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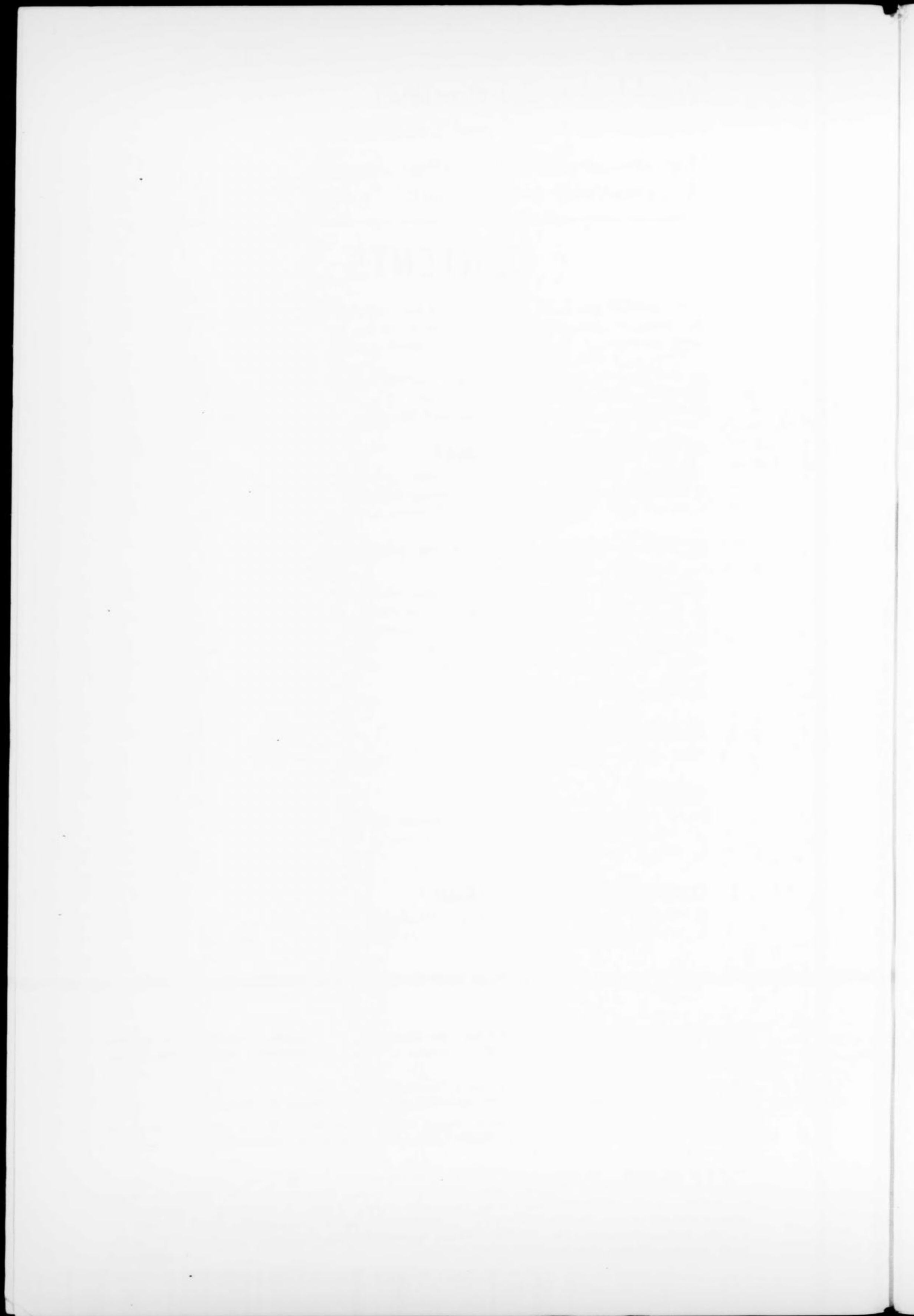
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The Peace Movement and the Struggle for Disarmament

Jean Dienne

THE torpedoing of the Summit meeting by the aggressive U.S. circles, sabotage of disarmament by the Western powers, the colonial war in Algeria, the Belgian aggression against the new Republic of the Congo and the threat of U.S. aggression against Cuba — all show that to preserve peace a long, hard and persistent struggle is needed. Therefore one cannot but agree with the Bureau of the World Peace Council which at its July session in Stockholm drew the conclusion: "To frustrate the designs of the enemies of peace the world peace movement should step up its struggle, wage it more vigorously and with greater resolve." Fully aware of the fact that today when a world military conflict would mean an atomic holocaust and that definite steps should be taken to alert the peoples, the Bureau of the World Peace Council decided to launch a world-wide campaign for disarmament and consolidation of peace.

The significance of this decision is obvious. Indeed, we are living at a time when, as Khrushchov put it, the question of "whether there is to be a war or not depends in large measure on the correlation of class, political forces, the degree of organization and the awareness and resolve of the people."*

This factor determines the conditions and the trend of the present struggle for delivering the world from the danger of war. At the same time it helps us to understand the character and forms of communist participation in this struggle.

I

It has been pointed out in our journal that the relationship of class and political forces on the world arena, that is, on the scale of the existing politico-economic systems and countries, has changed radically and that this shift will exert a considerable influence on how the question of "peace or war?" will be resolved. Imperialism—in which gravitation towards aggressive and predatory wars is inherent by virtue of its very nature — is opposed today by the immense material force and moral strength of the countries of proletarian dictatorship — the socialist camp

which places the cause of peace above everything. And in concocting its schemes imperialism is forced to take this into account. War is started with the greatest of ease when the aggressor thinks he has a good chance of winning it. Today the imperialists, and not without grounds, have grave apprehensions about their chances. The caution they had to display in the face of the Soviet warning — when they stopped their military operations against Egypt during the Suez gamble — was a fairly good indication that the strength of the socialist camp as a reliable guarantee of peace was not merely a bold slogan but an objective factor. Bearing in mind the growing might of the socialist camp, the mounting internal difficulties encountered by the imperialists and the loss of their rear-lines — the colonial and dependent countries — there are grounds for believing that, despite the flagrant provocations of the militarists seeking to revive the cold war, the balance of class forces on the world arena will continue to change to the detriment of the imperialist camp and, hence, that our conviction that war — the dream of the imperialists — is no longer inevitable will grow stronger still.

Within the imperialist world the balance of class forces has also radically changed in favor of peace. The working class is exerting an ever-growing influence on the political life of the capitalist countries. In many of them it has been able to build strong Communist parties. The persistent struggle of the Communists is helping to free more and more people from the influence of capitalist ideology and draw them into the fight against capitalism. Thus, the Communist parties are effecting considerable changes in the conditions under which the imperialists are preparing for war: the Communists are exposing the preparations for aggression and unmasking those responsible for the international tension; they are explaining the peace policy of the socialist camp and giving the lie to the hypocritical stories about "maintaining security" — an excuse with which the imperialists are trying to draw "their own" peoples into war. The Communists point out that the difficult conditions of the working people among other things are the consequence of the war-

*N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

like policies of the imperialists; they are persistently fighting against colonial wars and the arms drive; and, finally, they are organizing mass action against the preparation for war. Today the imperialists realize that in the event of their unleashing war they would be faced by the opposition of the peoples in their own countries.

Thanks to scientific communism and to the work of the Communist parties in summing up the experience of the masses, the peoples are gradually ceasing to be the "object" of history and politics and are becoming conscious and organized participants in both. They are no longer pawns on the chessboard of imperialist politicians who embroil them in wars for monopoly profits. As Frederic Joliot-Curie put it, "in international relations a new and highly important factor has appeared. Until a few years ago public opinion was very often regarded as an important but passive factor: 'public opinion was prepared' for vital international decisions which were made without its participation Today world public opinion has become an active force which intervenes in the process of elaborating these international decisions."* This active intervention — the mass struggle for peace — is a vital component in the balance of political forces on the world arena.

In the course of the struggle considerable gains have been made. To some extent the first signs of an international détente were connected with the peace struggle. These successes inspire the peace fighters with confidence, urging them not only to continue the struggle but to extend it, for the battle is not yet won. While there is a vast arsenal of modern means of destruction at the disposal of the imperialists, the peoples naturally will fear aggression, even though it can be neutralized by a resolute retaliatory blow by the socialist camp. The peoples are concerned not only with putting an early end to any war and with punishing the aggressor: *their desire is that war should not be started at all.* They are determined to fight war before it breaks out, they are determined to *prevent* it from being unleashed. That is why they must continue to fight until such time as the imperialists will not only think twice before launching aggression, but until they are totally deprived of every possibility of unleashing war. Peaceful coexistence means depriving the imperialists of the possibility of kindling a military conflagration.

*Joliot-Curie F. *La Paix, le désarmement et la coopération internationale*, Discours, textes et documents. Paris, Editions "Défense de la Paix," 1959, pp. 47 et 48.

The problem facing the peace supporters can be formulated as follows: How to turn into an organized political force capable of compelling the imperialists to respect peace — the individual desires of millions of people for peace, who are not yet active participants in the peace movement? How to set in motion and effectively draw into the struggle for peace this tremendous unorganized mass of people, which in social composition is broader than the working class, which refuses to take part in the revolutionary actions of the proletariat, and which may be affected by certain anti-socialist prejudices, but which in any circumstances wants peace?

A vital factor in enlightening the masses on the nature and origin of the war danger as well as on the ways of averting it is communist activity. Very often the explanatory work conducted by the Communists has helped to draw many people into the peace struggle even though they might reject the ideas and ultimate aims of communism.

However, explanatory work alone does not provide a solution to the basic problem, on which the reply to the question "war or peace?" depends to a very great degree. The object is to augment the might of the socialist camp which is beginning to tilt the scales in favor of peace with the invincible strength of a multitude of individuals who are still dispersed and inactive. The world peace movement gives the answer to this question which is of paramount importance. This is the reason why the Communists pay special attention to this question and, to use the words of Frederic Joliot-Curie, define it as "one of the principal features of our times."

II

There is no need to dwell in detail on the campaigns inspired by the peace movement. It will be enough to say that they played no small part in creating the present conditions and in winning prestige for the movement not only in Europe, but in all the other continents, even in those places where it has no branches.

This point was aptly made by John Bernal, President of the World Peace Council, at the Stockholm jubilee session: We have, he said, succeeded in creating a unified worldwide movement which is growing broader in practically every country with every passing day. In each country the movement has evoked a response among different groups of the population, even among people who were not affected by any of the earlier political movements. Even in those places where slander

and persecution had prevented the local organizations from cooperating with us, the ideas of our movement have spread far beyond its membership, penetrating into political, trade union, co-operative, women's and youth organizations. During the past few months we saw that these ideas can bring to life new and powerful movements, such as the anti-nuclear movement in Japan, Britain, Germany, the United States and elsewhere, a movement which has helped to draw into the struggle on this vital issue many millions of new peace supporters.

The experience of the movement has proved that the policy of the Communists, who have supported it from its inception, has been entirely correct. The Communists do not merely take note of its successes, they are working to extend and strengthen it, a stand which derives from their principled attitude in the political struggle.

Leninism teaches that the revolutionary vanguard — the Communists — alone cannot secure the aims which it has set before the masses; to achieve these aims the active participation of the masses is imperative. Hence the task of the Communists is to awaken and deepen the political consciousness of the masses, to convince the people of the need for a radical change in the structure of society, of the need to replace the capitalist system, which engenders wars, by the socialist system which guarantees peace and fraternity among the peoples.

But the Communists are aware that revolutionary propaganda alone is no solution. Propaganda is but an empty sound unless it corresponds with the experience of the masses, unless this experience has deepened their political consciousness to the degree that they are ready to accept and endorse the revolutionary perspective. It is, therefore, the duty of the Communists to help the masses acquire the necessary experience and to organize their actions for aims recognized by the masses as their own, because these immediate aims correspond to the level of their consciousness.

In such mass actions, undertaken in the forms chosen by them, the masses become aware of their strength, which is of paramount importance for their unity. The masses must be able to identify their enemies, to discern — despite the verbal barrage put up by the capitalist rulers — the truth about the economic system under which they live; to know their allies, to have confidence in the policy of the Communists and to see the role they play in the struggle on behalf of the

people. The experience of the masses can be compared with a plough turning up soil.

Since, for the reasons mentioned earlier, the Communists give priority to work with the masses, the peace movement is obviously a vital component of this work. First, because the slogan of safeguarding peace, a mass slogan, impels broad social sections — people of varying political and ideological trends — to join the struggle for peace. Second, because the peace movement is not merely the sum of the forces already organized, but a permanent organization with a leadership drawn from the masses. This point is made by a Communist Party member on the basis of French experience: the peace movement, he says, enables the masses "to acquire experience, to draw lessons from it and to set new aims. The masses gain courage in the struggle, acquire the skill and ability to undertake broader actions of growing importance. Learning from experience that success depends on broad unity, they begin to search for the main condition of success — unity from below. Once they see the results they seek to give their struggle a permanent basis, to secure a permanent basis for their unity."* In other words, to create an organization of their own. As a result thousands upon thousands of peace supporters, hitherto dispersed, unorganized or organized in different and at times competing groups, and unable to find ways and means of combining the common desire "to do their bit for peace," become aware of the need for organization. They become aware that organization, as Lenin put it, is the sole weapon available to the masses under capitalism. The peace movement is precisely the organization which the peace effort of the masses has created. It is an association of men and women who *in struggle — and for the sake of joint struggle to defend peace* — are overcoming their political, philosophical and religious differences.

To put it in plain language the object of this struggle is a united effort to solve the burning international issues and to exert joint pressure on the governments so as to impel them to yield to this demand. The might and importance of this struggle consists above all in that at each stage both its form and content are determined by the masses, masses united according to residence, place of work, etc., into peace committees which are neither party blocs as such or groupings of political and religious adherents. The object is to create

*Souquiere A. "Le role du Mouvement de la paix a notre époque." (*Cahiers du communisme*, Paris, Decembre 1959, p. 1225).

a united organization on a broad basis, embracing and impelling into action millions of non-Party people who would otherwise be doomed to passivity, people whose contribution is indispensable in resisting the forces of war. This organization is not restricted to the working class; it draws into the struggle for banishing war — an aim formulated by the proletariat — sections of the population remote from the working class. This organization represents the broadest united front in defense of peace ever known in history. This experience is useful first of all to the Communist parties of the capitalist countries. But it is also valuable to the socialist countries. This is confirmed by Gyula Ortutay who, addressing the Congress of the Hungarian Fatherland Front last May, said: "One of the basic elements in the activity of the Fatherland Front is the propaganda program for peace prepared jointly with the All-Hungarian Peace Council We regard as a big achievement our success in overcoming the indifference and fatalism of the petty-bourgeoisie in town and countryside and also the scepticism of the intellectuals in respect to questions of war and peace and in arousing the interests of the masses in these issues. The meetings held on the occasion of the Fifth Congress of the Hungarian peace supporters and the Tenth Anniversary of the World Peace Movement were attended by large numbers of people. We have been able to rouse to activity sections of the population which before this either participated in political life only in rare instances or took no part in it at all Today the peace movement is one of the mass movements of the Fatherland Front. It awakens to activity people who until now held that politics, international politics in particular, was a matter only for the Great Powers"

The effectiveness of the peace movement is also ensured by its universal character. During the mass campaign organized by the movement the peoples of the world (both of the imperialist and socialist camps, as well as the peoples who, though they have not yet joined the socialist camp, have parted company with imperialism) demonstrate their common desire in a single and clear slogan. In the early period the slogan was embodied in the demand to outlaw nuclear weapons, then, to conclude a peace pact between the powers, and to convene a Summit meeting for an honest discussion of the outstanding world issues. But apart altogether from these worldwide campaigns the unity of views inside the peace movement, manifested on a world scale,

and the fact that it is being joined by growing numbers throughout the world, imparts enormous strength to contacts between the peoples in the great fight for peace and inspires fear in the imperialist governments. The latter can be gauged by the reprisals taken against the peace fighters. The internationalism of the peace movement is a vital factor contributing to the onward march of history.

In this light it is obvious why the Communists do everything to strengthen and extend the movement. In recent years other organizations have appeared, which are promoting the struggle for peace. It should be noted, however, that none of these has the qualities which determine the special place of the World Peace Movement. Some of them are small groupings of prominent personalities or alliances of the "elite" of different political organizations; others, though enjoying considerable mass support, restrict their activity to a particular aspect of the peace struggle (as for instance, the prohibition of nuclear weapons), to a particular country or to a region of the world; others are guided by narrow considerations and, while pursuing narrow class aims, make futile efforts to solve the insoluble: to safeguard peace without the Communists, without the working class or at any rate by restricting their role in this struggle. None of these organizations is universal in character, which is at once a feature of the peace movement and a decisive factor in ensuring its effectiveness.

Does this mean that the other peace organizations should be regarded with indifference or contempt? Not at all. On the contrary, the peace movement has invariably stated its readiness to co-operate with any other movement (even for limited aims) provided the alliance will help to extend the common struggle of the peoples for peace. The World Peace Council reaffirmed this view in Stockholm. "In this struggle the forces of peace throughout the world should support and develop the closest unity and co-operation . . ." However, the peace movement has invariably refused to disappear from the scene or to dissolve itself in any of the foregoing movements. This stand is upheld by its participants—the Communists and all those who see in it an indispensable weapon in the fight for peace. The appeal to all working people and all democrats made in the statement issued by the 17 Communist parties of the European capitalist countries towards the end of 1959 says: "Let us work for the unity of all peace supporters and all peace organizations in a great campaign for disarmament. Let us sup-

port with all our strength the initiatives of the World Peace Movement."

III

The peace movement is useful because through it the peoples of the world—both separately and jointly, in a large variety of forms of struggle, depending on the conditions of each country—are actively engaged in deciding the great issue: "War or peace?"; it is useful because the peoples, by virtue of their joint effort, exert an influence on the solution of outstanding international problems. Which problem are they eager to solve today? Echoing all over the world today is the slogan: general and complete disarmament; this slogan is the answer to the heartfelt desires, hopes and aspirations of every nation. And this is so not only because general and complete disarmament would forever abolish the threat of war, but also because vast financial and technological means and huge economic resources would be released, resources which, under mass pressure, could be used to improve the conditions of the masses; because this measure would put an end to military bases on foreign territories and would help consolidate the national sovereignty of all peoples; it would signify another blow against imperialism which profits from war and the arms drive and in this way would facilitate the struggle for the complete liberation of the peoples who are still dependent. As the peace supporters in the Middle Eastern countries put it, "general and complete disarmament would free our peoples fighting for independence from the armies of the imperialist interventionists who are causing blood to flow in Algeria and Oman." That is why this slogan is hailed in Africa, Europe, Asia and Latin America alike.

The peoples support this demand with all the more resolve because, as was pointed out in the Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet of October 31, 1959, to all Parliaments, disarmament is no longer a utopia: "The Supreme Soviet of the USSR expresses the firm conviction that this objective is quite attainable. Several decades ago, there were not sufficient strength and means for the realization of the idea of general and complete disarmament, but now this idea has become the watchword of vast masses, of entire peoples and nations. Today a large group of countries is working consistently for its realization." The peace movement, too, shares this conviction, and its leadership made the following statement on January 24, 1960: At present the possibility of averting war and getting rid of the

atomic danger is realistic. The task is a difficult one but it can be successfully coped with. . . . Given unity the peace-loving forces in all countries will secure disarmament and achieve our goal of making war impossible.

Disarmament has been the main objective of the peace movement from the day of its inception. What is more, disarmament is the purpose of the movement. In his speeches Frederic Joliot-Curie never tired of repeating: "Disarmament is the definite thing for which public opinion is fighting."* This desire has been expressed in a variety of ways and has been the source of many actions. Here are but a few examples.

In May 1959 the World Peace Council issued its second Stockholm Appeal calling for a Summit meeting, an end to the cold war, a German settlement, and a ban on nuclear weapons, in other words, accomplishment of the aims set by the peace movement in the fight for disarmament. In September of the same year the peace movement in Finland launched a well-prepared campaign to popularize the Appeal. Within three months (it ended on December 6) the following results were registered: one million people took part in the 3,225 rallies which endorsed the Appeal. When we take into account the fact that in some areas the population is highly dispersed, the scope and immense political significance of the campaign stands out all the more.

In March 1960 the Indian Parliamentary Committee for Peace convened a conference for peace and disarmament in Delhi. The Committee was aided by the All-Indian Peace Council. Nearly two hundred Members of Parliament, 80 per cent of whom belong to the Congress Party, issued a declaration calling on "all parties, organizations and individuals in our country, who desire peace and prosperity . . . to unite their efforts with those of the peoples on all continents in an unceasing campaign for peace and total controlled disarmament . . ." The conference initiated a two-week disarmament campaign conducted in May last. The All-Indian Peace Council did everything to ensure the success of the campaign; it held rallies, meetings, talks and demonstrations in all the states.

Both in Latin America and the Arab countries Khrushchov's proposals at the United Nations were welcomed with enthusiasm. The response was such that some of the Latin American governments expressed support for the idea of individual countries and even of

*Joliot-Curie F. *La Paix, le desarmement et la coopération internationale*. Paris, Editions "Défense de la Paix," 1959, p. 65.

groups of countries disarming; this is evidence of the popularity of the idea of disarmament among the peoples fighting for their independence and for better living conditions. The peace movements in the Latin American countries, despite the adverse, underground or semi-underground conditions, are making every effort to draw the masses into active struggle for disarmament. Thus the Argentine Peace Committee has initiated a broad campaign for general disarmament and cuts in military expenditure. Despite reprisals, the Committee has held meetings all over the country and in the various districts of the capital; it has organized talks and lectures in clubs, factories, etc. Moreover, the fact that a U-2 squadron was stationed at the Ezeiza base induced the Argentine Peace Committee to present a petition to Members of Parliament demanding that "the base in question and all the other U.S. bases be closed, that pacts likely to lead to war be denounced, military expenditure cut by at least 30 per cent, and an independent foreign policy of peace directed at discontinuing nuclear tests and securing universal disarmament be pursued."

In Iraq the peace movement also mustered mass support for the struggle for an international détente, disarmament and discontinuation of nuclear tests. The experience of the Iraqi peace fighters shows how wrong were those who believed that in countries like Iraq the call for general and complete disarmament would fail to rally the people. By linking the problem of disarmament with national and local problems arising from the perspective of political and economic development, a perspective which would open up before the Iraqi people in the event of complete disarmament, and by linking the fight for disarmament with the general struggle against imperialism, the peace movement has made considerable headway. The third conference of the Iraqi peace movement placed the question of disarmament on its agenda. Disarmament was one of the slogans of the million-strong demonstration with which the conference ended. In working for disarmament the peace movement employs numerous forms of struggle, including explanatory work at trade union branches, collection of signatures to appeals calling for universal disarmament, resolutions and telegrams to international bodies, mass demonstrations, etc. The experience of the Iraqi peace fighters is useful to all Arab countries.

On June 12 the Italian peace partisans held a big demonstration in Brindisi (Puglia) pro-

testing against the local airfield being used for training NATO pilots and against the construction of rocket-launching sites. Indignation was especially strong because this base had been mentioned as an emergency landing field for the American spy-plane shot down over Soviet territory on May 1. Simultaneously the Italian peace movement and the democratic youth organizations conducted a joint campaign for a shorter conscription term.

