard to the "United States of Europe"¹⁴, we shall, I think, accept Gorter's point of view).

I am very glad that in the main we are in agreement. It is not window-dressing pronouncements by leaders that we need (against which Pannekoek has written such a good article)¹⁵, but a consistent revolutionary declaration of principles in order to help the workers find the correct path. This is most essential. I was particularly glad to hear that you are in contact with Belgian friends (we could let you have P. Golay's pamphlet¹⁶ for them, if you have not already seen it) and want to speak *personally* with certain Lefts in another country. If the Belgian anonymous "Etoile" group and another, German one, were to publish a declaration of principles together with your Party and ours, — this would be a good and important beginning. The Swedish Left with Høglund¹⁷ agrees with us: I received a letter about this today¹⁸. It would be a good thing if you were to write to England and try to persuade a group there (even if it is only a small one) to draw up a joint statement.

Sincere greetings and wishing you success,

Yours,

N. LENIN

P.S. The second preliminary conference was scheduled for August 7, but will probably take place later.

*Printed from the manuscript
Translated from the German*

NOTES

¹H. Gorter (1864-1927)—Dutch Left Social Democrat, poet and publicist. An organizer of and regular contributor to *De Tribune*, newspaper of the Left-wing of the Dutch Social Democratic Labor Party. During the First World War he was an internationalist and supporter of the Zimmerwald Left. Was a member of the Communist Party of Holland and took part in the work of the Comintern. Adopted a sectarian "ultra-Left" position in 1921, left the Communist Party and withdrew from active political life.

²K. Radek (1885-1939)—from 1903 on took part in the Social Democratic movement in Poland, and later in Germany. During the First World War took up internationalist positions, and was connected with the Zimmerwald Left, but at the same time came out against Lenin and the Bolsheviks on a number of important theoretical and practical problems of the labor movement. Regarding Radek's position see V. I. Lenin's letters (*Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 35, pages 171-174, 175-178, 200-205). In 1917 joined the Bolshevik Party. Was a "Left Communist" at the time the Brest Peace Treaty was being discussed. From 1923 on was an active member of the Trotskyite opposition, and for this reason in 1927 was expelled from the Communist Party by the XV Congress. Was re-admitted in 1930, expelled again in 1936 for anti-Party and anti-Soviet activity, and later sentenced.

³A. Pannekoek (1873-1960)—Dutch Left Social Democrat. In 1907 one of the founders of *De Tribune*. Was closely connected with German Left Social Democrats and co-operated actively in their press. Was an internationalist during the First World War and helped to publish the *Vorbote (Harbinger)*—a theoretical journal of the Zimmerwald Left. Was a member of the Communist Party of Holland and took part in the work of the Comintern. Adopted a sectarian "ultra-Left" position in 1921 and withdrew from the Party.

⁴*Die Neue Zeit (New Time)*—a magazine of German Social Democracy published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Engels often gave instructions to the Editorial Staff and sharply criticized them for retreating from Marxism. In the First World War the magazine took up a Centrist, Kautskyist position, and supported the Social Chauvinists.

⁵A. Merrheim (1881-1925)—a leader of the French Trade Union movement, from 1905 Chairman of the Federation of Metalworkers. In the First World War was in favor of re-establishing international contacts; was secretary of the "Committee for the Re-establishment of International Contacts," founded in France in 1915; subsequently went over to the position of social-patriotism. After the war took part in the opportunist Amsterdam International of Trade Unions.

⁶F. Rothstein (1871-1953)—Russian Social Democrat, later a Communist, Soviet historian and academician. Emigrated in 1890 and took an active part in the British Socialist movement, joined the Left-wing of the Social Democratic Federation. During the First World War held internationalist views. Was a leader of the mass movement in Britain against military intervention in Soviet Russia. In 1920 returned to his homeland and occupied a number of important posts; wrote several history books and articles.

⁷Gorter's pamphlet "Der Imperialismus, der Weltkrieg und Die Sozialdemokratie" ("Imperialism, the World War and Social Democracy"), published in Amsterdam early in 1915.

⁸L. D. Trotsky (Bronstein) (1879-1940)—bitter enemy of Leninism. After the Second Congress joined the Mensheviks and began an active struggle against the Bolsheviks on all questions of the theory and practice of the socialist revolution. During the First World War took up a centrist position, and opposed V. I. Lenin on questions of the war, of peace and the revolution. On returning from abroad in 1917 joined the group of "Mezhra-yontsi" and together with them was admitted into the Bolshevik Party at the VI Congress of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks). After the October Revolution time and again opposed Party policy and later openly took the path of criminal, anti-Soviet actions. Was expelled from the Party in 1927, banished from the USSR in 1929 for anti-Soviet activity, and in 1932 was deprived of Soviet citizenship.

⁹D. Wijnkoop (1877-1949)—Dutch Left Social Democrat, later a Communist, one of the founders and an editor of *De Tribune*. Was an internationalist in the First World War and a contributor to *Vorbote*. Wijnkoop was a founder of the Communist Party of Holland and in 1919 affiliated to the Comintern. In 1925 he opposed the policy of the Communist Party of Holland and the Comintern and for this was in 1926 expelled from the Party; was re-admitted in 1930 and later elected a member of the Party Central Committee.

¹⁰The resolutions of the Conference of the Foreign Sections of the RSDLP, held in Bern between February 27 and March 4, 1915 (see *Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 21, pp. 137-142).

¹¹It was intended to convene a Second Preparatory Conference (Vorkonferenz) in Bern over August 7-10, 1915, prior to the Zimmerwald Conference. The First Preparatory Conference was held in Bern on July 11, 1915. It was unable to agree on the composition of the forthcoming conference and on the agenda, and decided to call a second Preparatory Conference for August 7-10. This conference never took place.

¹²Reference is made to V. I. Lenin's book *Socialism and War* (see *Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 21, pp. 267-307).

¹³The Manifesto of the C.C. of the RSDLP. "War and Russian Social Democracy" (see *Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 21, pp. 9-18).

¹⁴For this slogan see the article and the Editorial note written by Lenin for the *Social Democrat* on the Manifesto of the C.C. of the RSDLP and entitled "The United States of Europe Slogan" (see *Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 21, pp. 308-311 and 312).

¹⁵"The Collapse of the International," by A. Pannekoek, printed in the Swiss S.-D. newspaper *Berner Tagwacht* No. 245, 246, 247 for October 20, 21 and 22, 1914.

¹⁶Golay's pamphlet entitled "The Socialism which Is Dying and the Socialism which Must Be Reborn." See Lenin's article on it entitled "The Honest Voice of a French Socialist" (*Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 21, pp. 316-323).

¹⁷Z. Hoeglund (1884-1956)—Social Democrat, leader of the Left-wing of the Social Democratic and Youth Movement of Sweden. Between 1908-1916 was editor of the newspaper *Stormklockan* (*Tocsin*). During the First World War was an internationalist. At the Zimmerwald Conference joined the Zimmerwald Left. Between 1917-1924 was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden. Was expelled from the Party in 1924 for opportunist activities. In 1926 re-joined the Social Democratic Party.

¹⁸Reference is made to A. M. Kollontai's letter to Lenin on the position of the Swedish Left Social Democrats (see Lenin, *Works*, 4th Ed., Vol. 35, pp. 155-156).

COMMUNIQUE

On the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries

THE representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries who attended the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party — the Albanian Party of Labor, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labor, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — decided to take advantage of their visit to Bucharest to exchange opinions on pressing questions of the current international situation and the conclusions which stem therefrom for the fraternal parties.

The participants in the Meeting unanimously state that the whole course of international events and the development of the countries of the socialist world system have fully confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist propositions set out in the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in November 1957.

The participants in the Meeting reaffirm their loyalty to the principles of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, which are the Charter of the present-day communist and workers' movement, a program of its struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

They consider that all the conclusions of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto — on peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in the present epoch, on the necessity of maintaining the vigilance of the peoples with regard to the war danger, because as long as imperialism exists there is ground for aggressive wars — fully apply to the current situation.

"The Communist Parties," the Declaration emphasized, "regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. Together with all the peace-loving forces, they will do their utmost to prevent war."

The Declaration also draws an important conclusion about the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism for different countries. "Today, in a number of capitalist countries the working class headed by its vanguard is able . . . to smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary

conditions for the peaceful realization of the socialist revolution." At the same time it is also necessary to proceed from the feasibility of the working class achieving victory of a socialist revolution by non-peaceful means.

The participants in this Meeting note with a feeling of profound satisfaction the tremendous successes achieved by all the countries of the socialist system in economic and cultural development, in the consolidation of the social and state system, in the further advancement of socialist democracy. The great commonwealth of the countries of socialism is developing and gaining strength day by day. The camp of socialism is flourishing. It is exercising a tremendous and ever-increasing influence upon the whole course of the development of mankind. The successes of the Soviet Union and of the People's Democracies inspire the working class and all the working people in the capitalist countries to struggle against the offensive of the exploiters upon their vital interests and for peace and socialism.

The participants in the Meeting declare that the Communist and Workers' parties will continue to strengthen the solidarity of the countries of the socialist world system and to guard, as the apple of their eye, their unity in the struggle for peace and security of all peoples, for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Central Committee, Albanian Party of Labor
 Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party
 Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
 Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam
 Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany
 Central Committee, Communist Party of China
 Central Committee, Korean Party of Labor
 Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
 Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party
 Central Committee, Rumanian Workers' Party
 Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union
 Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Bucharest, June 24, 1960

Among Our Contributors

TODOR ZHIVKOV: First Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party.
J. KOPLINIG: Chairman, Communist Party of Austria.
F. HAVLICEK: Czechoslovak public figure.

Peace: Key Problem of Today

Todor Zhivkov

THE representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries who attended the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party met in Bucharest in June and discussed the international situation.

Over recent years the meetings and conferences of fraternal parties have become the normal practice of the international communist movement. The Communist parties have a single aim and a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism. It is quite natural, therefore, that they regard it as their duty to consult each other and exchange views. "...It is expedient," reads the Declaration of the Moscow (1957) meeting, "besides bilateral meetings of leading workers and exchange of information, to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss current problems, share experiences, study each others' views and attitudes and coordinate action in the joint struggle for the common goals—peace, democracy and socialism."

The Bucharest meeting was also attended by the representatives of thirty-eight Communist parties from the capitalist countries who unanimously approved its communiqué. *Thus the Bucharest communiqué reflects the common views of the world communist movement on the fundamental problems of today.*

The main world problem today is that of war and peace. And it was the principal item on the agenda of the Bucharest meeting. It is nearly three years since the policy documents of the world communist movement—the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto—were adopted. During that time many changes have taken place in the international field. Do these changes confirm the general course of development of our times, as indicated by the Declaration and the Manifesto? Have the basic conclusions set out in those documents withstood the test of time? The answers to these questions, on which depends the correct orientation of the Communist parties, were provided by the Bucharest meeting, which has thus rendered a great service to the world communist movement.

The Basic Features of the Epoch

The participants in the Bucharest meeting arrived at the unanimous conclusion that international developments and the progress of the socialist countries had fully confirmed the soundness of the concepts of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto on the possibility of preventing wars in our epoch, on the need to be on the alert against the danger of war—since, as long as imperialism exists, there will always be conditions for aggressive wars, — as well as on the various forms of transition to socialism.

The concepts of the Moscow Declaration have proved to be correct precisely because they are based not on accidental or transient factors but on a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the basic features of our epoch and a profound understanding of the essence of the objective economic and social processes. "The main content of our epoch," reads the Declaration, "is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Today more than a third of the population of the world—over 950 million people—have taken the socialist road and are building a new life . . . With regard to the greater part of mankind, imperialism has lost its one-time domination." This extremely concise and at the same time all-embracing characterization indicates the main direction of mankind's development today. It also enriches Marxism-Leninism with a new theoretical conclusion generalizing the great changes that have taken place since the war.

It is common knowledge that in elaborating their strategy and tactics Marxist-Leninists were guided for many years by the definition of our epoch as an epoch of imperialism, wars and proletarian revolutions. This concept, which was of incalculable value to the theory and practice of Marxism, was put forward in the period of imperialism's undisputed rule, when its laws determined both internal and international relations throughout the world.

The most important conclusion that followed from the definition was that wars were inevitable. The law of uneven economic and

political development of capitalism, which constantly produces conditions leading to military conflicts, is an inexorable law of imperialism. When this law knows no restrictions, when imperialism dominates the world, wars are inevitable. Under these conditions the aggressive nature of imperialism gives rise to military cataclysms with the irresistible force of a volcanic eruption.

But the dialectics of history lies in the fact that the self-same laws of monopoly capitalism which are the cause of wars lead in the final analysis to its destruction. The increasing unevenness of the imperialist economic and political development makes it vulnerable to proletarian revolution. In view of this the imperialist front is broken at its weakest link where conditions favorable for the victory of the proletariat have been created.

The October Revolution put an end to the rule of imperialism on one-sixth of the globe. This started the irreversible historic process of the transition to socialism. After the Second World War a whole group of European and Asian countries took the socialist road. Imperialism was unable to prevent the rise of the socialist world system and the spread of *laws and international relations of a new type* to a large part of the world.

The socialist countries occupy a vast territory; they have inexhaustible natural resources; their population numbers nearly a thousand million; they account for over one-third of the world's industrial output. Socialism is a rising and victorious system, the prototype of a new civilization, the future of all mankind. The economic potential of the socialist countries lies in rapid, planned development, in the uninterrupted growth of their industrial might. Socialism has demonstrated, for all to see, its great advantages over capitalism in all spheres of life, and above all in its main sphere—material production. Its rate of economic development is much higher than that of capitalism, it leads scientific and technological progress and has expanded its productive forces on a gigantic scale. The Soviet scientific and technological discoveries have determined the main directions of the modern scientific and technological revolution, they represent the revolutionizing element in the development of productive forces, which has a great influence on the relationships between people and changes their traditional views and concepts.

On the development and strengthening of socialism depends the scope of the national-

liberation movement which has inflicted a serious defeat on imperialism in its rear—the colonies. In 1939 the population of the colonies and semi-colonies amounted to about 1,500 million, i.e., almost two-thirds of the world's population. Today the overwhelming majority of these countries, with a population of 1,400 million, are developing independently. Although the young Afro-Asian countries which have won independence remain for the most part within the framework of the capitalist economy, many of them, far from being a political reserve of imperialism, are carrying on a determined struggle against it, thus forming, together with the socialist states, a vast zone of peace.

The growth of the socialist forces and the rise of the national-liberation struggle have rapidly shrunk the sphere of imperialist domination and the sphere of the operation of its laws. Moreover, the power of imperialism is being increasingly sapped by its internal and external contradictions — the rivalry among the imperialist powers, the anarchy of production, crises and the class struggle. All this indicates that in the future, too, imperialism will continue to decline and the contradictions underlying this process will continue to sharpen.

These being the conditions, would it be correct to characterize our epoch simply and solely as an epoch of imperialism, wars and revolutions? No, this view would be one-sided and dogmatic, nor does it take into account the new balance of forces.

Lenin taught us, in defining an epoch, to take into account its fundamental characteristics, and not the laws and tendencies which are doomed by history to be relegated farther and farther to the background. "There are and there will be in each epoch," he wrote, "separate, partial movements now forward, now backward, there are and there will be various deviations from the average type and the average rate of the movements. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the separate historical movements of the given epoch will develop. But we can know and we do know *which class* is the pivot of a particular epoch, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main peculiarities of the historical scene of this epoch, etc."* These Leninist concepts are the key to the definition of our epoch as well. In assessing it it is wrong to ignore

*V. I. Lenin, *Under a False Flag*.

the changes, not to see which social force is now in the center of the historical events.

In the center is the community of states with a working-class dictatorship which, in the final count, wields a decisive influence on world politics. And this means that *our epoch is not simply an epoch of imperialism and wars. It is an epoch of the disintegration of imperialism, an epoch of revolutions, of transition from capitalism to socialism, of the rise, consolidation and victory of the socialist world system.*

But, this being the case, the laws of imperialism which lead to wars can no longer have the same scope for their development which they had in the past. They are pressured, restricted, relegated to the background and yield the historic arena to the laws of socialist society. The operation of these laws leads to the consolidation of peace, to the establishment of international relations of a new type, relations that know no wars and no violence.

The General Line In International Relations

The assessment of the basic features of our epoch given by the international communist movement is the theoretical point of departure in providing a correct solution to the main problems of world politics. An analysis of the character of the epoch has demonstrated that certain Marxist-Leninist concepts which were absolutely correct in the past can no longer be applied without qualification to the new situation. The conclusions drawn by the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the CPSU and by the Moscow Meeting of the Communist parties have enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism and have had a tremendous impact on the entire work of the Communist parties.

In our times the rate of social development has been enormously accelerated. The more complicated conditions make it more urgent than ever for the working-class parties to find the decisive link in the chain of events and to define their main tasks. The world communist movement has arrived at the conclusion that the alternative—war or peaceful coexistence — is the fundamental issue of world politics today. "The defense of peace is the most important worldwide task of the day," stressed the Moscow Declaration.

The possibility of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems has been confirmed even before the rise of the socialist world. For twenty years the Soviet Union successfully went ahead in spite of the capi-

talist encirclement. But at that time the law inherent in the epoch of imperialist domination — the alternation of war and peace periods — was still valid. Only now have conditions appeared which make this alternation no longer inevitable.

The content of peaceful coexistence has thus been enriched and deepened. Its ultimate aim — worldwide victory of socialism over capitalism in peaceful competition between the two systems — stands out more clearly than ever. Marxist-Leninists never maintained that the two systems, not only different but actually antagonistic, would co-exist eternally. The Communists have never granted capitalism the privilege of eternal existence. They have always fought and will continue to fight for the establishment of the new, progressive social system on our planet. The laws of social development are such that the class struggle in the capitalist countries will inevitably lead to socialist revolution in one form or another.

Nor does peaceful coexistence mean a repudiation of struggle on the international arena. Since the time when the first socialist state appeared and the world was divided into two systems, the struggle between them has never ceased, and it cannot cease, since this struggle is a form of class struggle on a worldwide scale. But must it necessarily develop into a military conflict? The Marxist-Leninists maintain that this is not inevitable. Peaceful coexistence presupposes that military means should not be used in deciding the issues; it does not imply the cessation of struggle between the two systems either on the ideological, political or economic fronts. Economic competition can and should be the principal field of the struggle.

That the struggle between the two camps will continue is certain. The question now is — what forms of this struggle are in the best interests of the working class, of socialism and of mankind as a whole? At present the balance of forces is such that the socialist countries are in a position to crush imperialism by force of arms. But this way to the victory of socialism is utterly alien to the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology and to the nature of socialism as the most humane social system. A nuclear war would take toll of hundreds of millions, would cause tremendous destruction of the productive forces and the cultural values created throughout the centuries. Everybody knows that a nuclear war is fraught with frightful consequences for future generations. The socialist countries have

never been nor will they ever be initiators of war.

The superiority in armaments attained by a particular imperialist country has always been a stimulus to aggression. In the socialist countries military superiority serves the aims of defense and is a powerful factor in preventing the unleashing of war—a factor for peace. Because, to use the words of Khrushchov, even the madman Hitler, had he realized that war against the USSR would end in his crushing defeat, would not have taken his fatal decision.

Marxist-Leninists are politicians who think realistically. They do not shut their eyes to the difficulties in the fight for peaceful coexistence, they see clearly and recognize the depth of the main contradiction of our epoch. They are aware that the policy of aggression and war is as inherent in imperialism as the policy of peace is inherent in socialism. The Communist and Workers' parties have never associated, nor can they associate, their confidence in the possibility of averting war with the hope that the nature of imperialism will change. Illusions of this kind have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. But in order correctly to answer the question about the possibility of peaceful coexistence and the prevention of war it is not enough to take into account only the character of imperialism. This would be a dogmatic approach which could lead only to one conclusion—that even under present conditions war is still inevitable. Lenin said repeatedly that the answer to the question posed by life should be sought not in empty generalization but in an analysis of the actual situation. "Only an objective consideration of the sum-total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and, consequently, a consideration of the objective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies," he wrote, "can serve as a basis for correct tactics of the advanced class."*

Our confidence that the principle of peaceful coexistence will triumph is based precisely on this objective analysis of the present stage of social development.

One cannot fail to see that although the content and aims of imperialist policy have not changed, the possibilities of their implementation are far from being what they were in the epoch when imperialism dominated the world. Marxists have never taken a fatal-

istic view of objective social laws, including those which engender wars. They maintain that the struggle of the masses can restrict the operation of these laws, become a serious obstacle blocking the way to the unleashing of war. Even in the past the imperialists did not, on every occasion, succeed in realizing their own plans. Circumstances were often stronger than their desires. Now that the sphere of imperialism has shrunk and the world balance of forces has changed fundamentally in favor of socialism, the contradiction between the aims of imperialist policy and the possibilities of their implementation has so deepened that the solution of questions of war and peace depends less and less on the will and desires of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The peace forces, the bulwark of which is the socialist camp, now have everything at their disposal *to force the imperialists to abandon war and to impose on them the policy of peaceful coexistence*. "He who does not understand this," said Khrushchov in a speech at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, "does not believe in the strength and creative abilities of the working class, underrates the might of the socialist camp, has no trust in the great attractive power of socialism, which has demonstrated its obvious superiority over capitalism."

The confidence that peaceful coexistence is possible, confidence which is based on scientific foundations, makes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp dynamic and purposeful. All Soviet actions in the international field are aimed at easing tension, at settling outstanding issues by negotiation. The Soviet government's proposals on general and complete disarmament and for a ban on nuclear weapons point the way to peaceful coexistence. The sincere Soviet stand on disarmament, a stand which is always backed up by practical deeds and proposals, blows up all the arguments of the cold-war men who spread slanders about "the aggressive nature" of socialism.

The slogan that war can be prevented and banished forever from the world has a great mobilizing force. It rouses the masses to fight the war danger and inspires them with confidence that this struggle is not futile, that it can realize the ancient dream of mankind—eternal peace. On the other hand, to say that war is inevitable in our time is to doom the peoples to passively waiting for the nuclear holocaust, to paralyze their will

*V. I. Lenin, *Karl Marx*.

to fight for peace, to sap their belief in the possibility of peaceful coexistence. An attitude of this kind does not promote the cause of peace.

In the period since the Moscow Declaration was accepted the might of the socialist camp—the chief bulwark of peace—has further increased. The participants in the Bucharest meeting noted with a feeling of profound satisfaction that “the great commonwealth of the countries of socialism is developing and gaining strength day by day. The camp of socialism is flourishing.” In 1959 industrial output in the socialist countries exceeded by more than 5.7 times the prewar level, and in the past three years it has shown a 33.7 per cent increase, whereas in the capitalist countries the increase was only 5 per cent.

The people of the Soviet Union have started work on the great seven-year plan, thereby opening a new stage in the history of their country—the all-out building of communist society. The rate of economic development in all the People’s Democracies is also high. The great Chinese people are successfully carrying out the task of catching up with Britain in output of the chief industrial goods in the next ten years or less. Several of the People’s Democracies have already laid the foundations of socialism, others are approaching the solution of this task. Socialist production relations have triumphed in the Czechoslovak economy. The economic basis of socialism has been built in Rumania. In their struggle to build socialism and communism the Communist and Workers’ parties of the socialist countries are guided by the main laws, formulated in the Declaration, for all the countries which have taken the road to socialism.

The people of Bulgaria are also making their contribution to the growing might of the socialist camp. During the years of people’s power Bulgaria, hitherto an economically backward country, has developed into a socialist state with advanced industry and modern agriculture. Socialism has triumphed in town and countryside, it holds undisputed sway in all spheres of the country’s life. The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party laid down the Party’s general line—to complete, in the next few years, the building of the material-technological base of socialism and the building of socialist society in Bulgaria. Our people are working to fulfil the third five-year plan ahead of schedule. Last year industrial output increased 24.9 per cent compared with 1958, agricultural output also

showed a marked increase. This year, too, our national economy is making rapid headway. Never in the history of our country has economic development been so rapid, and never have the creative energies and activities of the masses acquired so wide a sweep.

The successes of the socialist countries and their peace policy have an ever-increasing effect on the international situation. Because of this the principle of peaceful coexistence advanced by the first socialist state is gaining wide support and is becoming a standard of relations between the states. It is the guiding principle in the foreign policy of most of the newly-liberated countries and even of some of the old bourgeois states.

The aggressive U.S. circles, it is true, have succeeded in torpedoing the summit conference on which the people placed great hope for a peaceful solution of the issues. But this aggressive action has boomeranged on its initiators—the U.S. reactionaries. The Soviet Government has exposed them as treacherous enemies of peace. And it is no accident that the shameful failure of their provocation was followed by a series of crushing defeats for the U.S. administration and an unprecedented decline of its prestige. The foreign policy of the U.S. imperialists is nothing but an example, in the new conditions, of those “frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie” of which Lenin spoke in his time. He said that these “ravings” had to be taken into account and could not be ignored, that the working class and its Party must march firmly along the road charted by history itself.

The aggressive actions of the U.S. rulers are still another reminder that the imperialists have not abandoned their attempts to wreck the cause of peace and to unleash war. For this reason it is necessary for the peoples to be constantly on the alert and always ready to repel the aggressors. But the events which have taken place do not by any means change the objective situation, nor do they alter the present world balance of forces and the main direction in the development of international relations. To succumb to the provocations of the aggressors would mean to erase the gains of recent years in the struggle for a détente and to follow in the wake of the imperialists and surrender the initiative in foreign policy.

The socialist countries and the world communist movement do not intend to deviate from their chosen course. *Peaceful coexistence* is not a temporary policy depending on circumstances, but a *general line of devel-*

opment of international relations, the road to world socialism.

Prevention of War and the Class Struggle

Peaceful coexistence is not simply an official policy of the socialist countries but an important principle of the communist movement as a whole. "The Communist parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task," said the 1957 Declaration. Guided by the lofty principles of humanism in the fight for peace the Communists act in full accord with the class interests of the working-class movement. The growing interdependence of the struggle for peace and for the class interests of the working people is an essential feature of the anti-war movement of today. That is why Communists are confident that the lessening of tension and the ending of the cold war help the working class to fight with greater success for both its immediate and long-term aims. Is this confidence well placed? The answer to this question can be found in the results and the nature of the activities of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries to put into effect the ideas and principles of the 1957 Declaration. Representatives of these parties said at the Bucharest meeting that their parties, being the most consistent and resolute organizers of their people's fight for international détente, for peaceful coexistence, had improved their contact with the masses, had gained still greater influence and prestige. The same conclusion was confirmed by the decisions taken by the C.C. meetings of many parties held after the Bucharest meeting.

Hardly anyone can now deny that the cold war strengthens the rule of aggressive monopoly capital, is an instrument for dividing the working class and all democratic forces and is the mainstay of reaction in its attack on the working people. The cold war helps the reactionaries to deceive the workers and to prejudice them against socialism. Any aggravation of international tensions always lets loose a spate of anti-communist slander, encourages the fascist elements and is accompanied by attacks on the rights of the people. On the other hand, even a slight thaw in the international climate furthers the class struggle and the working people's fight for their social and political demands. There is no doubt that the defeat of McCarthyism in the United States in the mid-fifties was caused by a certain easing of tensions. It is not without reason that the most reactionary regimes like those in West Germany and

Spain are sensitive to a slight easing of tension.

It is extremely important that the periods of international détente become closely associated in the minds of people, even those led astray by imperialist propaganda, with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Thanks to this policy the idea that war is inadmissible becomes more deeply rooted in people's minds. This is an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace. To a great extent this is due to Khrushchov's personal initiative, his visits to the countries of Asia and Europe, to the United States and France, his close contacts with the people in the capitalist countries. Soviet peace efforts have produced another important result. They have been responsible for the fact that the ideas of peace are being associated more and more with the activities of the Communists and with their ideology—Marxism-Leninism. The working people can see the clear-cut class differences and the stands taken by the different parties. The knowledge that in this age of atom and hydrogen bombs human progress above all requires peace, dispels the prejudice against the Communists who link up their political and class aims with peaceful coexistence and the struggle against war and aggression. The determination to prevent war and secure peace has facilitated the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the growing prestige of socialism and the strengthening of the positions of the Communist parties. This has been a vital factor in developing the class struggle and the democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

It is argued that peaceful coexistence hinders the successful development of the class struggle, ideologically disarms the working-class movement and strengthens the positions of the bourgeoisie. This view stems from a misunderstanding of the peculiarities of the present stage in the struggle for socialism, of the contradictory nature of the class relations and their complexity in the capitalist countries. The point is that the rapid concentration of capital and the rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism objectively set the interests of the shrinking group of the monopoly capitalists sharply up against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. The power of the monopolists involves drastic deterioration in the economic position of the masses and is also a source of political reaction and arbitrary action. The ruling groups of monopoly capitalists are the chief enemies of peace, and the main obstacle to

the easing of tension. This being so, the peace movement today inevitably takes the form of mass actions against monopoly domination, which brings it still closer to the struggle of the working class and the working people generally for democratic liberties and rights.

The struggle for democracy is linked by a thousand ties with the struggle for socialism. Profound democratic changes undermining and limiting the power of the monopolists are a guarantee of success in the class struggle waged by the proletariat for socialism. Peace is now the demand near and dear to millions of common people in all parts of the world. It enables the working class to rally around it broad sections of the people including those who are ready to fight the monopolists but are not yet ready to accept the ideas of socialism.

In this way conditions are being created which enable the working class to establish broad class alliances, to win over the majority of the people and completely isolate the monopoly capitalists, and this makes the peaceful transition to socialism possible in a number of capitalist countries. This new theoretical conclusion of the world communist movement, reaffirmed by the Bucharest meeting, is closely linked with the idea of the possibility of preventing wars, with the policy of peaceful coexistence and the easing of international tensions. All these concepts are based on a new understanding of the existing situation and proceed from the fact that socialism is more and more gaining the upper hand over capitalism.

The conclusion that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible has greatly helped the Communist parties to rally the mass of the people around the working class and has exploded the myth that the Communists believe that socialism can only be achieved by armed force. At the same time the Communists stress that it is inadmissible to make absolute the thesis on peaceful transition to socialism; they do not exclude the possibility of armed struggle, should the capitalists during a ripening revolutionary crisis resort to the use of force,

Thus, an analysis of the relationship between the fight for peace and the revolutionary movement of our times reveals that any counterposing of them means, in essence, a negation of the independent significance of the democratic tasks in the attainment by the working class of its fundamental aims. This counterposing leads to sectarianism, to isolat-

ing the working class and, in the final analysis, does harm to the cause of socialism. In this connection the resolution of the Rome meeting of the 17 Communist parties of the European capitalist countries is of great significance; basing itself on current developments, this meeting mapped out a comprehensive program of action in the spirit of the *indivisible unity* of the main trends of the mass struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This program contained an Appeal to All Workers, to All Democrats, confirmed and further developed the main ideas of the 1957 Declaration and the Peace Manifesto within the context of capitalist Europe.

The struggle for peaceful coexistence and an international détente has a positive effect not only on the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries but also on the growth and consolidation of the national-liberation movements. During the years of the great "peace offensive" of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries the process of disintegration of the colonial system has been greatly accelerated. The zone of peace has been extended, activized and strengthened. Victorious revolutions have taken place in Iraq and Cuba; Africa is in ferment—over ten newly independent states have appeared on its map. All this testifies that the basic factors enabling the progressive forces to impose peaceful coexistence on imperialism—the growth of the economic might and military potential of the socialist camp, its active and far-sighted foreign policy, the development of the mass struggle in the imperialist countries—create a climate in which it will be more and more difficult for the colonialists to carry out their military gambles, to suppress the national-liberation movements, unleash "local wars" against the nations which have won independence.

Peaceful coexistence implies that war should be repudiated as a means of settling differences, and makes it incumbent on all states to observe the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other nations. Standing guard over this principle is the mighty Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, which protect the newly independent states against imperialist encroachments. Thanks to the growing might of the socialist countries, the former colonies are now in a position to achieve independence in a less painful way, without war. This, of course, does not mean that the just wars of liberation have become a thing of the past. The Communists maintain that the Leninist concept about just and

unjust wars is still valid. They welcome any war of liberation when it becomes inevitable and are always ready to support with all means at their disposal the peoples fighting for freedom.

The aid given by the socialist countries is of tremendous importance in strengthening the sovereignty of the newly-liberated countries, in abolishing their economic backwardness and in developing their productive forces. When helping these countries the socialist states proceed from the fact that not all the national bourgeoisie in power in these countries are reactionary, in many cases they continue to voice the interests of the country as a whole. Secondly, the foreign policy of the young independent states, which form part of the peace zone, makes an active contribution to peaceful coexistence and the anti-imperialist struggle. The main principle of the policy of the socialist camp in relation to the former colonies is non-interference in their internal affairs. The main aim of this policy is to help the underdeveloped nations sweep away the vestiges of colonialism and assist in their regeneration.

This proves that the implementation of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, the struggle of the Communists for an international détente and peaceful coexistence facilitate progress in all spheres of life in the world today.

* * *

The strength of the Communists lies in their unity. This unity calls for the unshakeable solidarity of the community of the socialist states and the mutual support of all the national detachments of the worldwide army of Communists. The great significance of the Bucharest meeting lies in the fact that it has counterposed this monolithic unity to the attempts of the imperialist aggressors, after frustrating the summit conference, to rekindle a war psychosis, to intensify the slander campaign against the socialist countries and increase the pressure on the democratic and working-class movement.

The Communist parties of the whole world have unanimously supported the decisions of the Bucharest meeting, thereby demonstrating their determination to fight to the end for the realization of working class ideals.

A meeting of the Central Committee of our Party in the middle of July expressed in its resolution complete support for and solidarity with the political assessments and conclusions of the communiqué. Our Party

fully supports the fundamental concepts of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto concerning the nature of the present situation and the tasks arising from it for the entire communist movement. "The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party declares," says the resolution adopted on July 13, "that the Party, the Government and the whole of the people support and will continue to support with all their might the peace policy of the Soviet Union, they are fighting and will continue to fight for the triumph of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems both throughout the world and in the Balkans, they will make their contribution to the victory in peaceful competition with capitalism, while building up the might of socialist Bulgaria."

Together with the world communist movement the Bulgarian Communist Party is fully determined to combat both revisionism which distorts the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and dogmatism which hinders the creative development and application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the situation as it is today. While revisionism, being a manifestation of unprincipled opportunism, leads to the destruction of the revolutionary essence of the working-class movement and the betrayal of its interests, dogmatism, fixed ideas and the substitution of the trite reiteration of old formulas for a concrete analysis of reality are breeding grounds for sectarianism and political adventurism. To achieve success in the struggle for socialism it is necessary constantly to fight on two fronts—against revisionism and against dogmatism. Narrow nationalist tendencies can also be a serious danger to the communist movement.

The world communist movement rests firmly on the basis of creative Marxism. Active theoretical work, the search for new bold solutions to questions posed by life on the basis of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism—these are the characteristics of Communists. A creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory enabled the Communist parties in 1957 to elaborate a program of action which has been fully justified by subsequent events. The whole history of the communist movement shows that only this approach to theory can serve as a basis for stable and active unity of the genuinely revolutionary parties and the world communist movement as a whole. Our unity is a guarantee of the final victory of our great cause.

A Model of Peaceful Coexistence

J. Koplenig

A GAINST the background of imperialist provocations and frenzied attempts to prevent a relaxation of international tension, N. S. Khrushchov's visit to Austria reaffirmed most convincingly the Soviet Union's determination to uphold peace and to frustrate the criminal designs of aggressive circles. Addressing workers at the Austro-Fiat Works in Floridsdorf, Khrushchov said:

"Some foreign journalists have recently been asking: 'What is Khrushchov seeking in Austria; why has he gone there?'"

"I can answer that question, too. We have come to Austria in the interest of international co-operation, in the interest of peace and friendship among nations."

These words mirror the cherished hopes not only of the Austrian working people, but of all people of goodwill, of all who come out in defense of peace.

Reactionaries in Austria and other countries fully realized the blow Khrushchov's visit would deal to their plans. And they set to work to cast a shadow over the atmosphere, and to wreak vengeance for the crushing defeats imperialist foreign policy has suffered in the past few months. What they wanted above all was that Khrushchov should meet with the same kind of reception in Austria as Eisenhower would have had in Japan. But that was wishful thinking. And they tried to stage a "polite, but cool," reception for the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The Catholic bishops called on their "flocks" to cold shoulder the visit, to keep off the streets and to refrain from any show of sympathy. And that, too, was how the pan-German wing of the Socialist Party of Austria, which is closely associated with *Die Neue Zeit*, the Graz organ of the Socialist Party, and the weekly newspaper *Heute*, proceeded to act.

The reactionary press had its hands full. The yellow press sheets and even the more sedate bourgeois publications did their utmost to "throw cold water" over people's feelings towards the Soviet guest. A leading article in *Neues Oesterreich* of May 31 threw some light on what was behind this campaign which was launched many weeks before the

visit. "State visits," it said, "make for nervousness. In the case of the Khrushchov visit this is understandable for many reasons. Not least among them are political reasons, because Austria, as a neutral state close to the iron curtain, will lose face vis-à-vis the West if she makes the slightest mistake. Even the traditional Austrian hospitality must be well 'modulated', in order to avoid any risk of its being misunderstood."

These few lines give an idea of the great external pressure that was brought to bear upon Austria by those desirous of creating an unfavorable atmosphere. Nevertheless, the attempts of both Austrian and foreign circles proved unsuccessful. The cordial reception accorded Khrushchov by all sections of the Austrian people was a demonstration of the will for peace, of the sincere friendship of the Austrian people for the Soviet Union.

Peaceful Coexistence in Action

For Austria Khrushchov's visit was a truly outstanding event, and one that was at the same time of great importance for the whole world. It drew the public's attention to certain foreign policy problems which, although directly concerning Soviet-Austrian relations, were at the same time a matter of general principle. Chief among these was the problem of peaceful coexistence between countries belonging to different social systems. In Soviet-Austrian relations the principle of peaceful coexistence is seen in action. "Both sides," says the Joint Communiqué signed on the last day of the visit, "unanimously stated that Soviet-Austrian relations, based upon recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of the difference in their social systems and ideological views, were developing satisfactorily for both sides on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. There are no unsettled political problems between the two states."