Last February in St. Pancras (London) the British Peace Committee held a national conference on disarmament. The Committee named May 15 Disarmament Day, and decided to conduct marches, rallies, meetings, demonstrations on that day and to send a representative delegation to hand its appeal to the Summit meeting. On May 15 thousands of Londoners assembled in Trafalgar Square. The British Peace Committee gave full support to the anti-nuclear march from Aldermaston; this year 40,000 Aldermaston marchers were greeted by 60,000 Londoners on Easter Monday.

People everywhere know such outstanding facts as the struggle inspired by the French peace movement against the "atomic striking force" now being established by the de Gaulle government, against the nuclear tests in the Sahara and in Corsica, against the stationing of West German bases in Cognac and Istres; and the part played by the Japanese Peace Committee in the popular movement which prevented Eisenhower's visit to that country, the country which refused to be an atomic base and has forced the American imperialists to withdraw their U-2 planes from its territory. The list of examples could be continued.

But those quoted clearly show, on the one hand, *the scope of the struggle* inspired by the peace movement and the *variety of forms and means of struggle*, on the other. They show the splendid opportunities opened up by the peace fighters in the mass struggle for disarmament. These opportunities are all the more valuable today when the aggressive acts of the United States—particularly the spy flights over Soviet territory—have alerted the world public to the menace of imperialist military bases on foreign soil; they have brought home to the peoples the methods of aggression, the danger of which has multiplied in view of the stocks of atomic weapons, and they have laid bare the monstrous machine which a provocation or error could set in motion, thereby plunging the world into the holocaust. That is why in the eyes of the public the call for complete disarmament is accepted without reservation.

At the same time the fact that the Western powers torpedoed the Ten-Nations Disarmament Committee shows that the peoples cannot rely on their co-operation in the struggle for the demand: scrap all weapons. The words spoken by Professor Bernal at the session of the World Peace Council proved to be only too true: The governments, he said, which at first openly resisted the idea of disarmament . . . were later forced to agree, at least in words, with the principle of disarmament and, to a certain degree, with the principle of peaceful coexistence. They have only one more thing to do—to turn from words to deeds and to carry through the talks which they started with such reluctance. But, as we see, that which remains to be done can be done only by the masses themselves: they must impose their will on the imperialist governments.

In this respect the peace movement offers every opportunity for the initiative of the masses, and the Communists, marching in the forefront of the fighters for general and complete disarmament, wholeheartedly welcome these opportunities. The recent decisions of the Bureau of the World Peace Council (Stockholm, July 1960) confirm this. The Council has decided to organize a world-wide campaign for disarmament and for strengthening peace, and has announced the aims of the campaign as follows:

1. The convening of a broad conference of all countries on disarmament.
2. Drafting of plans for converting the economy from military to peaceful lines.
3. Prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.
4. Prohibition of flights with nuclear weapons.
5. Strict observance of the norms of international law in respect to flights over foreign territories.
6. Dismantling of all military bases on foreign territory.
7. Cancellation of all military pacts.
8. Discontinuation of all acts of aggression—political, military and economic—which violate national sovereignty and create a threat to the peace.

In this connection the peace movement recalls that support for any struggle for national independence, in defense of national sovereignty and against racialism is one of its permanent tasks.

Clearly what is meant is that general decisions be carried out by the national move-

ments in accordance with the conditions prevailing in their countries, in their particular region and with a view to enlisting the support of all the forces standing for disarmament. In the particular regions and countries there will be, naturally, specific tasks; the reasons for action, too, will be different. Seeking to implement a wide variety of forms of struggle and aware that the call for disarmament is a universal slogan—one that can stimulate the struggle of the peoples all over the world, the World Peace Council adopted a new Stockholm Appeal the political initiative of which is of tremendous importance:

"The peoples of the world, now living under the constant threat of nuclear war, cannot accept the failure of international negotiations. Disarmament is indispensable to save mankind and guarantee peaceful coexistence.

"The peoples must demand disarmament. They have the power to enforce it. The recent successes won by mass action prove it.

"We call for a world conference open to all countries, members and non-members of UNO alike, to secure general and controlled disarmament by successive stages. We consider that, in order to avert the most immediate peril, the first stage should include the banning of the means of delivering nuclear weapons and the closing down of foreign military bases.

"We ask all governments to declare their readiness to take part in such a conference and their determination to produce results.

"We ask all governments to begin now to create favorable conditions for the holding of this conference. To this end, they should avoid any action likely to aggravate the cold war, renounce nuclear tests, and respect the sovereignty and independence of other states.

"We call on everybody to support this demand."

To this end a worldwide referendum should be conducted which will enable hundreds of millions of ordinary people to endorse this Appeal; parliaments, deputies and governments should express their attitude to this document; and prominent personalities could add their own authoritative voice to that of millions of ordinary people.

Millions, hundreds of millions of people will, beyond doubt, endorse the Appeal and this will bring into motion all those who still stand aloof from the fight for peace. It will also help to consolidate the unity of all the peace-loving forces, to exert pressure on governments pursuing an anti-peace policy and, at the same time, support the initiative of

the governments working for peace. This campaign in support of the Appeal will mark an important stage in the struggle for disarmament. We can say with confidence that as

heretofore, the Communists will make every effort to ensure that this campaign for disarmament and consolidation of peace shall end in the triumph of the peace forces.

The Heartland of Imperialism Faces the Future

Gus Hall

THE effects of the world developments in the summer of 1960 will, perhaps, be seen in their entirety only in the future, but the dust has now settled down enough for us to make some assessment of these effects as they appear to us here in the heartland of the imperialist world.

The Monopolies, the State and Military Adventurism

Behind those who caused the Summit wreck and the subsequent aggravation of world tensions are the pro-war monopoly forces of U.S. imperialism.

The growing entrenchment and control of the aggressive, monopoly imperialist elements is a part of and has proceeded hand in hand with the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the United States. This development is slowly changing the very structure of the government set-up. A system of dictation and control is being built and bypasses the traditional constitutional and democratic institutions. Appointed government bodies are being established and they are taking over functions and authority that have until now rested with elected bodies.

Thus we have the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the FBI and a host of other agencies and committees, operating secretly, without control or check. These bodies, whose existence is based on the cold war, are steadily creeping into control of ever greater spheres of government affairs and public life. They are becoming the instruments through which the imperialist forces control and dictate the policies of government. The countless billions of dollars involved in war contracts, tax exemptions, etc., are passed from the budget on to the monopolies through these special governmental bodies.

This process increases the powers of the executive and the omnipotence of the monopolies, creating in the final count the breeding ground for the reckless foreign policy.

During the past few months U.S. imperialism has received a number of major rebuffs and setbacks. From this one must not draw the conclusion that these are signs of imminent collapse. There are powerful elements in Washington's influential quarters who are still guided by the conviction that war to destroy the socialist countries is inevitable, and one should prepare for it already now. As long as these forces are in positions of influence, there will be the danger of provocation.

The wreck of the Summit is in itself evidence of the influence of the aggressive warlike powers. It confirms that they can also cause such other provocations that can provoke world conflict.

The dramatic and rapid unfolding of a series of explosive political, military and diplomatic developments has focussed world attention on the policies of U.S. imperialism, the main source of increase in world tensions.

We need to give closer and a more critical examination to these policies.

"Success" Upon Dead Bodies

The predatory nature of imperialism is universal. But each country develops some of its distinctive characteristics, based on its history and its world position. U.S. imperialism is no exception to this rule.

The exceptional expansion of U.S. imperialism can be attributed to the two world wars. While the two wars were not identical in nature, U.S. imperialism was able to emerge from both in a stronger position. Its growth and "success" rests upon the dead bodies of tens of millions of men, women and children.

While it has continued its drive for world conquest between wars, it is a fact that the most basic and far-reaching redivision of the world in favor of U.S. imperialism took place during and immediately following each of the two world wars.

In the first stages of both world conflicts, taking advantage of their geographical remoteness, the U.S. imperialists studiously stayed away from the battlefields. This was a studied tactic of conquest — of letting each of the warring sides bleed itself white; and then, when they were both sufficiently weakened, entering the conflict under conditions in which both sides would lose and U.S. imperialism would garner the spoils from both victor and vanquished.

In both wars, U.S. imperialism went to the assistance of Great Britain and France. But only the USA came out strengthened. It gathered in new markets and raw materials. At the same time, the USA has not had the experience of wars on its own soil. Its industries and resources have always been safe, far from the fields of battle. This has left its imprint on the specific characteristics of U.S. imperialism.

Thus, although U.S. imperialism has taken part in wars, the main vehicle for its expansion has been the indirect interference, the use of antagonisms on a world scale, and the moving in when a vacuum has been created. This has made it possible for it to appear in a non-imperialist and even anti-war cloak and it should be said this method has given American imperialism cheap and easy loot. There is no other imperialist power that has been able to acquire such riches with such little expenditure whether in money or otherwise.

Today, U.S. imperialism continues to dream of the prospect of a war between West Germany and the Soviet Union; of a war between Japan and People's China; of wars between Cuba and other Latin American countries. Like a vulture it looks for the pitting of two creatures in battle until both are exhausted. It dreams of history repeating itself so it can once more devour the riches of victor and vanquished alike.

An essential feature of U.S. imperialism has been that it has waxed fat and increased its might during the general crisis of capitalism. This accounts for the profound contradictions of its development.

Such are some of the distinctive features in the background of U.S. imperialism. In making a correct assessment of a phenomenon, however, we must not only take into consi-

deration that which is valid from the old, but must add to it that which is new — the factors that have since appeared on the scene and are influencing developments. In this sense, we must add some further elements to our analysis of U.S. imperialism.

Decline of American Leadership

In the past few decades the world has undergone a radical change. The general crisis of capitalism has deepened. There has emerged and is growing the world system of socialist states. The disintegration of the colonial system is nearing completion. The new balance of forces is no longer giving imperialism a favorable nod. All this has had telescopic and deep-going effects on U.S. imperialism. The bungling, the mistakes, the "loss of the golden touch" by the Eisenhower Administration are only the surface manifestations of these effects.

In the first instance, the point is that the strategy and tactics that resulted in victories for U.S. imperialism have become obsolete and ineffective. This has brought on a crisis and a bankruptcy of policy.

Now we have reached a new point in the life of this nation. In a rough way it should be said that the apex of the influence of U.S. imperialism on a world scale has been reached. We are at the initial stages of the declining phase of the influence and power of U.S. imperialism on a world scale. And this is not a temporary thing, this is an historical development that nothing can change.

The United States can, of course, win partial success in a particular sector of the world scene. But it has no perspectives of carrying on its policy of expansion with the same vigor as it did before. It will direct its efforts towards this end, but its hopes for success are no longer realistic.

After the Second World War, the new wave of anti-imperialist struggles was initially directed against the older but greatly weakened imperialist countries such as England, France, etc. Now it has spread. The present upsurge in the struggles for independence, for democracy, is taking place in areas where U.S. imperialism has been the dominant force. Its ability to move has consequently been greatly restricted in vast portions of the world.

For quite a long time the United States' main world competitors were lying in ruins and stagnation with little capital for renewal of machinery and, therefore, at the mercy of the vultures of Wall Street. The already large U.S. corporations not only had the world market for the taking but also the profitable

business of rebuilding such industries on a global basis. This was an exceptional set of circumstances. But now the worm is turning.

Such is the totality of the challenge to the position and policies of U.S. imperialism.

We are not speaking about its imminent collapse. But also we are not discussing something that is just minor and passing. It's the signs of a very severe storm and not just a breeze.

As the immediate post-summit developments have shown, the policy of double-dealing has exploded and the whole system of diplomacy that was based on it cannot be revived. And the outposts of expansion are crumbling. That's what is happening in South Korea, Turkey, Japan, Cuba, etc. All this is evidence of the beginning of the decline of American imperialism.

Life Will Impose a Retreat!

All that has been said above prompts the following question: in the light of the present relationship of forces in the world and in the United States, and giving full weight to the predatory nature of monopoly capitalism, is it possible to force U.S. imperialism to retreat while at the same time preventing it from provoking or precipitating an armed conflict?

This is a fundamental question, because the U.S. is the leading imperialist world power, and so if it is possible to force it back from its high-water mark without world war, then it follows war is not an inevitability.

Or in other words: if it is possible to force U.S. imperialism to retreat, then the policies of coexistence take on greater meaning and significance.

There can be but one answer to the above question: the outlook for a retreat by U.S. imperialism is a realistic one. This, of course, cannot be achieved without mass actions, but this can be achieved without war. Hence it follows that war is, indeed, no longer an inevitability.

Yes, U.S. imperialism will be forced to pull in its tentacles and peace will be preserved — but this *will not happen automatically*, nor will this happen because U.S. imperialism has basically changed its predatory nature.

To view the new possibilities of halting war as a gift of some abstract objective development or as gifts from an imperialism that has changed its nature, would lead to passivity and inaction. On the other hand, to see the new possibilities arising because of the growing power of the socialist world, combined with the struggles of the anti-imperialist and peace movements — this will lead to confi-

dence, to new enthusiasm and renewed activity of the masses.

In this respect the heroic struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism is a good example to study. Who can now deny that U.S. imperialism has been forced to retreat because of this struggle, backed by the anti-imperialist actions the world over? Are not the recent developments in South Korea, Turkey, Cuba and the Congo, all pointing in the same direction?

These developments are not fortuitous, not a transient wave of failures of U.S. imperialism, but the beginning of a series of setbacks that will follow in an endless stream.

And against this background the contradictions between the United States and its NATO allies will continue to grow, above all between the U.S. and Britain, the U.S. and France and then between the U.S. and Federal Germany. For it is perfectly clear that the imperialist allies of the United States will not miss the chance of capitalizing on the predicament of their senior partner.

The United States on its part will, clearly, seek to paralyze the activity of its rivals. This it will essay to bring about, in particular, by trying to enmesh them in fresh military gambles, to galvanize the cold war policies. That is to say, more reckless ventures can be expected from it.

In other words, U.S. imperialism will continue to spell for some time a real danger. This is evidenced at least by the fact that there are forces that call for U.S. intervention against the Cuban people and their newly-won independence.

But at the same time is it not plain enough that the field in which U.S. imperialism can maneuver has largely shrunk and is continuing to shrink? The Cuban example attests to this. In the light of the new relationship of forces in the world — through the power of the Cuban people, the support of other peoples, and the intervention of certain sections of the people of the United States on the side of anti-imperialism — there is a definite possibility of halting U.S. imperialism here as well.

This turn of events has brought American capitalism face to face with many very difficult problems in the domestic as well as in the foreign relations field.

Things at Home Seen in the Light of Things Abroad

U.S. industrial capacity is a bloated capacity geared to a policy of ever-expanding imperialist conquest, exploitation and war. In

conditions of a period in which U.S. imperialism is being successfully challenged by the other capitalist countries who have now recovered from the ravages of the wars and are in a far stronger competitive position, this inflated capacity is giving rise to serious economic and political problems.

A point is now being approached at which in basic industries no more than two-thirds of capacity can be used even during a boom phase of the economic cycle. It used to be in the past that only certain industries were seasonal. Now almost every industry becomes a seasonal industry in the sense of working only certain times of the year. We thus have the growing contradiction between the industrial capacity that is geared to imperialist expansion and the shrunken market resulting in particular from the declining phase of U.S. imperialism in the world and fewer opportunities for successfully pursuing its expansionist policy.

The problems arising from this already existing over-capacity will be further aggravated by the introduction of automated processes of production serving the monopolies as a means of exploiting the workers.

As U.S. imperialism is forced to retreat on the world arena, both economically and politically, it increases its drive to shift this burden on the backs of the working class and the people. The corporations are taking full advantage of this situation and are now engaged in the most savage and brutal campaign of speed-up, of destroying the hard-won health standards and work rules. This has greatly sharpened up class antagonism and has stepped up the mood of struggle against monopoly domination in all sections of the population.

The growth of anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist aspirations has been spurred on in the United States by the U-2 provocation and the wrecking of the summit. The crushing defeat sustained by Washington, the humiliation of America in the eyes of the world, the now obvious falsity of American policy (which has always cried from the house-tops about its being guided by the principles of morality and Christianity!) have forced a painful re-examination of the country's policy by all sections of the population.

This has brought into the open many deep smoldering differences on basic questions, especially those around foreign affairs. The one single outstanding trend in the reactions has been a sharp criticism and a call for a critical re-evaluation of all policies. The demand for discontinuing U.S. military expansion,

scrapping its overseas military bases and bringing the men home, has become particularly widespread.

So life is again giving powerful evidence that what is good for the monopolies is not good for the common people of the United States. There is a growing concern and recognition of this in ever wider circles.

A reflection of this is seen in the discussion now underway, when all are looking for the "lost national goal."

This discussion is a reflection of the growing difficulties that the United States faces today. As somebody has said, we have lost the golden touch that in the past periods in our history no matter what the United States touched turned into gold and now everything we touch turns into whatever you like, but it isn't gold.

The path ahead keeps getting narrower and with each shock wave gets rockier and more difficult to travel. The more sober-minded among the spokesmen of the capitalist class are beginning to see this and, concerned over the situation that has arisen, are attempting to find a way out, and this is another sign of the fact that it is a serious problem.

There is a real rash of studies nowadays in the USA and most of the studies recognize that something has gone wrong. But because their authors dare not dig into the real causes, these studies remain shallow and only skate around the edges. So they turn out to be nothing more than apologies for capitalism and its policies.

The starting point of any serious study, a study that will point a way out of the dilemma, must be the unavoidable truth that the policies and the interests of the monopolies are not in the interest of the great majority of the people of the United States.

The self-interest of the working class, the Negro people, the youth, farmers and the majority of other sections of the population lies in a defeat for the monopoly policies of imperialism and war.

In periods when the imperialist holdings of the capitalist class of one's own country are under increasing attack — in periods when such policies face retreats — the working class and people face a serious test.

The American People Will Have Their Say

The decisive sections of our people are showing a growing understanding of the problems and of their responsibilities. This growing understanding is as yet on a min-

imum level and therefore mixed with weaknesses and serious shortcomings.

Our working class has a glorious tradition and a wealth of experience, mainly in the economic field of struggle. This militancy of the workers forces even the conservative trade union leaders to at least give lip service to and take part in economic struggles. However, this militancy which is a very positive characteristic, has not extended to the political or foreign affairs areas. Because of this, the bureaucratic trade union leaders have been able to continue giving their support to the worst of the cold-war policies. Very often they have spearheaded the anti-communist crusades.

However, what is new is a growing trend in the ranks of the trade union membership and of important elements in leadership towards breaking away from the positions of support to the cold war and imperialist policies. The struggle for peace is breaking through the cold war barrier set up by the reactionary trade union bureaucracy.

The eighteen million Negro Americans have a long history of struggle, and are putting up a brilliant fight for equal rights as citizens of the United States.

However, their level of militancy does not yet extend into the fields of peace, and the aggressive role of U.S. imperialism. So very often militant speeches for equal rights are weakened by their leaders' expressions of support for policies of the U.S. State Department and the use of the big lie — anti-communism.

Who can deny the all-embracing fear of nuclear war that is expressed in the movements and actions against A-bomb testing, etc.? The sentiment for peace, and of pacifism, is at an all-time high in the U.S. There are more actions, meetings, demonstrations and marches around the issues for peace than at any time in our history. Many of these actions are confused with expressions of support for policies that have nothing in common with the struggle for peace, confused by the use of the anti-communist lie.

The understanding of broad circles of our citizens has not yet reached the level where they would conclude that a new party — a party based on the working class — is an absolute necessity before the people of the United States can escape from the two-party prison, although they accept the truth that both the Republican and Democratic parties do not reflect their interests. Still, numerous independent political organizations are rapidly

growing in the country. Though on an elementary level, the rise of these new movements is of great significance. The stagnant, reactionary McCarthy years are over. We are witnessing a rising curve of activity and struggle by our people.

Towards a United Front

An analysis of the situation in the country shows that objective conditions are ripe for the establishment of a *united anti-monopoly front*. But objective conditions alone are not enough.

The growing consciousness of the masses and their active part in the solution of political issues are highly essential. And in this much depends on us.

We must patiently explain that the brunt of the struggle should be directed against one central source of all our troubles. We must be able to show how it is that U.S. capitalism is the root-source of these troubles. And how the large monopolies have taken over and dominate all phenomena in the fields of economics, politics, and the state apparatus.

We must clearly show how the policies of world imperialist enslavement are simply a continuation of the policies of exploitation at home, by the very same culprits — namely, the U.S. monopolists.

We must make it clear to all that the concepts of peaceful coexistence, of disarmament, of cutting taxes and war budgets, of struggling for democracy — are all tied together and dependent on the outlook of a retreat for U.S. monopolies' policies of war.

This understanding is necessary as a foundation to raise these struggles to new levels. But in order to achieve this we must lead the American people, and be able *concretely* to show them that these policies of imperialism are *not to their benefit*; not to their interest.

We can make great pronouncements but they will have very little effect if we fail to take note of feelings of national pride. Let us, for example, take the extremely important question of U.S. overseas bases. We must explain that their withdrawal is to the *national* interest of America as a nation, to *every* class, but above all to the working class. *Without this* we are going to fail.

It would be very effective to have delegations of American peace fighters meet with peace fighters of Japan, of Great Britain, of Norway where these bases are, to show mutual interest and to work out policies of mutual work to do away with these bases. Somehow or other, we have to create the feeling

that for the interest of the American people this dead weight must be cut loose. Let these bases sink and not sink the nation with them.

We have ideas but we don't have the handles. And the reason for that is that we don't have united front relations.

In order to establish the united front the whole energy of our Party should be released. And this means, in particular, that it must be released through the clubs. The latter are now the very center of the Party's work, and we should concretely examine what are the tasks of our clubs in the field of the united front relations. The same is true of shop clubs. We have to examine them in steel and in auto. The fact is that they cannot become the center of the Party's work without that concept. They cannot become growing bodies unless they have such relationships to the masses. They will remain dead, dull forms without it.

Further we have to pursue a policy of coming closer with the left and progressive elements. For some reason we have lost contact with them. And without that we talk tall in the abstract and our policies don't mean much. If you don't influence those closest to you, you can't influence broader sections of the masses.

We have to explode certain wrong concepts that have grown in our Party. Thus, for instance, there is an underestimation of the left non-communist groups in America. There is talk that they are small, they are isolated. But if we look around us seriously that becomes nonsense quickly. For in point of fact these groups are neither small nor isolated. They are quite a force in this country and it's a growing force.

We have movements around the language groups; there are tremendous areas of movement for Negro rights; there are left elements in the unions and in the professional field.

There is a feeling that these forces are in competition with us. This is nonsense. As a matter of fact the masses that follow the left forces tend to travel towards us. In most cases they will not come to us immediately. It is only natural. Very seldom do the masses come directly from politically unconscious strata to us. There are way stations that they travel through and stop over for a while and then move on to us. So we must explode the

idea that these forces are in competition with us.

Also, we cannot demand too much from these forces. We cannot demand, for example, communist standards in their understanding of the role of the Soviet Union, of the role of the Communist Party, USA. This is wrong. Only from Communists can we demand communist understanding and communist standards.

It is necessary to re-examine the left forces very basically as a part of our united front policy. And we will inevitably arrive at the conclusion that the various separate movements and all the anti-imperialist struggles can potentially acquire a monolithic character. And this is an important base for the establishment of an anti-monopoly coalition.

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U.S. imperialism has suffered a number of serious setbacks. These flow from and are the products of the new relationship of world forces. However, in the final analysis, it is the people of the United States who must take the aggressive policies of the imperialists of its own country into the historical woodshed.

The gateway to progress, to peace for the United States is blocked by the policies of a group of greedy monopoly forces, entrenched in the economy, in the political life, in the military and in the government. These policies are in ever sharper contradiction to the interests of the people. As has happened on a world scale — the balance of weight between these forces will tip to the side of the people and against the forces of imperialism and war.

Those who steer America's foreign policy cannot but reckon with the reverberations that their activities produce both on a world scale and in this country. And in this sense the masses of people in our country will, increasingly, influence the foreign policies of the United States.

This is how we must view the present-day developments in the life of our nation. We must see them in the context of the ever-changing balance of the world forces and the forces within the USA, within the perspective of a declining phase in the epoch of capitalism; in the context of the rising phase of the epoch of socialism and communism.

A Big Success for the Anti-Fascist and Democratic Forces in Italy

Luigi Longo

AT the end of June and in the first half of July, Italy was the scene of a powerful wave of popular struggle. It began in Genoa where big demonstrations took place against the convening in this city (awarded the Gold Medal of the Resistance) of a congress of the Italian Social Movement (MSI), a neo-fascist party. Subsequently, this wave rolled onwards all over the country. Expressing their solidarity with the Genoa anti-fascists, the people rose in action against the Tambroni government which, needing the votes of the fascist deputies, granted permission for the congress and actually turned the MSI into one of the ruling parties.

Within a few days the popular movement against the resurgence of fascism and the Tambroni government assumed a bitter character. This compelled the MSI chiefs to suspend the congress. Then, in order to take revenge for its setback in Genoa, the government resorted to provocation and violence. It hurled police forces against peaceful demonstrations. On July 6, a procession of anti-fascists marched to the St. Paul gates in Rome, the scene in 1943 of the first armed clash between the anti-fascists and the German Nazis, the place where the first victims of the Resistance fell. The anti-fascists wanted to lay wreaths at the monument which recalls these heroic events. Their numbers included members of Parliament and prominent personalities in the cultural world. But the police, mounted and motorized, attacked the demonstration and wounded many people. The next day in Reggio Emilia, people marching to a public meeting were attacked by the police with guns and tear gas. Five young anti-fascist workers were killed and many more wounded.

The general political strike of July 8 expressed the wrath of the people against the Tambroni government and its fascist allies. Another four workers were killed during this strike. This took place in Sicily, where a few days earlier the police had shot two workers who participated in a demonstration for economic demands. Another worker was killed by the police in Apulia.

Twelve killed and hundreds wounded in the space of two weeks — this is the evidence of police brutality, on the one hand, and of the courage and militancy of the masses, on the other. The Tambroni government, which was in office for just over two months, claimed to be a government of political truce. Although it tried to conceal from the people that it held power thanks only to the support of the fascists, the government appeared in its true colors. To the anti-fascist sentiment of the people and the workers' demands it replied by violence. The working people, democrats and partisans were subjected to brutal repressions merely because they wanted to avail themselves of their democratic right to express their dissatisfaction with the government. Tambroni hoped that police terror would put an end to the popular resistance. But his calculations went awry.

After the police outrages in Reggio Emilia and Sicily, the people paid homage to the victims and again expressed indignation at the actions of the Tambroni government. This could not be ignored by the Christian Democratic Party whose members held all the ministerial posts. Despite the objections of those who, in the face of growing popular resistance, urged more brutal repressions and even civil war, the Christian Democrats yielded to the pressure of the people, fearing a split in their ranks and more serious consequences. The Christian Democratic Party refused to support the government it had brought into being and came to terms with the Social Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties with a view to forming a new government.

Thus, within two or three weeks of the demonstrations and street battles the popular movement won two very important victories: it prevented the holding of the MSI congress in Genoa and it brought down the dangerous Christian Democratic-fascist bloc headed by Tambroni.

The struggle had a clearly pronounced popular, democratic, anti-fascist character. It was joined by representatives of diverse political trends and organizations rallied round the

local Resistance committees, united bodies which had been formed somewhat earlier in view of the growing fascist danger. Among them were Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats, Radicals, prominent members and groups belonging to the Christian Democratic Party, a large number of non-party people, mainly young workers and students, and also university professors, scientists, cultural and art workers who, conscious of the fascist danger, had decided that it was time for them to do their bit, not to keep aloof from the struggle. The nationwide political strike called by the General Confederation of Labor was supported by workers who had not fought for years even for their own particular demands, as well as by Catholic and Social Democratic trade unionists despite the ban imposed by their leaders. It is worth noting that the chief role in the strike was played by those towns in the North and the South in which anti-communist discrimination and pressure by the employers and police have been most felt in recent years.

But particularly important is the fact that the non-affiliated youth from 17 to 20 — apprentices, workers, shop assistants, waiters and unemployed who appear in the statistics as those "looking for their first job" — took an active part in the struggles. Many of the young people who fought courageously against the police, openly expressed their mistrust of all parties, saying the latter knew nothing about their lives, their suffering and aspirations. These young people expressed a barely restrained discontent with the conditions in which they are forced to live, and an irresistible though vague desire for something new, something decent and fair.

Clearly, this poses before the Communist Party the urgent task of intensifying work among the young people. It is perfectly clear that, notwithstanding all the vagueness of the political sentiment of many of these young people, the ideals of freedom and the struggle against corruption, arbitrary rule and injustice, which spurred on the popular resistance to Italian and German fascism, have penetrated into the minds of the young generation despite the efforts of the rulers to conceal, distort and blacken these ideals. The youth, dissatisfied with their condition, find in these ideals the answer to their striving for moral and social regeneration, for a clear political perspective.

Influenced by the anti-fascist Resistance of the Second World War, there arose a new, so to say, Resistance movement, a movement directed against the immorality of the capi-

talist clerical regime, against the corruption practised by the ruling classes, against the arbitrary rule of the police and the government. The young generation flatly rejects exploitation and social injustice; it is in rebellion against the humiliating position in which it finds itself as a result of the clerical and capitalist rule. During the June-July demonstrations and street battles the old and new Resistance movements merged in a single protest against all the survivals of fascism, police brutality and the intention of the ruling groups to direct Italy along the reactionary path. Both movements are pressing for a policy of civil and social progress, a policy which would open before the people the prospect of peace and work.

Seeking to justify the ruthless suppression of the peaceful demonstrations, the government and police trotted out the old story that these were demonstrations of "Communist activists." Even if we grant for a moment that this were true, how can it justify any arbitrary action in relation to the most numerous and class-conscious part of the working people which in parliament represents nearly one-fourth of the electorate. In point of fact, as we have already noted, anti-fascists and democrats of all political trends took part in the demonstrations and street clashes. They can tell who it is that fans anti-communist hysteria and why. No sooner had they felt the need to exercise their constitutional rights to express their anti-fascist convictions than the government and the police hastened to call them Communists. And as to Communists, well, every means is good against them; they can be clubbed with truncheons and rifle-butts, run over by jeeps and horses or simply struck down by bullets in streets and squares. This lesson, undoubtedly, will give food for thought to those anti-fascists and democrats who have not yet seen through the anti-communist slander and the intimidation.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the mass action this summer — the militancy of the masses and their unity in the struggle.

Previously some people even in the ranks of the working class and the democratic movement tended to speak about the "weariness" of the masses, their "lack of confidence" in the adopted forms of the struggle and in its aims. But experience has dispelled the scepticism. The sudden eruption of popular wrath was caused by the constant humiliation of the citizens by the clerical regime. It was hastened also by such factors as the corruption practised by all the ruling groups and by the need for the innumerable recommenda-

tions on which the jobs and the careers of Italians depend. Furthermore, the working masses, especially the youth, have become increasingly conscious of their rights, they want to live better and to live in freedom.

The events of the summer, therefore, can and should be regarded not as a sudden and transient outbreak, but as the beginning of a broad national movement. They are the proof that an intolerable situation has arisen, that the socio-economic demands are now closely interlaced with the democratic, cultural and moral demands. And the fact that these demands met with the immediate and wide support of the people indicates one thing — the need to satisfy them.

Mass action has again proved to be the decisive force not only for defending the immediate demands of the working people but also for strengthening and safeguarding democracy against those who encroach on it. The protracted stagnation in the political and social life of our country cannot be overcome, as some of the Socialist Party leaders think, by combinations at the top, with the working people patiently and humbly putting up with the arbitrary rule of the government and the employers. The stagnation can be ended only by changing the present relation of forces in industry and in the country as a whole. But for this purpose all the anti-fascists, all the Lefts, including the anti-fascist and popular forces in the Christian Democratic Party, should reject anti-communist intimidation and discrimination and unanimously direct their energies towards achieving the common aim, just as they acted during the recent battles.

In analyzing the events under review, the Central Committee of the Communist Party pointed out that thanks to them "the working people have made a step forward in their conscious striving for unity, and better conditions have appeared for strengthening and extending working-class and people's unity in the struggle for other important democratic tasks. Hence, there is a real possibility of frustrating attempts to undermine the unity of the anti-fascist forces, attempts which, by means of intrigue, promises and top-level combinations, aim at taking one part of these forces into the conservative camp and depriving the other part of faith in itself."

Senator Parri, chairman of the National Resistance Council, has also recognized that a broad political struggle has begun, "which should be led jointly, in keeping with the mutual loyalty agreement." For this reason he stressed that we should continue to take

action, maintaining the new spirit in the struggle, forming and reinforcing the Resistance councils.

The Central Committee, on its part, reached the conclusion that "a struggle is in progress for new aims under the leadership of united anti-fascist bodies irrespective of the attitude taken by each party to the new government."

By developing the anti-fascist movement we can raise the entire democratic and working-class movement to a higher plane. The downfall of the Tambroni government led to the fiasco of the top-level alliance between the Christian Democrats and the fascists. But this alliance still exists in many communal and provincial councils and even in the regional parliament in Sicily. The further development of the anti-fascist movement should lead, therefore, to the break-up of the alliance between the Christian Democrats and the fascists in the localities. Furthermore, the MSI must be outlawed — this is the demand of all democrats; parliament should investigate the action of the police and deprive them of firearms. But first of all we must achieve in deeds, not merely in words, respect for freedom of opinion, for the right to organize and freedom of assembly, plus the repeal of all fascist provisions in the police regulations.

The anti-fascist movement should not be confined to struggle against survivals of the past. It should concentrate also on demands for radical democratic and progressive reforms in socio-economic and in cultural life. The struggle for regeneration and progress should, therefore, be conducted everywhere: at the factories, offices, colleges and universities. Its aim should be new relations between employers and workers, a new orientation in the activity of the authorities and new and revised school curricula. For this reason the democratic upsurge, which was manifested with such force during the recent battles, should be directed towards securing those economic and political reforms the need for which has already matured in the minds of the masses and which could be the guarantee against any danger of fascism, of the ruling groups resorting to an authoritarian regime.

In Italy we can see the tragic contrast between fabulous capitalist profits and one of the lowest wage-levels in Europe. This glaring inequality is rousing the working people, chiefly the youth, to action.

In view of this intolerable situation the masses should be brought into struggle for a radical improvement in their economic and political conditions, against the reactionary

policy of the big employers, who bear the main responsibility for the difficult and tense situation in our country. But here, too, the sole condition for the victory of the policy of balanced growth of the incomes of all classes and of isolating the forces alien to democracy and peace is the co-operation of all the anti-monopoly forces.

Today, more than ever before, the internal situation and problems of home policy are interwoven with the international situation and with international problems. Clearly the impressive struggle waged by the people of Japan against the "security treaty" and the Kishi government was an example and a stimulus in the struggle of the Italian people against the Tambroni government, not only because the latter had chosen fascists as its allies but also because it servilely followed the U.S. aggressive policy, which is fraught with the gravest consequences for Italy. From this we can conclude that, despite the specific features of the conditions and aims in each country, the struggle by the people of Japan and Italy is proof of one thing: in the course of the development of the capitalist and socialist worlds, a development so different both in significance and in character, the masses become increasingly aware of the need for far-reaching socio-economic reforms, and for new relations between the peoples and their governments and between separate countries.

That is why in each country the fight for freedom and democracy is accompanied by the struggle for an international détente and for peace in the world. In this way, the process of easing the tension acquires its true sense as a process of national and international struggle waged by the forces standing for freedom and peace against the forces of reaction and war. Indeed, the reckless attempt of the Tambroni government to declare a state of war between the state and its citizens coincided on a worldwide scale with resumption by the Italian rulers of the policy of Atlantic extremism and glaring sabotage of the opportunities for relaxing the tension, opportunities created by the initiative of the Soviet Union. This explains why the anti-fascist and democratic movement demands that the new government should refrain not only from concluding any alliance with the fascists or from any attempts to instal an authoritarian regime, but should relinquish the policy of cold war and hostility towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; it should close the U.S. atomic and rocket bases on Italian soil, oppose such provocative operations as spy-flights by U.S. aircraft and refuse to grant bases to the West German Bundeswehr. In this sense, the recent anti-fascist action of the Italian people acquires, naturally, an international significance.

Combining Principle and Flexibility

(Forty Years Since the Publication of Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder)

Leon Bohr

LEFTH-WING COMMUNISM, *an Infantile Disorder*, like the other works of Lenin, reflects the atmosphere of the days when it was written. Having broken with opportunism ideologically and organizationally, revolutionary Marxists in many countries were still feeling their way, making left mistakes and falling for illusions. The purpose of the book was to help the newly-formed Communist parties to find the right road and to correct their initial mistakes. It was no accident that the book appeared and was translated in time for the Second Congress (July-August 1920) of the Communist International. The congress delegates spoke later of the impression which Lenin's work made on them and of the influence which it exerted on the Communist parties.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since then. Many events, which excited their contemporaries, have receded into the past, and are now mostly known only to historians. Some of the names mentioned have been completely forgotten. The controversial issues have long been solved by the communist movement, yet even today Lenin's book is read with unflagging interest. (According to incomplete data it has been published in the capitalist countries in 22 languages and has run into 106 editions.) It is, then, one of the most widely circulated Marxist books in the world, and is topical in the full sense of the word.

Originally, Lenin wanted to give a sub-title to his work: "A Popular Exposition of Marxist Strategy and Tactics" and though he aban-

done the idea, it is regarded by all Communists, young as well as old, as an invaluable guide to strategy and tactics, a help in finding the right answers to the questions posed by life.

The book, as its title shows, was directed against the Lefts in the communist movement. But it is easy to see that it deals with the fight on two fronts. Opportunism is "the principal enemy internationally," Lenin wrote, showing that decrepit, moribund capitalism provides fertile soil for opportunist, revisionist elements in the working-class movement. For Lenin the appearance of left trends was a kind of punishment for Right-wing opportunist sins. The dialectics of the development of the working-class movement is such that any weakening of the struggle against opportunism leads to the appearance of "lefts" who can be every bit as dangerous as the Right-wing opportunists. At the same time, underestimation of the danger from the left is grist to the mills of the opportunists who cash in on the dogmatic, sectarian mistakes. Experience continues to confirm Lenin's prevision that a theoretical, abstract recognition of the harmfulness of leftism, this "caricature" of Marxism, "does not at all free revolutionary parties from old mistakes, which always crop up at unexpected moments, in a somewhat new form, in hitherto unknown vestments or surroundings, in a peculiar — more or less peculiar — situation."*

Only struggle on two fronts, coupled with the ability to discern the main danger in the given conditions, can ensure the proper development of a revolutionary party and the successful prosecution of its policy. Lenin's work substantiates the principles on which the policy of the Communist parties is founded, shows how general principles should be applied in the particular situation, how to combine principle with flexibility.

A Principled Attitude Is Incompatible With Dogmatism

A feature of the Marxist-Leninist parties is that in solving any question in any situation they are invariably guided by the ultimate aims of the working-class struggle on a national and worldwide scale. And no matter how remote the possibility of realizing the socialist transformation in one or another country may seem to be, the Communist parties, in defining their practical steps, so direct them that the result brings them closer to their goal. Always to be guided by lofty ideals,

by the vital interests of their class, such is the guiding principle of the Communist parties.

Chapter I in Lenin's book is headed: "In What Sense Can We Speak of the International Significance of the Russian Revolution?" The first socialist revolution gave rise to infinite manifestations of revolutionary action and initiative, to a variety of forms of destroying the old social order and building a new one. Calls such as "Let Us Do What They Have Done in Russia" were heard everywhere. It was most important to pick out from the features engendered by the Russian conditions certain basic features which were not of local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but of international significance. It was important also to show "whatever is of general application, general validity and generally binding force in the history and the present tactics of Bolshevism."*

Of the wealth of experience provided by the October Revolution Lenin singled out two fundamental points: first, the indisputable necessity of the proletarian dictatorship, without which victory over the bourgeoisie and the building of socialism are impossible; and, second, the need for a Party which is united and disciplined, which enjoys the confidence of the masses and is capable of leading them in the struggle for socialism.

That which Marxism-Leninism formerly substantiated on the basis of the laws of social development has now been confirmed by the passage of time. The gulf separating the revolutionary Marxists from the opportunists of all hues, who deny the need for the working-class dictatorship and Party guidance, has become wide. The new experience of some decades has shown that the dictatorship of the working class can appear in a variety of forms. The possibility of the rise of other forms of people's power, different from the Soviets and from people's democracy, has also become clear. But with all the variety of forms, the essence of the state capable of building socialism remains one and the same. And recognition of this fact is the cornerstone of the policy of the Communist parties.

While faithful to the Marxist-Leninist teaching and waging an uncompromising struggle against any retreat from its spirit, the Communist parties are far from regarding revolutionary theory as a kind of universal provider of ready-made answers to all the questions posed by everyday life. In exactly the same way knowledge of the basic laws, which are of a universal character, enables the Parties to utilize everything of value in the ac-

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. Ed., 1952, p. 354.

*Ibid., p. 370.

cumulated experience, but does not guarantee them against making mistakes. A mechanical, imitative and non-critical transfer of experience to other conditions, to a different situation, Lenin pointed out, would be a grave mistake. Imitation has nothing in common with a principled attitude. "The task is to learn to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *peculiar* relations between classes and parties, to the *peculiar features* of the objective development towards communism, which are characteristic of each country and which must be studied, discovered, divined."^{*}

The activities of the Communist parties are a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory, the experience of the international working-class movement to the conditions prevailing in their countries. This enables the Parties to solve complex practical questions and, in this way, to develop and enrich revolutionary theory. Suffice it to recall the significance of the conclusions drawn with regard to the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to the Soviets and people's democracy as forms of the proletarian dictatorship, to the possibility of building socialism in one country, the role of the producer co-operatives after the conquest of power by the working class, the possibility of an alliance of the working class with the national bourgeoisie not only in the liberation struggle but also during the transition to socialism, and to the laws of the transition to communism. These are only a few of the examples which illustrate the creative force of our international teaching which is constantly being developed by the Communist parties.

We know, however, of cases where Communists, motivated by the best intentions, made grave mistakes solely because they operated with cut and dried formulas, presenting this as devotion to principles. Recall, for instance, how the counter-revolutionaries played on the mistakes made in Hungary in the early fifties.

The Hungarian example showed that a really principled policy lies not only in proclaiming fidelity to Marxism but also in the ability skilfully to apply it, without which this policy may become lifeless, capable of doing great harm to the revolutionary struggle.

Lenin made it clear that a policy based on scientific principles necessitates taking into account all the factors and the correlation of all forces, calls for ability to discern the new, that which distinguishes the new period from

the old, and to concentrate on the main thing. Hence, without constant theoretical work the Party always runs the risk of not grasping in time the new phenomena and, consequently, of continuing a policy which yesterday was correct but is not so today.

The changes that have taken place in the world during the postwar years have been so sweeping, and the internal issues in each country have been so linked with world events that the significance of a timely and correct analysis by the Communist parties of the present situation has grown enormously. And it can be proudly said that, as a result of the joint efforts of the Parties, the communist movement has furnished the answers to the main questions posed by postwar developments and is guided by a sound policy corresponding to the new situation. Having assessed the present epoch as the epoch not only of imperialism but also of the rise and steady consolidation of the socialist world, the Moscow Declaration of the Communist and Workers' parties laid the scientific basis for the drawing of practical conclusions on such crucial issues of Party policy as war and peace, and on the development of the socialist revolution.

Theory and practice are indissolubly linked. Theoretical mistakes inevitably lead in practice into a blind alley. The revisionist characterization of modern imperialism as a regenerated system which is almost on the brink of growing into socialism, disarms the masses in the face of the war danger and lulls them. The dogmatic assessment of the present epoch as one in which war is still unavoidable also dooms the masses to passivity: what's the good of doing anything if war is inevitable. Experience shows once again that despite different points of departure, both revisionism and dogmatism in the long run weaken the popular forces capable of combating imperialism. The creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of reality, on the other hand, is the source of firm confidence in the ultimate triumph of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The entire experience of the communist movement shows that a really principled policy calls for assiduous study and generalization of the new in social life and for enriching Marxist-Leninist theory which, as Lenin wrote, "is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement."^{*}

^{*}Ibid., p. 417.

^{*}Ibid., pp. 345-46.

Always with the Masses, All for the Masses

The aims for which the Communist parties work express the vital interests of the masses and can be achieved only by the masses themselves. Work among the masses, therefore, is not a transient task, a tactical device, but the principle of Party activity. This is excellently brought out in Lenin's book.

The contemporary epoch brings many peculiar features into the work of the Communist parties and opens up new opportunities. The development of state-monopoly capitalism has been followed by the intensified exploitation of the working class, by the ruin of larger numbers of peasants and the urban middle sections, by the abolition or restriction of democratic liberties. Even many of the formal freedoms have, in effect, lost their validity. In France, for instance, trade union rights were won scores of years ago when in most industrial centers the workers lived in the vicinity of the enterprises. Unions could function (hold meetings and conferences, collect dues, etc.) taking advantage of this circumstance and, in particular, of the workers' spare time. At present when this is no longer the rule, the unions can work successfully only in the enterprise. The July (1960) meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party pointed to the need to frustrate the design of the employers to retain the trade unions within the framework of the old rights and stressed the importance of gaining the right to conduct trade union work inside the enterprise, to have appropriate premises there, and so on. This applies not only to trade union rights. Many democratic institutions become a mere formality if they are not extended in accordance with the new conditions.

The objective conditions are to hand for building broad class alliances against monopoly domination. This considerably increases the forces which can actively participate in the struggle. Thus Lenin's appeal to the Communists — to go among all sections of the people — is particularly topical today.