Relations between the two countries are indeed developing favorably, with every year economic and cultural ties become stronger, and the friendship between the two peoples more durable. The socialist Soviet Union and capitalist Austria harbor no plans for war

against each other: normal relations permeated with the spirit of co-operation and mutual respect for sovereignty have been established between them. That is what genuine peaceful coexistence between states belonging to different social systems means, peaceful coexistence that does not merely imply the absence of war at a given moment, but the establishment of relations which provide a sure guarantee of peace, end the preparations for war and make for a healthier international climate.

Small though Austria is in comparison with other capitalist powers and specific though her position in the world may be, her relations with the Soviet Union can be regarded as important and weighty proof that peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist countries is no utopian dream, no figment of the imagination, but something as useful as it is practicable. The visit to Austria and an analysis of that country's relations with the Soviet Union enabled Khrushchov to stress that "peaceloving peoples can ensure international peace and the development of peaceful trade, cultural and other contacts between countries. That is peaceful coexistence of states, which, despite the difference in their social systems, can live in peace and friendship." One cannot but agree with this pronouncement of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Soviet-Austrian relations have convincingly disproved imperialist propaganda that other countries cannot live in peace and friendship with states with a communist ideology. Experience has shown that ideological differences are no obstacle to good-neighborly relations; a common ideology alone—and history attests to this—does not prevent quarrels or even wars between bourgeois countries. The statesmen of capitalist Austria have, as it appears, often discovered that it is easier to find a common language with the Communist Khrushchov precisely because he represents a socialist country, than with the rulers of many bourgeois countries who look upon our country as a poorly defended object for plunder.

The example of Soviet-Austrian relations is important in another respect. It is graphic proof that a capitalist country may find that conditions at home and abroad compel its government to pursue a policy of peace. There is no need to speak of the importance of this. Not only are the socialist countries averse to war themselves, they are doing their utmost to frustrate the plans of the enemies of peace.

Whether peace is to be or not to be, depends on whether the imperialists can be made to give up military adventures.

The resolutions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the CPSU and the documents adopted by other Communist parties have answered this question in the affirmative. Austria and her relations with the Soviet Union provide practical confirmation of this theoretical conclusion.

Austria's social system does not differ from that of other capitalist countries. She is ruled by the bourgeoisie, first and foremost big capital which, furthermore, is often associated with foreign monopolies. Austrian capitalists have become neither more humane nor more scrupulous than they were in the past, nor are they any better than the capitalists of other countries. They have not changed. Nevertheless, conditions have impelled capitalist Austria to take the path of peaceful coexistence.

It may be said that the example of Austria proves nothing, because she is a country too small and too weak to harbor war plans against the Soviet Union.

That is true. But it is equally true that the mere fact that a capitalist country is small and its military potential inconsiderable, has never yet made its bourgeoisie peace-loving. Did not the capitalists of Poland, Rumania, Finland and Hungary prove this by pursuing an anti-Soviet policy on the eve of the Second World War? Did not these countries at that time become bases from which the bigger imperialist plunderers embarked on their adventures? And today the plans of reactionary pro-imperialist circles in Austria run along the same lines. They cannot, of course, even entertain the idea of making a direct attack on the Soviet Union. But they are certainly doing their best to subordinate Austria to West German imperialism (and, through it, to NATO), and to impel the country towards an "anschluss," which in the past plunged little Austria, as part of the Hitler Reich, into a war against the Soviet Union and the anti-fascist coalition. The advocates of this policy are still very influential, associated as they are with powerful Austrian and foreign capital groupings. But their desperate efforts will prove futile. And why? For the same general reasons which now make it possible to avoid war and preserve and consolidate peace. In Austria these reasons are, possibly, more cogent.

The position of the country makes clear to the Austrian bourgeoisie that the balance of the forces between capitalism and socialism has changed to such an extent that if it came to an armed conflict the bourgeoisie would win nothing and stand to lose all that it values: wealth, privileges, power and, most likely, life. Does this moderate the bellicosity of our capitalists? It certainly does. Needless to say not all Austria's ruling class are prepared to listen to reason. Considerable sections of the Austrian bourgeoisie are closely associated with West German and U.S. monopoly capital, and look at things from the standpoint of foreign monopolies. However, owing to the political conditions obtaining in the country, these groups are not getting the whip-hand.

The main factor here is that the people are constantly exerting pressure. So far it has stopped the adventurists from coming to power and forced the government and the big political parties to face up to realities. It is not any particular quality of the Austrian peace fighters that accounts for the effectiveness of the pressure but, again, certain features of the country's domestic and international position. And it is by no means just a matter of geography. The results of the Second World War have played an important part. The war undermined the might and influence of the country's more reactionary circles; it taught the people important political lessons, and discredited in their eyes a policy based upon subordination to German imperialism and collaboration in ventures against the Soviet Union, in effect a policy of national betrayal.

These features are important. But they do not imply that Austria is an exceptional case and that no analogy can be drawn with bigger and stronger countries farther away from the Soviet Union and the socialist world. It will become clear if one thinks it over that there are not, as things stand, any fundamental qualitative differences between Austria and other bourgeois countries. Even with the present relationship of forces and technological development, a rocket-nuclear war would mean a dead loss not only for the Austrian bourgeoisie, but also for the capitalists of France, Britain and even America, to say nothing of Norway, Belgium or Holland. A war of this kind would bring in its wake unparalleled disaster to the peoples of all countries. The level of the political consciousness and organization of the working people will enable them to see to it that if war is

unleashed by the capitalists of any country irrespective of its size or geographical position, they will not escape retribution. All this corroborates the fact that insofar as peaceful coexistence with the socialist world is concerned our country is not an exception. Rather, by virtue of favorable objective conditions, Austria shows that as the balance of forces continues to change in favor of socialism and the struggle for peace gains momentum, this policy can and must become the general rule for other capitalist countries.

Neutrality — Its Significance

The friendly relations between Austria and the Soviet Union have not been built upon sentimental considerations, but upon a firm foundation—the fact that permanent neutrality became Austria's official policy after she signed the State Treaty.

It is today generally recognized that the policy of neutrality has brought great benefits to the Austrian people.

The *Wiener Kurier*, it is true, complained on the day of Khrushchov's arrival in Vienna that Austria had paid too high a price for the State Treaty. What did it have in mind? "The price," the newspaper explained, "is that we have undertaken to conduct a policy of neutrality, of not allowing foreign military bases on our territory. In the field of defense we have thus left the community of free and democratic countries to which we belong. We have, moreover, even broken their line of defense in what strategically is an extremely important area in Europe."

Thus this Austrian mouthpiece of aggressive American circles and the Adenauer clique blabbed out what the imperialists are after in Austria. They would like to make the country a base for subversion against the socialist countries; they would like Austria to become a link between NATO member-states—West Germany and Italy. The Austrian Parliament's decision to adhere to a policy of permanent neutrality and to incorporate it in the Republic's Constitution has upset the calculations of the imperialists. The proclamation of neutrality has averted a grave danger, dealt a crushing blow to the aggressive forces and promoted the development of friendly relations between Austria and the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov's goodwill visit has again riveted public attention in Austria and elsewhere upon the significance of the country's neutrality and made it possible to sum up some of the results.

Neutrality has saved Austria from joining the North Atlantic bloc, from having military bases and long-range missile launching sites on her territory and from being tied to warmongers who harbor aggressive plans against the socialist countries. In the interval between the two world wars Austria was a plaything in the hands of the imperialist powers and, in the end, this led to the country's losing its independence and being plunged into the war let loose by Hitler. Thanks to the political and moral support accorded by the Soviet Union the neutral Austria of today has become a respected member of the family of peaceloving peoples, and her independence rests upon a firm foundation. This fact alone shows how important neutrality is to Austria and her people. But its implications are much wider.

Neutrality greatly helps the working people of Austria in their struggle against reaction, for democratic rights and liberties. The brass hats and militarists have everywhere been the mainstay of reaction and fascism. Neutrality, on the other hand, deprives the enemies of democracy of a large measure of this support. It also makes it difficult for foreign imperialists to influence domestic policy. Many reactionary measures in home policy which European NATO member-states have been carrying out since the war, were and continue to be inspired by this influence.

Neutrality is of paramount importance to Austria economically, and has enabled her to develop a more comprehensive and effective economy than many of the other capitalist countries, for, thanks to neutrality, the progressive forces in Austria have far greater opportunities of fighting for a reduction in military spending and against participation in the ruinous arms drive. Furthermore—and this is particularly important for a small country like Austria—neutrality makes for greater economic independence and helps to repulse the monopolists of the bigger imperialist countries from seeking to get a grip on the economy of their "junior partners" through military and political blocs and economic appendages such as the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community, etc. Neutral Austria can expand trade not only with the capitalist West, but also with the socialist countries, and can sell her manufactured goods to what were recently colonial countries. This is highly important politically, for it is precisely a small country that can lose its independence by orientating its economy and trade one-sidedly towards a

group of capitalist countries. Austria has already experienced this: the "anschluss" of 1938 followed on the heels of the economic expansion of the German monopolies. This historical lesson has taught the Austrian working people to be extremely watchful of the West German capitalists who, in complicity with considerable sections of the Austrian big bourgeoisie, are again seeking to seize the commanding heights of our economy.

People who really know something about economic problems (and these include representatives of the bourgeoisie), attach great importance to expanding economic ties between Austria and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They appreciate that broader trade relations with countries with planned economies free of crises make for greater economic stability and lessen the impact of cyclical crises under capitalism.

The Austrian Communists are glad to see the benefits accruing from the policy of neutrality. It was they who first advanced the demand for neutrality. In the early stages the Communist Party came up against determined opposition to this demand from the two ruling parties—the People's and the Socialist. But as it became increasingly clear that the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp were growing stronger every year, and as the idea of neutrality, thanks to our Party's efforts, took a stronger grip on the masses, the ruling circles in Austria changed their attitude. They changed it slowly and hesitatingly, but in the long run the majority in both parties of the government coalition chose neutrality. Our slogan took deep root and the policy of neutrality began to bear fruit; first, the State Treaty was signed and the country achieved independence and sovereignty, and subsequently its political and economic position was consolidated. Our Party's prolonged struggle for neutrality was justified, and brought great benefits to the people.

At the same time Austria's neutrality is of great international significance and sets a good example for other capitalist countries.

Every country in the world can make a contribution to the cause of peace. Each socialist country is doing so in the most effective way — consolidating the might, unity and cohesion of the socialist world system. In fighting for independence the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are at the same time emasculating the forces

of war, because their struggle deals telling blows to the imperialists. For many capitalist countries the policy of neutrality creates more favorable conditions for the peace struggle. This refers both to the recently emancipated countries and to the advanced capitalist countries.

The very conception of neutrality has now changed considerably. A detached observer in a conflict was formerly called neutral. The fundamental conflict in international relations today is the struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of war. And there can be no impartial observers in this conflict. This has been well appreciated by countries which, although not socialist, have come out in defense of peace. The example of Austria shows that their policy is dictated by national interests.

NATO military and rocket bases have been set up in neighboring Italy and West Germany. Need we speak of the danger this spells for Austria, if only because of the imperialist's espionage provocations? And what will happen in the event of a general armed conflict? It is clear that with the existing weapons war, even if the imperialists were to respect Austria's neutrality (which is unlikely), would inflict tremendous damage. In the light of the foregoing it is the great national task of Austria not only vigilantly to guard her own neutrality, but to work actively for peace. It is no wonder that, realizing this, the democratically-minded people in the country welcomed the joint Soviet-Austrian Communiqué, which stated that the signatories to it would do what they could to see that the problem of disarmament, the most urgent and crucial problem of our time, is settled positively.

The new significance of neutrality and the advantages it offers to the countries extricating themselves from imperialist political and military blocs, are making the fight for neutrality one of the chief aims of the peace struggle in the capitalist countries. This applies not only to the small countries, but to the large ones, too. The Japanese people's mighty movement against the "security treaty" imposed upon them by American imperialism is eloquent evidence of this. This movement is taking place around a slogan demanding abrogation of the treaty and a policy of neutrality on the Austrian model.

The struggle for neutrality now being waged by the working people in the capitalist countries—including the big ones—is an important contribution to the cause of world

peace. It deals a blow to imperialism, first and foremost to American imperialism, a blow, furthermore, in its most sensitive spot, reducing its chances of using foreign armies and bases in other countries in the pursuit of its military plans. Without bases, without allies, and confronted with the rapid growth of the peace camp, American imperialism will hardly dare to embark on military adventures. As Khrushchov said at the press conference on the day of his departure from Austria, if Germany proclaimed neutrality it would mean that a cornerstone had been laid in the foundation of a lasting peace in Europe and in all other parts of the world. It would deal a crushing blow to both American and West German imperialism. The imperialists of these two countries are the most dangerous enemies of peace.

By being neutral even a small country like Austria makes an important contribution to combating the war danger, particularly in view of its position at the junction of two worlds—the socialist and the capitalist. But possibly even more important is the fact that the example of Austria, like that of a number of other countries, is helping to develop the popular struggle in many countries for withdrawal from imperialist aggressive blocs and for a policy of neutrality.

New Type of Relations Between Small and Big Powers

The relations between the Soviet Union and Austria are a good example of the new type of relations between small and large countries.

In the capitalist world these relations are built on the principles of domination and subordination, of inequality, oppression and exploitation of the weak by the strong. We Austrians know this from experience. A glance back at the history of Austro-German relations proves this. In the pre-war years they took the form of "anschluss", the forcible incorporation of little, weak Austria in Nazi Germany (all the big capitalist powers took this as a matter of course and immediately recognized the "anschluss"). Unfortunately, German imperialism's claim to Austria is not a matter of history. We are nowadays constantly being confronted with it.

Sincere Austrians could not but think of this on the day Khrushchov visited the former Nazi concentration camp in Mauthausen. The mass meeting held there was one of the most moving and important events of the Austrian visit. For the first time in a long while repre-

representatives of Resistance Fighters organizations and of the victims of Nazism in Austria, irrespective of party affiliation or outlook, again gathered together. Khrushchov voiced the sentiments of anti-fascists and genuine democrats when he called upon the people not to forget the brutalities of Nazism and not to relax the fight against the revenge-seeking elements now active again in West Germany; against those who want to plunge the peoples into the horrors of another war and once again to oppress them.

Not only West Germany but other big capitalist powers, too, regard small countries as objects of exploitation; they endeavor to impose their regime and their way of life onto the small peoples. Innumerable examples can be drawn from history, and are provided by our times as well. Countries like Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, brought into NATO by their reactionary bourgeoisie, are feeling the constant pressure of the bigger imperialist plunderers, above all, the American and the West German. These countries are forced to bear the heavy burden of arms expenditures and to agree to the installation on their territories of military bases, including atomic bases.

By drawing small countries into the so-called European organizations, the big West European monopolies, first and foremost the West German, are dominating the economies of their "junior" partners. Matters have come to such a pass that Belgium, for example, has been forced to close down pits with the result that tens of thousands of miners are losing their jobs and means of subsistence. The fact that American militarists recently used the airfields of small countries for spy flights is an example of the scant regard which the big imperialist powers have for small nations.

It is common knowledge that with the U.S. and West German militarists Austria's sovereignty and neutrality count for nothing. The case of U.S. troops being airlifted from West Germany to the Middle East over Austrian territory is still fresh in people's minds. West German militarists have repeatedly interfered in the affairs of Austria. Recently they demanded that Austria should increase her army and equip it with modern, including atomic, weapons.

This affords a good illustration of the principles upon which relations between small and big countries are built under capitalism.

The attitude of the Soviet Union, the great socialist power, to small countries is entirely different. Having implemented the principle of the equality of nations in its own country, and treating with respect the sovereignty of socialist countries irrespective of their size and level of development, the USSR bases its policy towards small countries belonging to a different social system on the principles of self-determination and equality, of non-interference in their internal affairs and respect for their sovereignty and neutrality and the inviolability of their territory.

In the years that have passed since the conclusion of the State Treaty, not once has the Soviet Union intervened in the domestic affairs of Austria in any way. Neither has it made any demands on Austria that would be incompatible with her sovereignty or independence. Issues were settled by negotiations in the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the two peoples. Dr. Kreisky, Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasized this point.

Not only does the Soviet Union respect the rights and interests of small countries, it helps to defend these interests if they are infringed by imperialists. Everyone remembers the part this policy played in the struggle for independence waged by Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Cuba, the Congo and a number of other countries. And it is not only countries that are fighting against colonialism that find this high-principled policy of the Soviet Union so helpful. It is a source of strength and confidence of the peoples of advanced capitalist countries, including Austria.

Khrushchov's statement that the Soviet Union would not remain indifferent if Austria's neutrality were violated and would take measures to defend her neutrality evoked the anger of the reactionary circles of the imperialist countries. But the Austrian working people welcomed it, because they know that this position of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a reliable guarantee of Austria's neutrality and independence and safeguards the interests of her people.

The Main Task of Austria's Democratic and Peaceloving Forces

Our people have scored some important gains in foreign policy. Among them are good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union based upon the principle of peaceful coexistence, neutrality, independence in solving important problems of foreign policy, etc.

But it would be a great mistake to assume that we can now rest on our laurels. Not for a moment must it be forgotten that our achievements are the object of fierce struggle between the advocates of imperialism and the forces determined to maintain and strengthen peace.

Influential circles in Austria are doing their utmost to poison the atmosphere, to spoil relations with the Soviet Union, to sidetrack the country from the path of neutrality and to draw it into aggressive imperialist blocs. And it is not only the so-called Austrian Liberal Party (Freiheitliche Partei) led by neo-Nazis, which voted in Parliament against the declaration of neutrality, that aspires to do this. There are groups hostile to the policy of neutrality and out to spoil relations between Austria and the Soviet Union in both parties of the government coalition. These political groupings are either direct agents of the Bonn militarists and imperialists or they represent the interests of Austrian bourgeois circles closely associated with foreign, particularly West German, monopoly capital.

Innumerable facts show that the West German imperialists and their accomplices in Austria have no intention of respecting Austria's neutrality or sovereignty. They refuse to accept the fact that the Austrians are an independent nation, and continue to conduct chauvinistic pan-German propaganda with the object of annexing Austria, in one form or another, to West Germany. In Austria the Bonn imperialists make use of the venal press, adventurist and fascist elements, and the dozens of subversive organizations kept going on foreign, primarily West German, funds. It must be said that these elements and organizations have great freedom of action in Austria. In fact, only a few days after Khrushchov had left Austria, one of these organizations, which makes little or no effort to conceal its pan-German and Nazi ideas, held a rally in Graz under the guise of a "sports festival" which was so provocative that not only the Communists, but the socialist and Catholic youth organizations, Resistance Fighters associations of various trends and other organizations and newspapers, including *Neues Oesterreich*, organ of the government coalition, called for its prohibition.

The reactionary circles associated with aggressive imperialism, small though they may be in comparison with the whole population of Austria, can, as this fact reveals, influence the government. And this danger should not

be underrated. A high degree of vigilance on the part of all democratic and peace-loving forces, constant readiness to frustrate reaction's intrigues, resolute struggle against attempts to push Austria off the path of neutrality, peaceful coexistence and good neighborly relations with the socialist countries — all this is urgently called for. Khrushchov's Austrian visit has inflicted a heavy defeat on the cold war advocates and the opponents of neutrality. And they are now trying to take revenge.

The Austrian government's wavering and inconsistent stand vis-à-vis reactionary pro-imperialist pressure has reaffirmed the need for vigilance and for a resolute struggle to defend our neutrality. The government formally rejected the protests* lodged by Washington and Bonn in an insolent attempt at interference. On the other hand, it said it did not agree with Khrushchov's statements — not only on ideological questions, which would be a natural thing for any bourgeois government to do, but on questions of foreign policy, including that of neutrality.

Yet Khrushchov's foreign policy statements fully accord with the interests of the Austrian people. It is clear, for example, that a settlement of the German and the Berlin questions by the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States would also be important for Austria. Because it is not a matter of indifference to us that the remnants of the Second World War have not yet been abolished on our Western frontiers, or that the forces of German militarism, whose policy jeopardizes the peace and independence of the European peoples, are being rebuilt there.

If they cannot do away with neutrality altogether, Austria's reactionary forces are at least trying to whittle it down with a view to confining it to the purely military sphere. It goes without saying that there can be no neutrality on questions of ideology, just as — despite reiterated statements of leading Austrian Socialists in connection with Khrushchov's visit — there is and can be no "peaceful coexistence" in the class relations in the capitalist countries. But in the conditions obtaining today the principle of genuine neutrality should cover the entire foreign policy of the given country, and not be limited to the military sphere. Because the fundamental task of a neutral country today is not to assure a comfortable and safe position for itself in

*Protests lodged by the U.S. and West German governments with the Austrian government over the pronouncements N. S. Khrushchov made on important questions of foreign policy during his Austrian tour.—Ed.

the event of war (there are no such positions nowadays), but to prevent war, and to put its whole weight into preserving and consolidating peace. One cannot be neutral in the fight for peace. And it is not fortuitous that the countries which have proclaimed neutrality as the basis of their policy belong to the zone of peace. As the joint Soviet-Austrian Communiqué says, "Austria's permanent neutrality is a positive contribution to the relaxation of international tension and to the consolidation of peace."

And that is why the Communist Party of Austria demands from the Austrian government, which in the Communiqué unequivocally undertook to do all it could to see that the "problem of disarmament is settled positively in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly resolution of November 20, 1959," that it really does support the Soviet Union's proposal for general, complete and controlled disarmament. Time and again the Communist Party of Austria has drawn attention to the fact that the government's policy, which recognizes the Federal Republic of Germany but not the German Democratic Republic, runs

counter to the spirit of neutrality and the national interests of Austria. Unlike other neutral countries and certain NATO member-states Austria has not yet recognized the Chinese People's Republic. We are fighting and will continue to fight for the recognition of these two states, against the government's absurd policy in relation to them, a policy dictated not by the national interests, but by the Austrian bourgeoisie's hatred of socialism, and the influence exerted by foreign imperialists.

An important task devolving on all peace forces in the country is to develop all-round economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and with Czechoslovakia and Hungary, our socialist neighbors, in particular.

We firmly believe that whether our government pursues a policy of consistent neutrality and of defending peace will depend upon the actions taken by the broad masses of the working people and Austrians generally for peace and democracy. This struggle will help us to limit the imperialist warmongers' sphere of influence and to extend the zone of peace.

New Constitution of Czechoslovakia —Constitution of Triumphant Socialism

Frantisek Havlicek

FIFTEEN years ago thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army over Nazi Germany the working people of Czechoslovakia established a People's Democracy. In a historically short period of time our people under the leadership of the Communist Party have in bitter class battles brought about far-reaching political, economic and social changes in this country.

Socialist production relations have triumphed throughout the national economy—industry, agriculture, construction, trade and transport. The class structure of our society has undergone a radical change. The bourgeoisie as a class has disappeared. The small commodity producers of the countryside have evolved into a new class of socialist society

—that of peasant co-operators. The working class, too, has changed. It has become numerically stronger, its political consciousness has matured and its leading position in society has been consolidated. The composition of the intelligentsia and the character of its work have also changed. A large part of our intellectuals has come from the ranks of the workers and farmers. The vast majority of the intelligentsia is loyal to the people and the cause of socialism. Between the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals relations of comradely co-operation and socialist mutual aid prevail. By its class structure our society is now a socialist society.

Czechoslovakia is steadily advancing its national economy, particularly industrial pro-

duction the level of which is four times higher than prewar. With the completion of the Second Five-Year Plan the material base of socialism has been established. The rapid expansion of the productive forces has been accompanied by an improvement of the material and cultural standards of the working people. The economic and cultural differences between the Czech lands and Slovakia have largely been abolished. The solution of the national question on Leninist principles has cemented the friendship of the two fraternal nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks, who have built a united Czechoslovak Republic.

These fundamental changes in social relations call for a new, socialist constitution. The former constitution adopted on May 9, 1948, soon after the defeat of the counter-revolutionary putsch, was a constitution of the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The basic economic and political relations which were reflected in it no longer exist. *Socialism has triumphed in Czechoslovakia*. That means that a social system has been established for which many generations of revolutionary workers have fought, a system which was ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

The Basic Principles and Certain Features of the New Constitution of Czechoslovakia

A constitution is the code of the fundamental laws of a state, a legal embodiment of the characteristic features of the socio-economic system, of the principles of governmental organization and functioning of administrative organs, of the rights and duties of citizens, etc. Hence the essence of the constitution is that it reflects the relationship of the classes in a country and the will of the ruling class. In a socialist state the constitution is the result of the victorious class struggle of the working people and the development of society, the legal embodiment of the achievements of the people.

In this sense the new constitution registers the basic political, economic and, in a broad sense, social changes which have occurred in the country in the twelve years of socialist construction. *It is an embodiment of the historic victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia*. And this is recorded in Chapter I:

"Czechoslovakia is a socialist state based on a firm alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals with the working class at the head;

"Czechoslovakia is a single state uniting two equal, fraternal peoples — the Czechs and the Slovaks;

"Czechoslovakia is a component of the socialist world system; it works for friendly relations with all peoples and to ensure lasting peace throughout the world;

"The socialist economic system which excludes any form of exploitation of man by man constitutes the economic foundation of Czechoslovakia."

That is why the new constitution proclaims the state of Czechoslovakia as the *Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*.

The guidance of the Communist Party has been a major factor in ensuring the development of our society along socialist lines. It is the source of all the achievements of the working people, the guarantee of the further advancement of socialist society. It is only logical that the new constitution should confirm this role of the Party.

Therefore the constitution singles out and lays down as the basic principles of socialist society and the state the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of its vanguard, the Communist Party; the alliance of the working class with the other sections of the working people; the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production; socialist reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of the voluntary union of peasants in co-operatives; planned development of socialist economy, improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the working people and their education in the spirit of a scientific world outlook; defense of socialist achievements, proletarian internationalism, equality and friendship among peoples.

These basic principles of the constitution should not be confused with its characteristic features. However, until quite recently in Marxist literature on state law the concept of "constitutional principles" included heterogeneous phenomena such as the alliance of workers and peasants on the one hand and the structure of executive power on the other. Thus the principles and features of the constitution were unjustifiably equated. In reality these are not one and the same thing. The basic principles of the constitution express in a legal form the essence of the social and state system in all socialist countries, whereas the characteristic features reflect the specific traits and particular aspects of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the new constitution a fundamental achievement of the people — the establishment of a new, socialist system — is legally registered but the constitution is not limited to this. It also gives a comprehensive description of the policy of a socialist state. The state, reads Article 15, pursues an economic, social and cultural policy and a policy in the field of public health which, side by side with the expansion of production, ensure higher living standards and shorter working hours and the development of the physical and spiritual abilities of the people. This article is a new element in socialist constitutional law. It is an embodiment of the Leninist concept that a planned organization of social production should be increasingly aimed at ensuring the well-being and all-round development of the members of society.

The experience of socialist construction and its generalization on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory have made it advisable to record in the constitution not only what has *already been achieved* — that is, the triumph of socialism in all spheres of life — but also the *prevailing tendencies in the gradual transition of socialist society to communism*. These programmatic elements of the new constitution are its specific feature.

The constitution, of course, is not a Party program, nor is it designed to replace it. The object of the constitution is to serve as a firm foundation of socialist law, a starting point for the elaboration of current laws and regulations. However, while emphasizing the legal character of the constitution one cannot overlook the *new quality* of socialist law which is not only an instrument for safeguarding the existing order but also an active means of consolidating the power of the working class and advancing socialism.

The constitution *as such*, of course, cannot change the relationship of the class forces, engender new production relations or raise the level of the national economy, but it can promote these things. While avoiding a passive mechanical reflection of socialist legality a legislature should not at the same time fall for subjectivist illusions about the omnipotence of law. Law, and therefore, the constitution above all reflect and place on record existing reality in the form of legal standards. However, socialist reality has not only its present, but also its past and future. Socialist society still retains some of the "birthmarks" of the old society and has also rudiments of the new communist society. That is why the new constitution, proceeding from the stage of development that has been achieved in our

country, emphasizes the duty of the state, the citizens and their voluntary public organizations to consolidate and develop the socialist system and to help it to get rid of all the survivals of the old exploiting society.

The constitution as the fundamental law reflects the *sum total of social relations*. That is precisely why it contains programmatic elements and reflects the objective tendencies in development.

As distinct from bourgeois constitutions which seek to consecrate the rights of the capitalist state — an instrument for the oppression of the absolute majority by the ruling minority — the new constitution puts first and above everything else the interests of *society as a whole*. From this viewpoint it gives a clear definition of the relation between society and the state, between the organs of state, as well as between the citizens and the state, of the structure of society and the status of citizens as members of this society.

A distinctive feature of the new constitution is its *honesty*. Bourgeois constitutions are conspicuous for the contradiction between word and deed, between the rights of citizens proclaimed in them and capitalist reality. They are silent about the fact that the declared freedom and equality are unreal. Private ownership of the means of production enables the minority to exploit the majority who are deprived of these means of production. Capitalist society, under which proletarians are forced "freely" to sell their labor power to the owners of the means of production, is represented in legal interpretation as a realm of free and equal people. In reality bourgeois constitutions hypocritically mask the actual state of affairs; the abstract and formal concepts of "equality," "freedom," "democracy in general" as absolutes serve as a cover for capitalist exploitation of man by man, freedom for the propertied, equality for the rich, and forced labor for the majority which is under the constant economic, political and spiritual oppression of the ruling classes.

As opposed to this, in the socialist countries where new production relations are evolving and gaining ground, the legal standards are becoming a more precise and adequate expression of socialist relations. Since ownership of the means of production is transferred to society and exploitation of man by man is abolished the relations between people are no longer expressed through things but stand out in their truly human form. Hence, while bourgeois constitutions by their

phrasemongering about freedom and democracy cover up the class domination of the bourgeoisie, the constitutions of the socialist countries are honest in every respect since they have nothing to hide from the people, since they express the will of the whole society of working people, really free and really equal.

The Economic Foundations of the Power of the Working People

That socialism has triumphed in our country is vividly expressed in those Articles which deal with the economic system. The economic foundation of our socialist republic is the socialist system of economy excluding all forms of exploitation of man by man. The basic means and instruments of production are common property and hence the question of their employment is decided not by an individual but by society which manages the national economy in a conscious and planned way with a view to ensuring a steady rise in the living standards of the working people. Thanks to this the antagonism between labor for one's self and labor for the exploiter which is characteristic of capitalism has disappeared. The labor of individuals for themselves is organically tied up with their labor for the good of society as a whole. In emphasizing this fact the constitution proclaims: "Labor in socialist society is labor for the good of society and simultaneously for the good of the worker himself."

The constitution contains a clear-cut formula of the new relations of ownership inherent in socialist society viewed in the historical perspective so that this formula will not hinder but facilitate the progressive tendencies of social development.

In our economy *common socialist ownership* prevails, expressed in two principal forms: state ownership (national property owned by the whole people) and collective ownership (*co-operative property*). *The higher form of socialist ownership is ownership by the whole people.* In view of the fact that under socialism the state is an organization of the working people, national property is *state property*; it emerged with the birth of the people's democratic system in our country. Only because the basic means of production and principal positions in national economy were in the hands of the people's democratic state has it been possible to ensure a quick victory for socialist production relations. National property is the economic foundation of socialist democracy, which is democracy for the working people.

National or state property constitutes the basis for the planned, balanced development of the national economy as well as the rapid and steady improvement of the people's well-being. Only on the basis of national property is it possible to establish socialist division of labor and coordination of production both within the country and within the socialist world system as a whole. In the light of these concepts the suggestions of the Yugoslav revisionists for the abandonment of state ownership look all the more ridiculous.

The other form of public ownership under socialism is *co-operative property*. It embraces mainly the property of the agricultural co-operatives — voluntary associations of working peasants. Under Article 11 of the constitution "the state in every way facilitates their development and effectively helps the peasant co-operators to develop large-scale socialist production in agriculture on the basis of advanced science and technique."

In tackling the question of the ownership of land from the legal point of view the constitution proceeds from the present economic relations in the countryside as well as from the practice of the socialist co-operative movement. Practice reveals that to ensure the triumph of socialist production relations in the countryside the fundamental point is not the legal form but the socialist mode of production: collective forms of farming and distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor. That is why the constitution consolidates the principle of common land usage on a co-operative basis. The ownership of land by peasant co-operators united for joint cultivation is preserved. Its content, of course, has fundamentally changed. Co-operative tilling of the land excludes the exploitation of the labor of other people. Following a voluntary decision passed by the co-operative members the payment of land rent is being gradually abolished. Under the system of socialist distribution in accordance with work done and with the application of the principle of material incentives the significance of land rent and other sources of income tends to become less. The peasants who join a co-operative have new interests. They concentrate on getting the maximum out of the land by collective effort. Collective cultivation of the land ensures a living standard which could not be achieved by individual farmers.

The dialectical process of the gradual evolution of the right of ownership of land recorded in the new constitution confirms the

validity of the Marxist concept that ownership is above all an expression of the socio-economic relations into which people enter in the process of production.

The constitution guarantees the right of personal property owned by citizens. "Personal property of citizens — articles of consumption, particularly articles of personal consumption and household utensils, dwellings and savings derived from labor — is inviolable" under the constitution. "Inheritance of personal property is guaranteed." Thus the Constitution emphasizes the socialist character of personal property and the importance of safeguarding it under conditions when the socialist principle of payment in accordance with work done, *the principle of material incentives for the working people in the results of their labor, side by side with socialist consciousness*, is a vital factor in stimulating initiative and enthusiasm. The socialist character of personal property is above all determined by the fact that it is a result of the labors, of the participation of the workers in the social process of production under socialism. The fact that such personal property can be used only for consumption excludes the possibility of using it for the exploitation of the labor of others. While safeguarding personal property the new constitution at the same time proceeds from the fact that with the development of socialist society and the building of communism personal consumption will be increasingly met at the expense of public sources by the state providing the working people with the necessary articles of consumption without payment, for the solicitude of society, because the well-being of the people is a distinguishing feature of socialism.

The constitution makes no mention of private property because it is not in the category of the *basic social relations*. It is true that the socialist economic system permits small-scale private enterprise based on personal labor and excluding the exploitation of the labor of others. However, it is clear to the vast majority of our people that the further development of the productive forces and the improvement of the well-being of the working people are possible not in the narrow confines of individual production but only by industrial and agricultural large-scale production based on social property. That is why the constitution safeguards and consolidates socialist property as "the inviolable foundation of socialist society, as the source of the wealth and might of our country."

Political System and State Bodies

The new constitution is that of a socialist state. This is what distinguishes it from the previous constitution of May 9 which proclaimed our country a People's Democracy and which was in line with the task of building a socialist society. As a result of the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the transformation of the petty bourgeois sections the content of the concept "people" has changed. Today it fully coincides with the concept "toiling masses" because there are no longer any people in our country who do not work. The new constitution does not speak of the people in general as a source of power but goes further to emphasize that *the whole power is vested in the working people who exercise it to an ever greater degree*.

In order to participate actively and in every way in the life of society and the state and to exercise their rights, the working people, in keeping with the constitution, associate in voluntary public organizations such as trade unions, co-operatives, cultural, sport and other organizations. With the development of socialist democracy and the socialist state the various functions of the state organs will gradually be transferred to the voluntary organizations. However, the constitution does not indicate in advance which of these functions should be transferred to the voluntary organizations and when, it only mentions the tendency towards such a transition. Actually the voluntary organizations, particularly the trade unions, already settle labor disputes between management and the employees and see to it that labor protection regulations are observed. The state and the voluntary public organizations are not opposed to one another as they are under capitalism but act in one direction and strive for the same objective, because they express the interests not of the various classes but of the whole people. They differ in forms and methods of work. The voluntary public organizations are affiliated to the National Front of the Czechs and Slovaks which is a political expression of the unity of the workers of town and countryside under the leadership of the Communist Party. The National Front also includes non-Communist parties who recognize the leading role of the Communist Party — the People's Party, the Socialist Party, the Party of Slovak Regeneration and the Slovak Party of Freedom. These parties co-operate with the Communist Party in the building of a new society.

In keeping with the socialist principles of and requirements for the further development

of the country the constitution preserves all that is positive and useful in the former state structure (National Assembly, President of the Republic, government, Slovak National Council, National Committees, courts of law and the office of the public prosecutor); it describes some of the specific features of the content and methods of work of these bodies.

The new features above all consist in the fact that the constitution reflects the process of development and broadening of socialist democracy. The constitution is meant to encourage the working people to undertake certain state and social functions without remuneration, functions outside their main work. Herein is a vital guarantee of the consolidation of socialism and of the further advance towards communism. In practice this principle finds its expression in *enhancing the role and extending the rights of the representative bodies of the people*. Their right of control over the executive organs of state power, namely, the government, Council of the National Committee, etc., is further extended. The responsibility of the local state organs to the respective representative bodies is emphasized. The right to decide important matters is vested not in the executive bodies themselves but in the *plenary sessions* of the people's representatives who elected them (within the scope of their powers). Thus the constitution, in defining the terms of reference of the National Assembly, says: The National Assembly discusses and makes decisions on the principal questions of the home and foreign policy of the state. The National Assembly elects the President of the Republic who is responsible to it. The National Assembly supervises the functioning of the government and its members and maintains control over it. The government and its members are responsible for their actions to the National Assembly which passes judgement on their statements and reports.

The constitution provides for effective control to be exercised by the electors over the activity of the people's representative and executive bodies and their members. The electors have the right to recall their deputy at any time. The principle of election and right of recall is also applicable to the judicial bodies. The constitution contains provisions for the direct enlistment of citizens in the work of the state bodies. In this respect an important role is played by the commissions of the representative bodies. These commissions consist of both deputies and ordinary citizens. All representative bodies (including the National Assembly) under the constitution

are obliged in their work to rely on "the co-operation of the working people and their organizations." The working people participate in the maintenance of public order and see to it that the laws and rules of socialist behavior are observed, employing for this purpose such public bodies as courts of honor set up by National Committees (in the localities) and the trade unions (at the enterprises).

The National Committees — *the broadest mass organizations of working people* — which are local government organs (in the regions, districts, cities, towns and villages), constitute the principal body which helps in perfecting socialist democracy. They enlist the broad working masses in the management of all the affairs of the country.