The relationship between the issues confronting the masses every day and the major problems of home and foreign policy becomes closer and more natural. The broad movement in Japan against turning the country into a U.S. atomic base, the mass action in Italy against the fascist revival, actions which brought down the governments in the two countries, convincingly showed the direction in which the political experience of the mas-

ses is developing. Questions of war and peace and the fight for democracy are now perceived by millions as vital issues directly affecting their immediate interests. This gives added significance to the everyday political work of the Communist parties which are called to help the masses to assess and enrich their experiences and to inculcate socialist consciousness and organization in their ranks.

The best school for the masses is their participation in action, in the movements for definite aims. The fight for peace, against the designs of the imperialist warmongers calls for the utmost vigilance on the part of the peoples. But vigilance is developed only in struggle, when the mass movement exerts pressure on the ruling parties, when the masses come out against the imperialist policy not in an abstract way but concretely, demanding, say, the dismantling of foreign bases in the country, reduction in the military budget, abrogation of the reactionary military treaties; in other words, it is developed when there is mass solidarity with the peoples working for independence and peace.

The same can be said about the readiness of the masses to fight for democratic reforms. Here, too, mere appeals are not enough; what is needed is everyday organizational and ideological work among the people, drawing them into the struggle for definite aims. The significance of the Appeal of the 17 Communist parties of European capitalist countries is that it provides a clear-cut program of awakening the masses on the basis of their experience, to use Lenin's words, to the need for profound social changes, thus helping them to adopt socialist ideas.

Whatever vital questions the Communist parties tackle they always show the masses the socialist perspective, the objective necessity of socialism, explaining the relationship between the fight for everyday needs and the ideals of socialism. The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium held in April this year criticized the practice of keeping the fight for economic demands in a separate compartment from the fight for socialism, where the word socialism is sort of hushed up for the time being. Participants in the recent discussion in the Swedish Communist press conclusively proved the importance of linking current issues with the basic aims and of showing the future for which the Communists fight.

For Lenin concreteness was an essential condition for effective work among the masses. Concreteness is necessary both at the

crucial period when mass activity grows swiftly and in the usual situation which requires patience, persistence and understanding of the fact that even correct organizational and educational work does not always yield immediate results. The Parties have gained a wealth of experience in this respect. The Communist Party of Finland, for example, exposes the nature of monopoly capital not as an abstract economic category but concretely, exposing its methods and devices, thus facilitating an understanding of the direct link between major policy questions and the conditions of every worker. In preparing for its Twelfth Congress (April 1960) the Party enlisted about 30,000 people in a study of the concentration of capital and the growth of monopoly capital in Finland and of the consequences of this for the working people. In the course of this investigation rich material was collected. This concretized the Party's explanatory work, and since the explanation was combined with organizational activity, with the fight for definite demands (e.g., unemployment insurance and higher wages) the congress could note with satisfaction that some of the Party directives had been adopted by the working people.

This means teaching on the basis of experience, i.e., starting from that which is close to the masses, which worries them, and which enables the Communist parties to explain complex social phenomena and popularize their slogans and general tasks in such a way that practical steps suggest themselves.

In postwar years the masses have become much better organized. The membership of the trade unions has risen from 70 million in 1945 to 170 million in 1960. Powerful peasant movements have appeared in a number of countries, and so have many youth, women's and cultural organizations. There are objective conditions for rallying these organizations in the fight for economic demands and democratic liberties, for safeguarding peace, achieving disarmament and abolishing colonialism.

In conducting this work the Communists do not pursue any mythical, narrow Party aims; they act on behalf of the masses. The Communists do not make any inroads on the independence of the public organizations. On the contrary, they believe that each will play its role fruitfully only when it properly fulfils its tasks, when its internal life is based on genuinely democratic principles. It cannot be overlooked at the same time that even in some of the highly developed capitalist countries, the greater part of the workers remains outside the trade union movement, and it is

important to find ways and means of approaching these workers. In some of the big enterprises in France about 80 per cent of the workers vote for the General Confederation of Labor, while only 20 per cent of them belong to this trade union organization. In Chile, where the trade union movement has made considerable headway, over half the urban workers are unorganized; more than 98 per cent of the farm laborers and peasants renting land on extortionate terms are, likewise, unorganized.

Lenin counselled us not to fear the difficulties, the pinpricks, the chicanery, insults and persecution, but to work wherever the masses are to be found, to win their support. He stressed the importance of being able to see the masses as they are. The most dangerous mistakes for the revolutionaries are wishful thinking, belief that that which is clear to the Party is clear to the masses, "disappointment" with the masses for their backwardness, for not rallying at once round the Party slogans. Mistakes of this kind give rise to the desire to substitute the action of the Party and its activists for mass action. Hence the justifying of failure by invoking the backwardness of the working people, and displaying lack of patience at a time when there is need to build firm unity with the Socialist, Catholic and other workers. All this is a manifestation of sectarianism which prevents the Communists from extending their influence among the people.

The consistent struggle waged by many Communist parties against sectarianism in their ranks has consolidated their contact with the masses. But the difficulties may at times engender the desire to avoid working among the masses, to work only in the Party. For this reason even those parties which have been quite successful in combating dogmatism and sectarianism still continue this struggle. The recent congresses of the French, Italian and other Communist parties stressed the need for combating sectarianism more resolutely, while not relaxing the struggle against revisionism. The June (1960) meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece pointed out that there were Communists, especially among the youth, who were loyal Party members but who did not join trade unions and other mass organizations. The meeting urged all Communists to become active members in mass organizations of workers, handicraftsmen, peasants, women and the youth, to infuse vigor into all the committees to which they are elected. It was stressed also that though this work is

not easy, because of the political repressions and the discrimination by reactionary leaders; the vacillations of individual members in the face of the difficulties should be overcome.

Passivity, lack of initiative, talking instead of acting, and the inability to establish contact — these are the things that feed sectarianism and weaken the Party as the leading force. That is why, following the ideas set forth in Lenin's work, the Communist parties tirelessly combat sectarianism and dogmatism.

The Variety of Forms of the Struggle

Basing their activity on close contact with the masses, the Communist parties think least of all of dictating to them a particular form of struggle. Such forms cannot be devised in an armchair, they are born in action, and their character is determined by the degree of consciousness of the masses, by the economic and political situation. The Party can foresee the appearance of one or another form of struggle, and only in general outline.

At present, when the rallying of the vast majority of the people around the working class is of decisive significance, the democratic institutions of the capitalist countries, chiefly the local, regional and national elected bodies, for the extension of whose rights the Communists are fighting, can play a big part.

Lenin put it thus: "The Communists in Western Europe and America must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism."^{*} He linked this parliamentarism with the everyday struggle of the masses; the Communists, he said, should issue their slogans, work among all sections of the people, not strive just for seats in parliament but to rouse the masses and draw them into the struggle. "It is very difficult to do this in Western Europe and America, very, very difficult; but it can and must be done . . ."^{**}

The communist movement offers many examples of combining parliamentarism with mass action. Thanks to this combination the Italian Communist Party, for instance, succeeded in getting laws passed which benefited the working people. It sometimes happened that after defeating a bill submitted by the Communists, the Christian Democratic Party was later compelled, under pressure from the masses, to introduce an almost identical bill, claiming it, naturally, as its own. Even in Sweden where the Communists are few in

Parliament, their stand greatly influenced the adoption of the pension law.

But with all the successes the Communists might gain through parliament one should not get the impression that far-reaching social reforms can be effected merely by voting. From being an instrument of bourgeois rule parliament can be turned into a means of socialist reconstruction provided the parliamentary struggle is supported by a powerful mass movement united around the working class and capable of paralyzing the monopoly-dominated apparatus of coercion.

The numerous committees in defense of the economy or of civil liberties in the Latin American countries, the national and local committees of joint struggle against the "Security Treaty" in Japan, now turning from provisional bodies into the basis for a united front, and the dozens of defensive and offensive actions testify to the diversity of the forms of the struggle. In France, after de Gaulle's statement to the effect that to restore the social insurance benefits cut by the government a new referendum is needed, hundreds of thousands of people moved into action. Work stoppages were followed by handing in petitions; women's organizations also joined the movement; press conferences were held and street committees set up, public meetings were held, and the nationwide demonstration was preceded by the struggle in the Departments. The government had to retreat.

Peaceful forms of struggle have great advantages. But the choice of the form depends on the objective conditions and not only on the working class and the democratic forces supporting it; it depends also on the monopolies, which can be powerful enough to resort to open violence.

When anti-fascist demonstrations began last July in Italy the government's attitude could easily have provoked a civil war. But this did not happen because the democratic forces proved capable of frustrating this design.

Like the other forms of struggle, the peaceful form is not universal. The situation in a country with long parliamentary traditions is different from that in a country with a dictatorship which tramples all democratic liberties. In the conditions that prevailed in Cuba the overthrow of the odious tyranny of the U.S. henchman, the winning of national independence and free social development could be achieved only by armed force. Marxism-Leninism regards wars of liberation as just wars, and, likewise, the armed struggle of the

^{*}Ibid., p. 427.

^{**}Ibid., p. 428.

peoples against their oppressors. But this does not mean that it regards violent methods as the only way of solving social problems.

The question of choice of the form of struggle cannot be treated abstractly. Whether a guerilla war should be started depends on where, when, and under what conditions. What tasks can be solved by a general political strike and what opportunities are afforded by an effective action in parliament? A host of problems crop up before each Communist Party, and there are no ready-made answers for them.

In criticizing the sectarians Lenin showed that they perceived Marxism dogmatically and did not understand its revolutionary dialectics which calls for flexibility in choosing the forms and the methods of political action. The dogmatism of the sectarians is particularly manifest in the question of compromises, which are also a form of the class struggle. Marxism, as is known, far from ruling out compromises on the part of the working-class parties, considers them necessary in the struggle for the final aims and for winning allies. The main thing here is to distinguish a compromise made on a principled basis from an unprincipled compromise leading to renunciation of the aims of the struggle, i.e., to treachery. Lenin proved that "left," "radical" phraseology, and a policy which does not recognize compromises are explained not by faith in the revolutionary forces but by lack of faith in them. Only he who is not sure of his strength fears compromises. The Trotskyites in Russia, who accused the Party of making concessions to the peasants, did not believe in the ability of the working class to surmount the numerous difficulties in the way of building socialism in one country. And the latter-day Trotskyites, for instance, those in Japan, who reproach the others with having consigned the world revolution to oblivion and who conceive this revolution as the unleashing of war, are gamblers divorced from the genuinely revolutionary forces and incapable of understanding their strength. The present-day Lefts argue that the war danger is underestimated, that an armed conflict is inevitable and that any agreement with the imperialists is impermissible. They say this not because they disregard the new weapons and inevitable losses. No. Their attitude can be explained only by lack of faith in the ability of the forces of peace and socialism to curb the aggressor, by failure to understand the significance of flexibility in policy.

The fight for peace, democracy and socialism is a complex process. Many difficulties

will be encountered on this path, and successes may alternate with setbacks. The difficulties may give rise to disappointment among some people. There will always be those who will gloat over the wrecking of one or another agreement, conference or negotiations and who will read into this confirmation of their view that the imperialists cannot be dealt with. We shall reply to these people by quoting Lenin's words: "Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, go to extremes, commit follies . . . Communists should know that the future in any case belongs to them; therefore, we can (and must) combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober estimation of the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie."*

"Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder helps the Marxist-Leninist parties work out a policy which confounds the imperialists, which exposes them before the world, frustrates their designs and deprives them of arguments. A condition for the success of such a policy, according to Lenin, is the utilization of the contradictions within the ruling groups, of the conflicting interests among the imperialists of different countries. It is easy to say that the ruling circles everywhere are tarred with the same brush, that it is impossible to find sober-minded people among them.

The differences between various groups of the ruling bourgeoisie, wrote Lenin, are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure, i.e., abstract communism, i.e., communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical, mass, political action. But from the standpoint of the practical action of the masses, these differences are exceedingly important.

Leninist policy regards as absolutely imperative the thorough and skilful utilization of every, even the smallest, "rift" among the enemies. The point is that one should be able to see this "rift" in time, flexibly to utilize every opportunity, while remaining faithful to the underlying principles. One should have a head on his shoulders, said Lenin, in order to be able to steer the right course in each instance. The principled stand and the flexible foreign policy pursued by the Communist parties of the socialist countries, the brilliant examples of flexibility shown by Communist parties of France, Italy, Finland, Japan and other countries show how Lenin's teaching on the flexibility of the forms and methods of struggle have been mastered by the Communist parties.

*Ibid., p. 431.

In his book Lenin warned against the danger of regarding one or another form as something fixed and absolute, and criticized those who are incapable of seeing the new objective conditions and who continue to repeat the simple, learned and, at first glance, indubitable truth that three is greater than two. We must learn, he said, from the "complexity" of life, from the invaluable experience accumulated by the masses in their struggle and we should be aware of "two very important practical conclusions: first, in order to fulfil its tasks the revolutionary class must be able to make use of *all* forms or aspects, without exception, of social activity . . . ; second, the revolutionary class must always be ready for a quick and sudden change from one form to another."*

Lenin theoretically substantiated and illustrated with numerous examples that such feat-

*Ibid., pp. 424-25.

ures of Party policy as principledness and flexibility should always be combined. History knows of people whose intentions were of the very best, but, being unable to apply their principles, remained misunderstood doctrinaires. It also knows of people who forswore flexibility for an unprincipled attitude, who were ready to forget the ultimate goal for the sake of transient interests; such is the nature of the opportunists and latter-day revisionists. Marxism-Leninism tolerates neither a wooden, single-track mind nor unprincipled flexibility. It calls for combining principledness with flexibility, a combination which guarantees one from both doctrinairism and revisionism. The Communist parties have learned much during these forty years. But in politics there is never a moment when it can be said: "Stop — the study is completed." Life poses new tasks, and the process of perfecting oneself in theory and in the art of Party policy is a continuing process.

The Aggressive Triangle

Enrique Lister

NEW facts throwing light on the close ties between Franco Spain and the USA on the one hand, and between Spain and Federal Germany on the other, give increasing grounds for public concern. Especially great uneasiness is felt over the West German military bases to be stationed on Spanish soil, because they are in a way reminiscent of the 1936-1939 events.

The peoples have not forgotten the part played by the "Spanish proving-ground" in Hitler's and Mussolini's preparations for the Second World War.

It is noteworthy that military bases are made available to West Germany with the full agreement of the United States, because this fits in with the latter's aggressive plans in Europe.

It is known that after the events of last May the USA became greatly concerned about the behavior of its allies — Britain and France — which are losing no time in taking advantage of the crisis of U.S. policy and snatching something for themselves. In these circumstances the American imperialists are

anxious to strengthen their ties with those who are most "loyal" to them — Adenauer and Franco.

The peoples of Europe are right in thinking that the establishment of the aggressive triangle Washington-Bonn-Madrid is helping to revive German militarism and increasing the danger of war.

The Pentagon's Plans in Spain

The Pentagon's postwar plans in respect to Spain were aimed in the main at converting it into a U.S. air and naval base and at establishing Nato munitions depots there, at utilizing Spain's strategic position for the purpose of rapidly transferring to Africa or Europe armed forces disembarked on Spanish territory or quartered on it; and at transferring Nato's armed forces stationed in Africa through Spain to Europe.

In 1944 the United States secured the right to use *all Spanish airfields*. And ever since 1946, on U.S. orders, the Francoists have been building new air and naval bases on a large scale, and extending existing ones.

A U.S.-Franco treaty signed in 1953 took the form of three agreements: on "economic aid," "defense" and "aid in mutual defense." The editor-in-chief of the *Engineering News Record* Bowman wrote that, as far as the United States was concerned, it had for an appreciable sum acquired military bases considered absolutely essential. Spain, he added, would receive an amount just as essential to her, in exchange for offering herself as a military objective for America's enemies.

By signing these agreements the Francoists permitted the installation of U.S. atomic bases, radar stations and supply depots in Spain.

The plans for the building of air and naval bases have been considerably exceeded and there is good reason to believe that rocket launching sites are under construction.

According to reports to hand launching sites are being set up near Cartagena and in the vicinity of Elizondo (Navarra Province); there are plans to build similar sites on Minorca (Balearic Islands) and on the Lanzarote and Fuerteventura Islands (Canary Islands) which, it is rumored, will, in exchange for dollars, be leased to the Americans for 90 years.

The installation of U.S. bases in Spain has been bound up with the re-organization of Franco's army under American supervision. The shortage of "human material" is Nato's Achilles heel, and the Pentagon is banking on Franco's army to make up for this deficiency.

For instance, the Pentagon intends, at an opportune moment, to use Franco's army against the democratic forces of other countries, first and foremost those of France. The resurgence of a revanchist army in West Germany constitutes a grave danger to the French people, the peoples of Europe generally, and world peace.

To this is added another danger: the fact that the United States is equipping the Franco armed forces with modern weapons. Imperialism's military theoreticians often say, though with manifest exaggeration, that these forces will play just as important a part as the West German in the "strategic pincers" intended to break down the resistance of certain "intractable" peoples.

Led by diehard fascists, the Spanish army, in keeping with the Pentagon plans, will, when the time comes, take action against the French people, or other people, as a preliminary condition for the unleashing of a third world war. The punitive forces, stationed in "permanent camps" near strategic railways leading to the French frontier, will be in a

position to cross the border immediately and commence operations in France. There are many of these "permanent camps" in the area of the Pyrenees and the Strait of Gibraltar, where they are located in conformity with the plans for operations in North Africa. A number are to be found in the vicinity of the air and naval bases on the North Atlantic coast of Spain (Galicia) and Spanish Levant (Mediterranean).

Francoist propaganda, directed from Washington, has for many years been working hard to brainwash the Spanish people and to create a "climate" which would not favor outbursts of indignation by the Spanish people in the event of aggression against the French people.

In recent months the diplomats in Washington and Madrid have been especially active in their effort to involve Spain even more in the U.S. aggressive plans by formally admitting it to Nato. Last year Franco was admitted to the OEEC. The papers pointed out at the time that this was the prelude to his being admitted to the Atlantic alliance. Last March when Spanish Foreign Minister Castiella visited Washington the question of Franco's admission to Nato was given official consideration. According to the press the final act of admission is a matter of only a few months.

For his part Franco is quite willing to collaborate in the war preparations on an unequal footing with the USA. He sees this collaboration and the cold war policy as the only means for preserving his tottering regime.

Bonn-Madrid Axis

After the defeat of Nazi Germany and the routing of the Hitler army, a large number of Nazi war-criminals, S.S. officers, prominent financiers, diplomats and former Gestapo men found asylum in Spain. Franco's government did not hesitate in granting them Spanish citizenship.

The Spanish military and the ex-Nazi officers had been collaborating long before the imperialist powers began to rearm West Germany. This collaboration was facilitated by the fact that high-ranking Spanish officers who led the "Blue Division" against the USSR as part of Hitler's army, now occupy important posts in the Spanish army, as well as by the fact that the German officers of the "Condor Legion" (which fought on the side of Franco against the Spanish people in the Civil War of 1936-39) are in high places in the West German army. Soon after the Second World War the veterans of the "Condor

Legion" and the "Blue Division" began to exchange visits.

The Bonn Defense Ministry has a special commission which deals with co-operation with the Spanish army. It was this commission that drew up the plans for stationing the Bundeswehr bases on our territory.

For his part Franco sent a special emissary to Bonn in the summer of 1957. And during von Brentano's visit to Madrid in April 1958 detailed talks took place regarding the plan for establishing Bundeswehr bases in Spain. In November 1959, when Castiella visited West Germany, he declared that the Spanish government would welcome West German airfields and supply bases on Spanish territory, as well as proving grounds for artillery and for testing new types of tanks, and anti-tank and other weapons. He let it be known that the presence of a large contingent of West German soldiers on Spanish territory would have a "beneficial influence" on the situation in the country.

News of the negotiations between the Bonn and Franco governments aroused deep concern among the public in Europe and particularly in France. For the French people realize that the establishment of close military collaboration between the Federal Republic and Spain will mean that German troops would be stationed not only on the Eastern, but also on the Southern frontiers of France.

It is realized in Britain, too, that in the present circumstances the orientation of the Bonn-Madrid axis would not only be anti-Soviet, but also anti-British. The British Government has publicly declared that it does not approve of Bonn's actions.

Despite these objections the first official West German military delegation was sent to Madrid last February.

The West German imperialists intend to put the new military and political alliance on a sound economic basis. Thus Bonn is allocating \$50 million to finance the "plan for stabilizing" the Spanish economy. West Germany has also granted Spain a credit for DM 90 million.

Krupp has signed a contract to build a steel mill in Bilbao at the site of the Harnos de Vizcaya works. He intends also to participate in building a ballistic missiles plant near Bilbao. The Degussa Company has obtained a concession to extract uranium ore, build a plant for processing this strategic material, and conduct atomic research. Thus facilities for the manufacture of atomic weapons are being established in Spain.

Many German military experts and weapon designers have lived in Spain since 1945. They are engaged in the development of new types of weapons for the Franco army. The Nazi aircraft designer Messerschmitt, now working at Hispano-Aviacion S.A. de Sevilla, has designed several new models and has been decorated by Franco with Spain's highest aviation award. In 1945 the aircraft designer Dornier founded Oficinas Tecnicas Dornier in Madrid, and in fulfilment of orders placed by the Spanish government has designed several types of military aircraft.

It is clear that the West German revanchists are finding Nato too confining, and are seeking to establish springboards for possible expansion, and military bases outside Nato. It goes without saying that the Bonn-Madrid plot against peace has the backing of the Pentagon as well as of the most reactionary militarists in the West, and all of them are doing their utmost to keep the cold war going and to wreck any agreement based on peaceful coexistence.

To carry out their aggressive plans against the German Democratic Republic, and in pursuit of their territorial claims on other countries, the Bonn revanchists are again seeking to establish in Spain a base from which they can operate. The Iberian Peninsula can be brought within the orbit of German militarism in a number of ways: in the Hitler manner, by unleashing a civil war, as Hitler did in 1936 when he later placed his stooges in power; by open war — tactics Hitler used against the countries of Western Europe; or by "peaceful" infiltration. It is in this way that the West German revenge-seekers intend to act. They hope that the "peaceful" occupation of Spain will enable them to suppress the Spanish people's struggle against the Franco regime and to use Spain as a base for an attack against the East, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries. But their plans go still further and the non-socialist countries of Western Europe may well become the victims of aggression.

The surrender of its positions in the Mediterranean, initially to the United States and now to the Bonn militarists, constitutes an important link in the chain by which Francoism intends to bind Spain to the warmongers, and is an obvious and direct threat to the peace and security of the peoples. The fact that the Atlantic coast of Southern Spain has been turned into a base for U.S. and West German warships means that Spanish territory will be used to station the military forces of the United States and their Bonn accomplices and

utilized as an outpost from which to achieve domination over the African Continent, first and foremost North Africa.

The U.S. imperialists and the Bonn revanchists have "inherited" not only the Nazi property in Spain, but also the Nazi appetite for world domination and the Nazi plans to satisfy this appetite at the expense of the imperialist rivals, the British and the French.

Subsequent developments have proved that Hitler supported the Franco revolt *mainly* because he intended to utilize Spain's military potential and the country's strategic position to promote his own plans. Because of the military defeat of Hitler in the war against the USSR, and also because of the active resistance to fascism put up by the Spanish people who have a great love for the Soviet Union, Germany failed to carry out its plans during the last war. But the latest schemes of the West-German militarists are based on conceptions similar to those underlying Hitler's plans.