In the light of the new constitution the falsity of bourgeois propaganda — which alleges that in the socialist countries political activity of others than Communists is anti-constitutional as the *Indian Statesman* claimed recently — is all the more obvious. This slander is refuted by the constitutions of all the socialist countries and in particular by the new constitution of our country which states that at all stages of management of state enterprises, co-operatives, etc., the working people and their organizations participate on the broadest scale and display creative initiative.

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the constitution in which some four million people took part is a vivid manifestation of true socialist democracy. The draft was wholeheartedly welcomed. At the same time those who participated in the discussion made many valuable proposals. The discussion has revealed that the working people consider the development of our socialist society as their own vital concern, they feel that it is they who are the creators of a new socialist life in our country. That is why during the discussion of the draft many workers pledged themselves to increase production.

The constitution emphasizes *the unity of legislative and executive power*. The representative bodies of the people at all stages — from the National Assembly to the National Committees in the countryside — take part in implementing the laws and the decisions which they pass. All the representative bodies become *executive bodies*. Thus the inalienable connection between legislative and executive power which excludes their being opposed to one another is more strongly

emphasized, whereas in the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie by restricting democratic rights deprives the elected legislative bodies of their powers and transfers them to the appointed executive bodies. These opposite tendencies in the development of socialist and bourgeois democracy stand out in high relief when one compares the new constitution of Czechoslovakia with that of de Gaulle's Fifth Republic in France.

The relationship between the state bodies is based on the principle of *democratic centralism*. The constitution has extended the independence, powers and responsibility of the lower representative state bodies. At the same time the role of the central bodies is consolidated particularly through the plans and budgets which they approve. The application of the principle of democratic centralism in the constitution is clearly seen in the Articles dealing with the National Committees. In keeping with the constitution the National Committees are guided in their work by the state plan for the development of the national economy, in the elaboration and implementation of which they take part. The National Committees combine the fulfillment of assignments of national importance with the satisfaction of specific local needs. Another example of the implementation of the principle of democratic centralism is the new administrative and territorial division of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which has been carried out in the interests of society as a whole and in accord with the economic, political, social and cultural characteristics of each district.

The constitution places on record the status of the Slovak national bodies, particularly the Slovak National Council. The constitution proceeds from the full equality of the Czech and Slovak nations. Slovakia is now an industrial and agrarian component of the Republic. On this basis the unity of the state and the centralized direction of the life of the whole of society is further consolidated. In Slovakia as throughout the whole country, the scope of the powers of the National Committees, particularly in the regions and districts, are being extended. At the same time the prestige of the Slovak National Council as an elected body which exercises state power and whose representatives participate in the administration of the whole Republic has also increased.

Rights and Duties of Citizens

The main idea which runs through all the

Articles of the constitution on the rights and duties of citizens is the *harmonious combination of the interests of the individual with the interests of society as a whole*. "In a society of working people in which exploitation of man by man has been abolished," the constitution points out, "the development and interests of each of its members are in keeping with the development and the interests of society as a whole." Side by side with the development of the economic, political and cultural life of society the rights of the citizens are being constantly extended.

The corollary of the organic interconnection between the rights of citizens and the development of the material and spiritual life of society is *the unity of rights and duties* of citizens, whose creative work is the motive force of socialist society. The constitution emphasizes that in a society of working people the individual can achieve a greater degree of development of his abilities, satisfaction of his legitimate interests and rights, only by actively participating in the development of the whole of society and above all by participating in social labor. It follows from this that work for the benefit of the collective is both the basic right and the basic duty of every able-bodied citizen. "*Equal duties*," wrote Engels, "—for us is an especially important addition to the bourgeois democratic *equal rights*, an addition depriving the latter of their specifically bourgeois sense."*

The new constitution sets forth the equality of rights and duties of all citizens irrespective of their nationality, race, sex, property status and residence. Men and women enjoy equal rights as far as the family, work and public activity are concerned. In order to ensure real equality of women the constitution specifically provides for the safeguarding of motherhood, matrimony and the family. The constitution emphasizes that the equal status of women in the family, in work and in public activity is ensured by special rules regulating the conditions of their labor, medical services for pregnant women and mothers and also by a comprehensive system of health and welfare institutions. This enables women to work in the factories, on farm co-operatives and in offices and also to take an active part in public life.

The new constitution above all ensures social rights: the right to work and to remuneration in accordance with the quantity, quality and social significance of labor; the right to leisure, health and medical services

*Engels. Critique of the Draft Social Democratic Program.

and also to security in old age and in disability; the right of all citizens to education. These rights vividly characterize the status of the citizen in the state and ensure social justice in society.

As a rule bourgeois constitutions fail to recognize these rights of citizens and if some of these rights which are alien to the very essence of capitalism are introduced into the constitution of bourgeois states under mass pressure they have never been fully implemented. The inability of the capitalist state to ensure the right to work is shown by the chronic unemployment in the capitalist world, even in those countries, as for instance in Italy, where this right is written into the constitution. The right to work registered in the Italian constitution under mass pressure and thanks to the efforts of the Italian Communist Party is a weapon in the struggle for a revolutionary change in the existing social system.

The second group of civil rights and freedoms consists of *political* rights. In accordance with the interests of the working people all citizens are guaranteed freedom of expression on all questions of public life. The inviolability of the person is guaranteed by the law. No one can be arrested without a lawful charge by court order or permission of the public prosecutor. Citizens are guaranteed the inviolability of their dwelling, secrecy of correspondence and freedom of choice of the place of residence. Religious freedom is also guaranteed: Everyone has the right either to profess any religion and to practise a religious cult as long as it does not contradict the law, or not to accept any religion. The constitution emphasizes at the same time that religious views and convictions cannot, of course, serve as a pretext for a refusal to carry out the duties of a citizen in accordance with the law.

The genuine democratic character of the social and state system in Czechoslovakia is confirmed by a special Article of the constitution which provides for the right of citizens and their organizations to approach representative and other state bodies with any proposals or complaints and at the same time legally obliges state bodies to give timely and proper consideration to such submissions. Among the inalienable constitutional rights is also the right to vote. By using this right all citizens take part in the formation of the legislative, executive and judicial bodies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

In close connection with civil rights the constitution lays down the duties of the citizens. The most important are the strict observance of the constitution and of the other laws of the state, the defense of the country, honest fulfilment of social functions, preservation of socialist property, an honest attitude to social labor.

In accordance with the constitution our country grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens who are persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, for participating in the national-liberation movement and in the struggle for peace, as well as for their activity in the sphere of art and science.

In proclaiming the rights of citizens the new constitution as distinguished from bourgeois constitutions concentrates on real guarantees of all social, economic and political rights and freedoms of the citizens. The basic guarantee of these rights is the socialist system under which, to use the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

* * *

The new, socialist constitution of Czechoslovakia points out that in completing socialist construction we "shall advance side by side with our great ally, the fraternal Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and with all the other friendly countries of the socialist world system in which our Republic is a solid link." The constitution also emphasizes the desire of our country "to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world." This reflects the peaceful foreign policy of our country and its desire to live and develop on the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

The successes achieved by the working people of our country convincingly show to the peoples of the whole world the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The example of our socialist state with a developed economy and culture, with a high living standard for the people and a genuine democratic system inspires the working people of the capitalist countries in the fight for their rights and stimulates the spread of the great ideals of socialism throughout the world.

The adoption of the new constitution is an occasion for great rejoicing for the people of Czechoslovakia, because it marks the transition to a higher stage of development, that of completing the building of socialism and of the gradual transition to communism.

Setbacks for American Imperialists and Their Puppets

The Japanese People Strike a Blow at American Policy

THE struggle of the Japanese people against the new Japanese-American treaty has reached unprecedented heights in the last few months. It has shaken the "global policy" of American imperialism.

The U.S. aggressive groups, in pursuing their policy of "positions of strength," have a big stake in the resurgence of the militarist forces in West Germany and Japan. They aim at turning these countries into the breeding grounds of a new war. Hence the significance of the blow struck by the Japanese people in an area so vital to the imperialists; it indicates a serious defeat for American postwar policy.

U.S. propaganda tried to make out that the movement of the Japanese people against the new Japanese-American military treaty was nothing more than a sign of discontent of small groups instigated by the Communists. Even after the powerful protest of the Japanese people had forced the President of the United States to cancel his visit to Japan, the Press Secretary of the White House, Hagerty, declared in Manila on June 16 that the President "would like to express his regret that a small, organized minority led by professional Communist agitators . . . has been able by resort to force and violence to prevent his goodwill visit."

The American attempt to belittle the scale and significance of the struggle of the Japanese people against the new Japanese-American treaty (and actually against the entire American policy in Japan) holds no water. Eisenhower's visit was opposed by the majority of the Japanese people.

The present struggle is by no means unexpected, nor is it a sudden volcanic eruption. It is closely connected with the postwar movement for peace, neutrality, independence and democracy.

The starting point of the peace movement was the struggle for the prohibition of nuclear arms, which developed into a really nationwide mass movement. The Japanese

people who suffered from the American atomic attack and later from American nuclear tests do not want to experience any even more lethal attacks. They are determined to fight for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests.

However, it would be wrong to think that the demand for the prohibition of nuclear weapons evolved overnight into a protest against the new military treaty. In raising the political consciousness of the people no small part was played by the movement against American military bases and prohibited areas at sea used for military exercises by the American armed forces. Apart from the working class considerable sections of the peasants and fishermen joined in this fight.

The political consciousness of the people was also aroused by the movement for re-establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR and the movement against Kishi's anti-Chinese policy, for normalizing Sino-Japanese relations and expanding Sino-Japanese trade.

Neither can one overlook the fact that in the last decade the Japanese people have repeatedly championed democracy. The defense of democracy has assumed the form of considerable numbers of political strikes and demonstrations. Suffice it to recall that some four and a half million workers took part in a political strike against the Kishi government's attempt in 1958 to restore the militarized police. Other sections supported the worker's struggle. As a result the debates on the reactionary bill in Parliament were abandoned.

In other words, the present-day nationwide action of the Japanese people is not a sudden outburst caused by temporary circumstances. The vast extent of this popular struggle, its solidarity and determination, have matured throughout the postwar period. This struggle became particularly intensive in the last ten years.

In the autumn of 1951 the U.S. government signed with Japan the so-called peace treaty

and a "security treaty." It goes without saying that these treaties have brought Japan neither peace nor security. The country is still occupied by the United States army and its sovereignty has not been restored. The United States still maintains a large number of military bases there. The Japanese army, which is subordinated to American command, is being rebuilt under the name of the "self-defense corps." The Japanese islands of Okinawa and Ogasawara have been annexed and are under the complete control of the United States.

In signing these treaties the American aggressive groups and the Japanese reactionaries pursued definite aims. By maintaining a regime of semi-occupation the U.S. imperialists intended to continue their domination of Japan and to turn it into a hotbed of war in Asia. In accepting these treaties with the United States, the Japanese monopolists, traitors to their country, sought through making use of their dependence on American imperialism and in co-operation with it to restore Japanese militarism and to realize their dream of the "great Asian sphere of co-prosperity."

In the ten years that have passed since the conclusion of both treaties the revival and consolidation of Japanese monopoly capital proceeded at an exceptionally rapid pace. However, the revival of monopoly capital and militarism meant that the people were subjected to intensified exploitation and plunder, they suffered from growing unemployment and the gradual loss of democratic rights. The continued semi-occupation of the country by the United States army is humiliating to the national dignity of the people. The treaties have been a handicap to restoring friendly relations with the neighboring socialist countries.

The Eisenhower-Kishi collusion, their plans for revising the Japanese-American "security treaty" and concluding a new treaty for "mutual co-operation and guarantee of security" had the sole aim of intensifying the preparations for fresh military gambles and strengthening the chains of slavery binding the Japanese people.

The new treaty means the complete incorporation of Japan into the American system of atomic strategy and turning it into an atomic base and center of a military alliance in North-East Asia. It is aimed at preparing for war against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement in Asia. It increases the dependence of Japan on Ameri-

can imperialism and still further restricts its sovereignty.

The demands of the Japanese people for peace, neutrality, national independence and democracy have found their concentrated expression in the struggle against the new Japanese-American military treaty. The struggle took the form of mass demonstrations calling for the resignation of the Kishi government and cancellation of the American President's visit.

The mass actions by the Japanese people which have assumed such a vast scale were carried out under the leadership of the body created for joint struggle — National Council of Struggle Against Revising the "Security Treaty" in which were united some 140 national democratic organizations headed by the Communist and Socialist parties and the General Council of Trade Unions.

Decisive in this struggle was the fact that the Socialist Party has to some extent abandoned its anti-communist standpoint and actually decided in favor of united action with the Communists on a nationwide scale. This did not mean that the joint body functioned smoothly from the start. In many cases there were differences between the Communist and Socialist parties on tactics which were accompanied by heated debates. However, we invariably succeeded in avoiding the sharpening of these differences and splitting. Displaying mutual respect for independence and proceeding from the interests of the struggle of the people, both parties sought to settle the differences.

The establishment of joint Communist-Socialist action on a nationwide scale stimulated united action of the people from below. Throughout the country there appeared some 2,000 local united action organizations which were in direct contact with various sections of the people. All this helped the anti-government and anti-imperialist movement to acquire a considerable scale.

The joint struggle headed by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions, tried and tested in the course of eighteen months in a broad mass movement, has paved the way for the establishment of a united national democratic front.

Considerable political experience over a prolonged period had to be gained by the people of Japan before they realized the need for struggle against the new military treaty, and before they understood that American imperialism and the reactionary Kishi govern-

ment were their enemies. Joint action committees constantly carried on organizational and propaganda work among the masses. Side by side with protest strikes and demonstrations such forms of action as submitting petitions to Parliament were used. General political strikes by the workers were accompanied by signature campaigns against the Japanese-American military treaty. The number of signatures exceeded 20 million. Thanks to this the workers' strikes received the wholehearted support of all sections of the population.

Of course, in this vast struggle the Party has had and still has to combat the intrigues of the splitters both from the Right and the Left, which are a hindrance to united action.

From the Right it was the Party of Democratic Socialism that pursued a splitting policy and opposed united action with the Communists. In words it also protested against the new military treaty. But in deeds, under the pretext of defending parliamentarism, this Party did everything to hinder the mass movement and to come to terms with the Kishi government at an opportune moment.

From the Left it was the Trotskyites who tried to engineer a split; they had been expelled from the Communist Party and have now entrenched themselves in the leading body of the student movement. They also opposed the military treaty in words, but in deeds they undermined the mass movement by their sectarian and Leftist adventurist tactics. The Communist Party, while exposing these splitters, called on the masses to be vigilant.

As a result of the work of the Communist Party and the Democratic forces the vast power that was latent in the Japanese people was gradually released and finally found expression in the unprecedented scope of the popular struggle.

The factors contributing to the popular upsurge against the military pact have already been mentioned. But, of course, the actual content of the struggle is even more interesting. International developments as well as the rash actions of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries also stimulated the extension of the struggle.

The Kishi government, which enjoyed a two-thirds majority in both houses, hoped for a quick and painless ratification of the military treaty. However, this was not to be. Apart from the Communist and Socialist deputies, several deputies from the ruling Lib-

eral-Democratic Party, including the former Prime Minister Ishibashi, were opposed to the pact. During the debates the more the dangerous implications of the pact were exposed in Parliament the broader was the mass movement in Japan. This circumstance in its turn influenced some wavering members of Parliament and added to the difficulties faced by the Kishi Cabinet in ratifying the treaty.

In April and May a bitter anti-American struggle of broad masses led to the downfall of the puppet government in South Korea and Turkey. This gave further encouragement to the Japanese people.

The struggle was also strengthened by the mass rallies and demonstrations of the Chinese and Korean peoples in support of the Japanese people, which started on May 9.

However, the most decisive factor in strengthening the public protest in Japan was the exposure of the U-2 spy flights. The Japanese people remembered well how in September last year a strange-looking black-winged plane without identification marks made a forced landing close to Tokyo. The parliamentary opposition then bombarded the government with questions as to the nature of the duties this American plane was called upon to perform. There was no reply to their questions. The exposures made by Khrushchov probably had a greater impact in Japan than anywhere else. The fact that the stationing of U-2 planes in Japan is sanctioned by the new military pact and that it is designed to involve Japan in war against the neighboring socialist countries became even more obvious.

Tension inside the country continued to grow. The Kishi clique, on instructions from Washington, made an effort to force the ratification of the new treaty through Parliament a month before Eisenhower's visit to Japan. In attempting this it brought 500 police into Parliament and on the night of May 19 managed to get the pact ratified by the House of Representatives. It pursued this course because the visit was planned for June 19 and the government was determined to enact into the law the treaty on the day of the arrival of the U.S. President. As matters stand, under the Japanese Constitution a treaty approved by the House of Representatives even if it has not been debated in the House of Councillors is automatically considered ratified by that House in 30 days provided Parliament is continuously in session.

However, this comedy, staged with every kind of trickery, had a directly opposite result

from the one contemplated by the clique of Kishi and Washington. Not only the Communist and Socialist parties but even the Party of Democratic Socialism stated that this was unconstitutional and therefore invalid. The opposition within the Liberal-Democratic Party denounced these methods of violence and walked out refusing to take part in the voting.

From that moment the popular struggle made vigorous headway. All those who until then were neutral in respect to the military pact lined up with those who protested. In the course of a few days mass demonstrations were held. On three occasions the workers went on a general political strike. Apart from the slogan: "Down with the new Japanese-American military pact," the slogans "Down with the Kishi government!" "For the immediate dissolution of the House of Representatives!" and "Cancel the visit of President Eisenhower!" appeared.

The struggle culminated in the cancellation of Eisenhower's visit and forced the Kishi government to resign. It is still developing, its object now being to deprive the new treaty of any real force and to get it annulled. The Japanese people have struck a telling blow at the "positions of strength" policy pursued by American imperialism.

Early on June 23, under the protection of 1,000 police, the ratification documents were exchanged between the Japanese and U.S. governments in the official residence of the Foreign Minister Fujiyama and in complete secrecy from the Japanese people.

Does this mean that in spite of the staunch struggle by the people waged for more than a year the new pact is now in force and the campaign has been futile? Far from it. Thanks to this struggle the new pact is in a precarious position. It has neither legal nor moral force behind it. Even the United States Defense Minister Gates has expressed anxiety about the new pact being short-lived.

On the day the ratification documents were exchanged the Socialist Party declared:

"The new security treaty by its content violates the Japanese Constitution and the U.N. Charter; it was debated in an unconstitutional manner and from the legal point of view it has no force. We are confident that this pact

carries no weight with the Japanese people and we pledge ourselves to fight to the end for the abolition of the Japanese-American military alliance."

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party made the following statement:

"Our Party maintains that the exchange of ratification documents made without the consent of the people is not valid and thus the new security treaty has no legal force. That is why our Party in the name of the people declares that this illegal treaty should be annulled."

These statements by the Communist and Socialist parties have the full support of the democratic organizations.

In the closing part of its statement the Communist Party emphasizes:

"The fact that Eisenhower was forced to cancel his visit and the Kishi government to resign means that the struggle of the Japanese people has dealt a telling blow to American imperialism and to the treacherous monopolists in Japan.

"After a determined struggle lasting over a year the people are marching towards victory. In the face of this nationwide struggle headed by the working class the treacherous reactionaries are becoming more and more isolated and a national democratic front is coming into being. The Japanese people have built a firm foundation on which they can rally the patriotic forces of the nation and carry on the fight for the annulment of the new security treaty and the San Francisco system.

". . . United front of the democratic forces is a guarantee of the victory of the people."

From June 29 to July 1 the Central Committee of the Communist Party met and summed up the results of the popular struggle and drafted an appeal to the people.

In this appeal the Communist Party calls on the people to fight during the forthcoming parliamentary elections and through mass action for the formation of a "democratic coalition government which will oppose the security treaty." The Japanese people are carrying on their struggle and closing their ranks.

S. TANAKA

The Situation in South Korea and the Peaceful Reunification of the Country

IN August this year it is fifteen years since Korea was liberated by the Soviet Army. During this period North Korea has developed from a backward agrarian into an industrial-agrarian country with an independent economy. Socialism has triumphed in all branches of the national economy. However, because of the aggressive policy of the United States, Korea is still divided. The struggle of the Korean people against U.S. aggression, for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and for the peaceful reunification of the country is a vital factor in the struggle for peace in Asia and throughout the world and for the right of Korea to exist as a nation. At present developments favor peaceful reunification. This is proved by the March uprising of the people in South Korea. It dealt a severe blow to U.S. colonial domination and overthrew the Syngman Rhee government.

The struggle of the people of South Korea has deep roots in history. Its causes lie in the colonial enslavement of the country by the U.S. imperialists and the anti-national policy of their puppets.

U.S. domination and the Syngman Rhee clique have ruined the economy; the people are in dire poverty and deprived of all rights. In order to turn South Korea into a bridgehead for aggression and into their colony the American imperialists poured into it during the past fourteen years 10,400 million dollars of so-called "aid" which included 74.5 per cent for military purposes and 25.5 per cent — "economic aid." Through this "aid" they have subordinated and militarized the economy of the country. Seventy per cent of the South Korean budget is allocated for the upkeep of an army of 700,000 men, a heavy burden on the people. It is known that over four-fifths of the budget come from taxes paid by the people. U.S. imports comprise over 80 per cent of the goods marketed in South Korea.

The independent economic development of the country has been frustrated. Such basic industries as iron and steel, machine-building and chemicals have been reduced almost to nothing. Eighty-five per cent of the basic raw materials are imported from the United

States. As compared with the period of Japanese domination industrial output has fallen to less than half. At present about 60 per cent of the medium and small enterprises have either discontinued production or curtailed it due to difficulties in money and raw materials.

The unemployment figure is over one and a half million not including short-time working. The real wages of the industrial workers are less than one-third of the subsistence minimum. At the same time the working day is being extended and work is being speeded up. The number of intellectuals without jobs is also growing, each year it is augmented by some 80 per cent of the graduates from higher educational establishments.

As compared with the period of the Japanese occupation the area under cultivation has gone down by 600,000 tenbo.* The total grain yield has gone down by half. South Korea, a large food producer in the past, is now a country of chronic starvation. Each year from one million to 1,200,000 peasant families suffer from famine. During the Syngman Rhee rule some 400,000 peasant families abandoned their farms.

All this has sharpened the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen — the landlords and the compradores — on the one hand and the overwhelming majority of the people of South Korea on the other. Thus revolutionary action by the people of South Korea had been maturing for a long time and after the "presidential and vice-presidential elections" which were carried through on March 15 in conditions of terror and fraud it erupted in mass demonstrations and eventually in an open uprising.

As was pointed out in the appeal of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor to the people of South Korea on April 21, 1960, "the popular uprising in South Korea is an outburst of wrath with which the people of South Korea have been seething over the past fifteen years under the despotic rule of the Yankee imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique; it is a unanimous manifestation of the aspiration of the South Korean people to fight for freedom, democra-

*Tenbo—nearly one hectare.—Ed.

tic rights and a new life." At the same time no small part was played by the successes of the socialist construction in North Korea. The people of South Korea compared their conditions with the life of the people of North Korea and fought for such a life.

The fact that the people of South Korea overthrew the Syngman Rhee clique which was propped up by American bayonets for more than ten years is an event of great importance for the Korean revolution. Above all this has greatly increased the political consciousness of the people of South Korea. They have learned from their own experience that having once adopted the policy of mass struggle they can deal the enemy telling blows and finally vanquish him in spite of intimidation and reprisals on the part of the American imperialists and their henchmen.

The uprising in South Korea sparked off a chain reaction of popular outbursts against the anti-national and pro-American regimes; it has exerted a powerful influence on the situation in Turkey and Japan, on the anti-American struggle in South Vietnam and in the Philippines.

However, the struggle of the people in South Korea has not yet achieved its aim. South Korea is still occupied by American troops. Syngman Rhee has been replaced by a new U.S. puppet, Huh Chung. This means that the causes which led to the uprising have not been eliminated and until they are the struggle of the people will continue. Events have revealed to the masses the main source of all the national disasters in South Korea and exposed their real enemies. No wonder, therefore, that after the formation of the "interim government" of Huh Chung many more districts have witnessed demonstrations and other actions in which workers, peasants, youth and students, petty traders, medium and small employers took part. The character of the struggle has become more radical. Strikes by the workers and peasant uprisings have not ended. The people demand that those guilty of mass murders be punished, that the embezzlers be tried and the damage they inflicted on the country be repaired at their expense. The people of South Korea are fighting under the slogan "Down with the present-day politicians!", "Down with the corrupt Parliament!", "No confidence in the successors of the dictatorship — the Huh Chung clique!" This already indicates that the struggle is directed against the whole system of reactionary rule.

Since the overthrow of Syngman Rhee the

radical forces whose activity was suppressed in the past are gaining strength. At present many parties have sprung up in South Korea and are rallying the masses with demands for the democratization of South Korean policy and the peaceful reunification of the country. These radical forces, fighting against the American imperialists and their stooges and working for peaceful reunification, will doubtless continue to grow and cannot be ignored.

Consequently the South Korean regime is unstable and is in a state of confusion. The "interim government" of Huh Chung and the South Korean "Parliament" are hardly able to hold on to power even with the help of American troops. The government is unable to get the people to pay the taxes and to mobilize the youth in the army. The local administrations have been paralyzed to an even greater degree. This can be seen from the fact that in six of the ten provinces from which the people ousted the governors new ones have not been appointed and in most of the districts district heads have not been appointed either. The police is also in a chaotic state and "public security" is largely maintained by the gendarmes. There is unrest in the army. Among the officer corps there are people who are opposing the high command.

Since the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee dictatorship and his Liberal Party the conservative forces are now represented by the Democratic Party which thanks to the majority vote it enjoys in the so-called National Assembly is actually the ruling party. However, hardly had it come to power than it came up against the opposition of the people who put forward the demand: "Down with the Liberals and Democrats alike!" All these facts show that in South Korea a big shift is taking place in the balance of forces. Neither the American imperialists nor their henchmen are able to run South Korea by former methods nor can they extinguish the flame of popular resistance. Under the influence and with the support of North Korea the balance of forces in South Korea will in the near future inevitably change to an even greater degree in favor of the peaceful reunification of the country.

Developments in South Korea have put to a test two diametrically opposed positions on the question of reunification. The popular uprising has graphically revealed the untenability of "the march to the North" which the Syngman Rhee clique, on instructions from Washington, proclaimed as their policy.

Today the South Korean rulers are no longer in a position openly to advocate a "march to the North." The popular uprising in South Korea has shown that if the American imperialists leave South Korea the Korean people will achieve reunification within a short space of time. The American troops stationed in South Korea are the main cause of the delay in reunification.

Reunification of the country presupposes that the Korean people are free to adopt a state and social system in accordance with their own wishes. Therefore this is above all a matter for the Korean people themselves. To decide their own fate is the sacred right of the people and cannot be violated. No external interference is required to effect this free reunification. Any intervention will mean a gross violation of the national rights of the Korean people.

The American imperialists having occupied half of our country have turned it into their colony and military base and are building up their armed forces there and provoking incidents. As to the method of reunification, the American imperialists and their stooges insist on "free elections" under U.N. supervision.

The American imperialists, using the United Nations as an instrument for their aggression against Korea, waged war under the U.N. flag. That is why the U.N. as a belligerent in the Korean war has actually lost all moral and political authority which would entitle it to participate in a fair settlement of the Korean question. Talk about U.N. supervision over Korean elections is contrary to all logic; the Korean people would not permit this under any circumstances. As to "free elections" on which the American imperialists insist, their essence is very eloquently revealed by the elections held in South Korea, particularly the "presidential and vice-presidential elections" on March 15. As a result of the "free elections" held under U.N. supervision the fascist Syngman Rhee regime came to power. By means of "free elections" on a countrywide scale under U.N. supervision the American imperialists hope to extend to North Korea the colonial regime now existing in South Korea.

International developments and the Korean experience after its liberation reveal the untenability of such methods of reunification as "the march to the North" and "free elections under U.N. supervision." The Korean question can only be solved by leaving peaceful reunification of the country to the Korean people themselves.

Our Party insists on the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea and the election of a single legislative body by free vote without foreign interference. In pursuit of this the Party has undertaken a number of steps to turn the truce into a lasting peace and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country. We have repeatedly proposed that a meeting be called of the representatives of political parties and non-governmental organizations of both South and North Korea to discuss peaceful reunification. We have also suggested that the armed forces of South and North Korea be reduced. When the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee gang refused to discuss this, we proposed that a permanent commission of South and North Korean representatives be set up, which, without dealing with political problems, would be responsible for economic and cultural exchanges, and also for matters pertaining to the movement of people and communications between the two parts of the country.

The American imperialists and their stooges rejected these proposals too, thereby exposing themselves in the eyes of the Korean people and of world opinion. Time has shown that the policy pursued by the Party of Labor regarding the peaceful reunification of the country and its practical proposals are quite sound, and are winning more and more support because they meet the desires of the Korean people and fully coincide with the interests of world peace. In the present situation this is the only sensible and realistic policy.

As has already been stated, the existing situation in Korea shows that reunification is a matter of urgency. Unless the American troops are withdrawn from South Korea and the country is unified it will continue to be a breeding ground for war in Asia and the South Korean people will continue to be in distress. The Korean people will not put up with this tragic situation any longer. They are making every effort to bring closer the day of the peaceful reunification of their country.

Such factors as the existence of the mighty socialist camp with the Soviet Union at the head, a camp superior in strength to the camp of imperialism, and of powerful forces for peace in other countries, of a growing patriotic movement within the country, the continued isolation of the American imperialists and their stooges, the rapid development of the northern part of the country, which is

a strong and genuinely democratic base for the independent development of Korea, will in the course of time create favorable conditions for the peaceful reunification of the country by the Koreans themselves.

Socialist construction in the North is of overriding importance and is a guarantee of peaceful reunification. The two are inseparable, they are a single revolutionary task. The socialist achievements in the North in comparison with the grim situation in the South revolutionize the working people of South Korea and help them to see the way forward in their fight for the peaceful reunification of their country. To them the Party of Labor is a beacon of hope.

The strength of the impact of socialist construction in North Korea can be gauged by the effect it has on Koreans residing in Japan. Despite the fact that over 90 per cent of them were born in the South or have relatives there, the overwhelming majority wish to be repatriated to North Korea. Some 30,000 have already returned. Thus, to use the terminology of bourgeois propagandists, "the first mass migration of people from the free (i.e., capitalist—Ed.) world to the communist world" is now being witnessed.

The importance of socialist construction lies in the fact that it creates a powerful base for the rapid development of the economy and culture of the whole country and when reunification comes, this will enable South Korean economy to expand quickly and provide jobs for the unemployed. Even now the economic level of North Korea is such that considerable help can be given to relieve the suffering of the working people of South Korea. We have made repeated offers to supply South Korea with power, provide for the unemployed who have been reduced to the level of the wage slaves in Latin America, to accept responsibility for the upbringing of

hundreds of thousands of orphans and to supply rice and other necessities to the victims of the floods. This is evidence of the fact that economically, too, the forces of peaceful reunification prevail over the forces of reaction.

As the construction of socialism advances in the North the struggle of the people in the South will become more and more active. Peaceful reunification will be achieved when the people of South Korea, marching in step with the growing socialist forces in the North, engage in a determined struggle against the American imperialists and their stooges. The growth of the forces of peace and socialism on an international scale and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the dependent countries will also contribute to the early reunification of our country. We must increasingly strengthen the socialist forces in the North, consolidate the unity of the anti-imperialist patriotic forces both in the North and in the South and count on the support of the entire socialist camp and of the peace forces of the world.

"Relying on the strength of the mighty camp of democracy and socialism, having organized and mobilized the main forces of our revolution and having consolidated national unity, we must work for the expulsion of the American imperialists from Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification and independence of our country" — said Kim Il Sung in his report to the Third Congress of the Party of Labor.

This is a sacred national task of our people in which all Koreans have boundless confidence. All this arouses the political and labor enthusiasm of the Korean people for the building of socialism in the North and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Sa CHER

The Overthrow of the Menderes Government in Turkey

ON May 27 a military coup took place in Turkey. The Menderes puppet government which for ten years had faithfully served the American imperialists (and not its own people) was overthrown.

A short time before the coup the ruling party organ *Zafer* wrote: "Turkey is a calm

sea . . . The people and the government are one. Turkey is a genuine show-window of the free world. Ever since it joined NATO and CENTO these organizations have been strengthened and so has the position of the Turkish government." However, not long afterwards a real storm broke out in this

"calm sea" and the terroristic regime of Menderes perished in it.

The present government is headed by General Djemal Gursel who from 1958 till May 1960 was commander of the land forces and before that served on the General Staff. Last May General Gursel resigned giving as his official reason his disagreement with the Menderes government on whose orders troops were used to suppress the anti-government demonstrations of the people.

The struggle of the Turkish people against anti-national governments which placed their country in the service of the Pentagon had started long before. The more unscrupulous the imperialists were in bossing the country the greater was the discontent of the people, the sharper was their struggle both against their government and against the American imperialists.

As far back as January 1952, during the embarkation of the Turkish brigade heading for South Korea, a number of officers and men refused to go on board an American military transport and revolted in the port of Iskenderon. The mutineers were supported by the population. Many officers, men and civilians were killed. In 1955 the stevedores of the same port refused to unload American war materials. The authorities charged them with "political sabotage" and 500 people were arrested.

In 1957 the dockers of the port of Izmir struck, refusing to unload American military equipment. The authorities put 550 strikers on trial.

During 1957 and 1958 mass anti-government actions took place in a number of provinces — Gaziantep, Konya, Sivas, Adana and Kutahya. These were suppressed not only by the police but also with the help of troops. And in Gaziantep even tanks and airplanes were used.

The struggle of the working class against the anti-popular policy of the government is closely interwoven with the struggle for the improvement of the economic conditions of the workers and for greater freedom. The stevedores of Istanbul, the railway depot workers of Sivas and the textile workers of Denizli have fought staunchly for their rights.

In the eastern part of the country — Kurdistan — the reprisals against the Kurds have been and still are particularly ruthless. Nine provinces have been under a state of emergency for a number of years. Despite terrible reprisals action against the government has not stopped.

Nineteen fifty-nine and early 1960 saw a further extension of anti-government and anti-American struggles. Large-scale actions took place on the coast of the Aegean Sea and in the south. The police used tear gas.

The Communists were always in the forefront of those who fought for an independent, free, neutral and peace-loving Turkey. They have always fought against the anti-national policy of the government. The government was particularly merciless to them. Many Communists who displayed unbounded devotion to the Turkish people were executed and many others are still suffering in the dungeons.

The beginning of this year witnessed large-scale anti-American demonstrations in Ankara in connection with the acquittal by an American court of an American colonel whose car ran into a Turkish army unit killing and wounding 11 men. It is significant that the Turkish people protested not only against the unjust verdict but also against the fact that the criminal was tried not by a Turkish but by an American court. The people saw in this a violation of their country's sovereignty. Sometime later the construction workers who were building houses for Americans in Ankara struck. The strikers organized a demonstration and a rally in Kyzilay (Red Crescent) Square in the center of the capital.

It is obvious that the paper *Zafer* when it sang the American tune "Turkey is a calm sea . . ." was engaged in wishful thinking. Turkey was not and is not a "calm sea." The people were fighting both against the police government of Menderes and also against the American imperialists and the aggressive blocs.

Late in April in Istanbul, Ankara and Ismir there were student and youth demonstrations. They continued through May right up to the time of the military coup; in the beginning they were conducted under the slogans "Long live freedom", "We will not permit violations of democracy!", "Menderes must resign!", but later they began more and more to take on an anti-American character. During U.S. Secretary Herter's stay in Istanbul early in May (where he attended the NATO Council meeting) the students on seeing his car shouted: "Why do you support those who oppress us?", "Why are you here?", "What do you want here?" They chanted: "No American pacts for us. We want freedom!", "NATO is no friend of Turkey!", "American soldiers! Quit Turkey!" The demonstrators sang the

national anthem and voiced their approval of the Korean youth who were the first to rise against the American stooge Syngman Rhee. Quite frequently these demonstrations ended in clashes between the students and the police.

The immediate cause of the youth demonstrations were the arbitrary actions of the reactionary Turkish government and actual recourse to fascist methods and terrorism against those who dared to criticize the ruling clique. Apart from the banning of progressive organizations and the arrest of their leaders there were numerous arrests among the intellectuals, a round-up of class conscious workers, the suppression of papers and persecution of journalists by the dozen; reprisals against the opposition in the Mejlis were also intensified. An emergency committee for the investigation of "clandestine subversive activity" by the opposition Popular Republican Party headed by Ismet Inonu was set up. The opposition accused the ruling party of corruption, anti-constitutional action and violation of democracy.

These charges were beyond doubt justified but did not go far enough. The Menderes government was responsible for more serious crimes against the Turkish people. However, the opposition refrained from going any further because as far as the fundamentals of the home and foreign policy were concerned it was in agreement with the ruling party. The leader of the opposition Ismet Inonu invariably declared that should his Party come to power its policy in respect to the United States and the aggressive pacts would remain unchanged; in other words, everything would remain essentially the same, only the figureheads who would be stuffing their pockets at the expense of the state would change.

As to the real crimes perpetrated by the Menderes government they consist in the anti-national and anti-popular policy pursued by it to please the imperialists. This policy had brought the country to the verge of collapse. During the decade the government was in power it tied the country to the Pentagon war chariot, turned it into a bridgehead of aggressive imperialist military blocs spearheaded against the socialist countries and other neighbors of Turkey who have thrown off the yoke of colonial slavery and won political independence.

Turkey joined NATO in 1952 and allotted 12 divisions for this aggressive organization. Her army is one of the largest in the bloc.

More than half the Turkish budget is spent on it together with practically all that the country gets in American "aid." In the last decade government expenditures for military purposes reached 22,000 million Turkish liras. The country is covered by a network of military airfields and strategic highways. In Turkey there are about 32,000 American servicemen in the guise of advisers and experts. Last year the government concluded a bilateral military agreement with the United States, by which the United States has the right to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs in the event of popular actions. The American imperialists were also granted the right to build missile launching sites. A handful of corrupt politicians have turned our territory into a spring-board used up until now by the Americans for provocations and aggression against Turkey's neighbors. From its territory American spy planes over which the Turkish authorities had no control took off to intrude into the airspace of the Soviet Union and other countries. The existence of U.S. uncontrolled military bases on Turkish territory creates a grave danger for the country and a mortal threat to the people. And the people are rightly alarmed.

Owing to militarization and the immense armament expenditure Turkey's economy suffers from chronic crisis. The conditions of the working people are constantly deteriorating. In agrarian Turkey there is not enough to eat. Prices are soaring. The paper *Ulus* stated last October that the cost of living had increased sixfold since 1950. Nevertheless, the wages of most workers have remained unchanged. Even when they went up in certain industries, the rise did not correspond to the increase in prices. For instance, the textile workers get from 150 to 300 liras per month and the miners and steelworkers from 300 to 600 liras, the monthly salary of a teacher is not more than 500 liras in a city and 150 liras in the countryside. The official subsistence minimum for a family of four is from 2,000 to 2,500 liras.

The shrinking of the home market due to the fall of purchasing power, lack of certain raw materials required by the civilian branches and prohibition of its imports, the impossibility of replacing worn out equipment and foreign competition have led to the closing down of many enterprises in the textile, mining, rubber and tobacco industries. This in turn increased unemployment. In 1959, for instance, over 50 per cent of the metalworkers of Istanbul were out of work. In 1960 in

Istanbul alone 19,000 workers in the rubber industry were laid off. In recent years in view of unemployment and low wages the trade unions have repeatedly approached the Mejlis and the government with petitions demanding the establishment of a minimum wage, an eight-hour working day and higher wages in view of the rising cost of living. Neither the government nor the Mejlis bothered to negotiate with the unions.

The situation in the countryside is no better. The village is being steadily ruined. The oppression of the landlords is increasing. The living standards of the peasants are declining, their debts to the landlords, the money-lenders and the banks are piling up; for instance, the peasants owe to the agrarian (Ziraat) bank as much as 3,000 million liras. The January issue of the weekly *Kim* says that the average debt of a small peasant household in the province of Central Anatolia in 1944 was 51 liras and in 1957 it was already 1,031 liras. The indebtedness of a middle peasant was respectively 152 and 1,640 liras. The journal concludes that "most peasants are unable to pay their debt to the agrarian bank." It is not accidental that in the last five years 410,000 peasant families have abandoned their farms, thus reinforcing the ranks of the unemployed and exerting additional pressure on the wage level of the workers.

Turkey's foreign debt is also growing. The interest on it alone is a severe strain on the Turkish budget (according to some sources one-third of the income derived from the country's export goes to meet interest payments). Speaking in Ankara on June 21, the State Minister of the new government, Inan, said that the foreign and internal debts together amount to some 18,000 million liras. There is soaring inflation which hits the working people still harder.

The situation in the country reveals why the Menderes government had no wide support. It was upheld only by the feudal landlords, the compradoes, the financial oligarchy and the highly paid bureaucrats. Even a large portion of the officer corps was not on the side of the government which had placed the army under complete subordination to the American command. Evidence of this is the fact that cadets of military schools and officers took part in the anti-government demonstrations.

When student demonstrators demanded freedom and democracy and shouted anti-

American slogans and slogans recalling the behest of Ataturk, which called on the people to safeguard their national independence, not only were the government and the official opposition frightened but not less so the real masters of the country—the American imperialists. The latter regarded Turkey as the most reliable ally in CENTO and NATO and the Turkish government as one of the most devoted servants of the Pentagon. Both the rulers of Turkey and the rulers of these rulers were well aware of the real situation in the country and of the danger the imperialists and the ruling clique would be exposed to should the mass of the people be aroused. At the same time the American imperialists were still suffering from the painful blows inflicted by the events in South Korea when they tried in vain to salvage the Syngman Rhee puppet government from the wrath of the Korean people.

That is why when the Americans were faced with the alternative—to defend their faithful servant Menderes by intervening in the internal affairs of Turkey and thereby evoking the anger of the people, or to sacrifice the government—they did not dare to repeat the experiment of South Korea.

Enjoying no support among the people, the Menderes government was quickly overthrown. A government headed by General Gursel came to power.

The statement of the new government published immediately after the overthrow of the Menderes regime emphasized above all Turkey's fidelity to its commitments in CENTO and NATO. At the same time the new Prime Minister claimed that the army took power to reopen for the country the Ataturk road which somebody had tried to close.

However, it should be pointed out that "reopening for the country the Ataturk road" and remaining true to NATO and CENTO are incompatible aims. Ataturk fought for the country's national independence to save it from being a pawn in foreign hands. Participation in aggressive blocs and transformation of Turkey into an imperialist base are contrary to the interests of the Turkish people and Ataturk's principles.

During their demonstrations the masses demanded freedom, implying freedom of speech, the press, political and mass organizations, freedom from violence and freedom for political prisoners. So far these freedoms have not been granted. In the 700 prisons of Turkey 150,000 prisoners are languishing,

most of them have been jailed for political reasons. The truly democratic press is suppressed. Political demonstrations are banned. In the larger centers the state of emergency has not been lifted.

The country which the imperialists considered to be a pillar of their aggressive blocs is gripped with a profound political crisis. It is not fortuitous that world public opinion links the anti-government demonstrations and the military coup in Turkey with the overthrow of Syngman Rhee in South Korea and the mass anti-government and anti-American action of the Japanese people who are demanding the cancellation of the Japanese-American pact. American propaganda pretends that the fall of the Turkish government is merely "Menderes' personal tragedy" which coincided in time with the popular uprising against Syngman Rhee in South Korea and the anti-government struggle in Japan. However, an analysis of events shows that all these actions are due to one and the same cause—the anti-national policy of the governments of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, Kishi in Japan and Menderes in Turkey.

The overthrow of the terrorist government of Menderes and the formation of a new government have not solved a single major problem with which the Turkish nation has

been faced for many years. The problem of liberation from the foreign yoke and above all from American domination still remains. The antagonisms between the Turkish people and imperialism have not abated. The contradictions between the national bourgeoisie of Turkey and the foreign monopolists have not been resolved. Social contradictions inside the country—between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the peasants and the feudal landlords—have not become less acute. The demand for the abolition of feudal survivals in the countryside and for agrarian reform still stands. The struggle of the Turkish people for an independent, free, neutral and peace-loving Turkey is still the urgent task.

The events in Turkey are another indication of the weakness of the imperialists who pursue a policy contrary to the interests of the peoples by relying on anti-national governments. On the other hand they are evidence of the fact that anti-national governments can no longer play with impunity with the fate of their countries to please the imperialists. The role of the masses in deciding the fate of their countries and, hence, the fate of peace, is increasing daily and this fact has to be taken into account both by the imperialists and the reactionary regimes at home.

S. USTUNGEL

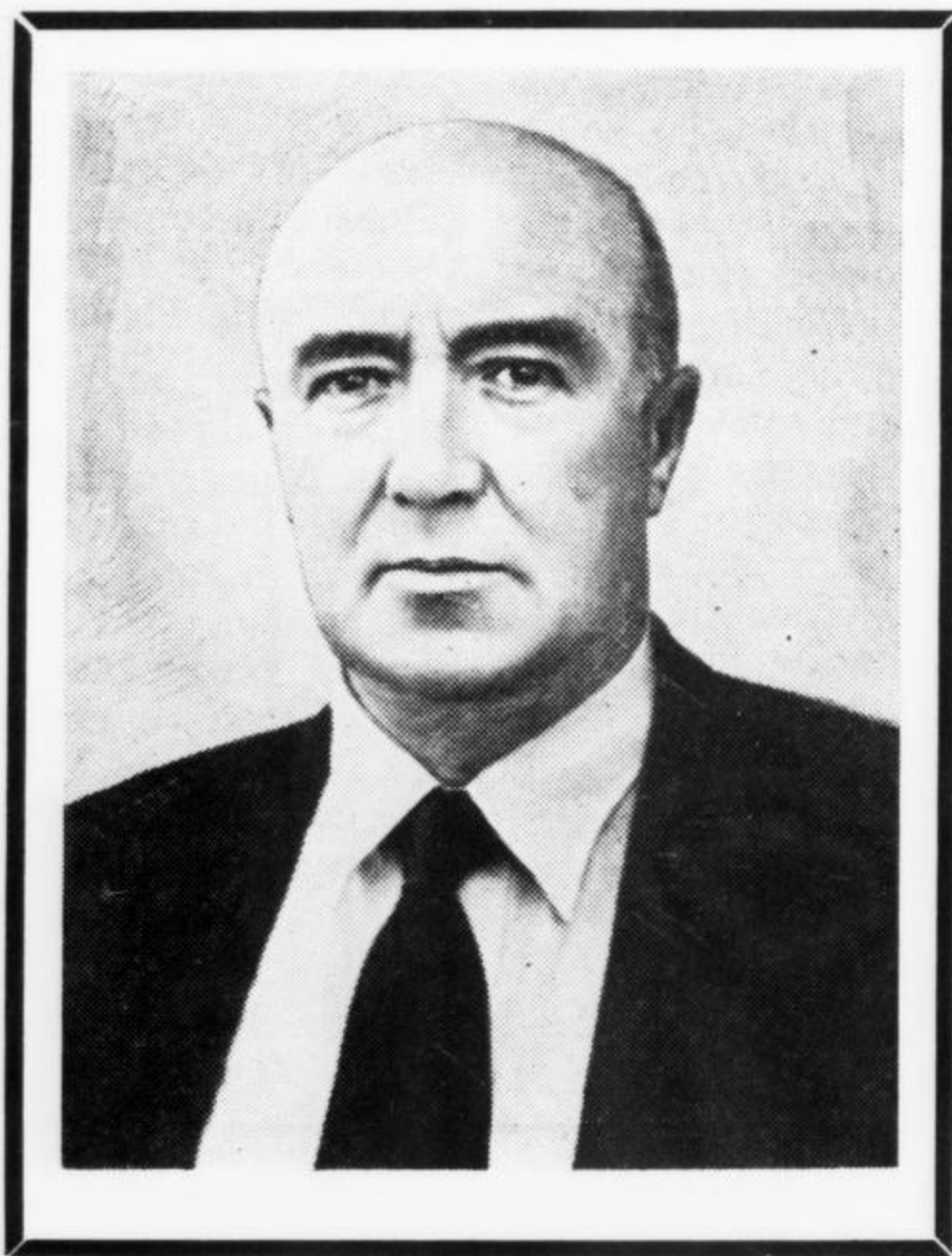
HARRY POLLITT

HARRY Pollitt, outstanding leader of the British working class and of the international communist movement, one of the founders of the British Communist Party and the Chairman of its Executive Committee, died on June 26.

Harry Pollitt was born into a working-class family on November 22, 1890, in Droylsden, not far from Manchester. At the age of twelve he started work as a boiler-maker's apprentice and, upon serving his time, worked for many years as a boilermaker in Manchester, Southampton and London.

From his early youth Harry Pollitt took part in the revolutionary working-class movement. He joined the Independent Labor Party in 1909, and in 1912 became an active member of the British Socialist Party. In the days before the First World War Harry Pollitt was active in the strike movement of the boiler-makers and engineering workers.

An outspoken opponent of the imperialist war of 1914-1918, Pollitt fearlessly exposed the criminal designs of the governments of the belligerent countries. He became a tribune of the people who regarded him as a staunch defender of their interests. During those years he displayed the qualities of a leader of a new type, a man devoted wholly to socialism and the cause of the working class. Harry Pollitt was a brilliant organizer, an incomparable orator and a writer with a gift for simple explanation of the most complicated political problems. He enthusiastically hailed the news of the October Revolution in Russia in which he saw the dawning of a new era in the onward march of humanity. He always emphasized that no other event in the lifetime of his generation



had made such an impact on world history as the revolution which took place in Russia in November 1917.

During the foreign military intervention against the young Soviet Republic Harry Pollitt threw himself into the "Hands off Russia" movement, which became a genuinely national movement. In 1920 he organized the strike of the London dockers who refused to load the "Jolly George" with munitions for use against Soviet Russia. This strike, which halted the shipment of British-made weapons to the enemies of the Soviet Republic, frustrated the designs of British imperialism. At the same

time it demonstrated the solidarity of the British working class with the land of Soviets.

Harry Pollitt was one of the founders of the British Communist Party (founded in 1920) and he did much to make it an integral part of the British political scene. In 1922 he was elected to the Executive and to the Political Committee of the Party.

In 1929 the British Communists chose Harry Pollitt to be General Secretary of the Party. In the same year he took an active part in founding the *Daily Worker*, the fighting paper of the British workers and staunch champion of unity against imperialism and reaction, for peace and socialism.

From 1921 to 1924 he was Secretary of the London section of the Red International of Trade Unions and organized a number of strikes. Trade unionists fighting for higher wages, aged people battling for higher pensions and young people campaigning for peace and their future—all looked to him for help and all valued his counsel. His wide-ranging

political and general experience and his intimate knowledge of the things agitating the workers enabled Harry Pollitt to make a big contribution to the struggle of the British working class. During the five years from 1924 to 1929 Harry Pollitt was leader of the "Minority Movement," which battled against the reactionary union leaders and for unity of the British workers. For his active role in the working-class movement, Pollitt was more than once persecuted and victimized by the powers that be.

Harry Pollitt was a prominent leader of the international communist movement. A member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1924 to 1943, he made a major contribution to elaborating the strategy and tactics of the Communist parties.

When fascism began to raise its head, Harry Pollitt worked indefatigably to build a broad anti-fascist movement. His voice was raised in defense of the Spanish Republic, he initiated the formation of the British section of the International Brigade and spared no effort to unite the working class and all progressive forces into a single anti-fascist front.

When the Second World War broke out Harry Pollitt's self-sacrificing efforts inspired the workers in the struggle to defeat fascism, for the opening of the Second Front, for a just and lasting peace. And after the war, when the Tories and the Right-wing Labor leaders launched the cold war against the Soviet Union, Harry Pollitt was foremost in exposing the dangers which this policy harbored for the people of Britain.

Harry Pollitt fought tirelessly for the national interests of Britain, for unity of the working class and of all working people, for the victory of peace and socialism. In articles and speeches he laid bare the treacherous policy of the ruling class, and showed that this policy was fraught with disaster and the danger of Britain losing her independence.

The way to a better future for his people, he held, was the way of independent national policy,

and friendship between Britain and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Over and over again Harry Pollitt exposed the shortsighted policy of the British government in relation to West Germany where, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, aggressive and militarist forces have again come to the fore. The British Communists, he said, stand for a peaceful Germany, which would forever eschew war; this policy is in line with the vital interests of the people of Germany, Britain and France. This being so the Communist Party would do everything in its power to ensure the triumph of the peace forces in West Germany and to secure abandonment of the American war policy of which Dr. Adenauer is the champion.

Harry Pollitt greatly admired the cultural, scientific and economic successes of the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries and saw in them the guarantee of the future victory of the working class in all countries.

When greeting the XXI Congress of the CPSU he said:

"It is a new vision of achievement and hope which you are now holding out to your own people and those of the entire world. It will lead to a great new surge forward and give a great new impetus to the task of achieving socialism where this still remains on the order of the day."

As General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1929 to 1956, and Chairman of its Executive from 1956, Harry Pollitt played a tremendous part in consolidating the Party organizationally and ideologically. He was one of the authors of the Party's program "The British Road to Socialism."

A true Marxist-Leninist, Pollitt ceaselessly combated sectarianism and left deviations and also revisionist distortions of revolutionary theory.

All Communists, the working people of all countries, honor the memory of this glorious son of the British working class who was the embodiment of its great qualities: determination, indomitable courage and class solidarity.

*In the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

Patriotic Stand of the Communists

THE disasters that devastated Chile — earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods and tidal waves — caused damage amounting to about one billion dollars. Thousands were killed and injured, hundreds of thousands suffered, 300,000 homes were destroyed. The nation was faced with extremely difficult problems. In this situation the country's political forces have shown their true faces.

The first thing was immediately to answer the question: how to restore the devastated areas and heal the severe wounds as quickly as possible? A prompt answer came from the Communist Party. With the first signs of tragedy in Valdivia, Osorno and Puerto Montt, the Communists were not disconcerted but got to work boldly, giving first aid to the victims.

When the tremors began the Central Committee of the Party called on its members and supporters to do everything to save the lives of people and their property. And the Communists came to the help of those who were in danger. They organized people, took steps to prevent panic, setting examples of courage and self-sacrifice.

The Communist Party, the Trade Union Center, the political parties affiliated to the Popular Action Front and other mass organizations immediately took steps to supply people with food, clothes and medicines and to evacuate them from the danger zones.

Calling on the people to pool their efforts in a solidarity movement with the victims, the Party demanded that the government take urgent measures to help the working people and to put an end to discrimination, bureaucracy and the callousness of some officials.

Early in June an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee discussed the situation in the country and drew up a program for the restoration and development of the affected areas. The Party regards the repair of the damage as an important political question. This problem is now on the agenda of all political parties and groupings; and on its solution depends the future of the country and the people.

The meeting sharply criticized the rehabilitation plan submitted by President Alessandri in the name of the administration. It provides that all rehabilitation work should be financed by new

foreign loans and that wages be cut despite the rise in the cost of living.

In contrast to this the Communist Party's plan puts the internal resources first and foreign loans second. The Party's suggestions are as follows: interest payments on foreign debts should be suspended for five years, which will make available over \$300 million; the copper companies (mainly North American) should be made to return the superprofits netted by them on the basis of the law raising the exchange value of the dollar from January 1, 1958—this would bring in another \$20 million.

In 30 years — from 1929 till 1959 — the mining companies have exported from Chile a profit of over two billion dollars, or 40 per cent of the value of the copper extracted during this time. The Party suggests that these companies should be forbidden to pump profits out of the country for a period of two years.

Funds should be released by cutting the armed forces; a loan for economic rehabilitation and development should be floated and bonds should be compulsorily distributed among the country's 27 banks and 1,200 joint-stock companies; a monopoly of foreign trade should be introduced and trade extended by establishing trade with all countries.

The Party does not deny the need for foreign loans, but insists that the state should accept them from those whose terms are more favorable. In this connection it emphasizes the need to obtain credits from the Soviet Union which, unlike the U.S. banks or the International Monetary Fund, attaches no political strings to its loans.

The Party's program for the rehabilitation and development of the economy has met with a lively response from the people. It has the support of the leaders of many political parties. The people see more and more clearly the difference between the two policies. The government and the reactionaries would like to make the people carry the main burden of overcoming the consequences of the earthquake, while they themselves want to finance only an insignificant amount of the rehabilitation work, largely by putting the country further in pawn to the international banks. The other

policy is a policy put forward by the Communists and all forces affiliated to the Popular Action Front. They are fighting for a rehabilitation which would bring about a fundamental change in the social structure, including land reform; for making the national economy independent, and this would, of course, cut across the interests of the imperialists, the big monopolists and the powerful latifundists.

Speaking at the meeting, Louis Korvalan, General Secretary of the Party, said:

"The earthquake has not ended class differences, nor has it lessened them. On the contrary, it has aggravated them, and the class struggle, far from being extinguished, is burning more fiercely, and

the fundamental contradiction between the Chilean nation and the imperialists and their stooges grows sharper."

The success of united action, the depth and breadth of the measures which the government will have to carry out, depend "on the struggle of the masses and the strength and activity of the Party, as well as on the extent to which we are able to take our slogans to the people. They depend on the extent to which we are able to develop the working-class movement, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, make the Popular Action Front more effective, strengthen and extend united action by the Left and Center forces..."

Juan ARAUCO

Call to Unity

A POLITICAL crisis is developing in Venezuela. The forces both inside and outside the government are unstable and are now being regrouped. There is a nationwide movement to change the policy of the government, and to introduce a democratic, patriotic and popular program.

At the same time the reactionary forces—the anti-communist military organizations, foreign investors and the big national capitalists—are at work preparing a plot in which the expelled supporters of Pérez Jiménez are involved. Aiming to stage a coup d'état, they seek to establish an overt terrorist dictatorship. Their program includes complete banning of all parties and mass organizations, suppression of democratic liberties, and open selling out of the country's wealth to the foreign monopolists, primarily North American. There are also reactionary groups which seek to compel the government to come to terms with the anti-communist military organizations in order to abolish all democratic freedoms under the pretext of combating communism.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party analyzed the situation in the country and issued an appeal to the people. This appeal shows that because of the government's political blunders its broad social base, built up in the election campaign of 1958, is shrinking. The Party is convinced of the need to strengthen those elements in the government which are resisting reactionary pressure, and to maintain the coalition provided that it leads to a correction of the official policy.

The Party is in favor of a policy which would result in the removal from the government of the growing number of capitulators and in the implementation of a minimum program containing the following main points: complete respect for all

democratic freedoms; immediate adoption of a constitution reflecting the people's democratic aspirations and abolishing the social order inherited from the Gómez and Pérez Jiménez rule; changes in the composition of the government; purging the plotters in the armed forces and civil administration; broad support for democratically-minded officers and their promotion to commanding positions; confiscation of the property of the supporters of Pérez Jiménez and effective laws against profiteering; implementation, within four years, of an agrarian reform in conformity with the program of the Peasants' Federation.

The Party's program also provides for effective control over the distribution of prime necessities; for measures to ensure full employment; guarantees of stable employment and a minimum wage; a higher tax on the profits of big foreign companies and lower taxes on the small tax-payers.

The Party suggests that the trade agreements with the United States should be annulled, dependence on the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development discontinued, interference by the foreign oil monopolies in the work of the national oil companies should be stopped, and an independent foreign policy pursued. The Party calls for stronger unity of the Latin American countries in the fight against colonialism, for solidarity with Cuba, and for friendly relations with the socialist countries. The program contains other proposals on home and foreign policy.

The big changes suggested by the Party can be brought about only by the struggle of the masses. To organize a broad movement in defense of democratic liberties is now the most pressing task of all democratic and revolutionary forces.

The Party should above all, the appeal says, raise the militancy and political consciousness of the masses, and improve the organization of the movement, develop and direct it, putting forward immediate demands and combining them with the struggle for changing government policy.

To achieve this it is necessary to further the unity of all who are in favor of progressive changes and to oppose the reactionaries who seek to prevent these changes. The social basis of this unity must be the working class, the peasantry, the petty and the national bourgeoisie. Its hard social core must be a firm worker-peasant alliance. There are still those who vacillate, and they should not be ignored. A powerful mass movement can win the vacillators and neutrals for progressive changes.

"We put forward no detailed list of the forces which will make up this united front," reads the statement. "The political basis of the unity movement should be the revolutionary and democratic forces, those which are called the Left.

"We know it is impossible to divide the forces into Left and Right. In the present situation, to make this arbitrary division would restrict our policy of alliances and give us no clear idea of the tasks which we set before the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement.

"The slogan of progressive changes makes it incumbent on us to regard unity as a broad form embracing all who are in favor of these changes.

"However, in view of the threats of a coup d'état we should remember that the basis of the united front can be extended, since what the reactionaries want is to overthrow the government and abolish democratic freedoms. The conspirators, therefore, are the enemies of both those who want a change and those who vacillate and are inclined to capitulate."

One of the most important victories of the Venezuelan working class and peasants is their unity and solidarity achieved immediately after the overthrow of the Pérez Jiménez military dictatorship.

"Each time democracy was imperilled by the civil and military conspirators, the working class could rise to suppress the enemies of the people, because it had at its disposal the powerful weapons of unity and organization.

"Today there are obvious signs of danger to the unity of the working people. Therefore, anyone who wants to see Venezuela marching faster along the road to democracy and progress, should oppose the attempts to split the trade union and peasant movements.

"Broad trade union democracy and consistent implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Venezuelan workers and peasants and their congresses and conferences are the chief guarantee of preserving and strengthening their unity. The workers and peasants themselves should never allow their organizations to be divided and should combat all splitters."

Now that a so-called "truce" between the political forces of the country is being talked about, the Party holds that the need is not to talk about it but to conduct discussions in a reasonable way. It condemns acts of violence against parties. The point is to put an end to the anti-communist campaign. It is impossible to talk about a "truce" and at the same time allow members of other parties to offend the dignity and patriotic feelings of the Communists. The government decree which prohibits the Communist Party and the Left wing of the Democratic Action Party from holding meetings, must be regarded as something which violates democratic principles and prevents mutual understanding among the various political forces in the country.

While agreeing, on these terms, to the idea of restoring proper relations among the political parties, the Communist Party stresses that this should not mean the loss of independence by any organization or a cessation of the struggle of the masses in defense of their interests and rights.

Efforts are now being made to build a united front of those forces which demand a change in the government's policy. These forces are already numerous and continue to grow. The correctness of its program will attract the vast majority of Venezuelans eager to see real democracy and social progress. The enemies, on the contrary, are being weakened. Their forces are shrinking and their policy is bankrupt.

The Party is willing to work with all who want a change in the government's policy, and is prepared to compromise and come to terms with the vacillating sections or even with the elements who are not dangerous, without offending any allies or potential allies.

The Party appeals to the people: to uphold democratic freedoms; put an end to the intrigues of the plotters and capitulators; preserve the unity of the worker-peasant movement; unite and temper the forces for the decisive battles; extend and consolidate the front of those in favor of changes and democratic regeneration.

"Victory will come to those who fight, courageously and tirelessly, for a democratic, prosperous and independent Venezuela!"

Conference of the Dominican People's Socialist Party

A CONFERENCE of the underground People's Socialist Party of the Dominican Republic has taken place. It discussed Party policy and work since the February (1959) meeting of the Central Committee and the present position of the country. The communiqué states that despite the support of U.S. imperialism and the policy of unbridled terror, the Trujillo tyranny has been unable to paralyze the activity of the opposition forces or to liquidate the underground organizations and groups. On the contrary, opposition to the Trujillo regime has increased and its ranks have been swollen even by representatives of the reactionary circles previously associated with the tyranny. The economic situation of the country has deteriorated: unemployment and poverty are on the increase. The Trujillo government, which has been experiencing serious difficulties since the middle of last year, is still in office but its fall is predicted. The Party and all revolutionaries should concentrate on extending the mass struggle against the dictatorship.

U.S. imperialism, the communiqué goes on to say, carries on its policy of intervention and supports the dictatorship in the hope of retaining the country as its colony. Under present conditions, however, Washington is compelled to disguise this policy, to pretend a "cooling off" of official relations with the dictatorial regime. In the face of the growing struggle of the Dominican people against the Trujillo tyranny the United States is playing a double game. It is trying to unite the more reactionary elements of the opposition and those who are still confused by the policy of the U.S. State Department. Should the threat of democratic changes appear it hopes to secure their support for the U.S. policy of mediation either

directly or through the Organization of American States. The aim of this policy is to preserve as far as possible the dictatorship under the slogan: the Trujillo regime without Trujillo.

The U.S. policy towards Trujillo pursues the aim of armed intervention against the Cuban revolution. U.S. imperialism intends to utilize in the OAS the rupture of relations with Trujillo as a pretext for interference in the affairs of Cuba. The Party warns against this but at the same time supports the rupture of relations with Trujillo (diplomatic relations with Trujillo have recently been broken off by Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Salvador).

The Conference approved the decision of the February (1959) meeting to participate in armed expeditions with a view to establishing centers of guerrilla resistance in the rural areas, which would subsequently become centers of mass struggle against the dictatorship. It approved the policy of unity with other forces opposing the dictatorship, expressed its solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and condemned the contemplated aggression against Cuba.

The section of the communiqué dealing with the international situation says that the Conference condemns the attempts of the imperialists, above all North American, to prevent the easing of international tension and the peaceful solution of the outstanding issues, regrets that these attempts have led to the breakdown of the summit, and supports the attitude adopted by the Soviet delegation. The Conference is sure that thanks to the firm policy of peace prosecuted by the socialist camp with the Soviet Union at its head, and thanks to the mobilization of the peoples, the aggressive imperialist maneuvers will be frustrated.

Some Experiences in Propaganda Work

(Reviewing the French Communist Press)

Defying Repression

SINCE 1955, that is, approximately since the beginning of the war in Algeria, *l'Humanite* has been taken to court on 231 occasions. Between 1955-59 the total legal costs and fines reached 16.5 million old francs. But since this financial burden has proved insufficient to suppress the paper, the government resorts to other, utterly illegal means such as confiscations. During these

four years *l'Humanite* has been confiscated on 14 occasions, and *l'Humanite-Dimanche* once. As a rule, no reason is given for the confiscation, because the government cannot find any excuse to justify its arbitrary actions. Out of the 15 instances, legal charges were made on only two occasions, on one occasion it was only after a three years' delay.

The publication of one issue of *l'Humanite* costs

2.5 million old francs, and of *l'Humanite-Dimanche* — 15 million. So these 15 confiscations have cost the Party 50 million francs.

Despite the difficulties arising from repression and discrimination, the paper has sustained the struggle against the multi-millionaire monopoly press thanks to the loyalty of its readers and supporters. The Editorial Board has no right (it is forbidden by law) to appeal to readers for funds to pay the fines. But every year voluntary donations come to the paper which are added to the funds obtained from subscriptions and retail sales. Every attack on the paper mobilizes Party members and arouses warm solidarity among the working people. The Editorial Board relies on a broad network of Defend *l'Humanite* Committees, and large numbers of supporters. Many of them go out every day to sell the paper in the streets and at factory gates, overcoming numerous obstacles. Others post up the paper every day. Many pass it on to their workmates and neighbors. Every Sunday morning thousands of volunteers sell over 500,000 copies of *l'Humanite-Dimanche*. In the departments where Party organizations do not publish their own papers, they insert a page in *l'Humanite-Dimanche* dealing with local matters.

This is the "secret" which enables the paper to survive, and this is the source of its strength. Freedom of the press has to be fought for all the time. The struggle is continuous, and the Communists and sympathizers are conducting it with unremitting energy.

Tenth Anniversary of a Branch Paper

Many Party branches publish their own newspapers. They are either duplicated or printed. A short while ago the Visconti branch (the sixth district of Paris) celebrated the tenth anniversary of its weekly *Seine-Visconti* which comes out every Sunday and has a circulation of 400. The paper has a wide circle of supporters, and the branch committee regards its publication as a very important piece of Party work. The plan for each issue is discussed first by the committee and then at a general branch meeting. Each member writes at least one article every two or three months.

The composition of this branch is typical of most of the local organizations. It includes an artisan, two workers, two housewives, two women secretaries, a janitor and a clerical worker. All of them actively help their paper.

The newspaper consists of short articles. Each issue contains four or five articles written in simple language, in the form of talks. "We try, as far as possible, to reflect the thoughts and aspirations of the people living in our street," say the editors. "We condemn clichés and everything which may seem to the reader empty chatter."

The newspaper is set up on Friday, printed on Saturday, and sold on Sunday.

Each issue costs about 600 new francs. This money is raised partly by the readers and partly from the profit on sales of *l'Humanite-Dimanche*.

Greeting the *Seine-Visconti*, Maurice Thorez wrote:

"I am happy to salute the tenth anniversary of your newspaper. The publication, since April 1950, of a weekly which brings to every family the voice of our Party, is a credit to the members of the Visconti branch.

"The persistent efforts made during an eventful period have been rewarded. They have enabled the rank-and-file Communists to initiate campaigns for the demands of the people. Together with *l'Humanite* and other Party organs they have helped to acquaint everyone with our policy on all major problems. The paper has fought for united action in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress. It has shown the exciting perspectives of our socialist ideal. . . .

"Like *Seine-Visconti* many other branch newspapers often have at their disposal very modest funds; they circulate in the factories, streets, villages and schools. May these examples encourage every branch of the Party to produce regularly their own newspaper.

"Long life and fresh successes to *Seine-Visconti*!"

Marxist Books to the Masses

Marguerite Nallet of Volonne (Basses Alpes) goes regularly from house to house selling newspapers and other Party publications. At first she did not expect to sell many books but quickly learned that people eagerly welcomed the opportunity to buy political literature. On her rounds she offers books, talks to people and answers their questions. "Those who distribute books," she wrote, "should read them themselves so as to be able to discuss them."

There are many such voluntary book-sellers in each Party organization. Book-selling is an important part of Party propaganda work. And in this way a great deal of experience has already been gained. Books are sold at conferences, meetings, rallies, lectures and demonstrations; during holidays, exhibitions and sales of books are organized. Regular orders for books come from the Party federations and branches. An annual Marxist Book Day has become a tradition. On that day Party leaders and authors sell books. At the buyers' request they autograph their books. During the Marxist Book Day this year Maurice Thorez autographed over a thousand copies of the new edition of his *Son of the People*.

As well as selling books Party organizations

pay close attention to public libraries in the localities, enterprises and schools. The Communists see to it that such libraries are established and well patronized. Branch libraries are also built up.

In 1953 two book-lovers organized a small library in a workers' quarter of Nantes. They open it in the evenings several times a week and on Saturday afternoons. One of them goes from house to house delivering books which have been ordered during the week. On Saturdays books are on sale in the library. During the past seven years the library has sold several thousand books produced by democratic and Party publishers. The library has become very popular. When it was opened it contained only a few dozen books — now several thousand are borrowed each year.

The Party leadership convenes conferences of publishers and departmental committee members to discuss the distribution of literature. A special bulletin is published in which Party librarians exchange experiences and information about current Party literature and gramophone records.

Our Answer to the Opponents

A new feature has appeared in the *Bulletin of Propaganda and Information* published by the Party Central Committee. This feature — entitled "Answering Arguments" — is designed especially for use as notes for speakers and contributors to the local press. Long, dull arguments and generalizations have been cut out. Usually three or four questions are posed on the battle of ideas.

For example, Bulletin No. 29 singled out three questions: the situation in Algeria; the slogan of bourgeois propaganda "Produce More and You Will Live Better"; the revisionist claim that the class struggle is out of date. Each article opens either with a quotation from a bourgeois paper or a statement by a bourgeois spokesman. The quotations chosen are topical and contain clearly expressed arguments. Moreover, a dozen or so facts, references, quotations are given which need no explanation but convincingly refute the main arguments of capitalist propagandists. The Bulletin tries to defeat the enemy with his own weapons. For example, de Gaulle's inconsistencies

on Algerian self-determination are illustrated by quoting his own statements.

What should the answer be to the slogan "Produce More and You Will Live Better"? Industrial output has risen by approximately 50 per cent compared with prewar, writes the Bulletin. If one is to believe capitalist propaganda, then the purchasing power of the French workers should also have risen by 50 per cent. But in actual fact the purchasing power has declined. In 1939, for instance, a metalworker for a 40-hour week earned 444.40 francs. Today this worker has to do 14 hours overtime to bring his real wages up to the 1939 level.

Citing facts and figures, the Bulletin gives the lie to those who say the class struggle is becoming out-of-date.

Propagandists can gather a wealth of factual up-to-date material from this feature and use it in their day-to-day work.

Mass Meetings

The Local Party organizations attach great importance to public meetings as a means of acquainting the people with Party policy. Meetings are usually organized for different sections of the population. In three months the Party federation in Haute Garonne held 70 such meetings at which over 4,000 were present. The subjects discussed were the Algerian question, the struggle for democracy and certain specific problems of special interest to workers, women, students and others. The meetings are addressed by local leaders and by members of the Party Central Committee; books and journals are sold at them and collections taken for Party funds. Some meetings are organized jointly with local Left-wing organizations.

The Party organizations are trying to make greater use of the cinema. Films are shown at the end of public meetings, and this has proved very successful.

Jean Llante, a federation committee secretary, said that a large proportion of the 325 people admitted to the departmental Party organization during the past three months, decided to join as a result of public meetings.

Mass Campaign for Cutting Costs

IN March last year the Third Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party endorsed the directives for the country's development over the next five years and instructed the Central Committee to work out detailed targets.

Recently the fifth meeting of the Central Committee discussed the key economic problems of

the 1961-65 plan. The meeting concentrated on the main questions of capital construction: the need to revise the structure of capital investments laid down in the Third Congress directives and to elaborate the program for improving quality and reducing the costs of construction.

Capital investments made during the 14 years

of people's power (1946-50) totalled 645,000 million zlotys (in 1959 prices). The tremendous expansion of the Polish economy was due to the high proportion of capital investments in production. Suffice it to say that, compared with 1937, gross industrial output has increased by 580 per cent, and output per head — by almost 700 per cent, i.e., eight times.

Experience since the Third Party Congress and, above all, the good results achieved in the campaign to adjust the economy and improve the organization of labor indicate that the starting point in the new five-year plan will be higher than expected. Thanks to this it will be possible to increase industrial output not by 50 per cent but by 52 per cent. Agricultural output, however, has failed in recent times to reach the target, mainly owing to the drought in 1959.

Having made a detailed analysis of the situation the C. C. meeting reached conclusions on a more correct way to draw up the five-year plan, particularly in the sphere of capital construction.

One of the most acute economic difficulties lies in the fact that grain production lags behind the increasing requirements. The grain deficit has to be met mainly by burdensome imports. Consequently a gradual reduction of grain imports is of the utmost importance to our country. The following factors guarantee the increase of agricultural output: accelerated mechanization of agriculture, land improvements on a larger scale, bigger output (compared with the Third Congress directives) of chemical fertilizers and insecticides. It is planned to grow more high-yield crops, particularly corn. Accelerated mechanization should result in building a firm foundation for technical progress in agriculture and for reorganizing it along socialist lines.

Capital investments in the iron and steel industry are being substantially increased with a view to multiplying the productive capacity of such plants as the Lenin Plant (Nowa Huta), the Warszawa Plant, the Beirut Plant (Czestochowa) and the Labedy Plant, modernizing the old plants and improving the quality of output. These measures will make it possible to quote competitive prices and thus increase exports and put an end to the import of more costly metal goods. More money will be allocated for the construction of the enterprises, which will help to increase exports and decrease burdensome imports from the capitalist countries.

Additional investments will make it possible to increase the country's stocks of basic raw materials, especially the extraction of copper and iron ores, and potassium and prospecting for oil and natural gas.

New capital investments will give returns gradually, chiefly after 1965. This is because the Party, the leading force of the people, strives to satisfy not only the present but also the future needs of the national economy. The plan for capital construction also takes into account the country's requirements arising from the growth of the population.

An important increase has also been planned in housing construction. Fifty per cent more living accommodation will be provided in the cities and small towns than under the previous five-year plan. As a result, there will be one room for each 1.62 persons in 1965 instead of 1.72 as in 1960. It was decided that 200,000 fewer rooms will be built than was envisaged by the Third Congress. At the same time the meeting stressed that the appropriations allocated were sufficient to achieve better results and build more houses provided that those who commission house-building would co-operate with architects and builders to put an end to the extravagance in construction.