That the history of 1939 is in a way being repeated is due to the fact that the Franco regime continues to exist in Spain, while the monopolists who nurtured Hitler and the Nazi regime are in power in West Germany.

The political relations between the Adenauer and Franco regimes are only an expression of the monopoly interests which in the past let loose the Second World War and are now preparing for revenge.

Developments have shown that the U.S. imperialists and the U.S. generals are prepared to resort to any means for the purpose of wrecking East-West negotiations. It is therefore possible that the American ruling circles will use the Bonn-Madrid axis with a view to heightening international tension and accelerating the implementation of their aggressive plans, and to bringing pressure to bear on their Nato partners — France and Britain.

The Spanish People Are Against the Imperialist Plans

The Franco press is forever ludicrously exalting the illusory "undying military valor and anti-Communist sentiments of the Spaniard," the "Spanish race" and so on. It is trying to represent the "Spanish human material" as the "cheapest" and politically most "loyal in Europe, comparable only with the West Germans."

"Only two countries in Europe, Spain and West Germany," vociferate the Francoist militarists, "are worthy of being armed by the United States."

But it is the people who form the backbone of an army, and its rear. And the Spanish people, and particularly the working class and the peasantry, are the irreconcilable enemies of Francoism. The Franco army has no support in the country. It has not, nor can it ever have, a reliable rear.

The Spanish finance oligarchy, in imitation of the USA, have built up their own military caste, "a special type of military profiteer" — practically nonexistent in Spain before Francoism. They are generals who go in for shady deals with the monopolies and pocket millions by exploiting the nation's riches and the labor of the people. These profiteer-generals, who are paid fat salaries and receive a tidy share of the profits, act as presidents, vice-presidents, and board members of various companies and corporations.

This kind of conduct on the part of the high-ranking military testifies to the rot that has set in in the army. The fighting efficiency of such an army cannot be high. The political aims for which an army fights exert a decisive influence on building up its morale. And the aims Franco has put before his army are incompatible with ethics of any kind.

Not only does this make for the weakness of the army and the unreliability of the rear. The fact that American military bases have been located on Spanish territory has sharpened the anti-American sentiments of Spanish people from all walks of life, and of different political views. And these sentiments are evoking response among the military. The Spaniards are becoming increasingly aware that the U.S. bases have not benefited their country in any way, but, on the contrary, present a constant threat to its security.

Many Spaniards became particularly alarmed for their security when they heard of the U-2 spy flight and the Soviet Union's warning that it would take retaliatory measures against bases used for intrusions into Soviet air space.

"Millions of Spaniards from all social strata," says a statement issued by the Communist Party of Spain, "have come to understand that a spy-plane may at any moment take off from a base near a big Spanish town and attempt an intrusion into Soviet air space. The Soviet Government has unequivocally declared that in the event of any further violations of Soviet air space by an aircraft which may be carrying atomic or hydrogen weapons it will strike a retaliatory blow at the base from which it took off. In view of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, Madrid, Zaragoza, Seville or Cadiz may at any moment be des-

troyed as a consequence of the decisions taken by the Pentagon generals.

"Such a danger confronts Spain. And indeed, whereas, on hearing of the U-2 overflight, the governments of certain other countries in which there are American bases promptly protested to Washington and demanded that the flights should be discontinued, the Spanish government, in the person of General Franco, unreservedly supported American imperialism's adventure. In point of fact this is tantamount to an offer to the Pentagon to use Spanish bases for provocation against the Soviet Union."

The Franco regime's huge military budget has aggravated the economic backwardness and the poverty of the people, and has put more money into the coffers of the Spanish oligarchy and the U.S. monopolies. It is becoming clear to the Spanish people that the preparations for war and the shackling alliance with the USA are the chief causes of the country's economic decline.

The anti-American sentiments of the Spanish people have often found expression in protests and even in attacks on American soldiers. These sentiments are gaining ground, and the U.S. servicemen in Spain have been compelled to refrain from wearing uniforms in public.

Because the Spanish people are not behind the Franco regime, it must have the backing of a foreign boss. Francoism's stake lies in war, so that when an international thaw sets in the Francoists, brandishing the black banner of war, mortgage and re-mortgage the national sovereignty — the granting of bases to the Bundeswehr is a case in point.

But the Franco regime is doomed and nothing can save it. In his report to the Sixth

Congress of our Party Comrade Santiago Carrillo said: "Now Franco . . . is begging Adenauer for help, and to receive it he stops neither at humiliation nor at making ever greater concessions . . . Franco's foreign policy serves all that is hopeless, perishing and doomed by history."

No matter how the American militarists or the Bonn revanchists throw their weight about in the country, the Spanish people cannot be prevented from opposing the setting up of foreign bases on their territory or from fighting for the re-establishment of their sovereignty. They have no desire to see their country being turned into a springboard for aggression.

The only policy in keeping with the interests of the Spanish people is the consistent and unswerving peace policy pursued by the USSR. The Soviet proposals for disarmament and universal peace envisage, already in the initial stage, the destruction of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons and the dismantling of all military bases on foreign territory. In these proposals the broad masses of the Spanish people see a real possibility for securing the withdrawal of the American troops and the closing of the military bases on their territory.

More and more is the idea gripping the Spanish people that the only way of achieving peace in their country is by overthrowing the Franco regime and replacing it by a democratic system based on the free expression of popular will and the formation of a government which would defend peace. Such a solution would rid Spain of the colonial enslavement imposed by the imperialists. And it accords with the interests of peaceful coexistence, of European security and world peace.

International Developments

Summer 1960

Yu. Zhilin, V. Zagladin

THE present period can be called a revolutionary period, and rightly so. Considerable masses of people are now in motion sharply changing the political landscape of the world and doing so not merely in the lifetime of a single generation, but in a single season. Local changes rapidly acquire an international importance and diplomatic actions

are closely interwoven with profound social developments.

Let us recall some of the events of the past four months, events which attracted the attention of the whole world.

May. At Sverdlovsk a Soviet rocket crew shot down an American spy-plane. In Paris the U.S. President torpedoed the Summit

meeting. A military coup d'état took place in Turkey, the pro-American regime was overthrown, and the President and the members of the Cabinet were taken into custody. Unlike his Turkish colleagues Syngman Rhee, the American puppet in South Korea, was "luckier": he made his escape from the enraged public in an aircraft kindly placed at his disposal by his overlords.

June. The U.S. President made what has been described as a tour of disgrace round the capitals of America's allies in Asia. The people of Japan closed their doors to him. Never before, wrote the London *Daily Mirror* on June 18, has a world statesman been treated with such caustic contempt.

The Western powers torpedoed the proceedings of the Ten-Power Disarmament Committee.

July. Another American spy-plane was shot down over Soviet territorial waters. The cordial welcome extended to Khrushchov in neutral Austria was in striking contrast to that accorded the U.S. President during his tour. The onward march of the revolution in Cuba was a blow at the foundations of pan-Americanism. The independent Republic of the Congo bravely accepted the challenge of the colonialists and in its fight for freedom stirred the entire African continent. The firm attitude of the Soviet Government which displayed its readiness to support the peoples of Cuba and the Congo with all means available produced a stunning effect; it made plain for all to see that the days when the imperialists could get away with colonial plunder had gone forever . . . Nor was Europe immune to political upheavals — a powerful wave of anti-fascist indignation resulted in the downfall of the Tambroni government.

August. Event followed event. The whole of Africa rose against the colonialist intervention in the Congo. The peoples of Latin America voiced their solidarity with revolutionary Cuba: "Cuba Si, Yankee No!" The American puppets in Laos were overthrown . . .

Public attention everywhere turned rapidly from one point of the globe to another: from South Korea to Paris, from Paris to Turkey, from Turkey to Japan, from Japan to Cuba, from Cuba to the Congo and from the Congo to Laos . . . The firemen expert in extinguishing the flames of social upheavals were at a loss what to do as they observed the spectacle from their Washington fire tower.

On the whole the events of this period had two distinct features: As in a chain reaction they were worldwide, not being confined for any length of time to any one particular point on our planet; they gained momentum at a terrific rate. From the standpoint of international relations the period in question could be called the "revolutionary summer" of 1960 . . .

Coexistence: Peace or Truce?

In our opening sentence we referred to the shooting down of the American spy-plane at Sverdlovsk not simply because this event was chronologically the first, but rather because the trajectory of flight of the U-2 — from the airfield in Peshawar to the unexpected destination in Moscow's Park of Culture and Rest where it was on display — deeply affected the relations between the two camps. And these relations are the pivot of international life today.

The immediate political consequences of the American spy-flights and the torpedoing of the Summit meeting by the U.S. were discussed at considerable length in the world press. Most of the commentators reached the conclusion that these developments were exceedingly detrimental to an international détente. While practically all were in agreement with this assessment of the situation, the far-reaching conclusions drawn from it became the subject of heated discussions.

The point at issue can be defined as follows: do these developments signify that all hope for a softening of the international climate should be abandoned? What are the perspectives for the development of relations between the opposing world systems, the perspectives for peaceful coexistence?

Immediately after the failure of the Paris meeting the political and ideological advocates of aggressive imperialism tried to convince the bewildered man in the street that there was no longer any hope for a relaxation. They attacked the very idea of peaceful coexistence.

When leaving Paris shortly before the Summit meeting Adenauer said: "We have reached a new phase in the war of nerves. And the Western world should stand firm and prove that its nerves are strong." After the failure of the Summit, Paul Spaak, speaking in Strasbourg, declared that peaceful coexistence was a "big risk" and could prove "a greater danger than the cold war." And Cyrus Sulzberger of the *New York Times* announced that the "cold war and peaceful coexistence are pre-

cisely the same thing. Furthermore, they are equivalent to peace itself."

Put in plain language these ideas would boil down to the following: coexistence is unthinkable except in terms of hostile coexistence, or peace can be maintained only through a "balance of fear." In other words: the coexistence of the two systems is only a temporary truce for the preparation of an inevitable war.

A superficial approach might make it appear that these assertions are not without grounds. The past few months have shown that the West is going ahead with the arms drive. For instance, the U.S. military appropriations approved by Congress for 1960-61 have reached a record high. The United States has declared its readiness to resume nuclear tests. Permission has now been granted to the Bundeswehr to station its military bases in France, Spain and Belgium. NATO is proceeding with its provocative maneuvers and exercises, "rehearsing" the future war against the socialist countries. More and more explosive material is being accumulated on the international arena.

These developments, no doubt, are a threat to peace and the peoples should be on the alert to prevent the aggressors from taking the fatal step. But, while mindful of this grave threat, one should not overlook the other aspect.

The events of this summer have again confirmed that the forces of peace have a superiority over those opposing it. In torpedoing the Paris meeting the imperialist circles hoped to deal a blow at the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence. But in fact the blow boomeranged.

The exposure before the whole world of America's perfidious policy of aggression, the setbacks encountered by that policy and the stepping up of the anti-imperialist struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (not to speak of other, perhaps particular, but nevertheless spectacular cases)—all are evidence of the continued weakening of imperialism.

It is worth noting that many of the U.S. leaders, even the ultra-reactionary, know this only too well. What else but this awareness could have induced Nelson Rockefeller to admit at his press conference on June 8 that U.S. positions were now much weaker than they were 15 years ago at the end of the Second World War . . . The changes that had occurred in the world, he went on, were a challenge to America and the entire West, a chal-

lenge much more serious than any before in American history.

Thus these events have shown that not only has the world changed but that it is continuing to change in the same direction, in the direction of weakening imperialism. They have proved that this tendency is a constant one, that it expresses the content of the processes now under way on the world arena and that the present sharpening of tensions is only a temporary form reflecting the struggle of the two camps.

From the standpoint of the long-term perspective of coexistence the problem today is to what extent this changed world can force imperialism to refrain from actions which derive from its aggressive nature. In other words, will the essential nature of imperialism determine the development of international relations or will the new balance of forces in the world restrict imperialism from manifesting its essential nature?

International developments have shown that the sphere of operation of the laws of imperialism has narrowed. On the other hand, the range of the influence exerted by the principles of peaceful coexistence advocated by the Soviet Union is being extended with every turn of the wheel of history and this influence makes itself felt more and more in international life.

It is important to prevent the smoke from the two burnt-out American spy-planes from obscuring the facts which are all the more significant because they appear so ordinary. We have in mind such events as Khrushchov's trip to Austria, as the visit of the President of India Rajendra Prasad and of the Indonesian Prime Minister Djaunda to the USSR, Mikoyan's visit to Norway, and others.

Nor can we overlook the points mentioned in the West German *Bonner Rundschau* of August 3: ". . . The changed climate has not affected the visits of businessmen. Italians, Englishmen, Frenchmen and West Germans with thick leather bags are passing through the doors of the (Soviet—Ed.) Ministry of Foreign Trade, which is located in the building from which the sharp Notes originate The visitors time their arrival; they offer equipment for air-conditioning or whalers and say: 'The Soviet Union always pays on time'"

Thus peaceful coexistence is making headway both in the political and economic spheres despite the efforts of the gentlemen from Washington.

Does this mean that the possibility of unleashing war has disappeared? No, as yet we cannot make such assertions. But it would also be incorrect to place on a par the two possibilities: that of averting war and that its being unleashed. To equate the two would be to lose sight of the objective trend, the objective laws, of development, and to bow down helplessly before two allegedly equal forces. However, it should be borne in mind that the possibility of averting war derives from the operation of forces that are ascending, while the possibility of it being unleashed derives from forces that are declining. That is why alertness to the imperialist intrigues signifies not so much the ability to discern the unchanged nature of imperialism but rather the ability to bring into motion all the factors contributing to peace.

Two Concepts of Strength in International Relations

The Democratic Party of the United States held its pre-election convention in Los Angeles in mid-July, while the Republicans staged their jamboree in Chicago two weeks later.

Despite the different words and shades of ideas the two gatherings adopted an identical foreign-policy program for the next four years: they proclaimed the old Dulles course of "positions of strength." Indeed, it can be said of them: they have forgotten nothing and learned nothing.

The "positions of strength" policy was by virtue of its social content doomed from the very beginning, for its main objective is to resist social progress on a world scale.

For a period the atomic monopoly, powerful air force, military bases and blocs led many to believe that the United States and its allies enjoyed superiority and that their programs were well-founded. But time passed. With the advent of the Sputniks and the Luniks the world came to realize the achievements of socialism, of its science and technology, and its military superiority. At the same time socialist diplomacy exposed before the world the true character and objectives of the "positions of strength" policy, with the result that it floundered into a profound crisis.

One of the causes underlying the activation of the U.S. aggressive elements during the spring and summer months was the desire to "revitalize" the "positions of strength" policy. Alas, they suffered disappointment.

. . . A Soviet rocket shot down the U-2 spy-plane. As Francis G. Powers testified at the trial, "quite unexpectedly I heard a kind

of hollow explosion and saw an orange flash. The plane suddenly pitched down and, I think, its wings and tail started falling off." The ill-starred pilot never suspected what had really exploded was U.S. policy; for that explosion destroyed the strategic concept on which America's policy was based.

According to this concept the Strategic Air Force, operating from bases encircling the socialist camp, was to have destroyed the vital centers of the Soviet Union by launching a "massive attack." It was claimed that no retaliation would follow: the Russians would not only be incapable of striking at America and its foreign bases but even of bringing down U.S. planes flying at an "inaccessible" height.

The spy-plane probe has revealed the fallacy of these calculations and of the U.S. strategic concept. It has shown, in addition, that U.S. planes are vulnerable to Soviet rocketry at all times and at any height. At the same time the pinpoint precision with which the Soviet ballistic missiles hit the target in the Pacific Ocean last July has demonstrated that all American bases, even those in the heartland of the United States, are vulnerable. All over the world people correctly understood and assessed this; hence the worldwide repercussions evoked by the Soviet warnings to the effect that in the event of the spy-flights being renewed retaliation against the bases from which the planes took off would follow.

To sum up, events have shown that today the "positions of strength" policy is unsound if only for the fact that the military might of the imperialists is inferior. But as things are, this is not the only and certainly not the most important reason.

It would be appropriate to see what exactly we mean by strength in international relations today. We recall the words of Lenin: "The bourgeoisie admit a state to be strong only when it can, by the whole might of the government apparatus, throw the masses wherever the bourgeois rulers want. Our idea of strength is a different one. In our opinion a state is strong by virtue of the awareness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously."

The "positions of strength" policy is the embodiment of the bourgeois concept of strength. The failure of this policy is synonymous with the failure of the concept.

Throughout its history capitalism has invariably kept the masses away from foreign

policy. Until recently international problems were solved by the bourgeoisie in the strict privacy of diplomatic offices. But those days have gone. Today the peoples display a vital interest in matters of "high" politics. They actively intervene in the solving of world problems and exert an immediate influence on them, not only in the long run. The past eventful summer has demonstrated this. Whirlwinds of popular action against the aggressive policy of the imperialists swept through Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America. Mass activity is no longer the monopoly of any particular continent!

The epicenter of the political earthquake in Asia was Japan whose people firmly opposed the new Japano-American "security treaty." With encouragement from Washington, the Kishi government made a headlong drive to "ratify" the treaty and, on May 20, by unlawful trickery managed to push it through the Lower House. But this was a Pyrrhic victory

After May 20 the movement acquired the force of a hurricane. Millions took part in the daily anti-American demonstrations. The Kishi Cabinet was compelled to cancel the long-planned and widely-publicized Eisenhower visit. A month later it resigned

Washington was infuriated, shocked and bewildered. Not since Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) commented the *New York World Telegram and Sun* on June 17, has the capital been in such low spirits. The events of the past three months — beginning with the pre-election bloodshed in Korea on March 14 and ending with the humiliation of the President as a result of the events in Tokyo — had culminated in a diplomatic Pearl Harbor.

The lesson the Japanese people taught the U.S. imperialists was, perhaps, the most thorough of all. But the peoples of the other Asian countries visited by President Eisenhower showed the same "enthusiasm" for U.S. policy as the people of Japan. In the Philippines the ill-starred President was "welcomed" by student demonstrations. He departed from Okinawa through the back door a few hours after his arrival. In South Korea his speech in parliament was hooted by those who marched in the columns of the protest demonstration. Even on Taiwan there were anti-U.S. manifestations

In Europe the most active were the working people in Italy.

. . . . The Tambroni Government gave permission for the fascists to hold a convention in Genoa. But black shirts are no longer

fashionable in Italy. The Genoans met the fascists with a rebuff. The people of Rome expressed solidarity with the people of Genoa. Tambroni sent the police against the demonstrators. Many were killed and wounded.

The shootings sounded the call for mass action throughout the country. The people were now fighting the coalition of the government and the fascists. The third invisible member of this unholy alliance was the United States. Washington hinted that they fully approved of the shootings which, to use their words, were a "contribution to the defense of the free world."

But neither bullets nor Washington could save Tambroni. The fascist convention was cancelled, and the government had to resign The events in Italy and Japan were proof of the readiness of the masses to engage in large-scale political action. The peoples have come to understand that national interests, defense of peace and democratic freedoms are inseparable.

This summer was perhaps the hottest Africa had ever known. Certainly the hottest politically. The African continent has entered upon a period of regeneration. Five years ago there were only five independent countries in Africa. Now there are twenty-four and by the end of the year there will be twenty-six.

On June 30 the Belgian Congo was proclaimed independent. But the Congolese people had hardly entered upon their new life when the imperialists conspired to thwart their free development. Because the uranium rich Belgian Congo was, in fact, jointly owned by a number of imperialist powers — the United States, Britain, France and Belgium — the conspiracy was a joint one. The Congo was invaded by Belgian troops. The conspirators hoped to break the resistance of the Congolese overnight and thus "prove" that they were not yet "ripe" for freedom.

But the people, though poorly organized and practically unarmed, yet full of courage and ready to stand up for their independence, rebuffed the colonialists.

Other factors which the colonialists overlooked also began to operate. The countries of Asia and, particularly, of Africa, as well as the socialist countries expressed their solidarity with the Congo. The Soviet Government declared it would give the people of the Congo all the aid they needed. This statement had a sobering effect on the aggressors. The Indian newspaper *Swadhinata* commented that the warning issued by Premier Khrush-

chov — to the effect that should the aggressors continue the occupation of the Congo resolute counter-measures would be taken — rendered abortive the American attempt to resume the domination of the Congo on Belgium's behalf The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will frustrate the intrigues of the colonialists against the new republic.

Actually the colonialists have suffered a moral and political defeat in the Congo.

Nineteen sixty will enter the annals of *Latin American* history as the beginning of the second revolution. The first revolution of the last century was spearheaded against Spanish domination, the second—against North American imperialism. Latin America will cease to be a continent of coups, it will become a continent of social revolutions. Events connected with the revolution in Cuba have initiated this process.

Cuba, it will be recalled, won freedom from the imperialists early last year. But it is precisely now, simultaneously with the events in the Congo, that she has entered another round in the fight against North American imperialism.

The march of events is fairly well known. The U.S. colonialists tried to exert economic pressure on Cuba. (The country is largely dependent on sugar exports.) The United States was a regular customer who bought much of Cuba's sugar. Then, all of a sudden, it drastically cut its sugar quota. The second step in the economic war was the U.S. attempt to cut off Cuba's oil supplies, which was synchronized with the refusal by the American-owned oil refineries to process Soviet crude oil.

Perhaps, a few years ago measures of this kind would have produced the desired results instantaneously. But not now. The Cuban Government countered the American onslaught. It nationalized most of the companies with predominantly American capital. The oil refineries, now the property of the people, can process any oil. As to sugar, the socialist countries — the Soviet Union, China and the others — have agreed to buy up all the surplus sugar refused by the USA.

The infuriated policy-makers in Washington decided upon military intervention. President Eisenhower and other officials issued statements to the effect that they would "not permit" events in Cuba to develop along these lines

Washington was all but sure of its success. In the course of many decades they had used the "big stick" when dealing with the peoples

of Latin America and had always got away with it.

Washington was confident that the peoples of the other Latin American countries would remain silent. Indeed, until recently the latter were under the hypnosis of so-called geographic fatalism. They believed that nothing could save them from the Yankees

The U.S. colonialists, taking it for granted that South America was their hunting ground, were sadly disappointed. And no wonder, it is only natural for a moribund class to fall into error.

The ascending forces took up the cause of Cuba as their own. The Soviet Union had its say again. In a message to Fidel Castro, Khrushchov said that the Soviet Government would not permit the Cuban revolution to be strangled and would assist it with all means available.

Washington experienced another shock. It had dawned on them that any intervention would invite retaliation. So what was their answer? They said: No violation of the Monroe Doctrine

The world was in raptures. London and Paris rocked with laughter. Tokyo and Bombay jeered. Commentators friendly to the United States apprehensively declared that the fumbler in Washington were at their wits end what to do

But this reaction to the Soviet statement was nothing compared with that of Latin America. The scales fell from the eyes of the Latin Americans who had been blinded by the might of their "good neighbor." They now knew that there were forces in the world superior to those of the North American octopus.

A moral revolution took place, a revolution fraught with political revolutions. Latin America is in turmoil. The movement of solidarity with Cuba began to evolve into a movement for independence.