As was envisaged, personal consumption will increase during the five years by approximately 23 per cent.

The meeting discussed in great detail the problem of cutting costs. There is a real possibility of reducing the costs of construction, speeding it up, and thereby substantially raising the effectiveness of capital investments. That this possibility exists can be seen, for example, from last year's revision of a part of the designs which resulted in saving about 4.5 to 5,000 million zlotys. The meeting decided to revise all preliminary designs and specifications for construction now under way and scheduled for the new five-year plan. The advantages accruing from this revision are clear from the experiences of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

In revising the designs some questions should be studied more thoroughly. It should be found out, for example, whether it is possible, by making full use of the productive capacities of the existing enterprises, substantially to reduce, or even wholly to avoid, new investment. How can we tap and make better use of the reserves latent in the preliminary designs and specifications? How can we ensure the maximum effectiveness of construction? How can we reduce construction costs? How can we reduce construction time?

Political leadership and active participation of the Party organizations are the main guarantee of success in the campaign for revising the designs. It is necessary to explain that every worker has a vested interest in tapping reserves, that on our success depends the provision of an additional number of jobs for the youth, erection of more

houses and schools, improvement of the standard of living.

Possibilities of increasing output through better use of working time, production space, machinery and plant will be studied throughout the country with a view to obtaining maximum results from the campaign for revising designs and specifications of construction projects. The results of these enquiries will be submitted to the industrial association boards to enable them to utilize the newly discovered productive capacities within the particular industry, and to the regional planning commissions for their use in the general plan. From the data on reserve capacities it will be possible to decide whether to abandon, wholly or partially, the estimated investment.

At the same time the C. C. meeting advised all those taking part in the campaign to demand that the appropriate enterprises produce modern and more economical machines and equipment and for this purpose to use lighter and cheaper construction materials. It is particularly important to economize steel in machine-building and construction.

In order to ensure a proper re-examination of the designs, it was decided to set up committees of experts. The conclusions arrived at by these committees and the results of discussions in designing organizations and enterprises producing equipment should be considered at the workers' management conferences in which representatives of higher-level Party and economic bodies should participate.

Revising designs is to be a mass campaign. About 20,000 building, designing and other organizations and in many cases the enterprises producing equipment are interested in revising the designs. The meeting considered that in order to reach the target set — a saving of 10-15,000 million zlotys in the course of the campaign — it was necessary to give free rein to the initiative of the Party organizations, to mobilize large numbers of activists — managerial personnel, technicians and workers.

This campaign will place a heavy responsibility on the factory Party organizations. They should be the initiators and organizers of discussions on the most rational utilization of investment. The Party committees, when reviewing the composition of the experts' committees, should select specialists capable of critically assessing the designs and specifications. They should also ensure that the proposals made by workers, engineers and technicians are promptly submitted to the experts' committees or straight to the workers' management conferences. In conjunction with the administration, they should organize discussions and

conferences in the factories, to which designers and experienced specialists from related enterprises should be invited, and see to it that the workers' management conferences are properly organized.

Important tasks also confront the Party organizations of the designing offices. Since the purpose of the campaign is the revision of preliminary designs and of the designs and specifications which have already been prepared, they should themselves be in a position to meet the people's criticism and critically assess the results they have produced.

The Party branches in the building and assembling enterprises will discuss how to reduce the time of construction, to put into commission projects without delay, reduce costs and economize building materials, particularly steel, which is in short supply.

At the enterprises producing machinery and plant for construction, the Party organizations must see that deliveries of articles are made promptly and their quality is up to standard. With this aim in view they will meet the builders and assemblers.

The local Party bodies should, in conjunction with the people's councils, co-ordinate the plans for building industrial enterprises of local and national importance, cut costs by building auxiliary enterprises and public welfare centers to meet the needs of the nearby enterprises. The Party bodies must also help to overcome the tendencies to localism of those who press for construction in their own sectors, ignoring the needs and possibilities of the state as a whole.

The campaign for revising designs will last several months. It will result, it is expected, in cutting down building costs and in raising the effectiveness of investment; another result will be the improvement of the day-to-day work of all those taking part in construction.

Speaking at the fifth C. C. meeting Wladyslaw Gomułka said: "The plan for capital construction for the next five-year plan period will be a new lever in the development of our country . . . Capital construction lays the foundation for the future worldwide victory of socialism over capitalism, which we strive to achieve by way of peaceful competition between the two social systems . . . The development of the productive forces of our country is our contribution to victory in the struggle for peace."

Jerzy BOGUSZ

Deputy Chief of the Economic Department, C.C., PUWP.

Short Notices

Britain

WORK AMONG INTELLECTUALS

THE subject of Arnold Kettle's report to a meeting of the Party's Executive Committee was the need for improving the impact of the Party on professional workers and students. The meeting emphasized that the Party needs intellectuals within its ranks. But in practice the Party committees never had the time to tackle the problems involved in winning over professional workers.

Of late the political climate in Britain has been favorable for the spread of progressive ideas. One sees evidence of it in the press, in the general flavor of the ideological discussions, and in the fact that a good many scientists are today keen on visiting the socialist countries and studying Russian. Professional people and students have played and continue to play a big part in the peace movement, notably the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. In their reactions to imperialist policy, especially in Africa, progressive intellectuals have performed a tremendously valuable service to the whole progressive movement. As a matter of fact, there were never before student demonstrations so large, widespread and quick-off-the-mark as some of the protests in the London and provincial universities in the last two or three years. In a number of universities, especially since the General Election, a considerable number of new recruits have been won to the Party.

The meeting also pointed to the weaknesses in the professional workers' movements. Many of the people involved are much clearer about what they are against than what they are for. Because a lot of them are fed up with the Labor Party and suspicious of the Communist Party they often adopt an anti-political-parties line. Yet it would be wrong and sectarian if we were to see only the shortcomings of the intellectual Left, while forgetting that they have plenty of points of contact with our own thinking and policy. In order to make contact with the Left intellectuals the Party should be prepared to meet their problems and interests sympathetically.

Some of the non-party intellectuals have an impression that the Party is either not interested in their ideas or afraid of them. This is not true, and the attitude behind such an accusation is one that

will be altered by political action and explanatory work rather than abstract argument.

Some Party District Committees now pay closer attention to the intellectuals. But the question of improving our work among them can only be satisfactorily tackled by the Party as a whole. The Party intellectuals should be drawn more actively into taking part in ideological discussions, into making their contributions in the press, etc. The Executive Committee's discussion of the question has resulted in the improvement of the Party's work among intellectuals.

United Arab Republic

APPEAL BY THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

ON the 14th anniversary of the withdrawal of the Anglo-French troops from Syria, *Nidal Al-Shaab*, the underground organ of the Syrian Communist Party, published an appeal to the people.

This anniversary, the appeal reads, "is celebrated today when Syria is embroiled in Nasser's unification measures which have immobilized all her forces, threaten to destroy our national customs and traditions and reduce to nothing all that we have achieved since the withdrawal of foreign troops.

"Freedom of the press, assembly and demonstration, the parliamentary system, the right of association, democratically elected bodies, respect for human dignity, inviolability of the home — all this had been won after the withdrawal of the foreign troops, and now these gains have been replaced by ruthless dictatorship, unbridled terror, police regime, prisons and concentration camps.

"The prosperous national economy has been rapidly strangled by the intrusion of Egyptian goods. The nationalization of the Misr Bank and the establishment of the Syrian Economic Society were only subterfuges to tighten Egypt's grip on the Syrian economy. Trade is also paralyzed. Agriculture is subjected to recurring crises. Businessmen refuse to invest in the national economy, preferring to export their capital.

"The gains of the workers, peasants and other working people — the right to strike, stopping of arbitrary dismissals, etc. — have been abolished. As a result, living standards have declined, and unemployment and poverty are widespread. The horrible specter of hunger has re-appeared, and many thousands of peasants are forced to leave their homes in search of bread . . .

"The experience of the past two years has demonstrated that Egyptian rule is only a substitution

Sweden

for foreign imperialist domination, and the plunder by the Lebanon-Syria Bank of the French colonialists has been replaced by plunder by the Misr Bank. Anyone who says that this is not the root of our trouble is a liar who seeks to strengthen Egypt's rule and to continue the plunder of our country. All Syrians see how everything is being Egyptianized. In the army Egyptian officers, whose numbers are increasing, hold key positions. Even the number of Egyptian soldiers in the Syrian army is increasing. Under the guise of unification, the Syrian enterprises are being taken over by the Egyptians. Administrative posts are seized, while Syrians are being squeezed out. School curricula are also Egyptianized.

"The majority of the Syrian people are opposed to domination by Egypt. There is no public support for the dictatorship, and Nasser retains his grip only by means of terror, violence and slander.

"Nasser dangles the bogey of communism and talks unceasingly about 'the threat of communism', but the people do not listen to him any longer."

The Syrian Communists, the appeal goes on to say, have always said that the present stage is a stage of national and democratic liberation, and the main aims at this stage are the strengthening of political independence, the winning of economic independence, the development of democracy and the struggle against imperialist attempts to re-establish their rule, the abolition of feudal survivals, industrialization, social progress and higher living standards for the people.

The concluding part of the appeal reads:

"Workers, peasants, youth, students, intellectuals, women, manufacturers and shopkeepers, the people of Syria fight for alliance and solidarity among all patriotic forces irrespective of their political views and social status. Use every weapon in your struggle, organize committees, and delegations, collect signatures to protest petitions.

"Take part in demonstrations, go on strike, fight to save our independence and sovereignty, fight against the infiltration of imperialist capital, against Egyptian political and economic rule, fight in defense of the Syrian economy and against its Egyptianization, for bread and jobs, against lower wages and higher prices, for democracy, for an end to terror, for the release of imprisoned patriots, for a genuine Arab solidarity."

This appeal was passed from hand to hand, and from door to door. The authorities failed to arrest the distributors. They then started a wave of terror against the town and rural poor. Over 250 people were arrested, many of whom did not belong to any party.

PARTY ELECTION PROGRAM

THE Communist Party has issued its program, endorsed by the C.C., and addressed to all working people for the elections to the second chamber of the Riksdag (Parliament) to be held in September.

The program points out that the U.S. militarists have succeeded in frustrating the summit meeting; but the struggle for international détente, peaceful coexistence and talks, disarmament and a ban on nuclear weapons remains the fundamental task of the peace forces all over the world.

"In the interests of peace and in her own interests, our country should steadfastly pursue a policy which steers clear of alliances, actively support all initiatives for lessening tension and work for a neutral Northern zone free from rockets and nuclear weapons."

The capitalists easily amass profits due to the favorable economic position of Sweden. At the same time rising prices, taxes, disregard for some of the workers' just demands for collective agreements, and unemployment affect the living standards of many sections of the working people.

While taxes on joint-stock companies and the rich are decreasing, those on the poorer sections and the wage and salaried workers are growing, mainly due to the turnover tax and higher pension contributions.

The Communists demand a democratic tax policy, which means that taxes on joint-stock companies, stock exchange profits and big estates should be increased, while those on the working people and the communities should be reduced.

The armaments race, the constantly growing military expenditure, the senseless squandering of money for military purposes arouse the indignation of the people. The policy of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, who approve in essence all the demands of the military circles, empties the state treasury and gives rise to a constant deficit.

The Communists demand: lower taxes on people with small incomes; abolition of the military burden, repudiation of atomic weapons; equal pay for equal work; fulfilment of the pledges given to those who receive state pensions; lower rents and more houses; state measures against high prices, usury and profiteering.

A victory for the Communists in the election would make the government pay more attention to the working people. It is in the interests of the workers to make sure that the government has to depend, to a greater degree, on the Communist

deputies, because it will then have to change its policy on the issues which arouse the utmost dissatisfaction among the workers.

The program recalls that, thanks to the active contribution of the Communists, it has been possible to deprive the bourgeois parties of their majority in the Riksdag and to pass the law giving old-age pensions to all at the employers' expense, to defeat the bourgeoisie in its attempts to whittle down the social benefits of the working people.

The working class, however, should not rest on its laurels. What is needed is to develop democracy in the economic and cultural spheres. The factory and office workers should have a say in management. It is impossible to tolerate a situation in which a handful of capitalists decide on whether or not the enterprise should be closed

down. State resources should be re-distributed, non-productive expenditures reduced, and appropriations for industrialization increased. Last but not least, there should be a profound democratization of higher education and the civil service. The regeneration of democracy should become an outstanding feature of the 'sixties.

To prevent the bourgeois parties from winning a majority in Parliament is a common task confronting the two workers' parties — the Communists and the Social Democrats.

The concluding section of the program reads: "To vote for the Communists means to choose the way forward, to create broad conditions for a policy in line with the will and aspirations of the vast majority of the people."

Exchange of Views

The Economic Role of the State Under Socialism

(Conclusion of the discussion in the previous issue. The contributions are summaries of speeches.)

The State Leads in the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

W. Berger

IN VIEW of the increasingly aggressive policy of the West German imperialists, the building of socialism and the strengthening of the worker-peasant regime in the German Democratic Republic acquire special importance in the fight for German reunification on a peaceful and democratic basis and for ensuring peace in Europe. The Socialist Unity Party decided to carry forward socialist construction, setting ambitious political and economic tasks and thereby increasing the influence on West Germany of our social system, under which power belongs to the workers and peasants. By this decision our Party gave a determined "NO" to the revisionists who regarded

the slowing down of socialist construction in the GDR as a condition for the rapprochement of the two German states and the reunification of Germany.

In order to fulfil the great political and economic tasks facing the people's-democratic state and the working class, its leading force, agricultural output had to be substantially increased.

The co-operatives, after thorough discussions at their general meetings, advanced their own plans which not infrequently exceeded the targets of the state bodies. Thus, experience has shown that large-scale co-operative farming is the main

source of a further increase in marketable produce.

In mid-1958 there were in our Republic about 7,800 co-operatives owning some 30 per cent of the arable land. Some of them had already become big model farms of the socialist type. A considerable number had strengthened their economy and had begun to master the methods of large-scale co-operative farming. But quite a few were still in the early stages; many of them received the abandoned farms of the rich peasants who had fled from the Republic; they needed state subsidies.

Such being the situation, it became more and more obvious that it would be impossible to cope with the new tasks in good time if agriculture developed as it did before, that is by a slow growth of the socialist sector, and the gradual co-operation of the individual peasants. This compelled us to take annually temporary decisions on questions such as labor organization, crop rotation, distribution of land under grass, erection of farm buildings, and hampered the solution of pressing problems relating to price policy and the law of value, and made it difficult to settle the intricate and hitherto unresolved questions of differential rent.

In this situation it was necessary to speed up the socialist transformation of agriculture. In some regions the local Party organizations jointly with state bodies did a great deal of work to draw all individual peasants into co-operatives and to establish new co-operatives.

While this task was being fulfilled, the local organizations elaborated a new style of work. It was decided to send to the countryside large numbers of Party cadres, government employees, activists of the National Front, trade unions and other mass organizations.

Ideological work was conducted under the slogan *Vom Ich zum Wir* (From 'I' to 'We' — from the individual peasant to the collective). We should particularly stress the democratic character of this campaign to convince the peasants of the advantages of co-operative farming. For example, the following method of work was practised: a plan was drawn up in consultation with individual farmers, based on the assumption that all peasants were co-operative members and were in a position to make full use of modern agricultural machines. In this way the farmers were shown how it was possible to increase output, raise labor productivity and lighten farm labor, provided that all peasants joined the co-operatives. Usually ideological understanding was quickly achieved, and peasants abandoned their old ideas. Many of them have been promoted to leading posts in the

co-operatives and are successfully coping with their jobs.

To illustrate the point we will quote the words of an experienced cattle-breeder, Hinz, from Nienhagen (Rostock region), who specializes in breeding pedigree cattle.

"When still an individual farmer," he said, "I was doing pretty well. In 1957 I obtained an average of 6,200 kilos of milk from each of my cows. But my farm provided no opportunity for me to get better results, and my work as a cattle-breeder no longer gave me satisfaction. And so I said to myself: I must find another way. I joined the Nienhagen co-operative to widen my field of work. I was at once elected chairman, and what is now expected of me it that all of us in the co-operative should achieve in the near future at least the same success as I had as an individual farmer. If we do, this will, of course, be a great satisfaction to me."

After the advanced regions had gathered enough experience in drawing the peasants into co-operatives, an experience which is of great significance, the Rostock Party committee set the task of carrying out major changes in agriculture in the whole coastal area of the Republic. The district organizations examined thoroughly the possibilities of quickly drawing all the local farmers into the co-operatives.

After this problem had been thoroughly discussed in the Democratic Bloc*, the National Front and the leading state bodies, it was unanimously agreed that conditions were ripe in the coastal area for a comprehensive co-operative movement. This conclusion had a profound psychological effect. It was also stressed that the Mecklenburg area, which in capitalist Germany was hopelessly backward, should now take the lead.

Thereupon, in the Rostock region, right into the most remote corners, a discussion developed on a scale which had not occurred since the democratic land reform. And once again it was the respectable, economically sound and strong-minded individual farmers who, once they had satisfied themselves about the advantages of co-operative farming, displayed much initiative in drawing the rest of the farmers into the co-operatives.

Thanks to the excellent ideological preparatory work all farmers in 10 out of 11 districts of the region soon joined the co-operatives. These successes were a call to the other northern districts of Mecklenburg and Brandenburg to follow suit. And the call was answered. Teams from Rostock and other advanced regions helped to popularize

*This bloc brings together all democratic parties and organizations of the Republic for the common tasks of socialist construction and for the national aims of the German people.

the methods that had proved effective. As a result, about 90 per cent of the cultivated land in the Neu Brandenburg, Schwerin, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder and Potsdam regions was incorporated into co-operatives; the most remarkable thing about it is that prior to 1945 working-class influence in these regions was negligible.

The West German imperialists have been able to grasp the fundamental importance of the developments in GDR agriculture. Straining all their efforts they tried to launch an offensive, started a propaganda campaign in the press, on the radio and television in an attempt to arouse discontent among peasants and persuade them to flee from the Republic. As a last resort they staged protests from a number of bishops against the setting up of the co-operatives. But all these attempts were bound to fail. They were unable to thwart the socialist changes in agriculture.

The great successes achieved in transforming agriculture along socialist lines are now being

consolidated and all efforts are being directed towards strengthening the new co-operatives both organizationally and economically. The role of the machine and tractor stations as one of the forms of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance is finished: today, when the machines have been handed straight over to the co-operatives and most of the tractor-drivers have become co-operative members, a new form of the worker-peasant alliance has appeared, one that ensures a further rapid growth of the productive forces.

The great leap performed in transforming GDR agriculture along socialist lines meets the requirements of the law of obligatory correspondence of the production relations to the character of the productive forces, as well as the law of steady growth of labor productivity in agriculture. It also makes it possible to resolve the urgent economic problems linked with the utilization of the law of value, with the correct utilization of differential rent, and other problems.

The Socialist State and the Use of Economic Laws

K. Dobrev

I WOULD like to speak about the role played by the state in building socialism in Bulgaria and, above all, about the utilization of the law of the correspondence of the production relations to the character of the productive forces. By making use of this law our socialist state — created after the victory of the people's uprising in 1944 under the leadership of the Communist Party — has reconstructed the economy on socialist lines. In the C.C. report to the Seventh Party Congress, Zhivkov analysed the profound revolutionary changes in Bulgaria and drew the conclusion that socialism had triumphed in the country, i.e., socialist production relations prevailed.

In carrying out these changes we have availed ourselves of the law of the correspondence of the production relations to the character of the productive forces, taking into account the specific conditions obtaining in the country. Capitalism in Bulgaria was born late and it became decrepit at an early age. Socialist production relations began to be shaped when the productive forces were at a low level of development. The socialist transformations in the economy were accompanied by the technological reconstruction of the chief in-

dustries, while heavy industry had to be built from almost nothing.

After nationalizing industry we completed rural co-operation and built a wide network of machine and tractor stations equipped with modern machines with which they serviced the co-operatives. In view of the fact that land in our country was not nationalized, the co-operatives were established in conditions when land remained private property. Therefore the co-operators obtained part of their incomes in the shape of a special rent. We have carried through the socialization of land gradually. The fact that the land is tilled collectively with common means of production, also changes the character of the ownership of land. In its economic content it becomes social ownership.

In order to abolish the possibility of the economic realization of the private ownership of land it was necessary, as Georgi Dimitrov pointed out, to stop renting, buying and selling the land. The renting of land has long been legally prohibited in our country, and now it is no longer economically feasible. As for the buying and selling of land, it has been strictly limited. Under our conditions the purchase of land cannot possibly be the basis

of private enterprise. In accordance with the decision of the co-operative members the special rent was regularly reduced and by the end of 1958 its share in the co-operative income was only 0.08 per cent. It is safe to say that rent has ceased to be a source of any economic gains.

Proceeding from the fact that socialism has triumphed in our country, the Seventh Party Congress (1958) and the subsequent C.C. meetings, particularly the January (1959) meeting, have set before our people the general task to be accomplished during the next stage of the country's development — to complete the building of socialism and to create conditions for the transition to communism. This has opened new perspectives for further increasing the economic strength of the country and improving the living standards of the people. The Party has put forward this task in full accord with the requirements of the law of the correspondence of the production relations to the character of the productive forces.

An illustration of how the Party and the state make use of this law is the current amalgamation of the co-operatives. When the co-operatives came into being their equipment was backward and they were organized on the basis of one village, which was in line with the existing level of the productive forces. During the past decade, however, the productive forces of our agriculture have shown a marked increase. The socialist consciousness of the co-operators has likewise grown. The result was that the co-operative organized on the territory of one village was unable to carry out large-scale land improvements, to make the best use of the land, modern machinery and other means of production, to organize a division of social labor which would make for the most rational and effective development of plant-growing and cattle-breeding.

In a word, the size of the co-operatives has become a hindrance to the development of the productive forces in socialist agriculture. The Party and the state then took steps to amalgamate the co-operatives and thus to establish bigger production units. In this way the socialist production relations in agriculture were raised to a higher plane — in line with the new level of the productive forces.

The amalgamation, being the first step towards the transformation of co-operative property into national property, extends and consolidates the ties between the co-operatives and the state sector, and leads to further changes in the co-operatives, in the production processes, in the organization of labor and remuneration, etc.

It should be said that in our co-operatives there are elements of the satisfaction of the needs of

the members in the form of free social and cultural services. The co-operatives are allocating a portion of their incomes for building holiday homes, village clubs, kindergartens, creches, etc. That part of the income which is set aside to meet the individual needs of the farmers is divided among them solely in accordance with the amount of labor expended. This fully accords with Lenin's well-known concept that socialism is built not only on enthusiasm but also on the principle of personal material incentives.

The Central Committee of the Party has set the task of improving the forms of remuneration of labor in the co-operatives with a view to bringing them closer to those in industry, i.e., in the state sector. First steps are being made to pass over to guaranteed cash payments. It is necessary to improve the forms of remuneration in order to stimulate the personal interest of the members in the fruits of their labor, increase their productivity and give free rein to their production initiative. At the same time, in contrast to state-owned enterprises, differential rent is maintained in the co-operatives and will only fall away when the co-operative property becomes public property.

K. Dobrev then spoke about the operation of the law of planned (balanced) development of the economy. The directives of the Seventh Party Congress for the third five-year plan show that this law is now used more effectively. The task has been set of ending the lag in agriculture and bringing it into conformity with the rapid industrial expansion. And within agriculture the disproportion between the development of plant-growing and animal husbandry must be abolished. With the fulfilment of the third five-year plan all branches of the national economy will be raised to a higher plane.

The law of planned development and other economic laws of socialism operate by virtue of the socialization of the means and instruments of production and, above all, public ownership of the means of production. Only on this basis can the state use the law of planned development in managing *the national economy as a whole*. The law of planned development operates also in the co-operatives thanks to the fact that these form part of the single system of socialist economy in which public property is predominant.

The speaker then dwelt on the utilization of the law of value by the socialist state. The experience of our country shows, he said, that as the socialist forms of the economy prevail the sphere of operation of this law, far from shrinking, is being extended. It no longer operates spontaneously and ceases to be the regulator of production, but the sphere of its operation is extended in a national

economy which develops in a planned way. The commodity-money relations between the various branches of the economy grow in scope. Greater prominence is given to profitability of socialist enterprises, to strengthening economic accounting and the principle of material incentives. The Party has set the task of improving the system of wholesale industrial prices of both consumer goods and means of production. Now that labor productivity has increased and production costs have been lowered, measures have been carried out to make all enterprises profitable and capable of ensuring the necessary socialist accumulation. The economic ties between the enterprises are being strengthened on the firm basis of economic accounting and socialist profitability. Important steps are being taken to improve the system of wages in industry, building and transport (wages of different categories of workers have been raised, new schedules of skilled grades are being worked out).

Commodity-money relations between the state and the co-operative sector are also expanding. This, in large measure, is due to the transition from payment in kind to payment in cash for the work done by the machine and tractor stations, and the abolition of compulsory state deliveries, for which state purchases of agricultural produce are substituted. Commodity-money relations are developing on a socialist basis also in the co-

operatives, and this finds expression in the substitution of cash payments for payments in kind.

The ties between the socialist (state and co-operative) enterprises and the working people are becoming closer and this is expressed in the expansion of socialist trade and in the higher cash incomes of the working people. Socialist industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture have led to a marked growth of the urban population. This means that cash incomes have also substantially increased, and that an increasingly greater portion of the social product is being realized through trade. In this way, the sphere of operation of the law of value expands, but it does so on a new, socialist basis; the socialist state is using this law in the planned management of the economy.

But the utilization of this law does not mean that the price and value of commodities should coincide completely. While under capitalism the divergences of prices from values represent the mechanism of operation of the law of value and are a spontaneous phenomenon, under socialism the essence of these divergences is different. The planning bodies cannot afford to ignore the factors influencing prices — economic, political and natural factors. They should plan divergences of prices from values which would assist socialist construction and the establishment of the necessary balances in the economy.

Socialist Changes in Hungarian Agriculture

J. Friss

THE assumption of state power by the proletariat and the nationalization of the means of production do not necessarily coincide in time. In our industry nationalization was carried out from 1945 till 1949 when the working class, taking advantage of its leading role in the state, was gradually preparing the socialist transformations. But in agriculture during this period, when the feudal system of big estates was abolished during the 1945 land reform, i.e., several years before the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the means of production were nationalized on a relatively small scale.

Pointing out that as a result of the land reform Hungary was turned from a country of big landlord farming into a country of small peasant farming, the speaker said that at that time political conditions were not ripe for socialist production relations in agriculture. Developments

after the land reform demonstrated that with a very low technical level of agriculture small ownership of land was economically the only feasible method of rapidly restoring the productive forces. In other words, at that time the production relations corresponded in the main to the character of the productive forces.

This situation, however, was short-lived, because the small peasants had no great possibilities of increasing output. It was only in 1951 that the gross output of agriculture slightly exceeded the 1938 level, the best year in prewar times. But for the three subsequent years this result was not achieved. On the whole, during the 8-10 postwar years agricultural output barely exceeded the prewar figures, whereas other branches of the economy were in a state of rapid growth.

It would be wrong, however, to attribute the unsatisfactory development of agriculture only to

the predominance of small peasant ownership. It is necessary to consider how agriculture was influenced by our economic measures. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established in our country at the turn of 1947. What was its effect on agriculture? This should be assessed in the light of the aims of our economic policy; because only in this way will it be possible to see how we were able to get to know the objective economic laws of our society and correctly apply them in agriculture. These main aims can be formulated as follows:

1. Strengthen the worker-peasant alliance — the basis of the proletarian dictatorship;

2. Constantly increase agricultural output and labor productivity in order, from this side too, to promote the steady improvement of living standards;

3. Simultaneously with the expansion of agricultural production, transform production relations along socialist lines: turn small peasant farms into larger units worked collectively.

Our Party set to work to implement the first two aims immediately after the liberation of the country, but the third aim — the transition to collective farming — was placed on the agenda only after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat which had changed the very content of the worker-peasant alliance. The Working People's Party, formed in June 1948 as a result of the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, did not include collectivization in its political program. It set the task of raising the technological level of agriculture and, with this aim in view, of establishing a network of machine and tractor stations and organizing state-owned model farms and rural consumer and marketing co-operatives.

Later a Party conference declared that the conditions for establishing producer co-operatives all over the country were not ripe, but that they should be prepared perseveringly. But already in 1948-49 the discussion in the Party made it clear — contrary to what the opportunists were saying — that collectivization had become an urgent task and could not be postponed indefinitely; it also became evident that the content of the worker-peasant alliance should be determined by the Leninist slogan on the peasant question.

Since then the basic aims of our agrarian policy have not changed, although our economic methods have with time undergone considerable changes. There are four stages in our agrarian policy: 1948-49, 1950 to mid-1953, mid-1953 to the autumn of 1956, and from the suppression of the counter-revolution to the end of 1959.

During the first stage state intervention in agriculture was mainly effected through the policy of deliveries — by determining the amount and price of compulsory deliveries and regulating the trade in agricultural products. Compulsory deliveries of some foodstuffs were practised in Hungary also during the war, but in May 1945, i.e., immediately after the liberation, a more progressive system was introduced which established higher delivery quotas for owners of big estates. At first this system was applied only to the basic crops, but in 1946 it was extended to animal husbandry. In 1948 the system of deliveries was expanded, with more stress being laid on its class principle. Gradually the system of contracts was also developed.

In this period the economic policy of the state generally favored the strengthening of small peasant farms. The poverty which existed in the countryside before the liberation, was completely done away with. At the same time the conditions ripened for reshaping agriculture on socialist lines: in 1948-49 the first producer co-operatives and machine and tractor stations were organized and state farms consolidated.

During this first stage the worker-peasant alliance was firmly established due mainly to the strengthening of the individual small peasant economy. The country was taking the first steps towards transforming the production relations in agriculture along socialist lines.

During the second stage the economic policy underwent a change mainly because the socialist reorganization of agriculture was placed on the agenda as the primary task in accordance with the 1948-49 discussion on the Party agrarian policy. But the discussion did not touch on the conditions necessary for the successful development of the co-operative movement and on its tempo. In our anxiety to speed up co-operation we often applied incorrect methods, particularly from 1951 onwards. The compulsory deliveries and the taxes on the individual peasants were unduly increased, as were their progressive norms, particularly in relation to farmers with plots exceeding 35 acres. The liquidation of the kulaks as a class was carried through with undue haste. Not infrequently arbitrary action was taken in relation to middle peasants — for example, in establishing the amounts of deliveries and taxes and in the redistribution of the land which followed the formation of producer co-operatives.

The producer co-operatives developed at a relatively rapid rate and already in mid-1953 they accounted for about one-fifth of the arable land and, together with state farms, for one-third. However, a considerable number of the co-operatives were not properly consolidated, either economically or politically.

The compulsory state deliveries were becoming an increasingly heavy burden on the peasants. In 1951 their volume had doubled compared with 1950, and in 1952 it showed another 60 per cent increase. But the prices paid for the produce delivered remained almost the same, while market prices rose rapidly. The forms of government intervention such as restrictions in transportation and trade in agricultural products, compulsory plans for crop distribution, were practised on an ever-growing scale. All this taken together caused discontent among the peasants, dampened their enthusiasm for work, adversely affected their attitude to the working class and the Party, and weakened the worker-peasant alliance.

The new conditions resulting from the need to reorganize agriculture on socialist lines called for new methods of management, but the Party failed to formulate a correct agrarian policy right away. This shows that we were unable to use economic laws correctly.

By the end of the second stage we had become aware of the mistakes in agrarian policy, and the *third stage* began with steps to correct these mistakes. The total amount of compulsory deliveries and the taxes were substantially reduced compared with 1952, redistribution was almost completely discontinued, etc. The method of material incentives began to be practised on a wide scale.

All these measures had a generally favorable effect on the labor enthusiasm of the peasants and on their relations with the working class. This effect, however, was weakened at that time by the conciliatory policy towards the opportunist elements in government and the Party who had been defeated in the 1948-49 discussion but had now again raised their heads. Under their influence producer co-operatives began to disintegrate and their share in the country's arable fell from 20 to 13 per cent. Profiteers were gaining ground among the peasants.

After 1955 when the opportunists were rebuffed, the co-operative movement returned to the correct path. But again some mistakes typical of the pre-1953 period were committed. The July (1956) meeting of the Central Committee adopted a sound attitude on this question, an attitude which was free from both Right opportunism and Left-wing distortions. But the implementation of this line was soon disrupted by the counter-revolution. During the putsch most of the peasants remained loyal to the people's-democratic system. Although a sizable portion of the co-operatives disintegrated in the autumn of 1956, the strongest of them demonstrated their economic and political stability, which showed that the co-operative movement had struck deep roots in Hungary. During this stage some steps were taken towards a better understanding of so-

cial laws, but their proper utilization was hindered by both opportunist and Leftist errors, by conciliation and vacillation in policy.

In the *fourth stage*, i.e., after the suppression of the counter-revolution, the Party tried to avoid both Right and "Left" mistakes. It made particularly great efforts to raise the confidence of the peasants in the Party and the state, to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and to make this basis of proletarian dictatorship unshakeable. The chief aims of our economic policy remained unaltered during this stage also. As for the methods of achieving these aims, one of the important changes was that compulsory deliveries were abolished and a single system of agricultural prices was introduced. The system of compulsory crop distribution was also abolished.

What are the methods by which the state is now influencing the development of agriculture?

In our agrarian policy we have always taken account of the differences existing between the state forms which represent socialist public property, and the individual farms. Our relationships with the state farms are based on the same principles as with other state enterprises, for instance, with industrial or transport enterprises. Different principles underlie our guidance of the producer co-operatives and individual peasant farms, and the forms of influencing them are also different. The method of incentives is used in relation to these two kinds of farms on a particularly broad scale, much broader than hitherto.

What results have been achieved since the suppression of the counter-revolution, and what were the methods used?

The gross output of agriculture rose, compared with the previous year, by 12 per cent in 1957, by 5.1 per cent in 1958, and by 4.5 per cent in 1959. The share of agriculture in the national income was 17 per cent higher in 1957 than in 1956, and rose by another 3 per cent in 1958.

The counter-revolutionary events had a negative effect on the co-operative movement. In mid-1956 the producer co-operatives accounted for 18.1 per cent of all arable land, whereas after the counter-revolutionary putsch, as of December 31, 1956, this figure was only 7.2 per cent. Then followed the slow consolidation of the co-operatives, and by December 31, 1957, this figure had risen to 9.5 per cent, and by December 31, 1958, to 12 per cent. In 1959 the co-operative movement achieved a wide extension. By the end of that year the co-operatives accounted for almost 40 per cent of the arable land, and this figure has now risen to 57 per cent. If we take into consideration state farms, over 70 per cent of the arable land is included in the socialist sector.

These figures provide indisputable evidence of great improvement. The results were attained without the use of administrative measures and without bringing any pressure to bear on the peasants. Of course, our Party and the people's-democratic state have never abandoned propaganda in favor of producer co-operatives; they have given considerable assistance to the co-operatives. But at the same time the Party and the state insisted that the voluntary principle should be strictly observed. This accounted for the fact that by joining the co-operatives the peasants demonstrated their firm confidence in the working class, the Party and the state; this led to a strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.

Summing up the results of the fourth stage, Friss stated that this time success was achieved in relation to all the three basic aims of the agrarian policy: the worker-peasant alliance was strengthened, agricultural production increased, and socialist production relations gained the upper hand. We attach the utmost importance to the preponderance of these relations achieved on the firm basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

The speaker further noted that the expansion of the socialist sector was accompanied by an increase in agricultural production which was due both to the big socialist farms and to those individual farmers who became much more active during the collectivization period.

There were two decisive factors in bringing this about. First, the unconditional observance of the voluntary principle made the peasants confident that they would not be forced into the co-operatives. Second, by abolishing compulsory deliveries the state has ended a situation, disadvantageous to the small peasants, in which they were obliged to deliver a considerable portion of their produce at a price fixed beforehand, which they were unable to raise although they considered it too low. The state ceased to intervene in crop distribution, too.

Instead, a system of state purchases and contracts was introduced which, as developments have shown, meets the wishes of the peasants and encourages them in their work.

We welcomed the fact that our old co-operatives became stronger, while many of the new co-operatives were able, within a relatively brief space of time, to organize large-scale farming and to catch up, in varying degree, with the old ones. An important role in this was played by the fact that our agriculture, and above all the producer co-operatives, received from the state much greater aid than hitherto in the form of machinery, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, selected seeds, etc. Along with material help, the strengthening of co-operative cadres by sending highly skilled specialists and managers for permanent work in the producer co-operatives was also of great significance.

Now that the co-operatives have gained the upper hand in agriculture, a new, *fifth*, stage has set in.

The Party and the state are giving assistance to the co-operatives to enable them to become model socialist large-scale enterprises as soon as possible. This assistance is in the form of specialists, advice, credits for construction, sale of machinery, chemical fertilizers and insecticides, favorable terms of contracts and purchases, and technical servicing by the machine and tractor stations. This makes the ties between the co-operatives and the state bodies still closer. And these many-sided ties enable the state to influence, in a big way, the drawing up of the plans of the co-operatives and, through these plans, to channel co-operative production in the direction desirable from the standpoint of the national economy. If we add to this the influence on co-operative production wielded by the state through purchasing prices and contracts, it will become clear that once the means at our disposal are utilized rationally we are able to make our management effective.

Economic Policy and Socialist Democracy

K. Polak

IN the German Democratic Republic, where the development of the productive forces and of socialist democracy are closely linked, state economic management is constantly being improved.

Today it is clearer than ever that socialist state power is breaking all barriers that separate man from production and prevent him from taking a conscious and active part in social development. It

raises the work of the people and their social activity to a higher plane.

Pointing out that the improvement of state economic management had passed through several stages in the Republic, the speaker stressed that at each stage the main issue was the development of democratic centralism. The growth of the productive forces leads to a further development and

strengthening of the socialist relations of production and this, in turn, profoundly transforms relations between people and man's attitude to production, labor, society and the state, and ensures the victory of the socialist principle of collective spirit and mutual aid. It is on this basis that socialist democracy is developing.

But democratic centralism is by no means an aim in itself — it is a lever for the development of socialist society, for activizing the creative capabilities of the masses. Had it been otherwise, economic management would have arrested the development of the productive forces and the creative energy of the people.

Discrepancies may, of course, occur between the forms of management and the level of the productive forces, as was the case in 1956. What occurred then was a discrepancy between the vertical departmental system of state economic management, which had been in existence since 1952, and the initiative and consciousness of the masses. It was caused by the rapid development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture, the growing activity and initiative of the masses, their desire to have a say in management. The local people's bodies felt that vertical departmental management was for them a hindrance, which restricted local planning and utilization of local reserves for the fulfilment of the targets of socialist construction and for giving full rein to mass initiative. While in the early period of the people's democratic state the local bodies needed the departmental planning and vertical management just as children need the directing hand of the father, now, when after several years of activity they had learned to operate independently, they began to regard such tutelage as superfluous and a hindrance to the development of their own initiative.

With the inauguration of the second five-year plan, the Party set out to remedy this discrepancy. The Third Party Conference (spring 1956) worked out directives for a further extension of responsibilities and powers of the local bodies. In January 1957 the People's Chamber passed an appropriate law, according to which the local bodies were made responsible for carrying out socialist transformations within the sphere of their activity, starting from the plan for national economic development. In this way the national plan became the basis of the work of the local bodies. It was established that the local bodies should not only carry out the plan assignments but should also display their own initiative. Simultaneously, another law made it incumbent on the People's Chamber to render the local representative bodies every assistance in their work as socialist directing bodies. A special Standing Committee of the People's Chamber was established for the purpose.

Use was also made of the Soviet experience in reorganizing planning and in establishing economic councils. At its two meetings in 1957 the Central Committee of our Party thoroughly discussed the problems linked with this measure and took decisions which served as a basis for a Law on Improvement and Simplification of Work of the State Bodies, passed by the People's Chamber in February 1958. The consequential structural changes in the state apparatus boiled down in the main to abolishing the parallelism in the work of the State Planning Commission and the central economic bodies (ministries) which carried out the plans. Planning, central economic management and control were now concentrated in the Planning Commission, while operative management was passed over to the local bodies. As a result the Planning Commission is able to concentrate its attention on the fundamental questions of the development of all branches of the economy.

Associations of people's enterprises, including whole branches, were set up as directing economic bodies subordinated to the center. They were entrusted with functions previously discharged by the planning departments, and were, in particular, given the right of managing the enterprises and establishments under their operational control. Special emphasis was laid on the need to observe the principle of personal responsibility of the managers of enterprises. When this law came into force, 558 (or 24.5 per cent) of the 2,278 enterprises under central jurisdiction were placed under control of the local bodies.

With a view to ensuring uniformity of the development of enterprises under local jurisdiction, economic boards were established under the regional people's councils. They, as the law says, are organs both of the regional councils and of the State Planning Commission. The range of their duties covers the drawing up of perspective and annual plans of the enterprises under the jurisdiction of the regional state bodies, the guidance of the district planning commissions, and supervision over the execution of these plans. That is how the principle of territorial management is being implemented.

Thus, the local bodies, the associations of people's enterprises and the individual enterprises have begun, while bearing in mind the national economic plan, to undertake planning within the sphere of their activities. This has been a big factor in furthering socialist democracy and the initiative of the masses.

This explains the appearance of socialist bodies which simultaneously draw up plans and carry them out and the introduction of the important principle of socialist democracy. This leads to the merging of economic management and political leadership, that is, to economic management by the state

which combines guidance of people on the basis of socialist production relations and the revolutionary transformation of human activity into conscious work.

Pointing out that the Socialist Unity Party had to combat erroneous views on planning and economic management, views which are deeply rooted in bourgeois practice, Polak said: the aim of state economic management is constantly to strengthen and develop socialist production relations, the new, socialist forms of organization of production and of public life generally. It was no accident

that at the very time when we were working to improve state economic management there began a mighty growth of new forms of collective work in industry and agriculture: by last February 72,580 socialist labor teams had been organized in the factories, with a membership of 877,600, i.e., over 30 per cent of the total industrial labor force.

Speaking at the sixth meeting of the Central Committee, Walter Ulbricht justly said that "the socialist labor teams and collective farms are a key to the solution of all important tasks in the new stage of our development."

The Role of Politics in Speeding up the Development of Socialist Economy

Yui Kuang-yuan

HIGH rates of economic development are an objective law of socialist society. The socialist rates of economic growth are unthinkable in capitalist countries. But our era poses the exceedingly important question of still further increasing the rate of development. Today's world balance of forces, said Yui Kuang-yuan, is characterized by the fact that the east wind prevails over the west wind. The international climate continues to develop in a direction favorable for the proletariat and the working people throughout the world. But for all that the nature of imperialism is not changing. The imperialists are still continuing an intensified arms drive and war preparations. U.S. imperialism, though now forced to make some peace gestures, remains the main enemy of world peace.

Under the present conditions higher rates of development of the socialist economy are not only possible but necessary. Thanks to the long struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction the social system of all the socialist countries has been continuously improved. The Communist consciousness and organization of the masses have developed. Industry and agriculture are expanding; mutual aid and co-operation between the socialist countries are being consolidated and extended.

With the development of the socialist system and as we pass from socialism to communism, more favorable conditions for increasing the rate of socialist economic development will be continuously created. A great advantage of the socialist system is that it makes possible an all-round utilization of inexhaustible reserves. It is essential that these advantages and potential reserves should be properly assessed. The fullest utilization of all ad-

vantages accruing from socialism depends in the main on Marxist-Leninist political leadership by the proletarian Party.

The role of politics in economic development is a question of correctly resolving the contradictions in socialist society, i.e., of mastering and using the dialectical law of contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations, between the economic basis and the superstructure, with a view to facilitating the rapid development of the social productive forces. This question finally boils down to that of the motive force in socialist society. The contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, between the economic basis and the superstructure, is the main contradiction of all social systems, and is, consequently, the main driving force of social development. Contradiction is the driving force in the development of all things and phenomena. This general truth of Marxism is fully applicable to socialist society. Under socialism, too, the driving force of social development lies in the contradiction between the economic basis and the superstructure. But this contradiction differs fundamentally from that existing in capitalist society. It is not an antagonistic contradiction and is being overcome along planned lines. The contradictions under capitalism are, on the contrary, antagonistic and cannot be resolved by capitalism itself but only by the socialist revolution. In socialist society production relations correspond to the character of the productive forces. But there are still contradictions between them, because, firstly, for quite a long period after the emergence of socialist society there exists collective property, i.e., common property with a lower degree of socialization than

state property. Secondly, although property belonging to the people as a whole is common property of a higher form than collective property, nevertheless when it is being established, not all its links become perfect at once, the more so that with the development of the productive forces the previously perfect links become imperfect; this imperfection of the different parts of the production relations is at variance with the development of the productive forces. Under socialism there is also both conformity and contradiction between the economic basis and the superstructure. The socialist state system, legislation, Marxist-Leninist ideology — all these parts of the superstructure are in conformity with the economic basis. But vestiges of capitalist ideology and shortcomings in separate links of the state system are in contradiction with the economic basis. These contradictions are being constantly overcome by socialist society; when they re-appear they are again overcome — such is the dialectical law of socialist society. In the superstructure first place belongs to politics because the latter reflects the contradiction and the struggle in the economic basis, the class interests in their most straight-forward and concentrated form. What is needed is to make full use of this political superstructure in order, in keeping with the requirements of the rapid development of the productive forces, consciously and in good time to regulate, transform and change the production relations, remove obstacles in the way of the social productive forces and thus assist their rapid development.

The founders of Marxism always attached great significance to the role of the political superstructure in society. Proceeding from the fact that politics as a superstructure are determined by the economic basis, Lenin laid particular stress on the retroactive effect of policy on the economic basis. He said that the productive forces could only be freed from their capitalist straightjacket by the political revolution, the winning of power, and by changing the production relations. Revolutions, according to Marx's definition, are locomotives of history, and the class struggle — the immediate driving power of history.

Lenin fought vigorously every opportunist attempt to deceive the people and check the revolution. He entered the lists against the leaders of the Second International and their ideology of waiting till the prerequisites of socialism were ripe. In an article "Our Revolution" (Apropos of the Notes of N. Sukhanov) he wrote: "Why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and then, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake other nations?" It was precisely because political

interests represent the proletariat's fundamental interests that Lenin stressed, in his polemics with the "Economists," that the day-to-day economic interests should be subordinated to political interests. "The fact that economic interests are a decisive factor *does not in the least imply* that the economic (i.e., trade union) struggle must be the main factor, for the essential and 'decisive' interests of classes can be satisfied only by radical *political* changes in general."* After the October Revolution, in the fight against the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, Lenin stressed repeatedly that the proletariat should have "a proper political approach to the subject," that "politics are the concentrated expression of economics," that "politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism."** These injunctions of Lenin retain the utmost significance.

The speaker then dwelt on the high rates of economic development during the ten years since the formation of the Chinese People's Republic. During the first five-year plan period the average rate of growth of gross industrial and agricultural output was 10.9 per cent. In 1958-59, as a result of the continuous great leap in socialist construction, the mean annual rate of growth in industry and agriculture was 39.4 per cent.

Economic development by leaps and bounds in China is not of a temporary but of a lasting character. This year the Chinese people led by the Communist Party have continued the struggle for the general line against the Right deviation, for a great leap and for the people's communes, for higher output and a policy of strict economy, and to raise the enthusiasm of the masses. In the industrial and transport enterprises a mass movement is gaining momentum for technical improvements and technological revolution. The main content of this movement is the mechanization and semi-mechanization of technological processes. In the first quarter of 1960 the gross industrial output is to rise more than 80 per cent compared with the same period last year.

Yui Kuang-yuan went on to speak about the achievements of agriculture, about the big irrigation works in which 75 million people took part. At present a movement is underway to improve agricultural implements, to accumulate fertilizers and develop pig-breeding so that there should be one pig per head of the population and per each *mou**** of land. The year of 1960 is a very important year for socialist construction. The whole people are working for an all-round, still greater leap in the national economy this year. And this will mark

*V. I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*

**V. I. Lenin, *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*

***A *mou* is equivalent to one-sixth acre.—Ed.

the beginning of a continuous leap in socialist construction in the subsequent years of the second five-year plan period and throughout the 'sixties.

The speaker elucidated the causes which make the great leap possible. They are to be found in the fact that in 1956 China had completed in the main the socialist revolution in the sphere of ownership of the means of production; the socialist revolution had won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts; during the first five-year plan period both industry and agriculture were developed to a considerable extent; China is building socialism in co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and is receiving fraternal help from them. But the most profound cause of the great leap in China is the general line worked out by the Central Committee of the Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung — "exerting every effort to advance towards socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results" — and a number of other lines such as "walking on both legs." The general line of the Party and the people's commune have inspired the people and are responsible for the great political and labor enthusiasm of the masses in building socialism. This has raised socialist construction to a new plane — that of a great leap.

The ten-year experience of our country and particularly the experience of the great leap during the past two years testifies explicitly to the tremendous significance of the principle of placing "politics in command." Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that "political work is the life-giving artery of all economic work." "Politics in command" signifies the need to ensure absolute Party leadership in all spheres, to combat any attempt at shunning Party leadership. Abandonment of Party leadership inevitably results in mistakes in work and does harm to the revolution. Wherever the leading role is not played by proletarian politics, it is played by capitalist politics. And there is no other option. Yui Kuang-yuan then criticized the views according to which it was technology and not politics that should be placed in command.

"Politics in command" signifies that the interests of building socialism and communism should be borne in mind. In view of the fact that socialist society has recently emerged from the old society, that there still exists in it the ideological and political influence of the bourgeoisie, the struggle between two roads — the capitalist and the socialist — is still going on.

The speaker then pointed out that the method of construction "by achieving smaller, slower, worse and non-economical results" was the expression of capitalist ideology. He stressed that the more vigorously capitalist ideology is criticized, and the better the Party's general line is implemented, the

greater is the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and the more successful is the building of socialism "by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results." An indispensable condition of work according to this method is to adhere to the spirit of uninterrupted, stage-by-stage development of the revolution, to see clearly the communist perspectives and maintain the revolutionary sweep.

"Politics in command" means to carry out ideological and political work in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and to educate the masses in the spirit of communism. The creative initiative of the working people is fully unleashed only when their communist consciousness rises substantially, when they regard the fundamental class interests and the splendid ideal of the future — communist society — as the guide to action. If the consciousness of the working people remains at a relatively low level, if they give first place to personal, current interests, their activity and creative enthusiasm cannot but be seriously hampered. In relation to consumer goods in the first phase of communism we apply the socialist principle of distribution according to the work done. At the same time we accentuate: "politics in command," and encourage a communist attitude to labor and a lofty communist style of work. Therein lies one of the important reasons for the rapid rate of development of our socialist economy.

Lenin said: "The living, creative socialism is the product of the popular masses themselves." When the creative initiative of the working people is given free rein, society forges ahead at an unprecedented rate. Much of that which previously was believed impracticable or requiring a long time for its attainment, has already been achieved within a brief space of time. As an example of one of the many new phenomena which had appeared in the course of the great leap, the speaker mentioned the growth of the average utilization coefficient of the small blast furnaces in 1959-60. As statistics show, this coefficient has considerably exceeded the 1957 average coefficient of the big and medium-sized furnaces.

The tremendous role played by politics in ensuring the high speed of socialist economic development is also seen in the rapid economic growth in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The speaker pointed to the successes achieved by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in competition with the capitalist system, and the successful construction of communism in the USSR.

The economic growth of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union is inseparable from the leadership by the Communist and Workers' parties of these countries, from the communist

spirit displayed by the working class and the working people generally, and their great enthusiasm in building socialism and communism. The theoretical generalization of the experience of the socialist revolution and construction, the thorough study of politics as a superstructure, their role in

ensuring high rates of economic development, in building socialism and communism, and the study of the dialectical relationships between politics and economics acquire enormous significance in bringing out the inestimable advantages of the socialist system.

Aspects of the Economic Role of the Socialist State

H. Mara

AN essential feature of the socialist system is the special role played by political power in economic development. This role follows from the objective relationships between economics and politics in general, and from the new property relations under socialism in particular. Economics and politics are two inseparable sides of public life, of which the former is primary and the latter is secondary. Economics make up the basis of politics, and determine the content and direction of the latter. Politics appear on the basis of economics, and always rely on the material force, being the concentrated expression of economics. But in their development politics acquire a relative independence and begin to play an active part in relation to the economic basis, either facilitating or retarding its development. Within the sphere of their general dependence on the economic basis, politics, being an expression of the relations between classes, also become an economic force. The Leninist thesis about politics having precedence over economics means that all economic measures should be regarded above all from the political standpoint, that is, from the standpoint of the correlation of classes.

Politics in socialist society are not based on the abstract "principles of human nature and human reason" but on the profound understanding and conscious application of economic laws. On the other hand, the retroactive effect of politics on economics is not only increasing, but is becoming a conscious and planned action. Common ownership of the means of production makes planned, balanced economic development both necessary and possible. Therefore the effect of politics on economics, too, cannot be spontaneous, it can and should be planned. The practical work of building socialism in Albania is proof of the great transforming force of the policy of the Party and our socialist state in the economy.

Before the victory of the people's revolution Albania was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country.

With the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries she has made a great leap in her economy and culture and in living standards. At present the gross industrial output is 22-24 times greater than in 1938. It comprises about one-half of all industrial and agricultural output in the country instead of 9.8 per cent as in 1938. Industry accounts for some 36 per cent of the national income, while the 1938 figure was only 4.5 per cent. The productive forces in agriculture are also rapidly developing. Towards the end of last year the cultivated land had doubled compared with 1938, while the gross agricultural output had more than doubled. The Albanian village has finally embarked upon the path of socialist reorganization. At the end of 1959 the co-operatives accounted for about 84 per cent of all the cultivated land. Our socialist state holds in its hands the main economic levers, and exercises centralized management of the whole economy.

Despite the fact that the state constantly and actively influences the economy, the forms and methods of this influence cannot be immutable. They should vary and be constantly improved.

It is common knowledge that planning is the key means of the centralized state management combined with the creative initiative of the masses. That is why our government sees to it that the methods of planning in industry and agriculture are constantly improved.

The high degree of centralization of economic management which was essential during the first five-year plan, became a hindrance to the solution of the new tasks of economic and cultural development. In 1955 new regulations for agricultural planning were introduced, which granted more freedom of action to the local bodies and the working peasants. According to these regulations, the plan for the development of agriculture endorsed by the Council of Ministers contains now only the main indices for agricultural output for the market. On the basis of these figures the state

farms, the co-operatives and the machine and tractor stations draw up their own plans for each crop, and for the productivity of animal husbandry, taking into account the climatic and soil conditions, the local economic efficiency and potentialities. In 1956 the planning regulations in other branches of the economy were also changed.

In our country, as in other socialist countries, many organizational forms have been elaborated in the course of socialist construction, forms which enable the working people to take an extensive and active part in economic management. These forms include preliminary discussions by the working people of the important Party and government decisions and the target figures of five-year plans; factory production meetings; socialist emulation and the innovators' and rationalizers' movement; national and local production conferences of workers of various industries; supervision by Party organizations of the work of the enterprises; participation of trade unions in running the economy, etc.

The whole practice of socialist construction in Albania, as in the other socialist countries, convincingly refutes Yugoslav revisionism which denies the creative, transforming role of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its political organs. The Yugoslav revisionists oppose democratic centralism in socialist construction, substituting for it the so-called "new economic mechanism" — decentralization and producers' self-government.

The facts demonstrate that the Yugoslav practice is a departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It opens the way to spontaneity, anar-

chy of the market, rivalry between enterprises, and leads to squandering of the financial and material resources of society. By abandoning one of the principal advantages of socialism — centralized planning and management of the economy — the Yugoslav revisionists are thus clearing the way to the unrestricted operation of the law of supply and demand, and are creating favorable conditions for the capitalist elements, for petty-bourgeois and anti-socialist tendencies.

Practice is the supreme criterion of truth. The decentralization of production and the producers' self-government, which in Yugoslavia are counterposed to centralized and planned management by the state, have not been able to ensure a proper development of the country's productive forces and a rapid rise of living standards. The Yugoslav economy is experiencing serious difficulties, hardly managing to make both ends meet even with the handouts from the U.S. imperialists.

It is a matter of record that before the Second World War Yugoslavia was relatively more developed than Albania. But matters have changed since the war: in our country industrial output has risen 23 times, while in Yugoslavia only 3.4 times (1958). Industrial expansion is much greater in Rumania and Bulgaria (almost 9 times) than in Yugoslavia, although in the past all these countries had almost the same level of economic development.

The rapid economic growth in Albania demonstrates the superiority of socialist methods of leadership.

Yugoslav Leaders Revise Marxist-Leninist Teaching on the Socialist State

S. Angelov

THE successes of the socialist countries and the growth of the revolutionary forces throughout the world send the imperialist bourgeoisie and its servants chasing after ideological and political arguments with which to defend the rotten system of the exploiters. The latter-day revisionists join forces with the capitalist ideologists in combating the new, socialist system. Slipping back to bourgeois standpoints, they attack the theory and practice of the international communist movement and distort the role played by the socialist state in public life. I shall examine some concepts held by the Yugoslav revisionists, since they claim to have evolved a "new," allegedly Marxist-Leninist, theory of the socialist state.

What is the essence of this "new" theory?

Its gist is as follows: the state — whether capitalist or socialist — is always a bureaucratic machine of coercion which stands above classes and society and represents an alien and hostile force. In countries where the proletarian revolution has triumphed, socialism should grow organically out of the socio-economic relations, and it should do so spontaneously, independently of the policy of the socialist state. The latter is necessary only during a brief period when power is being consolidated, but does not play any role in building socialist society. That is why, in the opinion of the Yugoslav theorists, the main task of the socialist forces after winning power is to resolve the con-

traditions between the state and society, and the way to do this is for the state gradually to wither away.

The withering away of the state, they claim, should begin with the abolition of its economic and cultural-educational functions. This view is clearly expressed in the latest book by Dr. Mirko Perovic entitled *Socialism and the Withering Away of the State — Theory and Practice*, published last year. The author, referring to Yugoslav practice, says that "the organs of internal and external security have not withered away or weakened . . . and, of course, will not wither away far a long time. But the function of the state which Stalin called the cultural-educational function has largely withered away, and it's a good job, too. To a degree, what Stalin called the 'economic-organizational role of the state' has also withered away, and this is also good" (p. 117).

This "theory" on the role and future of the socialist state is presented as a creative development of the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin. But if we take a closer look at it, we shall see that this is simply an eclectic combination of social-democratic and anarcho-syndicalist views. The Yugoslav revisionists regard nearly all questions linked with the state and democracy apart from and independently of the class structure of society, apart from the class struggle, the development of economy and culture, from the internal and international situation.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism, it should be recalled, revealed the class structure of the state, explaining that the state is the organ of the economically dominant class. Some Yugoslav authors, however, do not agree with this definition. In an article in *Nasa Stvarnost* (No. 10, 1959) entitled "The Functions of the Modern State and Democracy, True and Formal" Dr. Najdan Pasic says: "An essential feature of all government bodies, the police, economic, educational and other bodies, is that they are organs of state power which, while discharging state functions, stand above society" (p. 371). Thus the author sophistically substitutes the functions of special institutions for the class essence of the state. In so doing, he sees no difference between the socialist and the capitalist states. What is important for him is to stress that in any state there are special organs of power which stand above society and classes. Surely this is, to all intents and purposes, a departure from Marxism?

Hence, there is nothing fortuitous in the claims of the Yugoslav revisionists that in modern capitalist countries there has been, allegedly, a sort of "diffusion of state power," that is, political power in these countries through the "democratic" institutions has been divided among all sections of

the population, and that the bourgeoisie, like the other classes, obeys the state which stands above classes. Willy-nilly, this brings to mind the theories of such overt apologists for capitalism as Sternberg, Strachey, Lowenthal, Benedikt Kautsky and others, with their claims that the capitalists are no longer exploiters but "organizers" of production, and that the capitalist state has ceased to be an instrument of oppression of the workers and has become a state standing above classes.

The Yugoslav revisionists are putting up a bogey by asserting that if the socialist state does not start withering away the day after its emergence, this will mean "bureaucratic étatism," decay, degeneration, distortion of socialist relations, restoration of state-capitalist relations, new exploitation. There is nothing original about this revisionist view either. Many of the Right-wing Socialist leaders long ago promoted to the level of theory the claim that the proletarian dictatorship gives birth to a new exploiting class in the form of the state, Party and economic apparatus. This slander is expressed in a concentrated form in Djilas's book *The New Class*. The Communist League leaders have rightly condemned Djilas as a renegade. But his ideological concepts are still current in Yugoslavia in various forms with the only difference that they no longer have any reference to the actual situation in Yugoslavia.

The claims of the revisionists that socialism should grow organically out of the socio-economic relationships, independently of the policy of the proletarian dictatorship, are an outright distortion of Marxism-Leninism. For how can there be a socialist system without proletarian dictatorship and the creative role of the socialist state?

The answer to this question has long been supplied by Marxism-Leninism and socialist practice. Experience has shown that without the socialist state it is impossible even to retain power, let alone rebuild all social relations on a new, socialist footing. In his polemics with Barth, Engels wrote: ". . . Why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent? Force (that is, state power) is also an economic power!"* The proletariat, upon becoming the ruling class, in alliance with the working peasantry, nationalizes the basic means of production and turns them into state property that belongs to the people as a whole. Only in this way can the economic power of the bourgeoisie be overthrown, and a new type of relations — socialist relations of production — established.

Why are the means of production concentrated in the hands of the people, of the state, and not, say,

*K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, 1958, p. 496.

in the hands of separate workers' collectives? Briefly speaking, this is so because by virtue of its nature large-scale socialist production requires that it should be managed and planned as a single whole. This is done by the state organized by the working people with the working class at their head, for only in this way is this class in a position to perform its leading role in relation to the peasants and other sections of the population, overcome the spontaneity of the market, build the financial and material base for co-operation in agriculture, and, jointly with the peasants and the rest of the working people, ensure the victory and consolidation of the socialist system.

But the economic role of the socialist state is not limited to what has been said above. The building of the economic basis of socialism requires, in addition to transforming capitalist property into socialist property and multiplying socialist property by way of industrialization, the switching of individual peasant farms to large-scale co-operative farming. Otherwise, socialism is impossible of attainment. Nor can all this be achieved spontaneously, without the economic-organizational role of the socialist state.

The worker-peasant state, as the experience of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries has demonstrated, renders great assistance to the peasants in their voluntary co-operation. This assistance takes the form of credits, agricultural machines, fertilizers, pedigree cattle and seeds, granted on favorable terms. The state trains agricultural experts; its legislation creates the political and economic conditions for the rise and consolidation of socialist farms in agriculture.

What do Marxists understand by the withering away of the state? In answering this question we should not only remember the views of the founders of Marxism-Leninism but also take into account the practice of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We should bear in mind the following:

first, it is the function of class coercion that is withering away, with the sphere of state compulsion becoming narrowed, and in perspective all political compulsion will in general fade away;

second, state economic and cultural functions should be gradually transformed into functions exercised by mass organizations of the people. This should be understood not in the sense that these functions lose their significance but that they lose their political character;

third, because the organs of state power are gradually becoming unnecessary all members of society are drawn into the management of social production. This process of development and extension of democracy in all spheres of public life will in the long run — under communism — lead to the

withering away of democracy itself as the form of the state.

The withering away of the state is a natural, gradual and, to a certain extent, as Lenin taught, a spontaneous process. After the victory of the socialist revolution, the main task is not to bring about immediately the withering away of the state, as the revisionists claim, but to build socialism and communism on a planned basis, for which purpose the masses should be drawn into the work of running the state. "The withering away of the state," said Khrushchov at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, "if we approach the question dialectically, implies the development of the socialist state into communist public self-administration. For under communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the state, but their nature, and the methods by which they will be exercised, will differ from those obtaining in the present stage."

What functions similar to those performed by the state, it may be asked, will remain under communism? Of course, it is not the organs and functions of class coercion that will remain, but the present-day economic and cultural functions of the socialist state which will undergo appropriate changes. Our views differ from those of the Yugoslav revisionists not in whether the state will wither away, but in *when and how* it will begin to wither away and *what is its role* in society as long as it exists.

The socialist state is a political organization of the working people, and its main task is not coercion but the building of a new society. That is why Lenin characterized the socialist state from its inception as a "semi-state" and as the "state withering away." But Lenin, fully in accord with Marx and Engels, regarded the withering away of the state not as a single act but as a long process conditioned, above all, by the economic development of socialist society.

The modern revisionists do not want or are unable to grasp this living dialectics — the withering away of the state is being prepared by strengthening and development. They hold that the withering away of the state begins with its economic and cultural functions and not its organs of class coercion.

Moreover, the Yugoslav revisionists are absolutely wrong in counterposing the state to democracy under socialism. Perovic writes in his book: "The withering away of the state is a process identical with the creation of a consistently socialist democracy, a process which is effected by society, that is, by the voluntarily united producers and other working people, through the gradual taking over of the state functions" (p. 86).

So the state is excluded from socialist democracy. But, as Lenin pointed out, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the supreme form of democracy, and "the abolition of the state means also the abolition of democracy."*

The Yugoslav practice only confirms the inconsistency of the revisionist theories of the state. In Yugoslavia the state is far from withering away. The state in Yugoslavia is clearing the way to market spontaneity. After decentralization had been carried out on a large scale, the industrial enterprises acquired economic independence, and the workers' councils began to concentrate on the needs of their own enterprises, their own narrow, local interests. And as the market is the regulator of the economy, profit-seeking gives rise to rivalry between individual enterprises.

The Yugoslav system of communes makes it difficult to organize close co-operation and mutual aid not only between separate enterprises but even between separate districts and republics of the Federation. Speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists, Mijalko Todorovic (his report published in *Borba* on November 20, 1959, was entitled "Current Problems of Economic Policy") said: "Instead of the spirit of co-operation and sound emulation between the economic organizations, a spirit of disloyal competition, misinformation, etc., is being implanted."

By denying the revolutionary, transformative role of the socialist state, the Yugoslav revisionists have left to the mercy of fate both agriculture and handicrafts, which develop in accordance with the laws of laissez-faire economy. In one of the issues of the Yugoslav philosophical and sociological journal for 1958, Oleg Mandic gives the following figures of the class stratification of the handicraftsmen: out of the 198,644 handicraft enterprises 296 have from six to 10 hired workers, 37 — from 11 to 20, and seven — from 20 to 30 workers. Whether these figures are accurate or not, we cannot say, we leave that to the author. Our point is that these figures enabled him to draw the conclusion that part of the individual handicraftsmen under the Yugoslav "social system are exploiters."

In recent years class differentiation in Yugoslav agriculture, far from diminishing, has increased. The conclusion drawn by V. Popovic (cf. *Nasa*

Stvarnost, No. 6, 1958, p. 680) that the country's agriculture is for the most part a natural economy with no extended reproduction, stands closest to the truth. This makes it even more difficult to understand what Kardelj said about the victory of socialism in Yugoslavia: "The socialist foundations of our social development have been laid. By the last nationalization acts we have in practice completed the revolutionary socialization of the means of production. The problem of private ownership in the village has become a problem of backward personal labor on the basis of primitive means of production rather than a problem of non-socialist survivals in our social structure. Consequently, we can say that to all intents and purposes our society has already been constituted and is now a socialist society, and can develop further only as such" (*Borba*, February 23, 1960).

Whom is Kardelj trying to fool? People in Yugoslavia ask: why is it that our country lags behind the other socialist countries in its social development? To this Kardelj has the ready answer: You needn't worry, we built socialism in Yugoslavia long ago, and in many respects we are marching ahead of everybody! This, of course, is wishful thinking, for in reality Yugoslavia has still a long way to travel before achieving socialism.

The ideological roots of revisionism lie in the incorrect understanding of the character of social laws and the dialectical materialist interaction of the objective and subjective aspects of social development. The revisionists cannot understand that conditions are being altered by people in the process of material production and practical revolutionary work, and these, in turn, affect the people themselves. When we speak about objective laws, we understand that in society people act not at random, but by virtue of the objectively existing interrelations which condition in a very complicated way the content of their social thinking, which under certain conditions can have a very big effect on the basis that gave it birth. Negation of the role of conscious political activity in social development leads to reformism, to the theory and practice of "laissez-faire," to making a fetish of economic laws. This is typical of the Yugoslav revisionists who virtually discard the need for proletarian dictatorship and reduce the role of politics in the transition period to recording historical developments.

*V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

The Socialist International Division of Labor

R. Moldovan

THE speaker pointed to the important role played by the socialist international division of labor in developing comprehensive economic co-operation of the socialist countries, and compared it with the capitalist international division of labor whose aim is to obtain maximum profits through the exploitation of the less developed by the more developed countries.

In the past, he said, we learned by experience exactly what capitalist international division of labor meant to our country and to our people. Within the framework of this division Rumania was allotted the role of supplier of cheap raw materials (oil, timber, agricultural products), on the one hand, and of buyer of industrial goods at high prices, on the other. What this means can be seen from the fact that she had to exchange 9-12 tons of exports for one ton of imports.

The socialist international division of labor involves the abolition of the division of the world into advanced and backward, industrial and agrarian countries, a division which has been inherited from the capitalist regime. It is of great benefit to the socialist camp in its peaceful economic competition with capitalism, assisting the all-round development of the productive forces of each country.

Let us, for example, take the co-ordination of the economic development of the socialist countries. Each of them draws up its own economic plan, being guided, in the first place, by its own economic interests, and bearing in mind its own potentialities, etc. At the same time, in their economic planning the socialist countries proceed from the fact that their economies are component parts of the socialist world. This represents the practical realization of the harmonious combination of the economic development of each socialist country with the development of the socialist world system as a whole; and this serves to further the socialist international division of labor.

The socialist international division of labor is not an aim in itself, and its content and forms depend on the place and time factors. At the present stage, for example, the socialist international division of labor helps Rumania to carry out her policy of industrialization and to create a harmonious, comprehensively-developed economy.

Delivering the C.C. report at the Party National Conference in October 1945, Gheorghiu-Dej said: "Certain 'theorists' claimed that Rumania was a 'purely agrarian' country and that therefore in prosecuting our economic policy it was necessary

to concentrate on agricultural output and on grain exports. In point of fact, they were trying to justify large-scale land ownership and uphold the interests of the landlords. They sought to subordinate Rumania to the big industrial countries, to keep us dependent on them for manufactured goods . . . We, Marxists, Communists, . . . have always said that the progress of our country directly depends on successful industrialization and that industrial strength ensures in large measure the independence of our state."

The practice of socialist construction has demonstrated that every country needs a heavy industry. Industrialization is needed for the development of the national economy, for the numerical growth of the working class and the strengthening of its leading role, for raising labor productivity, increasing the national income and, on this basis, improving standards of living. This is proved by the fact that the numbers of employed in our industry and construction are only one-fourth of those in agriculture, but the share of industry in the national income is more than twice that of agriculture.

Stressing that the planned, balanced economic development of the socialist world as a whole presupposes the planned, balanced economic development of each of the socialist countries, Moldovan said that each country should observe a definite objective balance between industry and agriculture, between the "A" and "B" groups in industry, between the extracting and processing industries, and so on. Therefore it is impossible to agree with those economists who say that with the rise of the socialist world system the law of priority development of the production of the means of production over that of consumer goods is no longer valid for each individual country and can only be applied to the system as a whole.

But to agree with this means to recognize that the division into industrially developed countries and those producing only raw materials and agricultural output should be preserved in the socialist world also. Such specialization would keep intact the agrarian character in the future also of some socialist economies.

R. Moldovan then spoke about the balanced distribution of industry by the socialist countries in their own territories. By way of example he mentioned Czechoslovakia where the problem of industrializing the formerly backward Slovakia is being successfully solved, and thus the economic disproportion between the advanced and backward parts of the country is being eliminated. He stressed the

special importance of applying this principle throughout the economic system of the socialist world. By helping to develop the productive forces of the less developed countries, the international division of labor constitutes an important factor in levelling up the economies of the socialist countries.

The socialist countries still differ from each other in their economic levels.

Speaking at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchov, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the development of the socialist countries, drew the following fundamental conclusion: by successfully employing the potentialities inherent in socialism, the socialist countries will more or less simultaneously pass to a higher phase of society — to communism.

To achieve this the economies of the formerly backward countries must develop more rapidly, since their lagging behind would retard the general process of passing to the higher stage of communist society. The most rational way of bringing this about is to create conditions conducive to speeding up the industrialization of the less developed socialist countries and gradually to levelling up the development of the productive forces in all the countries; all this will be instrumental in expanding the socialist international division of labor.

R. Moldovan then spoke of the factors which should play the decisive role in the division of labor between the socialist countries. Pointing to such factors as the natural conditions and resources of the given country, technical know-how, production traditions, highly skilled technicians, labor

productivity, production costs at a given moment, etc., he said that these should not be analyzed statistically, by a non-historical method.

First, he said, no single one of these factors could be an essential criterion, but in company with other factors, including also political factors, they should be regarded as important elements of a comprehensive analysis. Second, these factors should be examined historically, i.e., not from the angle of today's level, but, above all, of a possible future level. Had one of these factors been decisive at the time Rumania started the production of tractors, we would not have been in a position to meet today the country's requirements in tractors of high quality and at fair price, for at the beginning we had no traditions, no highly skilled workers, and the production costs of machinery were high.

As for production traditions, they are created in the process of industrialization. Do not the growth of the industrial labor force (from 1.2 million in 1950 to 2.15 million in 1959) and the stronger social basis of the proletarian dictatorship increase the experience and the know-how and raise the level of vocational training? Do they not create traditions in the process of production?

In conclusion the speaker referred to joint construction of enterprises as an important and mutually advantageous form of economic co-operation. In co-operation with the other socialist countries Rumania is building thermal-power stations, cellulose (reed-processing) factories, wood-working factories, chemical plants, oil refineries and other industrial enterprises.

Socialism's Power of Attraction

F. Baruch

THE role of the state in building socialism has always been a main preoccupation of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries. As conditions in these countries ripen for the transition to socialism, even closer attention will be given to this role.

The economic growth of the socialist camp causes enhanced interest and, one might say, alarm in capitalist quarters. This is explained by two things. Firstly, the difference between the co-operation among the socialist countries and the co-operation among the capitalist countries in the so-called "supra-national" organizations such as the Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market and the Free Trade Area, stands out more and more glaringly. While as a result of the fraternal

mutual aid between the socialist countries, the myth about the domination of one socialist country over another is vanishing, the imperialist character of the "supra-national" bodies becomes increasingly more obvious. And secondly, the capitalists are well aware that in peaceful economic competition capitalism will lag farther and farther behind.

Let us compare, for example, the industrial development of Holland and Czechoslovakia whose prewar economic structures had certain similarities. If we take 1937 as 100, industrial production stood in Holland in 1948 at 113 and in 1958 at 207, in Czechoslovakia the respective figures were 109 and 326. So Czechoslovakia's rate of growth

between 1948-58 was twice as much as that of Holland.

The discussion of peaceful competition, as we know, is a permanent feature in the U.S. newspapers. There is also discussion in the small capitalist countries. In Holland, for example, Mr. Pen, a Social Democrat and Professor of Economics (Groningen University), has recently put forward a "new" slogan: "Economists of all trends, unite!" He holds that this unity is needed in order to work out "prescriptions" for a gradual development without crises. These "prescriptions" are merely attempts to prevent the excessively rapid growth of population and work out measures against what in our country is called over-consumption. Pen claims that there is a danger of mass consumption increasing too rapidly compared with the growth of the national income. In reality, of course, this is just an argument against the workers' demands for higher wages. The ideology of state-monopoly capitalism is penetrating the leaderships of the Social Democratic parties. Some of these leaders in Holland have taken up the theories of American and British bourgeois scholars such as Burnham, Tawney, Berle, Galbraith, and others. They speak about an acquisitive or functional society, about "meritocracy" (a society in which the social status of people depends on their objective merits). To carry these theories further, den Uyl, director of the research institute of the Dutch Labor Party, said at a conference of four Social Democratic parties in Utrecht that the contrast between capitalism and socialism had become insignificant. At the same conference the British Right-wing Social Democrat, Crosland, said that being Left had now lost all sense because today we had before us an utterly different kind of society (taking into account the "evolution" of capitalism).