Events in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America have exposed the source of the failures of the "positions of strength" policy: because this policy is hostile to the interests of the masses it has come up against the opposition of millions of people, of entire nations. Walter Lippman noted that the United States was suffering not from any lack of ruthlessness or firmness, but from the fact that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America were turning their back on America

Lippmann told the truth, but not the whole truth. The aggressive actions organized and

inspired by the U.S. monopolists are in deep contradiction with the interests of the American people too, who also yearn for peace.

The socialist camp is now the most powerful force on earth. The reason for the influence it exerts on world processes lies, above all, in the force of its example, in the progress it has made in building the new society. Its achievements are, indeed, majestic; the production targets for the first six months of this year have been overfulfilled. In the near future the socialist countries will step up the rate of their economic development. This will be achieved, for instance, by the co-ordination of the plans for long-term economic development of the European socialist countries, which was agreed upon at the July session of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

One of the sources of strength of the socialist camp is that its state policy harmonizes with the requirements of social development, with the fundamental interests of all peoples and expresses these interests. Socialist diplomacy frankly and without fear appeals to the masses for support and gets it.

During transitional periods when much depends on the relationship of forces, the role of the subjective factor is of tremendous importance; by the subjective factor we understand the firm and flexible policies of the socialist countries, the utilization by the peace forces of the favorable circumstances and the active participation of the masses in deciding political questions. The subjective factor is, increasingly, becoming a real force in determining the trend of developments and their nature.

Awareness of this urges all those active in the fight for peace, national independence and democratic rights to rally their forces, to draw the broad sections into this struggle by explaining to them that the triumph of their cause depends not so much on the opposition of the imperialists as on the peoples themselves and their determination to fight for it.

This awareness is brought home to the masses in the first place by the Communist and Workers' parties. The Communiqué adopted by the meeting of the Communist Parties in Bucharest contains a Marxist assessment of the current situation and the perspective for peaceful coexistence and averting war; it is a document which mobilizes and organizes all peace supporters.

Of late the mass non-Party organizations such as the World Peace Council, the World

Federation of Trade Unions and others have become very important. The session of the General Council of the WFTU held this summer on behalf of 100 million working people endorsed the idea of general and complete disarmament and called on the peoples to fight to prevent war. The World Peace Council, meeting in Stockholm last July, decided to launch another mass campaign to rally the masses against the war danger. The Council gave unanimous support to the just struggle of the people of Cuba and the Congo.

The decisions of these international organizations carry immense moral and political weight, because they express the aspirations of the masses and at the same time bring them into motion, thus giving unity to the will of all supporters of peace and progress.

"Purposeful Unity" and "Aimless Disunity"

The growing anti-American sentiment among the people in the capitalist world is indicative of the growing international isolation of the United States. But this is not the only factor. There is also another—the sharpening of contradictions within the imperialist camp and the development of centrifugal forces there.

The defeat suffered by United States policy, the exposure of its ruthless, blatant aggressive character, the ending of the myth of America's incontestable military superiority and the demonstration of the might of the socialist camp have caused the allies of the U.S. to reassess their attitude to the United States, and this has resulted in grave damage to Washington's prestige.

The U.S. system of alliances has been weakened, U.S. bases are endangered and America's reputation for competence has suffered—thus Adlai Stevenson complained on June 1. This, surely, is reminiscent of Hamlet's "there's something rotten in the state of Denmark." The Democratic leader Senator Lyndon Johnston, echoing Stevenson, lamented that the United States had fewer friends than ever before in his lifetime. There are many more places causing anxiety than at the time of the events in Pearl Harbor.

Among the places which are a source of anxiety to Washington, some of the European capitals could, perhaps, be mentioned.

In July and August, Europe was the scene of a number of diplomatic meetings, including those between de Gaulle and Adenauer, and between Adenauer and Macmillan.

These meetings have certainly alarmed the peoples, and rightly so, because they marked a phase in the collusion between the British

and French ruling circles on the one hand, and West German militarists on the other. That this collusion is spearheaded against the socialist world, against the peoples of Europe, of Africa and Asia, who are fighting for their independence, is only too obvious.

However, according to the press, the two meetings discussed the setting up in the West of a new exclusive coalition of the big European countries and of reforming the Atlantic alliance. What is the point at issue?

On August 3 *Le Monde* wrote: Adenauer and de Gaulle shared the view that the United States "lacked the skill, imagination and even the firmness needed to lead the great Western coalition . . ." As matters stand, it appears that, taking advantage of the crisis which has gripped U.S. policy and leadership, they wish to take over America's leading positions at least in Europe.

. . . America, the powerful America, the recent absolute ruler of the capitalist world, is now on the way to international isolation. The nature of imperialism has not changed not only in the sense that it continues to be "fraught with war in the same way as a thundercloud presages a storm," but also in the sense that it continues to be torn by internal contradictions which sap its strength and which are an indirect reserve of peace and socialism.

Of course, the imperialists are well aware of this weakness. And bourgeois ideologists have long tried to invent artificial stimulants, to elaborate programs to buttress the capitalist world. Alas, the social nature of imperialism—moribund decaying capitalism—is such that it cannot offer any positive program, any idea capable of rallying the capitalist world.

The aimless disunity of the West, says Adlai Stevenson, cannot resist the purposeful unity of the Communists who know where they are going.

It is true that the socialist world knows where it is going. It has its own program in the sphere of international relations — peaceful coexistence. It is confident that war is not needed for the ultimate triumph of communism throughout the world, that sooner or later all peoples independently, without prodding from outside, will choose the socialist road. This clear-cut ideological program is backed by the monolithic unity of the socialist world, a unity which was reaffirmed at the Bucharest meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries. This program has been further endorsed by the Central Committees

of dozens of Communist parties and in this way has been accepted as the program of the entire communist movement.

This is the source of the unity of socialist diplomacy and its consistent character. In working for peace and peaceful coexistence the socialist countries put forward clear and concise proposals which help secure these aims. Disarmament is the pivot of the diplomatic program of the socialist world. The Soviet government, in working for general and complete disarmament, is unmasking imperialist policy and addressing itself to public opinion. Soviet diplomacy uses the United Nations to appeal to all peoples and all states to end the arms drive, to work for a world without armaments and without wars.

What program and what unity can the imperialist camp offer as an alternative to this?

The ideological program of capitalism (if it can at all be called a program) is anti-communism. Thus, according to *Life* magazine, the slogan of "defeating communism" best of all corresponds to America's stand on the world arena today. But a program of "combating communism" is tantamount to the absence of a program. Realization of this is reflected even in the bourgeois press. Thus, for instance, the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote on June 23: "While communism has, of course, to be resisted and thwarted, resistance cannot be the only formula for our policy."

The "aimless disunity" of the West finds expression in the lack of a foreign policy program, of any constructive proposals for solving outstanding issues.

Take, for instance, the pre-Summit period. What did the Western diplomats have to offer at the meeting? *Nothing*. To change nothing, to lose nothing in as far as prestige is concerned — that is how Walter Lippman summed up the Western program. But can this really be called a program?

Disarmament? On May 19 the *New York Post* described the Western stand on the issue as follows: the disarmament files have been pigeon-holed.

The German problem? After the failure of the Summit the *News Chronicle* (London) heaved a sigh of relief: after all a delay in discussions is not so bad, it will give the West time to work out a "unified approach" to the problems concerning Germany. Work out? But surely this means they haven't got one!

The loss of diplomatic initiative is by no means accidental. Only he who has something to say can retain the initiative in poli-

tical matters. There is nothing accidental in this lack of a foreign-policy program. Of course, we cannot disregard the subjective factors, such as the personal qualifications of the imperialist policy-makers. But it is far more important to have an insight into the social roots from which this lack of program stems. It is worth noting that this has been widely discussed in the West, particularly against the background of the consistent political line pursued by the socialist countries.

It will not be out of place to mention here the question of the role played by spontaneity and consciousness in international relations. When imperialism was a universal system international relations developed solely on the basis of spontaneity, in accordance with the inner contradictions. Nowadays developments are governed not only and not so much by the growth of capitalist contradictions but rather by the results of the competition between the two world systems.

The socialist countries are promoting their international relations on the basis of their knowledge and utilization of objective laws. Already now on the world arena objective necessity is forcing its way through as a necessity that is recognized. At the same time the element of spontaneity is being ousted

more and more from the sphere of international relations. "The East," regrets *Combat*, "dictates the course of events to the West...."

* * *

Peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle.* And any class struggle is by no means a smooth and straight road, it is bound to have its zigzags and its turns. The renewed activity of the cold-war men, which we have noted in the period under survey, is only another indication of the frantic searchings of the bourgeoisie. In this situation it is vital not to fall for new provocations but to punish them, not to follow the road which the Pentagon wants the people to take, but to advance along the right road by pursuing the general line of peaceful coexistence.

The imperialist countries will continue to stage international provocations, they are trying to prevent the oppressed peoples from attaining a free and independent life, they are brandishing arms. But the entire course of events only corroborates the wisdom of the saying that while one can rely on bayonets it is impossible to sit on them. The forces which have outlived their day will not derive much comfort from sitting on the bayonet.

*See also: "Peaceful Coexistence and the Struggle of Two Ideologies" by Ilyichev. *World Marxist Review*, 1959, No. 11.

IN THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM

A New Culture Is Being Moulded in Vietnam

To Huu

THE literature and art of democratic Vietnam are developing amid the creative enthusiasm of the people who have won the right to build a new life in peace.

Six years have passed since the nine-year war for national liberation resulted in the famous victory at Dien Bien Phu and the establishment of peace in our country. But "peace," as Comrade Ho Chi Minh said shortly after the cease-fire, "is not synonymous with complacency." And time has amply confirmed these words. Vast constructive work is underway in all spheres, including culture. Accompanying this work is an ideological struggle, sometimes concealed, sometimes open, but always intense, between the progressive and the reactionary forces, between socialist and

bourgeois ideologies. The sharpness with which this class struggle is being waged is explained by the onward march of the Vietnam revolution which in the North has taken on a socialist character, the fight against the U.S. colonialists who have replaced the French in the South and against the police regime of Ngo Dinh Diem.

History has confronted our people with highly important tasks: to unify the country in a peaceful way and to liberate the whole people. North Vietnam still suffers from the wounds and ravages of the war. We had to build from the ruins, heal the scars both in town and countryside and begin the advance towards the new, socialist society.

Our people are now displaying valor in

labor just as they did in fighting during the war of liberation. Big strides have been made by agriculture and industry. The abolition of feudal landownership has resulted in the realization of the old peasant demand: "Land to the tiller." The people have every confidence in their state and in the Working People's Party, the leader of the victorious revolution.

The Party and the Government are encouraging and fostering education and culture. New schools and cultural centers are springing up, and numerous colleges and research institutes have been opened; book circulation is now several times as high as before. New intellectuals are coming from the ranks of the workers and peasants. Knowledge and culture—all the values accumulated down through the centuries—are accessible to all the people, and not as formerly to only a handful of businessmen and landowners.

With the introduction of a system that combines training with productive labor, our secondary, specialized and higher education has assumed a new look. Scientists and technicians are drawing closer to practical life.

Compared with 1939-40 when the country was under French colonial rule, the elementary school attendance has risen fivefold (over 1.5 million); the student body, now numbering 7,518, is fourteen times as great, while the technical school enrolment—18,100—is fifty times as large.

This year a total of 18 million books will come off the printing presses. Colonial Vietnam could not even dream of such a figure—the 1939 circulation of books on the entire territory of French Indo-China was a mere 1.5 million copies.

The number of cinemas—22 in 1939—will rise to 200 this year. Cinema tickets sold in 1955 amounted to 17.6 million, and in 1959 the number shot up to 47.6 million. There are now more theaters, clubs and museums.

The people are profoundly interested in the spread of democratic, socialist culture. But the rate and the dimensions of its development oblige us to show particular concern in regard to its ideological content.

Most educational and art workers have sided with the present-day struggle of the people and their socialist future. During the war of liberation many of them shared the joys and hardships of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Experience taught them that victories won by the people in the revolution and their own success were due to the guidance provided by the working-class Party. With the onset of peace they joined in con-

structive labor. Large numbers of forward-looking, patriotic intellectuals have been trained in the school of revolution under Party leadership. These "soldiers on the cultural front" are active builders of the new life. Seizing upon the difficulties that arose and the mistakes made in practical work, reactionary elements tried to influence the intelligentsia and part of the youth. At first the newspaper *Nhan Van* and then *Giai Pham* incited readers against the people's-democratic state and the Party. But the masses, led by the working class, showed great vigilance and quickly unmasked the reactionaries and their accomplices.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the Party has consolidated its ranks and, with mass support, is boldly marching forward.

The enemies, however, persisted. Exploiting the patience of the Party and the Government, which used the method of education and persuasion, the leaders of the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group continued their subversive activity. We are gratified, however, that most of the writers, art workers and students condemned the attacks of these alien elements.

This struggle was a good school for our intellectuals. And we think it will be useful to dwell on some aspects of this ideological struggle.

* * *

The leaders of the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group tried to blacken the national-liberation movement. They seized upon our struggle against dogmatism, bureaucracy and the personality cult to oppose the Party and the Government. In point of fact, they parroted the slanders of the U.S. propaganda machine, of Ngo Dinh Diem and the revisionists.

Listening to their effusions about "freedom" and "humanism" one involuntarily recalled the humbug about "the free world," "free Europe," etc. It is common knowledge that the exploiting classes have always covered up their exploitation with lofty words.

There can be no freedom for all in a class society. In the old days the exploiting classes in Vietnam were "free" to oppress the people and poison them ideologically, while the people were "free" to starve and live in ignorance. Nobody values the blessings of freedom so much as the working man. Under people's democracy the working people, for the first time in history, enjoy genuine freedom and live a happy life, but the enemies of the workers are denied the freedom to act to the detriment of the people.

When the Party and the Government stressed that the aim of people's democracy was to extend democracy for the people, on the one hand, and to strengthen the dictatorship in relation to enemies, on the other, Tran Duc Thao from the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group and others like him demanded in chorus "a concentration of efforts on the development of democratic liberties." Using hypocritical phrases about "the fight for freedom," they spread anarchistic views: "The function of the proletarian dictatorship is to promote freedom for the individual"

What was the purpose of this freedom? Which class would benefit from it? Who were the "individuals" that would enjoy it? Tran Duc Thao ignored these questions as if there were no longer any antagonistic classes in Vietnam or enemies of socialism ready to make the most of the unrestricted "individual freedom" for activity against the people.

The struggle for the liberation of the people, for their freedom, is the broadest and most consistent fight for the freedom of every man. But we should not allow this noble aim to be used as a cover for activity inimical to the people, to the socialist revolution and, consequently, to the genuine freedom and happiness of the individual.

"We have no fear," Tran Duc Thao proclaimed, "that the development of democratic freedoms will result in the bourgeoisie raising its head." True, the people are so powerful and invincible that they do not fear their enemies. But does this mean that freedom should be granted to the enemies of democracy and socialism, that we should let the mad dog loose instead of muzzling him?

Our socialist humanism respects the individual, stands for the all-round development of the personality, and elevates human dignity. Such is the real humanism embodied in the people's struggle against class and national oppression, for the reconstruction of society along socialist lines. True humanism commands us to see the falsity of the anti-socialists who, flirting with such words as "humanism," "human dignity," in reality oppose the aims for which our people are working. Even Ngo Dinh Diem poses as a "human being."

The members of the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group claimed to be more humane than the Communists. But to create a happy life for man, for all the people, we must overcome the resistance of the traitors, who fight against the homeland and socialism. Communist humanism illuminates the whole world and shows mankind the way to a bright future,

to socialism and communist society, in which all oppression and exploitation will be abolished. This future is being built by the painstaking efforts of the people in the socialist part of the world, led by the Soviet Union.

* * *

The leaders of the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group separated culture, literature and art from politics. They liked to call themselves "creators." This, however, did not prevent them from picking up the jargon used by all the opponents of Marxism-Leninism. These "creators" repeated the idealistic phrase about art being the expression of some kind of abstract, unhistorical and unsocial "truth." The Party, they claimed, should not "intervene" in literature and art, it should give the art workers "absolute freedom." All the experience of the struggle against those who distort Marxism shows that appeals of this kind usually signify the demand for freedom for bourgeois ideology.

Truong Tuu, a Trotskyite, declared that literature and art should "implant the seeds of sedition or insubordination in the hearts of people." This "revolutionary," however, did not speak quite so boldly under French and Japanese rule. The Han-Thuyen Publishing House, of which he was then the director and which was supported by the governments of the time, put out books which in the guise of Marxist terminology defamed Vietnam history and the Communist Party of Indo-China.

This gentleman and his friends covered up their anti-democratic writing with such slogans as: "Always new," "Always forward!" "The progressive essence of art and intellectual labor," they wrote, is that "art workers and writers are the natural vehicles of Truth, Good and Beauty." By means of this flattery they banked on diverting credulous intellectuals from the political line of the proletariat and its Party. Art and social life, art and politics are inseparable. "Independent" art, of which the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group spoke, would, in the long run, be nothing else but the servant of reactionary policies.

Lenin formulated the correct relationship between art and politics way back in 1905.

"Literature," he wrote, "must become part of the common cause of the proletariat, the 'cog and wheel' of a single, great Social Democratic mechanism brought into motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organized, planned and integrated Social Democratic party work."*

*V. I. Lenin, *Party Organization and Party Literature*.

This is the guiding principle of the writers and art workers wedded to socialism. This is the path taken also by our writers and art workers who are imbued with the spirit of patriotism and progress. The working class and its Party cannot let their leading role in politics, ideology or culture pass into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Regarding literature and art as part and parcel of the revolution, we should keep in mind Lenin's dictum:

"It is indisputable that literature is least of all subject to mechanical equation, standardization, to the rule of the majority over the minority. It is indisputable that literature absolutely requires free rein to personal initiative, individual taste, thought and fantasy, form and content."*

To underestimate this, and to try to solve questions in a mechanical way would prejudice the development of literature and art. Our Party has corrected the mistakes made by it in the past in the sphere of art. While furthering the development of literature and art it strengthens its positions in culture.

* * *

Our writers and art workers have discovered from their own experience that creative work should be closely linked with the struggle of the people and their life. Literature and art are linked with life as is the fish with water and the plant with soil. Just as the fish cannot live without water and the plant cannot blossom without soil, so the art worker, the writer, enriches his creative work by linking his life with that of the workers and peasants.

The Party proclaimed that literature and art should serve the building of the new society, the socialist reconstruction in the Northern part of the country and the unification of Vietnam. The workers, peasants, soldiers and officers of the People's Army, the builders of the new life and the fighters for the freedom and independence of our country, should become the principal characters in the works of literature and art. Therefore, "writers and art workers cannot isolate themselves from the people. They should penetrate deeply into the life of the workers, peasants, soldiers of the People's Army and the intelligentsia. They should go to them as to brothers, as to their kinsfolk, in order to understand their strength and their weaknesses."**

Life is rich, many-sided and is always in

*Ibid.

**From the Central Committee Letter to the Second National Congress of Writers and Art Workers.

motion. And no repeating of pompous phrases can compensate for lack of knowledge of it. Some men of letters readily proclaim that life is "the music of the soul," "a drop of water in a vast ocean," "blue sky in a glass of water." The cultural worker cannot be indifferent to the problems facing our nation, to the job of completing the national liberation, to furthering the economic and cultural advance of our people and of humanity. He should know the life of the people who work in factory, mill and mine.

The Working People's Party made it its business to approach the patriotic intellectuals as a sincere friend, a friend who had united them, helped them to understand the complex issues and inspired them to serve their country and the people. During the war of liberation Comrade Ho Chi Minh called on the cultural workers to go to the masses; he expressed the hope that they would be good "soldiers on the cultural front." During the years of the resistance and in the after-war years the Party leaders often met with the cultural workers for an exchange of views.

At the time when some writers and art workers found themselves bewildered by the difficulties, the Party helped them to distinguish truth from falsehood, white from black. The Party's national paper, *Nhan Dan*, criticized the unsound tendencies of the leaders of the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group. The Party leadership considered it important to convince first those who displayed doubts and to explain the correct line to them. The Central Committee arranged meetings with many writers and art workers. In the course of these talks the incorrect tendencies of the "Nhan Van-Giai Pham" group were subjected to criticism, and writers and art workers were urged to be more vigilant and devoted to principle. The Party leaders also had a discussion with the chief personalities of this group; they went into the points made by the members of the group and counselled them to abandon their incorrect and dangerous path.

As a result the overwhelming majority of the cultural workers firmly followed the Party; the handful who propagated inimical views were ideologically isolated. The 1,300 delegates who attended the conference of writers and art workers in 1959 demonstrated their unity and support for socialist ideology. Another conference held last spring showed the successes achieved by the writers and artists who are marching in step with the people.

The clearing up of the ideological climate

in literature and art has been of inestimable help to our creative workers in solving their everyday tasks. They appreciate that daily study is needed if they are to raise their political level, master the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and keep abreast of political developments. They know that their place is in labor and in mass revolutionary action, sharing the joys and sorrows of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and giving all their strength to the building of socialism. They know that they should continually improve their artistic skill, because they are aware that the people expect good and interesting works from them.

In response to the Party's appeal, thousands of writers, art workers, teachers and students went to the villages, to the mines and mills where they are taking part in production and conducting cultural work.

Experience has helped the cultural and art workers better to understand that the Party slogan "To the Masses" enables them to link their activity with the building of the new society and to improve their artistic work.

The art workers who went among workers and peasants have acquired a better understanding of life and of the initiative displayed by the masses. Those who had made ideological mistakes became conscious of them. The art workers returned from the mines and mills, from the agricultural co-operatives and the national minority areas with hearts full of love for their people, for the new life, and with a deeper faith in the Party. They are happy that they can now do as their hearts dictate, to use the words of the Soviet writer Sholokhov, hearts which belong to the Party and the people.

Over a hundred artists and sculptors, for instance, Tran van Can, Huynh van Thuan, Phan ke An, Le quok Loc, Diep minh Chau, Tran van Lam and others, have produced works which were displayed at an international exhibition of socialist art in Moscow. Writers, poets and playwrights have written novels, poems, songs, plays and scripts reflecting the life of new Vietnam: the free labor of factory workers, co-operators and national minorities living in the North-West, the glorious feats of the People's Army during the years of the resistance and of its life in peacetime.

We cannot mention all the authors. We shall mention only some of the works which have

been warmly received by the public: *The Sunrise*, a poem by Huy Can about miners; Dao Vu's novel, *The Card House*, about agricultural co-operatives; *The Aphu*, a scenario by To Hoai about the life of a family belonging to the Miao national minority; *Reminiscences of a Fighter*, a collection of stories by young soldiers. The valiant struggle waged by the people of South Vietnam against the Americans and their puppet Ngo Dinh Diem is also reflected in poems, stories and songs.

The composers Do Nhuan, Nguyen Xuan Khoat, Luu Huu Phuoc and others wrote brilliant compositions on themes close to the people. In spite of heat or rain various amateur and professional art groups went to the villages and mountain regions to give performances.