But even in a small country like Holland capitalism's basic tendencies stand out in bold relief. Holland is the home of the world's biggest monopolies, for example, the Royal Dutch Shell, Unilever and Philips. The shares belonging to the five biggest Dutch monopolies amounted to 20,000 million guildens at the end of last year, while the value of all the other shares on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange was only in the neighborhood of 7,000 million. In our country four per cent of the joint-stock companies control four-fifths of all share capital. They have the country in their economic grip, and thus control the destinies of millions of people.

Monopolists not only hold ministerial posts but have firm positions in the ramified bureaucratic state apparatus. The monopolies have their representatives in Parliament.

The government, as is clearly seen, expresses monopoly interests. Take, for example, the price

and wage policy. Not only is it directed against the workers, but it also affects the non-monopoly sections, primarily the peasants. In view of the fact that the Unilever margarine trust dominates the market, the government maintains the high price for butter on the home market and at the same time uses part of the tax receipts to subsidize butter exports on the world market which is already saturated. As a result, in Holland, a country with the highest output of butter per head of population in Western Europe, the per capita consumption of butter is lowest compared with the other Coal and Steel Community member-countries (excluding Italy). The workers' living standards are declining mainly due to rising prices and speed-up. In the past few months some workers have been able, through strike action, to win a wage increase of approximately five per cent. But we should bear in mind that a few years ago there was an indirect reduction of wages resulting from the rise in prices by approximately five per cent, and last year prices for consumer goods went up by another four per cent, whereas the productivity of labor in industry, according to official figures, has gone up by eight per cent.

The growth of exploitation of the workers in monopoly enterprises can be seen from a detailed analysis made at the Hoogovens steel plant (a state-private enterprise). This shows that with the selling price of crude steel of 380 guildens per ton the nominal payment per ton was 3.75 guildens and the profit — 85.50 guildens. In other words, the share of wages was only 1.3 per cent of all production outlays. This means that a 0.13 per cent increase of the price would make possible a 10 per cent wage increase; it could also be achieved by reducing profits by less than a half per cent.

The Communists have set themselves the task of curtailing the power of the monopolies. The Party, at its Congress in December 1958, pin-pointed the anti-monopoly struggle as the main task. A short time ago our Central Committee published a draft program for the extension of democracy and the curtailment of the power of the big monopolies. So that the Dutch can be in a position to make their contribution to easing international tension, to the defense of all sections of our people against the strangle-hold of the monopolies, the democratic movement must be developed on a wider scale. Conditions are growing for the establishment of an anti-monopoly front that would be strong enough to make the government pursue an economic policy that would meet the common needs of the anti-monopoly groups.

The program is against handing over any of the functions of Parliament to the so-called European agencies. This is in line with the objective interests of our agriculture whose basis — the pro-

cessing of agricultural produce — is being sapped by the Common Market. It is also in line with the interests of the iron and steel industry which is imperilled by the powerful West German monopolies. It is also in the interests of all working people. Our Party also demands the nationalization of some monopoly enterprises, establishment of democratic control bodies, state control of banks, capital investments and price policy, and a credit and finance policy which would meet the needs of the non-monopoly enterprises in the backward parts of the country.

The draft program says that these and other measures are not socialist measures, and can be carried out within the framework of capitalist ownership relations. They do not affect capitalism as

such, but only restrict the power of the monopolies. The curbing of the monopolies is a condition for the extension and regeneration of democracy, and for a successful struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The progress of socialism is of profound interest to the working people in the capitalist countries and influences their thought and actions, which is of tremendous importance to us. Our own interests demand that we should inform the workers and all progressives in the capitalist countries about your work, about the role of the state in the socialist countries which enlist, in ever-growing numbers, the working people for economic and political work, thereby extending socialist democracy.

Reviews

Our Fight For Canada

A BOOK of selected writings* by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada provides the reader with a vivid account of the history of the Party and the working-class movement. It indicates, as well, the road Canada will likely take in its development to socialism.

The writings were selected with a view to presenting, in their historical development, the specific features of the growth of Canada from a number of separate colonies into a bi-national monopoly-capitalist state; the emergence, growth and political development of the working class and the working-class movement, and the impact made on Canadian reality by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the victorious forward march of socialism from the confines of a single state into a world system of socialist states.

The first chapter, composed of extracts from the book *Thirty Years*, shows the social roots from which have grown the various political trends in Canadian public life. It shows how the first Marxist groups grew out of the Canadian adherents of the First International and the advanced social thinkers from amongst the early mass of European immigrants. From these Marxist groups emerged the Canadian socialist parties. At the same time the trade unions, having much in common with the U.S. trade unions, began to grow.

With the rapid growth of capitalist industry grew also illusions about capitalism, political opportu-

ism and boss collaboration amongst the highly-skilled and well-paid strata of the working class, and above all amongst trade union officials and socialist party leaders. On the other hand, rapidly-expanding capitalism ruthlessly exploited the great mass of immigrant laborers engaged in railway construction and the extractive industries. On this soil grew the anarcho-syndicalist trend in the working class which found organizational expression in the U.S.-based Industrial Workers of the World and later in the One Big Union which represented a mass breakaway from the American Federation of Labor.

The end of the First World War brought an intensification of capitalist exploitation and repression as the capitalist class, enriched by enormous war profits, set about making maximum profits in the postwar boom too. The capitalists sought also to arrest the growing class consciousness of the workers who, inspired by the revolutionary upsurge of the working class in many countries, and particularly by the October Revolution, were fighting back against the predatory attacks of the Canadian bourgeoisie in a number of big strikes, chief among which was the Winnipeg general strike (1919).

Striking evidence of the solidarity of Canadian workers with the Russian Revolution were the actions taken by the Western Labor Conference held in Calgary in March 1919. The Conference sent messages of solidarity to Lenin, the Soviet government and the Red Army. It telegraphed the Can-

*T. Buck, *Our Fight for Canada*, Toronto, 1959, 407 pp.

adian government demanding the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Soviet soil.

The doctrinaire leaders of the socialist movement in Canada failed to measure up to the possibilities. Tim Buck says they distorted the teachings of Marx and though they claimed that they were true to these teachings, they "were enslaved by a narrow, deterministic concept that was essentially anti-Marxist — denying the dynamic revolutionary essence of Marxism. Their propaganda denied the subjective role of the working class in social change."

Marxists of Canada, guided by Lenin's teachings, came to a realization of the necessity of uniting the Left in a party of a new type — the Communist Party. The first step taken in this direction was the organization of two Communist parties — the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America (both these parties had memberships in the United States and Canada). In June 1921, the Canadian memberships of these two parties united, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, to form the Communist Party of Canada.

The Third Congress of the Communist International held in July and August of that same year (1921) called upon Communists to unite the working class in broad political activities. As the new party was forced by law to operate as an illegal party, the party leadership decided, in consultation with left-wing activists in various parts of the country, to launch a public working-class party based upon the Theses and Statutes of the Communist International. This party, the Workers' Party of Canada, was established in February 1922. At its Third Congress in 1924 the Workers' Party assumed the name Communist Party of Canada.

Of particular importance at this time was the Party's trade union work. Basing itself on Lenin's teachings, the Party combined a widespread educational campaign on the absolute necessity for industrial unionism with a vigorous effort to convince the workers to return to the old established unions which they, misled by the syndicalists, had left in disgust over the narrow craft policies of the leadership.

Of the Party's work at this time Comrade Buck writes: "In marked contrast to the general propaganda which had been the sole Marxist activity of the socialist parties which preceded it, the Workers' Party emphasized the necessity for systematic, organized struggle around every issue of working-class interest as an organic part of the long-term struggle for socialism. Against false and anti-Marxist subservience to working class 'spontaneity' that had characterized the attitude of the syndicalists and previous socialist parties, the Workers' Party exposed subservience to spontan-

eity as one of the main sources of opportunism in the labor movement. It placed primary emphasis, for the first time in Canada, upon the study of theory 'as a guide to action' " (pp. 31, 32).

A particularly important role in the Party's trade union work of that period was played by the pamphlet *Steps to Power* written by Tim Buck in 1925 while secretary of the Canadian section of the Trade Union Educational League. The present book contains many extracts from *Steps to Power* for it elucidated the League's program of action which was supported by the Party and received the endorsement of trade union organizations representing a third of the trade unionists in Canada.

In essence the program popularized in *Steps to Power* remains as valid today as the day it was written. And this is not to gainsay the progress made by the working class in trade union organization, and some improvement in working conditions and living standards. Today, when the U.S. imperialist domination of Canada reaches into almost all aspects of Canadian life and the offensive of monopoly-capital against the workers is greatly intensified, the need for maximum working-class unity through industry-wide organization, rank-and-file control of trade union affairs, and Canadian autonomy of the trade unions whose headquarters are in the USA, are of paramount importance.

In the field of independent political action the Canadian trade union movement has, on a number of occasions, challenged the policy of surrender pursued by the U.S. trade union leadership. The policy of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and later of the Congress of Industrial Unions (CIO), has been that proclaimed by the AFL's first president, Samuel Gompers, as "reward your friends and punish your enemies" which in reality means tying the trade unions to one or the other of the bourgeois parties. Canadian Communists have always held that the trade unions should organize their own political expression in the form of a labor party, or, in co-operation with the working farmers, a farmer-labor party; and that such parties should be federated parties to which the Communist, social-democratic and other progressive parties could affiliate and jointly fight, particularly in the parliamentary field, around a common program, while retaining their independent identity and program. This federation of the parties could serve as a basis for the formation of a People's Front in Canada.

This question is very much to the fore today, as the Canadian trade unions are in the process of working out a new form of trade union political action. The Party and its trade union members are participating actively in this process, advancing, and fighting for, a federal form of party; and, at

the same time, upholding the sovereign right of the Canadian sections of the AFL-CIO to make their own independent decision, free from U.S. trade union officialdom interference, as to whether or not such a party will be formed.

The outcome of the present discussion is yet to be decided. The right-wing leadership of the decisive section of the Canadian trade union movement is again working hand-in-glove with the U.S. right-wing union leadership to thwart the political aims of the vast majority of the rank and file of the Canadian unions. In the present case the right-wing union leaders are being assisted by the leadership of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the party of social democracy in Canada, which, with reckless disregard for the interests of the working class and its allies, is striving to subvert the movement for independent political action.

Since the Second World War the right-wing leaders of the CCF, acting on the pretence of securing the best possible conditions for social reform, have supported, allegedly in the name of the rank and file of their party, the NATO cold-war policy, U.S. domination of Canada (going under the name of U.S.-Canadian economic and defense integration), the Korean war, the anti-communist campaign and so on. Of late, though, reflecting the public sentiment for peace and the shifting of opinions in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles, some CCF leaders are beginning to speak up for those measures which make for the easing of the cold war, such as banning the testing and stock-piling of A- and H-bombs, for East-West trade, recognition of China, for peaceful negotiations, etc., — measures which have long been advocated by the Communist Party and which enjoy wide support amongst the masses of the people.

The book contains excerpts from Tim Buck's writings during the ideological struggles in the Party against opportunist tendencies, revisionism, sectarianism and dogmatism.

The Party was plunged into vital ideological struggle soon after the formation of the Party of Communists under the name of the Workers' Party, the main question being: whether or not the laws of capitalist production retained their validity on the North American continent. A group led by MacDonald was captivated by the "theory" of "American exceptionalism," a version of Bernsteinism propagated by U.S. revisionists headed by Lovestone. This "American exceptionalism" was opposed by a group of young Communists headed by Tim Buck which held that the general laws of social development discovered by Marx were of universal validity and consequently applied to the North American continent. They stood on the positions of Marx and Lenin that the task of Commu-

nists is to study these general laws creatively in the specific conditions existing in particular countries and in given periods and situations and on the basis of these studies to work out mass tactics.

When it became apparent that the right-wing opportunists were losing the ideological struggle they joined forces with the Trotskyites who were fighting the Party from the "left." Despite this alliance of "left" and right, the group of young Communists won the majority of the Party for Marxism-Leninism. MacDonald was removed from the post of General Secretary and was replaced by Tim Buck.

In the course of the struggle important theoretical contributions were made to the Party's understanding of the nature of the Canadian state — characterizing it as imperialist, though formally dependent on Britain. A better understanding was gained of the role played by the Canadian bourgeoisie as it strove to balance between British and U.S. monopoly capital, ready to barter Canada's independence to the highest bidder. And history has borne out the truth of this conclusion, for the Canadian bourgeoisie had no sooner established that measure of independence from British rule which suited its immediate aims than it turned and sold that independence for dollars to U.S. imperialism. Consequently the conclusion was drawn that only the working class could lead the popular struggle for Canada's complete independence to a victorious conclusion.

Another important contribution made by the Canadian Communists was their study of the national question in relation to the French-speaking section of the Canadian people. Guided by Lenin's teachings on the national question they came to the conclusion that the French people inhabiting the Province of Quebec constituted a nation — the French-Canadian nation. This important conclusion laid the basis for the Party's policy, based on the right of self-determination for the French-Canadian people, of equality between the two nations of Canada and union between the two in one state only by common agreement.

The "theory" of "American exceptionalism" was picked up by the contemporary revisionists as a "theoretical" justification of their thinly-veiled acceptance of the bourgeois concept of "people's capitalism." In this regard they followed in the footsteps of Browder who borrowed the basic ideas of Lovestone.

And these revisionists, like their predecessors in the late 1920's, concluded an alliance with the Trotskyites in an attempt to build a "new party" in opposition to the Communist Party.

The Trotskyites and revisionists, who are mainly engaged in subversive anti-labor activity in the trade unions and social democratic movement, ut-

terly failed to enlist support among the workers; spurned by all Communists, their efforts to establish a "new party" died an ignoble death. This is the unprincipled alliance of brazen revisionism and avowed anti-communism spearheaded against the Canadian Communist Party and the world communist movement, against the revolutionary theory of socialism.

The most recent struggle of the Party with the revisionists enhanced its unity and brought important theoretical benefits to the Party. For, like the group of young Communists who so ably defended the Marxist-Leninist principles in the late 1920's the present members of the Party, particularly its leading core, are deepening their understanding of Marxism-Leninism, present-day capitalism and the social movement in Canada. The possibilities for deepening that knowledge are much greater now than in the late 1920's. Today there is a wealth of material available in the classics of Marx and Lenin published in the English language. The Party members can draw also upon the almost 40 years of experience gathered by the Party in its struggle for democracy and social progress in Canada. Of considerable importance in this regard were "An Indictment of Capitalism," Tim Buck's address to the jury at the trial of the eight Communist leaders in 1931, and his book *Canada — the Communist Viewpoint*. The present work contains a number of excerpts from these books.

"An Indictment of Capitalism" is an inspiring defense of the principles of communism and the international communist movement. It is also a well-documented analysis of Canadian monopoly capital which thoroughly exposes monopoly exploitation and the repressive character of its state. The big circulation gained for the address played a considerable part in mobilizing the public protest which forced the government to release the eight Communist leaders long before their prison sentences were due to expire.

The author's writings on Canada's socialist future are found mainly in the last chapters. These chapters describe, in popular style, the socialist aims of the Party. The author shows, not only the inevitability of socialism, but also how the Communists should combine the successes of the world system of socialist states with the internal contradictions, engendered by state-monopoly capitalism within the country, how they should mobilize and organize the masses to speed up the process of the social movement in Canada towards a socialist society.

These writings unfold the history of the working out of the Program of the Communist Party adopted at its 1959 Convention. This Program is based on the thesis that, provided certain conditions obtain, it will be possible for the working class, supported by its allies, the working farmers and progressive middle sections, and led by the Communist Party, to replace monopoly-capitalist state power by working-class state power and achieve the transition to socialism through the parliamentary form of government.

Essential to creating the conditions for the development to socialism envisaged in the Program is the establishment of a broad democratic national front to regain Canada's independence which has been sold by the monopoly bourgeoisie to U.S. imperialism, to take measures to curb and restrict the monopolies, to elect a labor-farmer majority in Parliament.

This book of Tim Buck's selected writings will help in the training of young Communists. It will serve also to refresh the memories and knowledge of those older Communists who shared some, or all, of the experiences upon which the writings are based.

A. DEWHURST.

Some Aspects of Ideological Work Carried Out by the Polish United Workers' Party

THE United Workers' Party has considerably stepped up its ideological work. This is by no means a smooth process; it is a relentless struggle against revisionism and dogmatism which, as the Moscow 12-Party Declaration of November 1957 stated, are common to the international communist movement. In each country, however, these dangers are combated differently, depending on the situation in the country and the correlation of forces on the ideological front.

This task is successfully being tackled by the United Workers' Party. Comrade Gomulka, First Secretary, and other Party leaders have repeatedly commented on this matter. The question has figured in C.C. resolutions which outlined ways and means of strengthening the Party ideologically and the task of the Party press and propaganda.

The Third Party Congress (March 1959) consolidated the unity of the Party and furthered the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the at-

tempts to distort Marxism or deny its fundamentals. We shall dwell on some aspects of this struggle.

Firstly, the struggle against revisionism was waged in the press, in the fields of science and culture, that is, it took place also outside the Party, whereas the struggle against dogmatism and conservatism was conducted (after the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee in autumn 1956) mainly in the everyday Party work, and was reflected in the changes in inner-Party life and the state apparatus.

Secondly, as we overcame the general political manifestations of revisionism the struggle against it was transferred to the ideological sphere; it was distinguished by a deeper analysis of the facts in the controversy. Simultaneously, the Party developed a program of research of the basic problems of Marxism-Leninism and socialist construction.

Of the large number of books published in recent years we shall mention only a few — those typical of the present-day struggle for the purity of Marxist ideology.

For a Socialist Trend in Culture,* by A. Werblan, deals with the key problems of combating the manifestations of revisionism in articles published in the journal *Nowa Kultura*. In rebutting the arguments advanced in the journal, Werblan goes right to the roots of revisionism and makes a distinction between the correct and pointed criticism of dogmatism on the one hand, and the renunciation by the revisionists of Marxist principles in the guise of combating dogmatism, on the other. "The Party and its Central Committee," he writes, "condemned the real mistakes committed in the past and began to carry out a new policy. The reactionaries, naturally, exaggerated these mistakes, distorting the truth about the past and the present. They alone stood to gain political capital from one-sided and false accusations against the Communists" (p. 14).

Thus we drew a line between the Party's healthy criticism of the policy distortions of the past and the revisionist "critique" of socialist principles which played into the hands of the Polish reactionaries. Why was it that some comrades failed to understand this seemingly clear question? These people, Werblan writes, did not see the class struggle behind the contradictions among the people. They exaggerated the contradictions of socialist society and, ignoring the basic antagonism between capitalism and socialism, became muddled in their false concepts and revised Marxism on essential points — the laws of the transition period, the proletarian dictatorship, socialist democracy, and the role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Their incorrect views on the contradictions of the transition period

and their non-Marxist approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy resulted in a wrong assessment of the past of our Party, in exaggerating its mistakes, in regarding as mistakes things that were inevitable and necessary and even in condemning the correct Marxist decisions taken by the Party.

By attacking the leading role of the Party, writes Werblan, the revisionists counterposed illusions and slogans of formal democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat with the result that they, willy-nilly, found themselves in line with the bourgeois critics of socialism. "The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat," said Lenin, "is the question of the attitude of the proletarian state to the bourgeois state, proletarian democracy to bourgeois democracy." But the revisionists either forgot this thesis or disputed it.

While "none of the revisionists in our country rejected this thesis openly, many questioned it indirectly, for the real controversy started when it centered around the denial, or restriction, of political rights to the bourgeois elements or when the question of what these elements are was discussed. The revisionists claimed that there were almost no bourgeois elements in Poland and this being so the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is directed against the attempts to restore capitalism, has lost its significance" (p. 25).

This vital question is bound up with the following revisionist tendencies — making a fetish of spontaneity in social consciousness, yielding to the reactionary sentiment and renouncing the Leninist thesis on democracy in favor of formal democracy. The Marxists, Werblan writes, have never idealized spontaneous processes taking place in the minds of the working people. They have always said that after the overthrow of capitalism and while building socialist society the working people will have to go through a process of self-education and of overcoming the old, ingrained habits. Moulding the minds of people in the new social context is far from being an easy matter. Here we have ebbs and flows, spurts of enthusiasm on the part of the masses and periods of vacillation and wavering. Building the new system is accompanied by both difficult and easy periods. Marxism-Leninism, therefore, has always attached great significance to the organizing and leading role of the Party — the vanguard of the working class.

Problems of the same kind are dealt with by L. Krzemien in his *Against the Ideological Disarmament of the Party**. The author shows how writers in some of our newspapers and journals allowed themselves to be influenced by bourgeois ideology. Krzemien distinguishes between creative Marxism

*A. Werblan, *O socjalistyczny kierunek działalności kulturalnej*, Warsaw, 1958, 64 pp.

*L. Krzemien, *Przeciwko ideologicznemu rozbrajaniu partii*, Warsaw, 1959, 138 pp.

and dogmatism. "Those who . . . treat Marxism as dogma, as a collection of dead formulae and not as a living theory which is a guide to practice and is simultaneously enriched by experience, cease to be Marxists, lose what is essential in Marxism; namely, an understanding of the uninterrupted dialectical development" (p. 26).

What is the difference between creative Marxism and the revisionist distortion of Marxism? That is the question posed by Krzemien. The author refutes the attempts to "deepen" Marxism, attempts which while preserving the terminology of Marxism deprive it of its revolutionary content, erase its class nature and lead to submission to bourgeois ideology. We get, for example, a one-sided exaggeration of the national peculiarities and a denial of the connection between features common to all nations and the specific conditions in a country building socialism.

Krzemien does not pretend that his analysis of these problems is a deep one. But his factual material is valuable because it lists the revisionist views and "theories" which were in vogue a few years ago and which, as the Party consolidated its ranks and gained success on the ideological front, were defeated and are now manifest, if at all, only in a skilfully disguised form.

The revisionists made a great play with the questions of morality which arose in connection with the criticisms of the "personality cult." Many of their arguments centered round questions of morality, and some Party members were affected by them.

This question is examined in A. Schaff's *The Debate on Morality**. A decisive condition for the successful struggle against revisionism, and, simultaneously, the purpose of this struggle, is to strengthen the conviction that the Party's Marxist-Leninist ideology is sound and the path it is following is the right one. We have in mind, of course, a conviction based on a scientific, Marxist analysis. For this purpose it is necessary to clarify the moral issues, to reject the revisionist assertions concerning the inability of Marxism to solve these issues, and to refute these attacks on socialist construction.

"For anyone who has made only a cursory study of the history of Marxism," says Schaff, "the paradox of accusing it of lacking a system of morality is evident" (p. 105). And further: ". . . It would be a platitude to say that ever since its inception as a theoretical generalization of the experience gained by the working-class movement, Marxism has been based on a definite system of morality and has furthered its development, because the struggle waged by the proletariat is an expression

of political and moral rebellion. The struggle to change social relationships is at the same time a struggle to change relations between people, to change the standards of their behavior and the prevailing morality. This in no way contradicts the fact that, despite all the changes, rules of social conduct are preserved which, while applying to the basic relationships of any society, have a universal nature" (p. 106).

Schaff criticizes the typical revisionist views on the tie-up between politics and morality, views which on the one hand signify an uncritical return to Kant, to the idealist theory of the "categorical imperative" and, on the other, assimilation of the pessimistic, decadent ideology of existentialism. These, then, are the two characteristic features of the views held by the champions of "moral regeneration."

What is the basic difference between the Marxist and the non-Marxist concept of morality?

"The system of morality, the theory of morality and the fight for a new morality are closely interwoven. At bedrock of the theory of morality is the Marxist thesis that it is socially conditioned, that morality and its concepts, like social consciousness, derive from the material conditions of social being. And it is here that we see the close link between the theory of morality and the system of morality: if the form of morality depends on private ownership and the latter has an adverse effect on it, then the system of ownership should be changed. Marxist ethics and the Marxist system of morality presuppose struggle for a new morality, and for the conditions determining this morality" (p. 110). And further: "This is new humanism which precisely for this reason could become the basis of the new morality. This humanism, distinguished by its active character, is a militant humanism, the program of which is the program of class struggle" (p. 111).

Lack of space forbids a consideration of all the points raised by Prof. Schaff. He goes beyond the immediate polemic and even undertakes to formulate new theses pertaining to the ethical concepts of Marxism and their relationship to both policy and ideology of the revolutionary Marxist party.

The points raised by Prof. Schaff are highly topical, because in the sphere of ethics Polish Marxists have still another adversary much more formidable than revisionism — the ideology of Catholicism. That being so, the development of Marxist ethics is an urgent necessity. We can say that in this respect good progress has been made in recent years.

The dialectics of the struggle against revisionism, in addition to combating its wrong political assessments and theoretical propositions, has paved the way for a discussion of particular scientific prob-

176 pp.

*A. Schaff, *Spor o zagadnienie moralnosci*, Warsaw, 1928.

lems. It is essential to examine as fully as possible the relationship between ideology and science. The pressure of bourgeois concepts in this sphere, particularly of an objectivist and eclectic nature, gave rise to revisionist sentiments among some of our scientific workers.

The connection between ideology and science has long been the subject of serious discussion in Poland. We should like to mention here Prof. Martel's *Ideology and Science**. Having defined the term "ideology," its social functions and cognitive essence, the author enters the lists against those who claim that social science should be separated from ideology and shows the lack of originality of the revisionist views which, in effect, are a continuation of the neo-positivist trends in the West.

Martel argues against the thesis current among some scientists that the only way to develop social science is to separate it from ideology, to "free it from the tutelage of ideology." He also argues against the view that the social function of ideology distorts the cognitive essence of science in advance. The author shows that attempts of this kind in political economy, philosophy or history slur over the specific character of social science and its relationship to the class interests and struggle.

There are, of course, certain problems in social science which are independent of the class structure of society, problems whose solution does not bind science ideologically, does not call for adherence to a definite world outlook. While granting this, Martel at the same time ridicules the vulgarized treatment of the relationship between ideology and science and the dogmatic approach which reduces social science to ideology.

But this, says the author, applies only to particular questions. It would be wrong to apply this thesis to the basic theoretical concepts, because this would distort reality. Under the present conditions theses of this kind are conducive to the spread of bourgeois theories. Those who separate ideology from science, says Martel, seek to subordinate science to ideology, but only to bourgeois ideology.

The relationship between ideology and science was also examined in detail by Prof. Stefan Zolkiewski in his address to the recent congress of Polish writers. Prof. Zolkiewski's address was by way of a reply to the article headed "The Priest and the Jester" by Kolakowski, who claimed that immanent dogmatism was inherent in Marxism as a philosophy. Kolakowski counterposes to the "priest-like" dogmatism which he attributes to Marxism, the attitude of the jester who questions all philosophical systems. Every world outlook, every theory, in Kolakowski's view, is essentially dogmatic, since any thought quickly becomes an-

tiquated. He sides with the jester who ridicules all system and theories, rejects them beforehand and ignores the broad assessments of the Marxist method.

Zolkiewski challenges this reasoning, shows its harmfulness and its uselessness for science. "These are not new problems in philosophy. The scepticism of the buffoon and a denial of theoretical thinking in the humanities have always been found untenable. Dialectical materialism, on the other hand, is the philosophy which helps to overcome the tendency of any theory to dogmatic stagnation. In this respect revolutionary practice is the tried means in every situation. But this is entirely alien to the dogmatists, metaphysicians and religious philosophers." From the standpoint of philosophy, Zolkiewski says, Kolakowski's ideas signify a complete departure from Marxism and desertion to the other side of the barricade.

In considering the struggle against revisionism in the sphere of science we should mention another article by Prof. Schaff "Studying the Works of the Young Marx and Basic Distortions."* This article has stimulated a discussion into which more and more Marxists are being drawn. What is the crux of the matter?

The study of Marx's earlier works has long been turned by the reformists into a political matter. There is nothing surprising in this. Since it is a rather difficult matter to attack Marxism by openly denying its role and significance, the attacks take the shape of upholding the "genuine" Marxism against the "spoiled" version. These "discoveries" are also to the liking of the Polish revisionists who counterpose the young, i.e., the "real" Marx, to the mature Marx — the founder of the teaching which, they claim, was spoiled by the practice of the working-class movement. Aware of the paucity of books on the young Marx, the revisionists tried to distort his earlier works. Marx the "existentialist" and "voluntarist" — such is the fantastic portrayal of the young Marx by the revisionists.

Prof. Schaff, who has rebutted these views on one point, namely, the Marxist criterion of truth, has opened a lively debate. The debate, it should be said, has been instrumental in exposing the distortion of the views of the young Marx and of the dialectics of their evolution. At the same time many have become aware of the usefulness of studying the works of the young Marx, especially from the standpoint of the struggle against the modern revisionists.

* * *

This brief survey, naturally, makes no mention of a number of important polemical articles published in the Party press and in scientific journals,

*K. Martel, *Ideologia a nauka*, Warsaw, 1960, pp. 90.

*Nowe Drogi, December 13, 1959.

and pamphlets and books. The struggle waged against the revisionist views in the spheres of culture and aesthetics is worthy of special mention.

This struggle has yielded fruit: in the debate with revisionists, apart from regaining the lost positions and liberating people from the influence of revision-

ism, we are winning new positions for Marxist-Leninist ideology and new adherents; we are formulating new and valuable propositions conforming to the present-day needs.

Ludwik KRASUTSKI

Julius WACLAVEK

A Journal of Creative Marxism

AS M. S. Suslov said when he conveyed the greetings of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Fourteenth Congress of the French Communist Party (1956): "It is the collective and constructive work of all the Communist parties which develops and perfects the great and immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism." The truth of this statement, wholeheartedly supported in the international communist movement, is confirmed by the theoretical contribution which in their day-to-day struggle the Communist and Workers' parties, owing to the experience gained, are able to make to the common cause, and also by culture, science and the arts.

It was with the express purpose of giving a clear proof of the immense creative potential of the united forces of Marxism-Leninism, which are now solving important problems of the day, that the French Communist Party three years ago founded the *Recherches Internationales a la lumiere du marxisme* (International Research in the Light of Marxism). It is now possible to say that the experiment has been highly successful.

The aims of the journal are set forth in a "Manifesto" published in the first number, and are reflected in the contents of all the ensuing numbers.

The cold war which reaction has been prosecuting for many years against the socialist countries has not had the effect of blacking out the culture of the socialist countries, but of isolating to a certain degree Western culture from world culture generally and from socialist culture, the most progressive culture, in particular. The ruling classes in the capitalist countries have rung down an "iron curtain" between the West and the science and culture of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Not only was this "curtain" a reflection of the cold war on the ideological front, it also hotted up the war and hindered people from learning about socialism in practice. It was precisely for this reason that *Recherches Internationales* included in the "Manifesto" the task of "contributing to the advancement of the constant and far-reaching cultural exchange which is essential for the development of the intellect, furthers mutual understanding between peoples and plays an important role in maintaining peace."

The journal sets out to accomplish this task by a specific method — and that is its second aim. It describes the development of world science and, in particular, scientific progress in the socialist countries from a specific standpoint — "in the light of Marxism" as its subheading indicates. This means that the material it publishes "is concerned not so much with discoveries proper or the analysis of technical niceties, as with the application of the materialist and dialectical Marxist method to specific scientific and aesthetic problems." (My italics — J.H.) In brief its aim is to show, primarily to the specialists in the various fields of knowledge (irrespective of their philosophical views), how their Marxist colleagues apply dialectical materialism in their work.

Combating theoretical indifference, the journal seeks to prove the correctness of its position in open battle and by methods absolutely free from dogmatism. The articles it publishes "do not claim to exhaust the possibilities of human thought and practice at the present moment or in the given science. Both we and our contributors are convinced," observes the journal, "that a clash of ideas, criticism and discussion, is essential if science and culture are to develop. . . . In citing examples of the contribution Marxists have made to the advancement of science, thought and art, it is our wish to promote emulation between men of culture, to stimulate thought and discussion which in their turn will make for progress."

To carry through this program the journal thought it necessary to have an international editorial staff. "Consulting editors" — prominent Marxist experts from all over the world — help the French Editorial Staff to get out each number.

Each of the 17 issues already published dealt with a specific humanitarian or natural science, a branch of the arts, or with a complex of theoretical problems. Each number contains examples of research carried out and published by Marxists of various countries.

The first issue is a good example of the way in which the journal sets out to tackle its problems.

When dealing with scientific or artistic research in "the light of Marxism," it proceeds from the deep conviction that Marxism should be militant.

Marxism is not one of many methods, and it is not like any other method: it is not a theory of the "laboratory" (if one understands a theory of the "laboratory" to mean something remote from life, isolated from mankind and its struggle); it is not a conception that is unaffected by the outside world. On the contrary it is a teaching linked with reality through struggle, bound up with life, it has frankly taken up the standpoint of the Party of the working class and the forces of progress. And it is no accident that *Recherches Internationales* devoted its first number to the origins of fascism (in those months in 1957 when, against the background of the colonial war in Algeria, the conditions were maturing for a reactionary offensive, followed by the de Gaulle coup d'état).

This issue contained articles by Dolores Ibarruri, Walter Ulbricht, Paolo Alatri and others, all of which gave a Marxist analysis of the origin of fascism and its place in history, of its diverse forms in the different countries, its war-machine, its reserves and its ideology. Using the Marxist method of research, which ensures scientific prevision, the writer of the leading article in this number said: "The capitalist system continues to degenerate. Hence fascism cannot be regarded as a stage through which we have already passed and, happily, have already done with. In many countries, notably in France, it continues to be a menace." A few months later finance capital installed the one-man rule of de Gaulle thus creating favorable soil for the fascist intrigues of the ultra-colonialists and certain elements in the army. In publishing its "Origins of Fascism" number *Recherches Internationales* provided yet further and highly convincing proof that a Marxist approach to history is indispensable for an understanding of the present. Moreover, it enables us, by drawing the lessons of history, to equip the working class and the democrats in their present-day struggle with the positive experience of former battles and to warn against the repetition of former mistakes.

Another example of militant Marxism in action is furnished by the eleventh number of the journal, devoted to "Social Democracy in an Impasse." In this issue British, German, Swedish, Italian, Soviet and other writers tackled two problems: the decadence of the ideology of European Social Democracy (in particular, the "new" programs of the Social Democrats of Austria, West Germany and Great Britain), and working-class unity. G. Soeder's article on the historical and social roots of Right-wing socialist ideology, B. Quandt's "Democratic Socialism in Sweden," and G. Amendola's on united action of Socialists and Communists in Italy are of great interest and furnish the answer to questions posed by the rank-and-file Socialists in connection with the policy of betraying working-

class interests, a policy practised by Social Democratic leaders of the Guy Mollet type.

Not without reason the journal thought it useful to throw light on certain aspects of the problem of relations between the Socialists and the Communists in building socialism and it carried two articles on this subject — György Marosan's and Janos Kadar's on the unity of the Hungarian working class and the fusion of the Social Democratic and Communist parties of Hungary. "Historical experience," says Kadar, "shows that the political strength of the working class multiplies each time unity of action is achieved, brief and limited in objective though it may be. Experience has also shown that when it reaches the point of the unification of the workers' parties, this unity becomes an invincible force in the struggle for power." To those who display concern, whether sincere or hypocritical, for the "fate" of persons from this or that detachment of the working class who have joined a new, unified party, Kadar says: "Today the process of complete fusion has ended and no one, either in or outside the Party, now makes any distinction between former members of the Social Democratic Party and former members of the Communist Party, or between the old Party members and those who joined the Party after the fusion."

From time to time the journal publishes and comments on documents taken from the archives. Thus it featured diplomatic documents on the negotiations between Stalin and de Gaulle in December 1944, and records of the Anglo-Franco-Soviet military talks in August 1939 (number 12). Here again, needless to say, the journal was prompted by the desire to prove itself a militant organ. K. Tsybina, who commented on the documents, referred to their topicality: they testify, she wrote, to the fact that "the quest for rapprochement with German militarists and revanchists, seized upon by anti-Soviet French politicians before the Second World War, brought about the defeat of France, and her revival was made possible solely by the historic victories of the Soviet Union, the 'threat' from which certain political groups harped on so much before the war." And she rightly adds: "This should not be forgotten by the people who have undertaken the responsibility of shaping French policy. . . . History must not repeat itself. The right conclusions must finally be drawn from its lessons."

A feature of the journal is that it tries to cover varied themes. The second number was entitled "The State and Classes in Ancient Slave-Ownning Society"; No. 4 carried an article on the "Philosophical Problems of Physics"; No. 7 dealt with Linguistics; No. 13 contained "Essays on Music"; the double No. 14-15 dealt with modern conceptions of the Cosmos. Other issues treat political, ideological and economic problems for a wider reading public:

No. 3, for instance, is devoted to problems of automation, No. 6 to Christianity, N. 8 to underdeveloped countries, while the double No. 9-10 deals with the history of the Second World War.*

Varied though they are, the issues have one feature in common: they all show the tremendous contribution made to the study of any problem, by the application of the Marxist-Leninist method. Each number convincingly illustrates the essential feature of this method — the constant connection between theory and practice, thought and life, knowledge and struggle.

As an example let us take No. 4 which deals with philosophical problems of modern physics, in the first place, the quantum theory. It carries articles by Soviet, Hungarian, French and Argentine writers. What aims do they pursue? First, to refute the idealist interpretation of the recent discoveries in physics and to give a correct interpretation. Second, these articles show how in actual practice dialectical materialism can help both the general reading public and the scientists to achieve a better understanding of the importance of science and scientific development. And, finally, they are an illustration of the Marxist principle that modern scientific data are constantly enriching dialectical materialism. Basing itself on the research of prominent materialist scientists, the journal takes an active part in the ideological struggle of dialectical and historical materialism against bourgeois conceptions; and this is taking place in a field which has never been more important than it is today — the field of scientific progress.

The automation number offers another example of the method used by the journal. In addition to articles containing scientific researches such as those by S. Kulebakin on automated machine tools and E. Kolman on cybernetics and its uses, there is one by H. Lumer on the consequences of automation in the Ford plant in Cleveland (USA), which reveals the disastrous effects implicit in automation for the working class in the capitalist countries and the contradictions to which it gives rise in capitalism itself. There is also an article by S. Lilley on the grim experience of introducing automation into the British motor industry. This number undoubtedly provides trade union and Party activists with the answers to problems raised by the advance of automation. It helps to combat the tragic consequences of automation in the capitalist countries and at the same time describes the infinite possibilities of automation in a socialist society, for example, the Soviet Union.

The recent No. 17 dealing with "Sociological Research" is still another illustration of this method. It has exceptional interest as an example of specific

sociological research. Anti-Marxist ideologists are never tired of asserting that Marxists deny the existence of scientific sociology as such, and when they do recognize it, they reduce it to the general concepts of historical materialism. Marxists sociologists, it is true, proceed from historical materialism. But it will be difficult for those who have read the following articles published in this number to deny their very real contribution to sociology: V. Kryazhev and M. Markovich on how the hours of the Soviet worker's day are allocated: L. Terentyev on the "Family Structure in the Collective Farms of Latvia"; A. Harchev on "Marriage between Persons of Different Nationalities in Uzbekistan"; A. Grant on office-workers in Britain or M. Guillbert on women's labor in France. These articles provide excellent corroboration of the correctness of the statement by one of the authors that as Marxism develops it becomes increasingly clear that it is the rational way out of the blind alley of traditional sociology. Simultaneously it gives Party functionaries a deeper scientific knowledge of the laws of the social environment in which they work and struggle.

Among the many readers attracted by the great diversity of subjects are trade unionists, scientific workers, journalists, students and people from artistic circles. It is, moreover, being read all over the world. The fact that scientific French journals often make reference to it is evidence of the viability of Marxism-Leninism and of the influence it has on every sphere.

Recherches Internationales, which has set itself the aim of analyzing in the light of Marxism-Leninism, theory and practice in various fields of human activity, is successfully coping with this task. As one reads the journal one is struck by the fact that the most important scientific and theoretical works, the most interesting and the most fruitful, are those based on the principles of dialectical materialism.

The journal gives yet another irrefutable answer to the bourgeois ideologists who say that "Marxism has ceased to develop." As Paul Latérenne, the well-known scientist, says in his introduction to No. 14-15 which is devoted to the modern conceptions of the Cosmos: "Marx's famous words on philosophy might well be paraphrased and applied to dialectical materialism: it is not now a question of merely interpreting science, but of transforming it."

Recherches Internationales convincingly confirms this and its conclusions are of an international character. The journal is a valuable weapon in the communist movement's struggle on a wide ideological front under the banner of Marxism—the most progressive ideology, the ideology of the working class.

J. HANEVICH.

*This issue also carried hitherto unpublished materials from the Gestapo archives testifying to the leading role played by the French Communists in the Resistance.

New Center of Modern Education and International Brotherhood

(The Friendship of the Peoples University in Moscow)

THE Soviet Union consistently pursues a policy of promoting co-operation between the socialist camp and the countries which have taken the road of national regeneration. As far back as 1916, V. I. Lenin, in his *A Caricature of Marxism and "Imperialist Economism"* wrote with foresight: "We shall endeavor to give . . . peoples who are more backward and more oppressed than we are, 'disinterested cultural aid . . .', i.e., help them to go over to the use of machines, to lighten their labor, and to go forward to democracy and socialism."

Lenin was an ardent advocate of friendship between the peoples of the world. He considered it to be the Soviet state's historical mission to render fraternal aid to the hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other continents who had awakened and were yearning for freedom and a bright future, and by this very fact had already, in the first quarter of our century, greatly accelerated world development. Their all-round social progress is an indispensable condition if the independence of the new states is to be consolidated and their development ensured. It stands to reason that countries which have known colonialism — capitalism at its worst — are looking for new roads. And their eyes turn to the socialist countries, first and foremost, to the Soviet Union and People's China.

The socialist camp is helping other peoples who have achieved independence to abolish the aftermath of colonial rule and backwardness and to attain economic prosperity and cultural regeneration. The Communists, as N. S. Khrushchov has said, are not only working for increasingly better living standards for the people of their own countries, but for good conditions for the people of all countries. In a matter of a little over four decades, during the lifetime of one generation in fact, the Soviet Union has made a truly gigantic leap from poverty to abundance, from weakness to strength.

The experience of the socialist countries has shown that the productive forces of society cannot develop, neither can popular gains be defended from the aggressors without a national intelligentsia, an intelligentsia possessing a good knowledge of modern science and technology, an intelligentsia full of the spirit of genuine patriotism. All

branches of the national economy are continuously being supplied with machinery which is constantly being improved. With a view to ensuring the proper use of technology, to improving production, and to obtaining a high rate of technological progress, we train skilled workers, technicians, engineers and scientists, and see to it that the conditions are created for the flowering of science. One of the most remarkable results of the cultural revolution in the USSR is the development of higher education in the national republics, particularly in those of the Soviet East.

Our growing numbers of highly qualified specialists contribute greatly to the promptness with which pressing scientific, technological and economic problems are solved. That is why the Soviet Union, on the basis of its own experience, does not confine itself to giving economic and technical aid, but helps its friends also in the educational field. Quite a lot has already been done in this direction. We are helping, for example, to set up technological institutes in India, Burma, and Indonesia, while a polytechnical institute is being established in Guinea; it will be that country's first higher educational establishment. Many Soviet scientists give lectures at higher educational institutions abroad.

Thousands of young people from many countries are studying in Soviet institutions of higher education. Graduates from these institutions have made a good showing in both the professional and social fields at home. Increasing numbers of young people are eager for the opportunity to study in Soviet institutes.

A request to have more national specialists trained in Soviet higher schools was expressed by progressive public and government circles and individuals in many Asian, African and Latin American countries, and was backed by Soviet public organizations — the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the Soviet Youth Organizations Committee. It was they who sponsored the setting up of a Soviet institution of higher learning for the purpose of training

specialists for the respective countries, and the proposal to establish a Friendship of the Peoples University in Moscow was approved by the Soviet government.

Eligible for admission to the University are men and women under 35, irrespective of race, nationality or religion. Study at the Friendship of the Peoples University will be free of charge. The University will provide all students with bursaries, free hostel accommodation, and medical care, and pay their travelling expenses to Moscow and back.

The University represents a new form of training national specialists for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It goes without saying that the existing forms of co-operation in education will be maintained and extended.

The new form of co-operation has a number of specific features and is highly promising.

The University will be attended by persons from many countries and of various nationalities. They will have had different educations and will speak different languages, some of which are only little known. How are we to overcome the difficulties that will thus arise? The University's Preparatory Faculty will deal with these problems. This faculty will accept future students who do not know Russian, or who have not reached the necessary standard of secondary school education and prepare them, in a period of one to three years, for study in one of the University's six main faculties.

The fact that students will combine their training with scientific work guarantees a high level of education. With the establishment of the Friendship of the Peoples University, facilities have been created for large-scale research which will pay due regard to the national economy and culture of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, thus making for a higher level of training of specialists.

In its capacity of a scientific institute the University will co-operate with other Soviet scientific centers studying similar problems. It is also prepared, on a reciprocal basis, to establish permanent contacts with institutions of higher education, scientific institutions, and public organizations in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the object of exchanging visits, scientific information and publications. The University intends to participate in international scientific and cultural activities.

In the conditions obtaining at the University, it will be possible to reduce the terms of study somewhat in comparison with those customary for the Soviet institutes. In the Soviet higher educational establishments the length of these terms depends on several factors. In the first place the specialized training of the students is tied up with the concrete conditions generally obtaining in our country,

sometimes even in a particular area of the country. In the second place the practical work our students usually do over a prolonged period is explained by the need to prepare them for the actual conditions in their future spheres of activity. The kind of student enrolled also has a bearing on the term of study. Thus students who already have some practical experience will not need to study as long as those who have no such experience.

The students at the Friendship of the Peoples University will get to know the actual conditions of the future work on their return home.

The experience of Soviet higher education has been taken into account in drawing up the University's curricula.

The University will train specialists in all the major branches of knowledge, in accordance with the needs of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The concept of economic planning on the basis of the socialist countries' experience has won worldwide recognition. And countries whose development has been retarded by imperialist colonialist domination are particularly interested in this. They realize that their salvation lies in a concentrated effort to combat the effects of the economic havoc the imperialists have left in their wake. Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba has called the republic's economic development plan a plan of struggle for economic progress and for rooting out the evils of the past, while Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, described the adoption of his country's three-year development plan as an event equal in importance to the winning of political independence. The University will help to meet the demand for economists, specialists in planning the national economy, in the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The *Faculty of Engineering* will train mining, mechanical and construction engineers. Unless a country has a modern industry it cannot hope to achieve a high level of national production. Young people in foreign countries know full well that the Soviet Union has something to teach future engineers. A youth from Guinea, for example, wants to go to the University to become an engineer. His country, he writes, has plenty of iron ore, coal, oil and diamonds. And he wants to become a specialist so that he can help build a national industry and use Guinea's mineral wealth for the good of his country.

The Asian, African and Latin American countries are faced with the urgent task of transforming their backward, extensive agriculture into an advanced intensive farming. The experience in transforming the scattered and backward agriculture of Russia into large-scale highly productive agriculture is attracting the attention of these countries and the use to which they put this experience will depend

on the conditions obtaining in the different countries, and on the attitude of their leaders. President Bourguiba of Tunisia, for instance, said recently that in organizing co-operative farming in Tunisia it would be useful to study the Soviet experience. Sylvianus Olympio, Prime Minister of Togo, emphasizes the importance of co-operation in the agriculture of this young republic. Guinea's first three-year development plan, adopted in April 1960, envisages the setting up of more than five hundred co-operative farms. The government of India is also showing interest in co-operative methods of farming.

The *Faculty of Agriculture* will train specialists who, armed with modern scientific knowledge, will help the peasants in their countries "to raise two ears instead of one," to use the words of K. A. Timiryazev, the great Russian naturalist.

Many of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are planning extensive public health programs, and the *Faculty of Medicine* will train doctors and pharmacists for these countries.

A task of paramount importance in most of the economically underdeveloped countries has been and still is the struggle for general elementary education. And this has given rise to an acute shortage of teachers. Nearly all the faculties of the University and particularly the *Faculty of Agriculture* and the *Faculty of History and Philosophy* will train their students for the noble career of teaching.

Thorough research is required in both the natural and social sciences before the Asian, African and Latin American countries are able to solve a number of their pressing problems. The faculties will, therefore, accustom the students to engage in research.

The development of international relations, the defense of national sovereignty, and co-operation with peace-loving states call for experts in international law. To meet this need the University will train specialists in *international law* for these countries.

We shall do our best to turn out qualified specialists who, on returning home, will enthusiastically set about building a better future for their peoples.

In addition to their specialized training the students will have every opportunity to see the Soviet Union, familiarize themselves with the cultural treasures created by its people, and to extend their knowledge through classical and contemporary literature and art.

The Friendship of the Peoples University is not a state establishment. It is directed by a Council composed of representatives of the founding non-government organizations, and includes a representative of the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the USSR and representatives of the teaching staff and students. Thus the students will find that the University is at the same time a school of democratic self-government.

In view of the recent further cut in the Soviet armed forces by one-third, the premises formerly occupied by a Staff College and by one of the military schools have become vacant and, under a decree of the Soviet government, made available to non-military organizations. They will, it has been decided, be placed at the disposal of the University.

Great help is being given by the Soviet public to the University which is still in its infancy. Splendid initiative, for example, has been shown by the staff of Leningrad University which, appreciating as it does the difficulties connected with an undertaking of this kind, has offered comradely assistance.

Progressive public and government circles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are displaying a friendly interest in the new University. We value their appreciation of Soviet aid to the underdeveloped countries, and the efforts they are making to recommend students who, we are certain, will, after graduation, bring great benefit to their countries. The future student should understand that he shoulders a great responsibility when he enters the Friendship of the Peoples University.

The friendly co-operation of all organizations concerned is enabling us to establish a well-equipped institute of higher learning with an experienced staff, an establishment that will enjoy prestige in both scientific and educational respects. The applications pouring in bear witness to the fact that young Asian, African and Latin American men and women are most eager to study at this University.

"The people who have risen like a mighty giant
Are now reaping the harvest of Freedom"
sang the Indonesian poet Hadyi in a poem dedicated to the Bandung Conference, a Conference which demonstrated the powerful growth of the national consciousness of the Asian and African peoples. The Friendship of the Peoples University will work for the triumph of the principles of Bandung.

S. RUMYANTSEV, Professor,
Rector of the Friendship of the
Peoples University.

Achievements of Agrarian Reform

(Letter from Havana)

Dear Comrades,

We know of the sympathy with which the whole world is following the revolutionary struggle of the people of Cuba. And your readers will undoubtedly be interested in hearing how the agrarian reform — at the present stage the key to the Cuban revolution — is progressing.

The Agrarian Reform Law was proclaimed on May 17, 1959, in La Plata (Oriente Province) in the very same hut which sheltered Fidel Castro in the difficult days when, at the head of his valiant guerrillas, he began the struggle against the Batista tyranny. A little over a year has passed since then, but this period of time, brief though it is, has seen some great successes. The people have swept away the numerous obstacles placed in their path by the reactionaries, that is, the North American imperialists, the latifundists, the big *compradore* bourgeoisie, a part of the agricultural bourgeoisie and the remnants of the supporters of the old regime. The mass of the people is solidly behind the agrarian reform, while the revolutionary government, relying on the people, is rapidly and unhesitatingly giving it effect.

The year 1960 has been proclaimed the year of agrarian reform. What has been done? First a National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) has been set up which, under the guidance of Fidel Castro and some of his brave companions-in-arms, tested revolutionaries, is responsible for translating this great law into life. INRA has been very active during this time.

By April 1, 222,827 *caballerias** of land formerly belonging to prominent figures of the tyrannical regime, imperialist companies and latifundists were officially taken over by the Institute and are now being distributed among the peasants. The government has allocated 75 million pesos** for agricultural development. A substantial part of this sum is earmarked for the purchase of machinery; 2,800 tractors of various types, 400 bulldozers, seeders, irrigation machines, etc., have already been made available. By March last, 1,400 "people's stores" and 25 depots had been set up which sell the peasants goods at reasonable prices, thus preventing them from being fleeced by profiteering shopkeepers.

At the present stage it is the aim of the land reform to break up the imperialist and semi-feudal latifundias, transfer their lands to the landless peasants and agricultural laborers, make the ten-

ants owners of the plots they lease, develop a mixed agriculture and thus raise the living standards of the rural masses.

The agrarian reform deals a blow first and foremost at the imperialists, for they are the biggest latifundists in Cuba. It is also directed against the Cuban landlords who leased their land to small peasants, and against importers who took advantage of the backward farming in Cuba to bring food into the country. Cuba purchased about \$150 million worth of farm produce annually, which it could well have grown itself.

Under the land reform law the maximum size of a plot is fixed at 30 *caballerias*. Only in exceptional cases can it be increased to 100 *caballerias*. All land exceeding the maximum fixed by the law is subject to expropriation. The former owners will receive compensation in the form of agrarian reform 20-year bonds bearing 4.5 per cent interest.

Exact figures are not yet available, but according to a rough estimate about 400,000 *caballerias* are to be expropriated. The expropriated lands and the free lands of the state are being given to the peasants and farm workers. Furthermore the government is setting aside land for raising certain kinds of crops and for cattle-breeding on big state farms.

Lots of up to two *caballerias* are given free of charge to the tenants, or sub-tenants, and to the so-called "precaristas" — peasants who till unused lands at their own risk. Peasants who lease plots of up to five *caballerias* obtain two *caballerias* gratis and have the right to buy the remainder from the owner who is under obligation to sell it to them. One hundred thousand peasants will gain from the reform.

By May 17 last, title deeds to 6,000 properties had either been or were about to be handed over to individual peasants. At the same time the Agrarian Reform Law encourages individual peasants to unite in co-operatives. Credit and consumer co-operatives are being set up, stocks of seeds stored, and houses and roads built on a co-operative basis — this paves the way to higher forms of co-operation, even to the joint cultivation of land. The latter form of co-operation is already to be seen in some regions of Cuba. The peasants in the co-operatives ploughed up boundaries and organized production teams for the joint cultivation of the land, with the result that output has increased and the peasants are earning more.

The INRA co-operatives are also growing rapid-

*A *caballeria* is about 33 acres.—Ed.

**A Cuban peso equals one U.S. dollar.

ly. In contrast to the usual type of peasant co-operatives, they are being set up by farm workers.

There are a considerable number of proletarians in agriculture because of the predominance of the capitalist mode of production in the growing of sugar-cane, rice and fruit. Many latifundias were formerly created by driving the peasants off the land and turning them into farm laborers. Although hardly a peasant is to be found on the big sugar plantations, there are many farm workers. The rural proletariat firmly supports the INRA co-operatives and wants to see them grow. Together with the industrial proletariat farm workers and poor peasants form the pillars of the revolution.

The sugar industry has about 184,000 caballerias of land, of which approximately 150,000 are due to be expropriated by INRA. Over 80,000 caballerias have already been expropriated and are being handed to the joint ownership of some 150,000 farm workers for the purpose of establishing special type co-operatives for growing sugar cane. It is believed that over 500 co-operatives will develop along these lines. (There are already dozens of these co-operatives. In Mayari, Oriente Province, for example, 28 were recently set up on the land formerly owned by the United Fruit Company.) The remaining 70,000 caballerias will be handed to the "colonos" — the tenant-peasants, the poor, middle and well-to-do peasants growing sugar. The land will be divided into plots of not more than 30 caballerias each in accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law.

Even the middle and well-to-do peasants renting more than five caballerias are entitled to buy up to 30 caballerias of the land they lease at a price fixed by INRA, paying for it over 20 years through INRA. Thus over 57,000 "colonos" will be able to purchase land which the local and foreign latifundists previously refused to sell to them.

The co-operative farms will produce over fifty per cent of the entire sugar cane output (1,900 million arrobas*). The sugar-cane co-operatives established by the farm workers will be run by a manager to be appointed by INRA from the most experienced farm workers, and by a management council elected by a meeting of the co-operative members.

INRA gives the co-operatives credit, machinery and agro-technical assistance. The co-operators will receive compensation (a kind of wage) and bonuses for their work amounting to 20 per cent of the net profit at the end of each year. About 80 per cent of the profit will go to the state for the implementation of plans for expanding agriculture, industry, etc. INRA has already allocated 34 million pesos for aid to the newly-established co-operatives. Furthermore it will give these co-

operatives technical aid and open more "people's stores" with cheap goods for the co-operative members. Co-operative members group themselves into production teams and elect competent people as team leaders.

INRA, the National Federation of Sugar Plantation Workers, the trade unions and the army will play the major role in implementing the great plan. The agrarian reform in the sugar industry is being carried out in accordance with this plan. The reform is now the primary task on the agricultural front.

Taking into account the existing 764 co-operatives, the co-operatives in the sugar industry now in the process of being established, and the state cattle-breeding farms, it will become obvious that *co-operative and state production is being carried out on a bigger scale than individual farming*, the source of anarchy and crises, of poverty and backwardness.

For the first time in Cuba's history, its agriculture will develop according to a single plan, which, although not comprehensive, nevertheless sets some important tasks: that, for instance, of growing various crops in Cuba, of ploughing up virgin lands, of creating new fields of employment for tens of thousands of workers in order, first, to reduce unemployment and then to abolish it altogether in those branches of agricultural production in which workers have hitherto been employed for not more than four to five months a year, and of putting a stop to excessive foreign currency spending on imports.

The problems being encountered in carrying through the agrarian reform are manifold and complex. They have, furthermore, to be solved simultaneously with probably the more important and difficult problem of Cuba's industrial development.

Our revolution is surmounting tremendous obstacles. The U.S. imperialists, the latifundists and other social groups affected by the land reform and the revolution are not reconciling themselves to the loss of their privileges, they do not want the Cuban people to throw off the foreign yoke once and for all, to have done with the poverty and cultural backwardness in which they were kept up to the January revolution.

In the first year of the revolution the people repulsed numerous attacks by the deposed reactionaries supported by the imperialists and latifundists, who have sought to hold back and suppress the revolution. The people have gone bravely into battle, and all the popular forces rallied in defense of the revolution, around its tested leaders headed by Fidel Castro. Seeing this, the U.S. imperialists, though continuing to support the counter-revolutionary elements in Cuba, have taken direct and overt steps against the people of Cuba. The

*An arroba equals about 11.5 kgs.—Ed.

Eisenhower-Herter Administration is itself seeing to it that the imperialist plans drawn up by the White House for the suppression of the Cuban revolution are carried out. It intends to reduce quotas of Cuban sugar imports; an economic blockade has been put into effect (credits, deliveries of equipment, spare parts, medicines, etc. are being refused to Cuba), and sugar-cane plantations are being set on fire. Planes are bombing Cuban sugar refineries from bases in the U.S. and have even attacked the residence of the Prime Minister. The explosion engineered by agents of the U.S. imperialists on board the French ship "La Coubre" which was carrying munitions for the national defense of Cuba, is evidence of their barbarity. This criminal act, which cost dozens of workers their lives, was committed when Eisenhower was touring South America with the main object of binding the South American governments to an undertaking to engage in "collective" intervention in Cuba or, at least, to support an armed U.S. intervention.

It is plain that under these conditions, the agrarian reform and the other peaceful, constructive measures being carried out by the Cuban revolution for the good of the people are coming up against still greater difficulties. The Cuban people, whose revolutionary consciousness increases with each flagrant attack launched by the imperialists

and the reactionaries at home, are realizing that a struggle must be waged on two fronts — for revolutionary changes at home and for the defense of the country from foreign intervention.

More clearly than ever before in their long history of struggle for freedom our people are able to distinguish unerringly between their friends and their foes. Rising to a man against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges who threaten to attack us and to enslave us anew, our people extend a fraternal hand to all the peoples and countries who are helping them and expressing their solidarity with them. They were gratified to hear that an economic agreement had been signed with the Soviet government, because it will help them to achieve progress and freedom.

There is no doubt that, given international solidarity, as the recent meeting of the National Committee of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba pointed out, the difficulties our revolution is encountering can be surmounted through unity and staunch struggle by the whole people. The Party's attitude to the agrarian reform, the methods by which it is being carried out, and the various measures connected with it, greatly facilitate its practical implementation.

Severo AGIRRE

Havana, May 1960,
the year of Agrarian Reform.

The Lessons of a Strike

(Letter from San-José)

A short time ago one of the biggest ever strikes took place in Costa Rica Banana plantation workers in the Southern part of the Pacific Coast struck work for twenty-five days. They were joined by railwaymen, port workers and even clerks. The struggle was waged against the domination of U.S. monopoly capital embodied in the United Fruit Company which in all the Central American countries is a state within a state. During the past 50 years all the successive governments of Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala and Panama felt called upon to adhere to agreements foisted upon them by this powerful company, fell in with all its demands, agreed to provisions which were both unfavorable and humiliating, and suppressed the strike movement. Because it did not knuckle down to the pressure brought to bear by this company and proclaimed an agrarian reform law, courageous Guatemala was confronted with military intervention, as the whole world knows.

The United Fruit Company has been the scourge of Central America, the bulwark of all the despotic regimes, the main instrument by which the peoples of these countries have been exploited and put in subjection to U.S. monopoly capital.

In addition to the working-class party — the People's Vanguard Party — only a few political groups in our country dared to stand up to this octopus from Boston. But times change. The experience of Cuba is awakening and inspiring the people, exploding the myth of North American imperialism's omnipotence in the geographical area near the United States. The conflict which led up to the strike was triggered by the company's refusal to pay the one month's Christmas bonuses or the so-called 13th month, as provided by the new law. The United Fruit Company is one of the big enterprises with profits big enough to stand paying out bonuses in full. But having challenged the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica which promulgated the law, and the executive authority which

sanctioned it, the company publicly announced that it would pay one week's bonus only.

Then the banana workers, in accordance with the labor laws, appealed to the court in Golfito where the United Fruit Company has its office. The case came up for hearing but the company's representatives failed to put in an appearance. By the deft use of legal loopholes the company later managed to get the case dismissed by the Supreme Court on Labor Disputes.

The workers were confronted with the alternative: either to waive their right to a full month's bonus, thus permitting the company to violate the Republic's law with impunity, or to strike.

It was clear from the outset that the strike was not so much an economic as a political one. The workers, it goes without saying, wanted a full bonus but their desire to force the company to respect the Republic's laws was even stronger.

The United Fruit Company was interested above all in seeing to it that the Legislative Assembly passed no laws which would be detrimental to its interests. This is confirmed by the fact that the strike cost the company, according to its own estimation, 19 million colones, whereas one month's bonuses totalled less than five million. The company foresaw that the Legislative Assembly would be debating an agrarian reform bill which could not but affect its immense latifundias.

Thus the United Fruit Company did just what our People's Vanguard Party said it would. It not only refused to obey the law but wanted to deprive the Legislative Assembly of its sovereign right to pass laws, it claimed that a law regulating its relations with the state should stand above other laws and, even, above the country's constitution.

The strike immediately became important not only for the national labor movement, but also for the international working-class movement as a whole.

The strikers were solidly united. All attempts by the company to break this unity by intimidation, cajolery, bribery and intrigue were unavailing.

The strike was led by two trade union federations which in the past had in some respects been rivals. The fact that they had agreed to joint action was in itself an important step, not only towards achieving unity in the Costa Rican labor movement, but towards broader nationwide unity in the struggle against imperialism.

And indeed, after the success of the strike, leading members of the strike committee published a statement in which was expressed the wish of the members of all the banana workers trade unions to unite in a single federation. This has now been done.

Thus a single large-scale joint action by the banana workers resulted in a few weeks in the amalgamation of trade unions, a result which would in all probability not have been achieved in years of negotiation at the top.

The participation of women in the strike contributed to its success. They helped to consolidate unity, prevented the use of blacklegs, and rendered organized assistance. Despite the many provocations, no blood was shed during the course of the strike. Even the reactionary newspapers had to admit that the strikers were orderly and disciplined.

During the strike the workers set up a self-governing body of their own led by the strike committee in Golfito, and with similar committees at medium and lower levels in the regions and on individual estates.

It was their duty to keep order, make sanitary arrangements, and arrange for all transport, all of which they did very well.

Costa Rica has no army, and the police corps is the country's sole armed force. When the government sent police detachments to the banana area, the strikers found them sympathetic. They began to fraternize. Women patiently explained to the policemen that the reactionary press was not telling the truth when it alleged that the strikers were out to overthrow the government, that all they wanted to do was to compel the company to respect the laws of the land. The police not only left them alone, but helped them materially.

The strike led to a growing movement for unity throughout the country. In one way or another all the trade union centers, federations and independent trade unions expressed their solidarity with the strikers, and for the first time since imperialist agents had managed to split the labor movement in Costa Rica, the workers closed their ranks and refused to believe the moth-eaten story that the strike was the work of the Communists.

It was not only the working class that supported the strikers. A National Committee for Aid to the Banana Workers was formed. Never had there been anything like it in the political history of the country. Among others, representatives of all the trade union centers and independent trade unions, the National Federation of Juntas for the Promotion of Progress, the Ricardo Moreno Cañas Civic League, the Union for the Emancipation of the Workers, students, and a group of Left-wing deputies from the National Liberation Party which has a parliamentary majority, took part in the work of this Committee. Despite the anti-communist campaign in the reactionary press not a single participant in this widely representative committee was scared by the fact that the People's Vanguard

Party also had a representative on the Committee.

Deputies of the Republican Party (the second largest in the Legislative Assembly) also sent a mission to the banana zone to help the strikers. The National Liberation Party's daily newspapers supported the strike.

The attitude of the government is deserving of special attention. It was clearly hostile when the conflict broke out. External and internal reactionary forces brought pressure to bear on it; and the United Fruit Company, most of the newspapers and — as he always does in these cases — the United States Ambassador were also pulling wires. A fortnight after the strike was called President Mario Echandi in a radio broadcast to the people threatened the strikers and the Communists whom he blamed for the strike. Everything went to show that the government would use force against the strikers. But it did not. Why?

The President realized that the strikers, despite the hardships, would not give in. To resort to force would mean aligning himself against the overwhelming majority of the country which was supporting the strike. And the President turned a complete somersault. Together with the Minister

of Labor he paid a visit to the coast and discussed the matter with the strike committee, thus angering the U.S. Ambassador.

The outcome was typical of our country. The government wished to find a "legal" way out of the situation in order to justify its action. The strike committee received a new decision from the court in Golfito ordering the United Fruit Company to pay the Christmas bonuses in full. The government accordingly paid the workers' wages for the "thirteenth" month and put a bill (which was later passed) before the Legislative Assembly, under which the government, upholding the interests of workers, had the right to claim reimbursement from the company.

The resolute struggle waged by the Costa Rican people against U.S. imperialism resulted in the formation of a National Solidarity Committee based on the organizations and parties which had previously been represented in the National Committee for Aid to the Banana Workers. This is the first step, and one which can play a big part in uniting the country's democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

Arnoldo FERRETO

Against the Persecution of Democrats

ANTI-COMMUNIST TRIALS IN ATHENS

POLICE TERROR continues unabated in Greece. The abortive attempt to brand Manolis Glezos, the national hero, and other patriots as spies, was followed by a new wave of anti-communist hysteria which reached its climax in the trials of the Greek Communists last April and June.

Most of the accused had languished in prison for five to six years awaiting trial. The Greek government and its foreign "guardians" were biding their time before striking at the democratic forces, first and foremost at their vanguard, the Communist Party. They chose to do this on the eve of the Summit Conference when world reaction, headed by the United States, was working frantically to torpedo the meeting.

The trials were carefully staged. Members of the Asphalia (Greek Secret Police—A.N.) appeared as witnesses for the prosecution, and policemen in civilian clothes represented "public opinion."

Since there was no evidence against the patriots, the organizers of the trial thought up a charge of "pre-disposition to espionage." Since the Communist Party of Greece has been outlawed,

they declared, the Communists who have to return to their country illegally must be spies. Although in the indictment the prosecutor admitted *there was no real evidence against any of them*, he accused them of offering their services in the capacity of spies.

Fanatical hatred of the Communists and an irrepressible urge to slander the Communist Party of Greece led the prosecutors grossly to falsify history. They assessed the struggle against the Nazi invaders as "criminal acts during the occupation." Furthermore, those who staged the trials hoped the attacks on the Communist Party of Greece and the democratic movement would evoke no response, because the Communist Party had been outlawed.

But the reactionaries had miscalculated. They failed to reckon with the main factor — the Greek people's will for peace and democracy, their love for the party of the working class. As the mouthpiece of this will the defendants became the accusers of the bankrupt regime in Greece.

The Greek Communists conducted themselves splendidly. They repulsed the attack on proletarian internationalism, and on the Soviet Union and

the People's Democracies — the true and unselfish friends of Greece. "To be an internationalist," said *Mitios Dallas*, "one must first be a patriot. If you do not love your own people, then you cannot love any other people." Basing their arguments on indisputable facts they firmly defended the policy of their Party. "I returned to Greece because it is my right and my duty to fight for my people, no matter what may happen to me. I came to fight for the political line of my Party, for democracy, independence, peace and a legal status for the Communist Party of Greece." These words were spoken by *Georgios Erifriadis* and his speech was an indictment of the plutocratic oligarchy and the Greek authorities. "The aims and activity of my Party express the desire of the overwhelming majority of the Greek people for a foreign policy of peace and friendship between all peoples based on equality," emphasized *Avra Vlasi*.

Laying bare the political reasons for staging the trial, the defendants described how the *Asphalia* had tried to blackmail them into repudiating Communist ideas and the Communist Party. The police offered them money and a "splendid career," but were proudly told: "We shall never repudiate our Party. Our lives are in your hands. But our ideas belong to us."

Indignantly rejecting the charge against their Party and themselves, the Communists firmly defended their ideas. "We believe in Marxism-Leninism," said *Kiryakos Zakiris*. "We believe that Marxist-Leninist ideas are the most progressive, that the future belongs to them . . . Force cannot smash our ideas. We are sure that victory will be ours."

The glorious 42 years of the Communist Party of Greece were gradually unfolded before the court as the Communists made their speeches. When the country was passing through times of trial and tribulation patriotic working people joined the Communist Party, because they regarded it as the staunch defender of the national interests. "Communists do not become Party members for gain.

They join it to fight for Communist ideals," emphasized *Kostas Lulis*.

All the patriots on trial were organizers of and fighters in the heroic Resistance. Proudly they spoke of the struggle waged by the Greek people against the invaders. *Avgeropoulos*, a witness for the defense, a retired general, a Resistance Fighter and a Member of Parliament, said outright: "Greece owes her freedom to those who are today in the dock."

Among the counsel for the defense and the defense witnesses were numerous public and political figures and prominent Greek jurists. Full of admiration for the courage and staunchness displayed by the patriots, and firmly convinced that the charges against them were false, these progressives passionately defended the country's patriotic forces and unmasked the unconstitutional character of such frame-ups. *Piromaglou*, a Democratic Union Party M.P., said: "The talk about espionage is intended to undermine national unity."

Although the charge trumped up by the Greek secret police failed miserably, well-known Greek Communists including *G. Erifriadis*, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, Central Committee members *Vlasi*, *Lulis*, *Dallas*, *Florakis* and *Kukulu*, received severe sentences — life imprisonment. But the wave of protests from all corners of Greece and other parts of the world, and the general condemnation of the shameful frame-up have prevented the Greek reactionaries from carrying out their original plan of passing a death sentence on the democrats.

These trials have demonstrated reaction's fear of the progressive forces in the country. As the defendant *Vardinoyannis* aptly remarked, "in the long run the government has got entangled in the espionage net of its own weaving." The trials have demonstrated the great viability and truth of Communist ideas, have shown that all that is honest, bright and progressive follows the lead of the Communists.

A. NIKOLANDIS

FRAME-UP IN ALGERIA

AHMED AKKACHE, Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, has been sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment and the same sentence has been passed on *André Moine*. *Paul Caballero* received a sentence of 15 years' imprisonment and *Henri Alleg* 10 years. All are Algerian Communists.

That is the outcome of the "trial" staged by the French colonialists against our comrades arrested between April-June 1957.

As for *Maurice Audin*, who was charged in his "absence" — he had been tortured to death — the

"court" preferred not to go into his case, so as to avoid revealing publicly the circumstances of his death.

Hardly had the "trial" begun than the presiding judge of the military court demanded that it be held in camera, a trick resorted to with the object of stifling the voice of the Algerian Communist Party. What was it that the colonialists and the judge representing them feared? They feared that our comrades, in the presence of numerous foreign journalists, would tell about the brutal torture to

which they had been subjected, about the terrible ordeal they had undergone for more than three years. They feared that the colonialists' crimes against the Communists and other patriots, in fact, against the whole Algerian people, who have now been fighting colonialism for nearly six years, would be brought to light. They feared that the "accused" would re-affirm, before the court and world opinion, the Algerian Communist Party's stand on the war for national independence. And despite the precautions that were taken and the provocations indulged in by the judges, Ahmed Akkache resolutely protested on his own and his comrades' behalf against the proceedings taking place behind closed doors and set forth the position of the Algerian Communist Party:

"I do not recognize French laws, I am an Algerian and you have no right to try us. We do not recognize French nationality which has been imposed upon us against our will. We are Algerians and are proud of it. We are fighting might and main for the freedom of Algeria and we recognize only one government — the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. Therefore we can only be tried by the Algerian people.

"We are not afraid of admitting our activities. You call us rebels. All right! Yes, we have rebelled against colonialism. Yes, we are taking part in the Algerian people's struggle for national liberation. And I am proud and honored to bear the responsibility for the struggle of our Party.

"We want to have the right to answer in public the insults which have been hurled at us in public. We have been told 'You are bandits and murder-

ers.' But it is we who want to say who are the real murderers. I was tortured for six days and six nights in the dungeons of the Suzini Chateau. Besides Maurice Audin, there was Omar Djeqri, also an Algerian Communist who was arrested together with me and subjected to frightful torture. He was still alive in April 1957. What have you done with him?

"I accuse those who murdered Maurice Audin of also killing Omar Djeqri. The real terrorists are not on our side, they are on the side of those who for more than a century have been imposing their laws on Algeria.

"We think a trial behind closed doors was demanded to prevent my comrades and myself, who here represent the Algerian Communist Party, from explaining our policy and our relations with the National Liberation Front. I must say that the Algerian Communist Party stands solidly behind the struggle waged by the National Liberation Front."

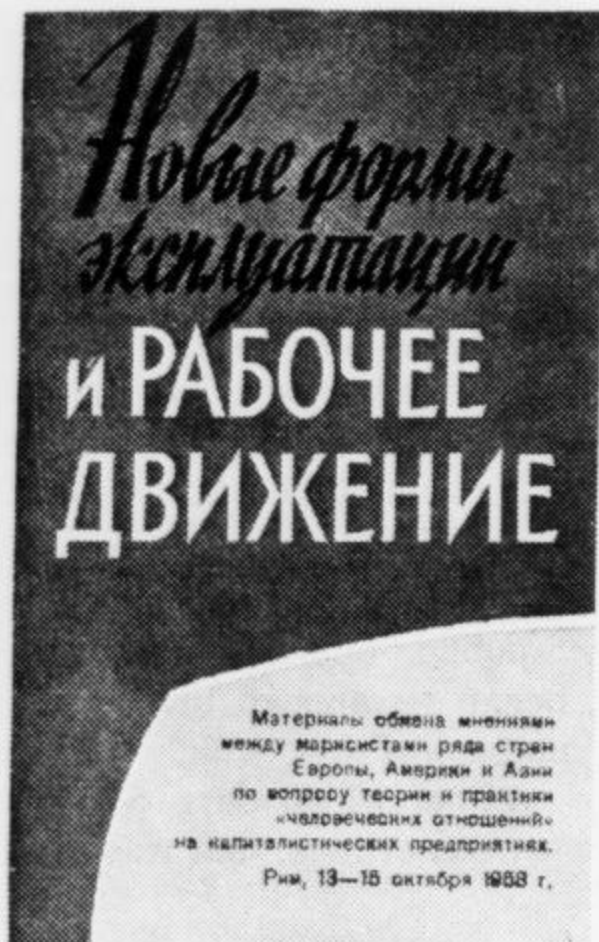
After this statement the French court announced that the trial would be held behind closed doors. In the eyes of Algerian public opinion and world opinion generally it began to appear that it was not the Algerian Communist Party which was on trial, but the bloody regime, which dare not face the truth about its monstrous crimes, that was again being tried.

The Algerian Communist Party, now more viable than ever despite the persecution of its leaders, is continuing its glorious struggle for national liberation and the turning of Algeria into a sovereign and prosperous country.

Abdelkader E. O.

NEW BOOKS

(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
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