The first North Vietnam feature film "On the River Bank," which reflects the desire of the people to unify their country, has been released, and also the documentary "Bac Hung Hai" about the construction of a canal, glorifying the labor of the free people.

These achievements were welcomed by the people who, while severely critical of anything that sounds false or smells of decay, highly appraise true and talented works reflecting their aspirations.

Significant progress has been made also in other spheres of cultural activity. These, however, are only the first steps. Our cultural workers know well that they can meet the needs of the people only by exerting more effort.

Professional writers and artists are aided in their work by the numerous amateur art groups. We have vast reserves in the great but newly released energies of our people, in their talents which only now are coming to the fore.

The achievements of the socialist countries, especially those of the Soviet Union—the land of the October Revolution, which launched the Sputniks, an artificial planet and the Moon rocket—are a source of inspiration to the cultural workers of Vietnam.

Enriched by the experience of the past few years, our cultural and art workers are advancing more confidently, making a fresh contribution to the building of socialism in North Vietnam and to the struggle for the unification of our country.

Along the Road of Technological Advance

(Notes by a Soviet Metallurgist)

N. Tikhonov

THE Soviet Seven-Year Plan has opened a new and decisive stage in the economic competition between the two world systems. The Soviet Union has set itself the task of surpassing economically the United States of America—the most developed capitalist country in the world. In doing this, metallurgy will play an important part.

Among the basic industries ferrous metallurgy has always occupied a leading place. It has always been the foundation of modern industry, while its size is a gauge of the economic level of any country. Lenin described iron as one of the fundamentals of civilization.

For many decades iron and steel production was concentrated in a small group of leading capitalist countries. At the turn of the century 92 per cent of the world output of steel was produced by the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and Luxemburg. Russia's share in the world's output of metal was negligible—in 1913 only 4.2 million tons of steel. At that time Russia was "an incredibly and unprecedentedly backward country, poverty-stricken and semi-barbaric, equipped with modern implements of production to one-fourth the extent of England, one-fifth the extent of Germany, and one-tenth the extent of America."*

Things have changed radically since then. The Soviet people made good the two-century lag and turned their country into one of the world's biggest producers of ferrous metals. Whereas before World War II (1940) the Soviet Union produced less steel than Germany, it now produces nearly as much as Britain, France and West Germany taken together.

What developments have taken place in the Soviet iron and steel industry? How does it compare with that of the United States for output and technological level?

* * *

In comparing the industries of the two countries the writer of this article can, in addition to the statistics, adduce his personal observations. He has worked in the Soviet

industry for many years and has made two trips to the United States. He has seen the iron and steel industry of that country and has had several discussions with his American counterparts during their visits to the USSR.

The United States iron and steel industry was until recently the most advanced in the world. In many respects it is still the leading industry even today. But in comparing the two industries one arrives at the conclusion that America's leading position is no longer an absolute one. In some spheres the Soviet industry has drawn level with the American, in others it is catching up, while in still others it has taken the lead.

This is recognized by many American businessmen. Reference can be made, for example, to the views expressed by the prominent U.S. businessman Clarence B. Randall—who was connected with the steel industry for some time and is now the President's special assistant for foreign economic policies. In his book *The Communist Challenge to American Business*, Randall recognizes the objective fact that the Soviet people "can now hold their own with us in any field of production that they may select."* According to him this is precisely the case with steel production. He writes: "They have all that we have and are beating us in production with some of them."**

During the first two five-year plans (1929-1937) the USSR built a number of large-scale iron and steel works. Whereas in the course of that period Soviet steel production rose by 13.4 million tons, United States output decreased by one million. The USSR's share in the world's steel production climbed to 13 per cent. In the two subsequent decades (1937-1956), due to the Second World War and the Korean war, the American monopolists managed to double their steel production. During the war America's industry expanded at an unprecedented rate, while Soviet industry, like the entire national economy, suffered grave damage. As a result of the war the Soviet iron and steel industry lost a number of large plants. After the war almost four years were needed to regain the prewar capa-

*V. I. Lenin, *How to Increase Per-Capita Consumption in Russia*.

*Clarence B. Randall, *The Communist Challenge to American Business*, p. 110.

**Ibid.

city which began to be exceeded only in 1948-1949. Actually the war deprived the Soviet Union of ten years of normal development. Nevertheless, while U.S. steel output in 1956 was only double the 1937 figure, the USSR increased its steel production by 2.7 times. In the thirty-year period (1929-1958) the annual growth of steel production in the USSR was 8.7 per cent, compared with 1.1 per cent for the United States.

As of today Soviet industry has trebled its prewar output and is competing on an equal footing with American industry for world leadership in this field. A point worth noting about our industry is that it is not only undergoing rapid expansion, *its technical level is also being raised*. A group of American experts who in 1958 visited our plants in Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk, Zaporozhye, Kri-voy Rog and Kerch, wrote in their report:

"Steel plants visited in the Soviet Union are modern, efficient and well managed. *They compare favorably indeed with plants of the same type in the United States*" (My italics—N.T.)

This view coincides with our own impressions of American industry when we visited their plants in 1958 and 1959. This is proof of *the maturity of the Soviet industry* which in some spheres has outstripped or is about to outstrip its American counterpart, although in others it is still lagging. These are our pluses and minuses. While we are justifiably proud of the former we cannot close our eyes to the latter and it is our duty to eliminate them as soon as possible.

* * *

In what respect, to use the words of the American experts, does our iron and steel industry compare favorably with that of the U.S.? In other words, in which branch of iron and steel production are we in the lead?

First, in the more efficient utilization of blast-furnace capacity. In the blast-furnace process the efficiency of the furnaces largely depends on the agglomeration of the ore. The Soviet Union has built modern agglomeration plants which, according to American experts, are distinguished for their high quality and efficient operation. In the USSR the share of agglomeration in the furnace charge is 70 per cent as compared with about 40 per cent in the United States.

Our steelmakers operate the blast furnaces with a higher gas pressure. This is achieved by means of special devices of Soviet design. The majority of our blast furnaces use this method and 80 per cent of pig iron is smelted

in this way. In the United States this new, definitely more efficient method, is not yet widely used.

Lately in our works in the South we have devised a method for burning natural gas in the blast furnaces. To date this method has been introduced in 34 furnaces, thereby cutting down coke consumption by 10-12 per cent and raising the efficiency. In the United States the use of natural gas is only in its experimental stage at four pilot plants.

All this has helped accelerate the blast-furnace process. *As a result, the average output per blast furnace in 1959 was 367,000 tons in the USSR as compared with 208,000 tons in the United States*. And this despite the somewhat lower useful average capacity of our blast furnaces.

In the matter of our blast furnace design, mechanization and automation of production processes the USSR is approximately on a par with the United States. This year a blast furnace with a capacity of over 2,000 cubic meters will be commissioned in one of the Southern plants. The United States has no blast furnaces of this size.

Second, our industry is "stepping on the heels" of its American counterpart and in some cases has outstripped it in steel-making (smelting in open-hearth furnaces). Writing about the open-hearth furnace shops they saw, the American experts indicated that *the practice of steel-making in the USSR compared favorably with American standards* (My italics—N.T.). The steps taken to ensure the even and continuous operation of the main unit could be said to be outstanding.

Among the factors determining the technological level of steel-making the capacity of the furnaces is most important. How do the industries of the two countries compare in this respect? The mean capacity of a Soviet open-hearth furnace is 170 tons as compared with 161 in the United States. Whereas in the USSR, 22.2 per cent of the open-hearth furnaces have a capacity of 300 tons and more, in the United States furnaces of this size make up only 3.5 per cent.

Concentration of steel production in the USSR is increasing more rapidly than in the United States. Some of our plants have shops with 500-ton furnaces and this year 600-ton furnaces will be introduced. According to available information the United States has only one furnace of 550-ton capacity in operation.

This is not the only thing that counts. Our

open-hearth furnaces are more efficient. The yield of steel per square meter of hearth per day is 7.86 tons in the USSR compared with 6.5 tons for the U.S. The average annual output per furnace is also growing; in 1959 it was 133,000 tons as compared with 93,000 for the United States.

Two factors play a decisive role in raising the efficiency of our open-hearth furnaces: first, 80 per cent of the steel is produced in big modern mechanized open-hearth furnace shops; second, innovations are boldly introduced. Among the more important of these is *the continuous casting of steel*. Because this is a highly economical method it is widely used in our country. In accordance with this method the smelt is poured directly from the ladle into a continuously operating casting machine and from the latter to the rolling mill, by-passing the slabbing and blooming mills. Thus the need to build expensive blooming mills is dispensed with and the losses in metal are considerably reduced.

We now have ten of these installations, seven of them on an industrial scale. In 1959 an installation for continuous casting of steel from a 90-ton ladle was commissioned at the Novolipetsk Plant. The world's largest installation of this kind is about to be put into operation at the Stalino Plant; here the smelt will be cast continuously from a 140-ton ladle.

In the United States this method is still in the experimental stage. According to available information they have only two experimental installations of this kind. Thus in this field the USSR is more advanced, as well as in certain other innovations which enable us to raise the productivity of the open-hearth furnaces. At the same time we are somewhat behind the United States in the electric smelting of steel. However, as distinct from the United States, our electric furnaces mainly produce high-quality alloy steel. For instance, in 1958 the proportion of alloy steel of the highest quality smelted in Soviet electric furnaces was more than 80 per cent as compared with 35 per cent in the United States.

Mechanization and automation of production processes in open-hearth furnace shops are more or less at the same level in both countries.

* * *

Bourgeois economists and businessmen, even those who think more or less realistically, usually reason as follows: the Russians have indeed some achievements to their credit, but all they care about is the tons of metal

they produce, ignoring quality; their blast furnaces and coke ovens are better than their rolling mills. We heard talk of this kind time and again in the United States too.

How do matters really stand? First we would like to recall that our advance in the conquest of outer space—which is recognized by the whole world—is largely the result of the work of our iron and steel industry which has created the high-quality steels needed for the rockets and the instruments. Is not this indicative of the quality level of our industry? The Soviet Union produces all kinds of alloy steels, stainless steels, hard and super-hard steels, heat-resistant steels, acid-resistant steels and others. At present the Soviet Union not only covers its own needs in all kinds of special steels but even caters to the needs of the friendly countries. What is more, the USSR is the only country in the world which produces by industrial methods all the more important non-ferrous metals.

As to rolling mills, the USSR has installed in the postwar years many new ones which meet the latest technical standards. Our blooming mills, rail and structural—both for heavy and light sections—as well as wire mills match any of their counterparts in the United States and in many cases, where efficiency is concerned, ours are superior. In Dneprodzerzhinsk a mill for transverse rolling of alternative profile steel has been operating for two years, elsewhere we have special mills for rolling spheres and gear-wheels. The United States has no such mills.

Generally speaking, in the United States the equipment of the plants and shops producing rail, standard construction profile and sectional steel is largely outdated. On the other hand, the plants producing thin metal sheet and tinplate (newer plants) are on a much higher technological level.

The building of modern new plants and machines is rapidly raising the technological level of Soviet rolling mills. At the same time most of the mills of older design have been modernized. In the matter of mechanization many of them approach the modern standards.

Complex automation of rolling mills is being introduced in both the USSR and the United States. In many of the mills almost all the mechanisms are operated automatically; there are automatic speed regulators and program control, automatic gauges and heat control.

All this, plus the rational specialization of the rolling mills (possible only in a planned economy), has enabled our industry to achieve

the world's highest efficiency for rolling mills. Thus the blooming mills in several of our plants produce from 3.5 to 3.7 million tons of ingots a year as compared with an average of less than two million tons in the United States (with only a few exceeding this level). The annual capacity of the rail and structural steel mills in many of our plants is 1.1-1.2 million tons. The capacity of similar mills in the United States does not exceed 900,000 tons.

To our pluses we can add the changes that are taking place in the qualitative composition of our rolled metals. The proportion of sectional steel is 39.4 per cent as compared with 21.6 per cent for the United States. It is true, however, that where flat sheet metal is concerned we are behind the U.S. But at present we are building a number of high-capacity flat sheet and sectional steel mills. In the near future we will commission three mills for continuous rolling of flat sheet steel.

Soviet industry is faced with the problem of expanding tube production. Wholesale use of gas and large-scale housing and municipal construction has increased the demand for, and consequently the production of, steel tubes—both welded and seamless. However, we have a long way to go.

If we compare the Soviet tube industry with the American we will see that the technological levels are about the same in respect to seamless tubes; however, we are somewhat behind where welded and some other types of tubes are concerned.

* * *

When the industries of the two countries, and particularly their specific features, are compared and analyzed, one recalls Marx's words to the effect that "capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature, its own negation."*

The apologists for capitalism, even the most farsighted ones of the Randall type, never tire of lauding "free enterprise" which, they say, embodies the only mode of production in keeping with human nature. But this is refuted by the reality of American life. The hard fought strike of the steelworkers which we witnessed during our visit to the United States laid bare the irreconcilable contradictions inherent in capitalism, contradictions which sap the very foundations of "free enterprise." We saw idle blast furnaces and rolling mills.

This picture was the reverse of the one

which the American experts saw in the USSR. The Soviet people, they pointed out, displayed concern both for the work they were directly engaged in as well as for the affairs of the industry as a whole.

In comparing the progress of the two industries some people tend to forget that it depends not only on the quality of the machines and equipment, on technology in general, but, above all, on the mode of production, on the character of the relations prevailing in production. The rapid growth of the Soviet industry's capacity and its technological level are striking proof of the superiority of the socialist system.

In comparing the two industries one can easily discern two tendencies in their development, which are illustrated in the table below:

OUTPUT OF STEEL (In millions of tons)

	1913	1928	1937	1955	1956	1958	1959
USSR	4.2	4.2	17.7	45.3	48.6	54.9	60.0
USA	31.8	52.4	51.4	106.1	104.3	77.3	84.8

In the first half of the current year our industry increased the output of steel by another 2.7 million tons. At the same time, according to the Swedish *Svenska Dagbladet*, American production is only 48 per cent of its capacity. The index is the same as for 1958, which was a depression year. There are indications of a further deterioration. Because of this, the paper points out, the United States will now be producing less steel than the USSR.

Thus, American industry which, as is known, has a bigger capacity than the USSR and is on a high technological level, is developing at a much slower pace or is marking time. The unprecedented possibilities opened by modern techniques are in conflict with the social factor, the character of the production relations. The capitalist mode of production with its irreconcilable internal contradictions is a barrier to the maximum utilization of the vast possibilities offered by modern technology.

In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, where the working people themselves are the masters of social production, there are no antagonistic contradictions between technological progress and the production relations. Ownership of the means of production by the people enables our state to cope with technological tasks which are impossible for the capitalist monopolists. Because of this, Soviet industry, which is now technically mature, has boundless opportunities. Rapid development of

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 763.

production is the vital concern of both workers and technical personnel. Not only do they master the new techniques, they also participate in designing new machinery. In this they are aided by research institutes and designing bureaus which, in addition to working on their own designs, co-operate with inventors and rationalizers at the plants. Together with the scientists our people in the industry are doing everything to ensure steady technological advance in all branches of metallurgy.

Here is an example of how new technological improvements were devised at the Dnieprodzerzhinsk coke and chemical works. A group of engineers set about improving the flotation (coal enriching) machine with a view to increasing its capacity. Several researchers from the Dniepropetrovsk mining institute volunteered to help. The result of their joint efforts was a pneumatic flotation machine which, though better than the original one, failed to meet the demands of both scientists and engineers. Further research was undertaken. Soon a new design was completed, a so-called centrifugal air-lift machine, one-quarter the size, but nearly twice as efficient as the normal flotation machine.

This is only one of the hundreds of examples illustrating the part played by workers and technical personnel in improving methods of production. Last year alone, 700 rationalization proposals which yielded an economy of 3.8 million rubles were submitted. The new equipment and the more advanced technology ensured a more regular work schedule.

The example of the Dnieprodzerzhinsk Works is interesting in another respect, too. The rapid development of technology and comprehensive introduction of improvements posed the question of training engineers and skilled workers in a new light. Soviet achievements in this sphere are well-known. Our educational establishments train many more engineers and technicians than do those in the United States or any other country. As Randall puts it, "The Soviets now have top-flight scientists, fine engineers, and superb research facilities . . . Every exchange of experts that takes place between our two countries makes it more and more clear that their production is based solidly upon continuous scientific inquiry."*

Some people in the United States are alarmed by our success in training specialists. We have heard unambiguous statements to the

effect that the outcome of the cold war is being decided in the classroom.

In our country specialists are trained not only in educational establishments but also directly at the point of production. At the Dnieprodzerzhinsk Works two of every three people employed are studying to raise their professional skills. Take the coke shop, for instance, which employs 345 workers. Among them there are seven students attending evening classes at the metallurgical institute, eight study in the industrial technical school, 63 attend night-school and 128 attend classes for the various trades. Many of the workers are acquiring second and third trades; this year alone 43 workers took exams in alternative trades.

The Dnieprodzerzhinsk plant is not an exception. The desire of the mass of the workers and engineers to learn all there is to know about modern technology is a feature of all our industry. At the Magnitogorsk Plant, for instance, most of the workers have had either a secondary or a higher professional education.

To encourage workers to go in for higher technical education the Soviet Government last year passed a decree providing for the opening of technical colleges directly at the plants. The first five of these will open their doors during the current academic year. Among them is the college at the Dnieprodzerzhinsk Iron and Steel Works. These colleges will train workers to become qualified engineers. The course ranges from five to six years. Theoretical courses can be taken either while remaining at work or by applying for leave. The worker who chooses to take time off will get a grant. Those writing dissertations for their engineering certificate will get four months' leave with pay. These worker-students will have extra holidays ranging from six to 12 days (with pay).

Training specialists in the USSR is a planned matter, a task undertaken by the state. The socialist system provides everything needed for the all-round development of the personality. This is why the people working in our industry compare favorably in the matter of professional training and general educational level.

American experts who visited our plants discovered that the engineers and technicians are highly competent not only in the operation of their own plants but also in their knowledge of the operating practices of the American and European steelmakers. The American guests noted that the young foremen in the

*Clarence B. Randall, *The Communist Challenge to American Business*, pp. 113-114.

blast furnace shops were college-trained engineers.

As to the managers of Soviet plants they, in the words of the Americans, are "in general sound, capable men with many years of experience and full technical background in steel-making."

* * *

And so, to sum up: the Soviet iron and steel industry is rapidly advancing along the

road of technological progress. If we were to put a plus in those cases where Soviet steel-making leads the American industry and a minus where it is behind, the number of pluses would be greater. But our iron and steel industry, like our economy in general has the greatest plus of all—the *socialist mode of production*. This factor, the decisive one, jointly with our high level of technology, will ensure our victory in the economic competition with the United States.

Tackling the Housing Problem in Hungary

R. Trautman

HOUSING is an issue with which public opinion has been preoccupied especially throughout the postwar years. Immediately after the war a beginning was made in most European countries. But nowadays little progress is being made in the capitalist countries; in the socialist countries the opposite is the case. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, tackling the job of completely eliminating the housing shortage, aim at providing a flat for each family in the next 10 or 15 years.

* * *

The Hungarian People's Republic inherited extremely poor housing from the capitalist regime. Things were aggravated by the devastation caused by the war. According to the 1941 census, 83.9 per cent of town dwellers lived in single-room flats. As a rule each room was occupied by six, or even more, people. Housing was particularly bad in rural areas. Tens of thousands lived in slum conditions and in doss-houses.

After the war the demand for good-quality housing rose—the direct result of the revolution. Unemployment was abolished. Cultural standards rose, and the health service was improved. The span of life is longer and the natural growth of population has risen 50 per cent as compared with 1938. Before the war exorbitant rents, which accounted for 30 to 40 per cent of the tenant's wages, forced many people into the slums. The result was that large numbers of modern flats were without tenants. Today rents are low and every worker can afford to live in a comfortable flat.

What progress has been made in the post-war years? Under people's rule we have built

about 390,000 flats. New towns have made their appearance. But this is not enough. The rapid expansion of industry is attracting many people from the countryside. During the years 1944-60 the urban population has risen by 22 per cent, compared with a 2.6 per cent rise for the rural population. Meanwhile, rural housing facilities have grown 7.6 per cent, urban housing by 13 per cent. We need an additional 350,000 flats—200,000 of them in the towns.

In the next 15 years some 300,000 old dwellings will no longer be habitable. The annual growth of population during this period will total 1.3 million. Consequently, the country will need about 450,000 dwellings, due to the rise in the number of families. In a word, the demand for new dwellings is in excess of one million, taking into account the natural growth of population, the demolition of old buildings and the present shortage. When we have built these (by 1975), *we shall be within sight of our goal of providing each family with a flat.*

These calculations form the basis of the government's 15-year housing plan (1961-1975). Twice as many dwellings will be built compared with the previous 15 years. But whereas in 1945-60 the government built only 38-40 per cent of all dwellings, in 1961-75 it will be responsible for 60 per cent of the planned dwellings. These figures indicate the way in which the job is being tackled.

Completion of the plan will result in one-third of the population moving into new dwellings. The scale of this construction can be gauged from the fact that the total of new units will be equal to the housing facilities provided by *two cities of the size of Buda-*

pest. The schedule for 1961-65 is 250,000 flats, 350,000 for 1966-70 and 400,000 for 1971-1975.

In addition to government-sponsored building, encouragement is given to housing co-operatives. Over one-third of the housing expenditure of these co-operatives is met by the government. The co-operative members pay in cash 15 per cent down for the dwelling, the remainder is paid over 30 years without any interest charge. The dwelling becomes their personal property and can be bequeathed to a member of the family; its use is not limited by the regulations issued for state-owned flats. Over 3,200 co-operative flats will be built during the current year. Under the 15-year plan about one-third of the government-built flats will be transferred to the co-operatives or sold to private citizens.

Many people will build homes on their own initiative. The government will provide them with land, long-term credits, standard plans, and will arrange for consultations with experts. Individual builders are supplied with materials from government or local stocks.

In selecting areas for new housing we proceed from the long-range plans for distribution of industry and seek to improve the situation under which the capital is developing at the expense of the provinces. A decision was taken to develop four or five towns in the provinces to the level of Budapest.

While housing is directed along lines of large blocks, we do not disregard the development of existing urban centers. In keeping with the 15-year plan, 25 per cent of the new houses in Budapest will be erected on the sites of old buildings or on the vacant sites. In the provinces, buildings due for demolition will provide sites for 15 per cent of the total urban dwellings.

The tendency will be to increase floor-space and the number of rooms per flat. In 1960-70 average dwelling space in the government-built houses will be 48 sq.m. (it used to be 43). Most flats will consist of two rooms (besides a kitchen). The space will be expanded by way of built-in furniture. About half of the flats will have built-in cupboards and kitchen units.

In Budapest families comprise on the average three persons. The number of people

living alone is in the neighborhood of 200,000. Some of these occupy rooms in municipal or in private flats, while others occupy flats which could accommodate bigger families. Some small families occupying large flats may prefer smaller but more comfortable ones. But such modern flats are scarce. The 15-year housing plan will resolve this problem—it will provide people living alone, childless parents and old-age pensioners with small but comfortable flats.

The plan provides for raising the average number of units with bathrooms from the present figure of 13 per cent to 30 per cent. With this target achieved, Hungary will have surpassed in this respect most of the Western countries.

With the replacement of some 300,000 old flats by new ones and the complete modernization of the old housing, living conditions of our working people will be vastly improved.

A condition for the realization of this bold housing program is that we eliminate present shortcomings in construction and go full steam ahead with modern building methods. While we shall strive to avoid any excesses in architecture, this does not mean that we shall build austere homes. With the means at our disposal we can provide our people with dwellings which meet all the requirements of comfort and convenience.

Last year we announced a competition for the best standard housing design. Prize-winning designs will be used in the housing scheme in Obuda, one of the districts of Budapest.

The Central Designing Bureau is paying close attention to the experience gained in making standard designs. We shall go in more for standard structures, combining these with standard designs. At the same time experts are trying to find a solution to the problem of rapid and economic building of comprehensive housing schemes. Research covers practically all the fields of technological progress, mechanization and organization of labor.

Under the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party, our people have solved many tasks of socialist construction. And we are confident that they will meet with the same success in solving the housing problem.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Party Enters upon a New Stage

THE Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico, which had to be postponed several times because of police repression and internal strife, was held in Mexico City at the end of May. Because of the attitude of the government (arrests and even the murder of Communists and leaders of other mass organizations) the sessions had to be held behind closed doors. Of the delegates 35.7 per cent were factory workers, 2.8 per cent agricultural laborers, 20 per cent peasants, 7.1 per cent clerical workers. About half the delegates had been in the Party more than fifteen years.

The Congress, at the request of the Party branches, reviewed the work of the Party not only in the past six-year period since the previous congress but in the past two decades.

The Central Committee's report (delivered by A. Martinez Verdugo) stressed that the task of the Congress was to overcome the crisis in the Party, consolidate its unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis and to work out a sound political line. The report and the general resolution were unanimously approved. The Central Committee was instructed to establish two commissions for the purpose of drawing up a policy declaration and a political platform for the Party and to convene, in the near future, a Party conference to discuss the drafts. The amended Party Rules were also endorsed.

Most of the members of the outgoing Central Committee failed to appreciate the true situation inside the Party and the real content of the lessons of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU; old methods of leadership and of practical work were adhered to, with the result that the Central Committee acted as a barrier to the growth and development of the Party. These members, including D. Encina, who functioned as General Secretary from 1940 to 1959, were not re-elected; they were replaced by comrades closely linked with the branches and the people. The comrades elected to the C.C. Political Commission were: D. Alfaro Siqueiros, F. G. Cortes, C. Chavez, E. Maldonado, A. Martinez Verdugo, M. Terrazas, G. Unzueta.

The Congress adopted a resolution calling for intensified struggle to secure the release of the political prisoners.

A press conference was held in the capital at which a statement on the Congress was made in the name of the C.C. Political Commission. The

Party paper *La Voz de Mexico* featured the Congress materials, including the general resolution which is summarized below.

The profound changes that have taken place in the international situation, the resolution reads, favor the forces of peace, socialism and national liberation, and this creates good conditions for rallying the people of Mexico in the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation and democratic liberties.

The country's dependence on the U.S. monopolies is the main reason for the bad plight and the low wages of the working class and the working people generally. The Lopez Mateos government is making concessions to North American imperialism, attacking the rights of the working people and doing away with constitutional freedoms. Its agrarian policy ignores the interests of the peasants, while other government measures run counter to the interests of the nation. Mateos is taking a reactionary line spearheaded against the workers. The purpose of his visit to the five South American countries was to win support for his line of subordination to U.S. imperialism.

The Mateos government, far from being united, is beset by grave contradictions. On the one hand it finds itself under pressure from the national bourgeoisie, which is dissatisfied with the basic political line of the government, and, on the other hand, the tendency of the U.S. monopolies increasingly to penetrate into the country and dominate it is causing friction with their ally and junior partner—the reactionary big bourgeoisie. The Party should study these contradictions to be able to map out the right tactics and channel the struggle of the masses along the right line. In doing so it should not lose sight of the essence of the government's policy, a policy determined by the big bourgeoisie, which is closely linked to foreign capital, chiefly U.S. capital.

One of the main tasks of the Communists is to organize the working people, to lead their struggle for immediate demands and to single out the most important of these (for example, the demand to abolish the political monopoly of the government* and to carry out a thorough reform of the federal electoral law).

*There is only one legal party in Mexico, the so-called Constitutional-Revolutionary Party, the political machine of the government—Ed.

The Congress denounced the insolent maneuvers of the U.S. Government which sent its spy plane over Soviet territory for the purpose of torpedoing the summit meeting. The struggle of the Mexican people on the side of the Soviet Union and all the progressive forces is a struggle against the traditional enemies. The Congress reaffirmed its solidarity with the world peace movement. In view of the similarity of the tasks of all the Latin American countries in their struggle against U.S. imperialism—the main danger to peace—the Congress welcomed the work of the peace committees in these countries and issued a call for help to the Mexican partisans of peace to rally them into an effective force capable of frustrating any imperialist designs in the country. The Khrushchov proposals for general and complete disarmament were wholeheartedly supported.

The Congress urged the people to fight for an independent foreign policy of peace, for solidarity with the liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries, to secure the closing of the U.S. military base in Guaymas, to denounce the Western Hemisphere Defense Treaty, and to dissolve the Mexican-American Joint Defense Commission. Colonialism in Latin America must be combated, for which purpose action should be coordinated with patriots in Guiana, Belize, Puerto Rico and other countries. An urgent task today is to uphold the Cuban revolution—the standard-bearer of the popular struggle for national independence and democracy on the American continent—to popularize the manifesto adopted at the Havana meeting of representatives of the Latin American peoples.

The struggles against the government's political monopoly and for an immediate improvement in living standards, for a radical agrarian reform and for liberation from imperialist bondage fuse into one general demand: *democracy and independence for the country. This demand expresses the main content of the general line of the Party at the given moment.*

Profound changes cannot be realized so long as the present rulers representing the big bourgeoisie in alliance with imperialism remain at the helm of state. In order to effect changes political power should be held by patriotic, anti-imperialist and democratic forces. This will be a democratic revolution of national liberation, the road to which lies through a democratic front — a broad mass movement, an alliance of all the forces prepared to join the struggle against imperialism. A firm worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class should be the core of this front, which will initiate the most diverse and flexible forms of action and organization in keeping with the situation. The development of this front should be regarded as a continuing process. The forces

which could participate in the national-liberation movement include the working class, peasantry, the rural petty bourgeoisie and that part of the national bourgeoisie which is ready to fight against imperialism and for democracy. The division in the ranks of the democratic and progressive forces should be overcome and unity achieved — such is the imperative task of the Party and of all sincere democrats.

The Party has behind it a glorious tradition of struggle on behalf of the working class, the peasants and the people generally; on many occasions it headed the popular struggle for national independence, against the bondage of U.S. imperialism, for peace and a democratic system in Mexico. But for a long time differences prevailed in the Party which resulted in a protracted crisis; this state of affairs prevented the Party from taking advantage of favorable conditions in order to win over the masses.

The Party worked hard to overcome the crisis. At the extraordinary congress held in 1940 many wrong viewpoints of the leadership were criticized and particular aspects of policy were put right, although the Right opportunist attitude pursued by the Party at the time of the Cardenas Government still held sway. Some of the wrong concepts remained, for example, the idea of the "developing revolution," the desire to fuse with the ruling Mexican Revolution Party, exaggerating the role of some of the potential allies, confusing the worker-peasant alliance with a simple agreement between the Confederation of Working People and the National Peasant Confederation. The extraordinary congress also made serious organizational mistakes: while purging the Party of the opportunist and corrupt elements, it made no distinction between them and some loyal comrades who had made mistakes; moreover, some of the opportunists were retained in the leadership.

The positive aspects of the congress were not grasped by the newly-elected leadership, with the result that the Party again adopted a Right opportunist attitude. This, together with the wrong methods used in resolving the internal contradictions—misuse of centralism, organizational measures against opportunism unsupported by ideological work, unwarranted expulsions, etc., all aggravated the crisis. The Ninth Congress even approved of the Browder revisionist policy, which caused no little harm to the Party.

It was only in 1950 that the Party tried to find the way back to the right road. But notwithstanding the political gains registered in 1950-52 (open struggle against the reactionary Aleman Government, exposure of the treacherous trade union leaders, and the steps taken to establish a democratic, anti-imperialist movement of the opposition forces) the Party still had no clear idea of the situation

in the country. For a long time the leadership was unable to provide the Party with a correct orientation, for it, too, had illusions concerning the ruling bourgeoisie. Incorrectly interpreting the policy of unity of action, the Party abandoned its militant attitude to the Right-wing trade union leaders who kowtow to the government. The Twelfth Congress failed to rouse the leadership from the stupor of political inaction; bureaucratic attitudes, opportunist concepts and abstract formulations of the general line remained. Grave mistakes were made in internal matters between the Twelfth and Thirteenth congresses: criticism was suppressed, the principle of democratic centralism was distorted, the leadership divorced itself from, and even counterposed itself to, the lower organizations, and acted in a purely administrative way.

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU helped to change the situation in the Party. Its decisions enabled many of the leaders and the Party organizations (particularly in the capital) to examine the situation self-critically and to correct the mistakes. The purpose of the internal struggle begun in 1957 was to bring home to the members the difficult position of the Party, bring the Party closer to the masses by working out a sound policy, raise its ideological level, re-establish the Marxist-Leninist standards of internal life, get rid of the personality cult, restore collective leadership and bring back to the party veteran Communists.

The July-August (1959) meeting of the Central Committee adopted decisions which helped greatly to unify the Party. Most of the Central Committee members, however, adopted a formal and even negative attitude towards these decisions and the criticism made by the rank and file. Condemning this attitude the Thirteenth Congress pointed out that a vital condition for getting out of the rut was to preserve and strengthen Party unity by strictly adhering to Marxist-Leninist principles and the Congress line, to the struggle against any Left or Right deviation. The Congress approved the measures taken by the Party Committee of the capital against the Revueltas group of revisionists, and called for a broad ideological campaign against all manifestations of revisionism and opportunism in the Party and outside it. Also stressed was the need to combat dogmatic and sectarian

views which retarded the growth of the Party, hindered the application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the specific conditions in Mexico, and impeded the overcoming of organizational shortcomings.

The Congress endorsed the Central Committee decision to re-admit into the Communist Party the ex-members of the Worker-Peasant Party who had applied for admission, and also decided to reinstate V. Campa, who had been expelled in 1940. The correct policy of unity with the Worker-Peasant Party was reaffirmed, but the Congress noted that this unity was being hampered by the incorrect attitude adopted by the last congress of that party and its present leadership.

One of the biggest shortcomings of the Party is the neglect of ideological work which resulted above all from the inability of the old leadership to organize theoretical education for the membership. The Congress attached much importance to eliminating this shortcoming.

The Leninist principles of Party membership, it said, should be strictly adhered to, principles which oblige members to take an active part in solving the collectively-posed tasks and to belong to one of the Party organizations. The source of the Party's finances should be the regular payment of membership dues as well as donations from supporters and the public generally. The Congress approved the decision to abolish the post of Secretary-General of the Central Committee.

The Congress affirmed that the old C.C. had not shown due interest in the fight to secure legal status for the Party, nor had it combated the tendencies to lead the Party underground. The new C.C. was instructed to launch a campaign to explain the reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-national essence of the attack on the legality of the Party.

The leading bodies were instructed to take all measures to safeguard their organization and leaders against police blows, to enhance revolutionary vigilance in order to prevent enemy agents from penetrating into the Party.

The Congress demonstrated the determination of the branches to carry out the task of reconstructing the Party, of turning it into the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and the people of Mexico.

Mass Initiative and Technological Progress

IT WILL BE no exaggeration to say that the drive for technological progress is now the main element in the work of the Party organizations in Soviet industrial plants and research institutes. The time has long passed when the introduction of new techniques was left solely to the

officials entrusted with the job. The Party's call to re-equip all branches of the economy, boldly to introduce the latest scientific and technological achievements, has given rise to a broad popular movement. Many new forms have appeared in Party work which illustrate the scope of mass ini-

tiative in the drive for technological progress. Emulation between the communist labor-teams is making rapid headway and is closely linked with the movement to accelerate technological advance. Most of the successes gained by these teams can be explained by the new methods of work, new techniques and better labor discipline. Today, the fulfilment of plans for introducing latest techniques is one of the major indices in summing up the results of the emulation between the individual shops and enterprises.

A feature of Party work in the factories is that everything associated with the new techniques is under constant public control. *The scientific-technical councils* now to be found in the enterprises include, along with designers, engineers and technologists, also innovators, representatives of the trade unions and other organizations.

These councils discuss recommendations relating to technological progress, examine the designs for new types of production, point to the things that are outmoded and that should be replaced. In recent times the councils have devoted more time to problems of complex mechanization and automation. Workers in the Novo-Kramatorsk Heavy Machine-Building Plant, for example, made designs for, and organized production of, parts needed to modernize the equipment previously produced by them. Such initiative, possible only within the framework of planned socialist economy, immediately raises the technological level of enterprises. It demonstrates, moreover, the complexity of the problems with which the scientific-technical councils have to deal today.

Not long ago the council of the Leningrad Metallurgical Plant discussed the designs for new steam turbines, including a turbine of one million kw capacity. This will be something entirely new in turbine building. It will be recalled that one million kw was the capacity of all the power stations in pre-revolutionary Russia. Now one turbine will have that capacity. It should be pointed out that the design was completed within the record time of three months.

In some enterprises the councils have examined designs for new machines and technological processes which signify a revolution in many branches of the economy. These councils, it should be said, maintain permanent contact with the workers, popularize their work and widely employ the services of all who can contribute to technological development.

For over a year now *technological commissions*, also in the form of public organizations, have been functioning in many enterprises. They quickly found out which of the machines were obsolete, inefficient and which should be replaced or modernized, and are now exercising control over this job and helping in its realization.

The Party organizations are the heart and soul of the drive for new technology. Technological progress is a permanent item on the agenda of meetings of the branches and also of district, town and regional committees of the Party.

An important role in the industrial centers is played by the *technical councils*, which are usually attached to the town or district Party committees. For example, the technical council of the Party committee in the Kalinin district of Leningrad includes 45 worker-innovators, engineers, technicians, scientists and active members of the Party, trade union and Communist Youth League organizations. The council has a presidium and sections corresponding to the industries in the district. Both the presidium and sections discuss reports by representatives of factories, research and designing organizations. The council appoints commissions or teams to study one or another question and to help the enterprises in matters affecting technological progress. More important questions raised by the council are decided at meetings of the district Party committee.

Some of the councils deal solely with a particular industry. There are, for example, technical councils for the machine-building enterprises, for building organizations, etc.

The innovators' councils in the enterprises study the experience of the best workers, examine their proposals and select those which they think should be introduced, allocate instructors to popularize the best experiences, etc.

Among the *commissions that supervise the work of factory managements*, formed in the Party branches about a year ago, there are commissions specially assigned to handle questions of technological progress. For example, out of 2,000 such commissions in the Sverdlovsk Economic Area 650 supervise the introduction of new techniques.

Mass check-ups have proved to be very effective. Hundreds and even thousands of workers simultaneously study the state of affairs in industry. The Party committee in Magnitogorsk, for example, conducted a mass campaign "for mechanization and automation." The campaign was preceded by Party meetings and by general meetings in the plants. The campaign disclosed what each enterprise had done in the sphere of mechanization and automation, what were its plans for the future; the good examples were encouraged and shortcomings criticized. The meetings held to sum up the results of the campaign facilitated drawing up measures for intensified technological progress in the city's enterprises.

A public review of the technical level of production, extending over two months, took place in the Sverdlovsk Economic Area. This, too, is a mass form which enables the workers of each enterprise in the locality to be drawn into the struggle for tech-

nological development. The review resulted in over 50,000 proposals being made.

These forms of mass supervision signify that innovations can be taken up at once. Since supervision is exercised not by strangers but by people who can directly help accelerate the introduction of new techniques, it no longer takes the form of compiling statements and drawing conclusions, but leads to immediate action being taken.

Each enterprise now has new, and often bold, plans for organizational-technical measures. These plans are drawn up by the activists and in many instances are discussed at general meetings in the enterprises. The plans are sometimes supplemented by "*personal contributions to technological progress*." Those taking part in this unique movement for better technical equipment at the work bench and for perfecting production add to their technical knowledge, study and introduce the experience of the innovators, help the lagging workers, and generally help in the rationalization.

This movement shows that each worker can find his place in the drive. Tens of thousands of workers in Leningrad have their own personal plans, and this helps to ensure fulfilment in five years of the seven-year plan for growth of labor productivity.

At many enterprises this movement is conducted in an even higher form, under the slogan "*each worker a rationalizer*." A good reputation has been established also by the *complex teams* set up to resolve a particular production task—build a new machine, evolve a new technological process, etc. Workers, engineers and technicians are to be found in these teams.

A new element in the activity of rationalizers is the joint participation in drawing up proposals. Proof that the inventors' movement is rising to a higher plane is evident from such highly interesting facts as the emergence of *public designing bureaus, public laboratories, economic analysis groups, etc.* After work the engineers and technicians voluntarily design the means for mechanization and automation and examine the suggestions made by the rationalizers. Perfecting production is a subject dealt with by public laboratories. Economic analysis groups concentrate on finding ways for reserves and means of lowering costs. There are, in addition, information groups which specialize in popularizing the advanced technological experience.

The campaign for improving production is closely linked with technical education. Many new things have appeared in this field, too. *Technical rooms* attached to the workers' clubs, recreation halls and even to the Party committees have been opened in many towns and have proved a success. They collect samples of the new instruments and gadgets, descriptions of new technological pro-

cesses, and arrange lectures, technical conferences, scientific and technical film showings and meetings with the best workers. They also organize meetings for the exchange of experiences, visits to enterprises, and discuss the latest technical books.

Universities of science and technology are popular especially with the younger workers. In Leningrad alone there are more than 20 such universities. *Sunday readings* devoted to new techniques, *cinelectures, question and answer meetings, "want-to-know-everything clubs"* are also popular. Classes for the study of telemechanics and electronics attract large numbers of young workers.

More and more workers, engineers and technicians are acting as propagandists, a development which makes it possible to popularize technological progress in a more regular and skilled way. Some Party organizations now hold seminars for propagandists who are working among people of different trades—welders, turners, smelters, builders, etc. Visual aids are widely used in this educational work. Most enterprises arrange *exhibitions* of new techniques, highly productive instruments and appliances: *placards* popularizing advanced experience are also on display. There are also exhibitions of a different kind. Exhibitions of the worst and best samples of output have played a big part in overcoming conservatism in some of the Sverdlovsk enterprises.

This technical and economic education is multifarious in form. The initiative displayed by the Moscow enterprises which coined the slogan: *Impart to each worker a minimum of economic knowledge*, has had wide repercussions. In Leningrad one in every three Party members is studying in classes and seminars devoted to economics. In Angarsk, for example, there are regular seminars and conferences on economics for workers of different trades, for example, conferences for welders and seminars for chief engineers on rationalization and innovation. Seminars devoted to the work of chief engineers in the technology drive, exchanges of experience between chief mechanics, technologists and electricians, have also proved their worth.

The meeting of the Central Committee held in July, which checked up on the fulfilment of the decisions of the Twenty-First Party Congress concerning industry and transport, and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements, pointed to advances in all branches of the economy. Suffice it to say that in eighteen months more than 2,300 new types of machines and apparatuses have been created, to say nothing of numerous appliances and engines, while some 2,000 flow-method conveyor, automatic and semi-automatic lines have been commissioned.

Technological progress is inseparably linked with

the achievements of Soviet science. It is, in addition, the result of a mass movement which, having spread all over the country, is giving rise to further manifestations of popular initiative. The

Central Committee meeting called upon the Party organizations to give free rein to initiative in the drive to accelerate technological progress.

M. FYODOROV

For Neutrality and Disarmament

EVENTS in Canada in the last few months have proved the correctness of the central political slogan of the Communist Party of Canada—neutrality and disarmament as Canada's best contribution to peace and as the only guarantee of Canada's independence, security and the well-being of its people.

This slogan has been set forth in a document entitled "Disarmament and Neutrality—a New Basis for Canadian Foreign Policy" presented to the government by a delegation of the Party's National Executive Committee on February 13, 1960.

On that day 200 Communists from different parts of Ontario and Quebec made their way to Ottawa and demonstrated before the Parliament building in support of the proposals expressed in the document. Briefly the Communist Party proposed:

A drastic cut in arms expenditure which is "quite realistic if we asserted our independence"; reduce our armed forces and bring back all troops which are presently under the command of the former Nazi General Speidel in Europe; withdraw Canada from NATO and NORAD (Joint North American Air Defense); declare our neutrality and call upon all other nations to respect it; declare that Canada will not be armed with nuclear weapons and that Canadian territory will be free of all nuclear armaments; move for the withdrawal of United States military bases on Canadian territory; immediately recognize the Chinese People's Republic and support its membership in the United Nations. These proposals have met with wide response among the working people.

For quite a long time the Party has been conducting a campaign for a drastic change in Canada's position with regard to world peace, and to unhitch the country from the war chariot of aggressive U.S. imperialism. The Party issued a series of tracts such as "Yankee Occupation of Canada" and "Labor-Farmer Political Action." "Neutrality Now," a pamphlet written by Tim Buck, was published in July. The Party members conducted an intensive campaign through leaflet distribution, mass meetings, delegations to the government, and through the press on all questions relating to total disarmament and peaceful coexistence, and in defense of the economic and social needs of the people.

These questions were fully discussed at the meeting of the Party's National Committee (April

1960). The report of the General Secretary Tim Buck set out the basic benefits for Canada and its people, as well as for world peace, that would result from a policy of Canadian neutrality. Neutrality would lead to the regaining of Canadian independence; it would enable Canada to play a positive and progressive role in international affairs. Many people are beginning to realize, it was stressed in the report, that "for the people of Canada, the adoption of a foreign policy of neutrality is the key to physical survival, to national independence, to extended foreign trade and to more jobs. The policy which will bring these decisive changes will, also, make it possible . . . to transfer the expenditures now wasted on armaments to nation-building projects and to social security."

The failure to win active official support for these actions for peace from the Canadian Labor Congress is a serious weakness of the whole movement . . . In June the Party issued a call to its membership in which it pointed out that it was necessary to win the support of hundreds of local unions and dozens of central councils to take a stand for a new Canadian foreign policy.

The policy of neutrality, first put forward by the Communist Party, is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present international situation and on the new relationship of forces in the world. As the Executive Committee's Political Letter states: "Prime Minister Diefenbaker and those who continue to support his foreign policy apparently do not understand that the essence of the change taking place in the world is, precisely, that what he calls 'the Western alliance' is crumbling before the combined pressure of the growing power and influence of the world socialist system, the profound worldwide desire for peace, and the realization that there is a practical alternative to world nuclear war: namely, peaceful coexistence and total world disarmament, the widening struggle for which opens up the possibility of excluding war from the world."

A short time ago the Communist Party was the only political force demanding a radical change in Canadian policy. Now other influential elements of public opinion in Canada are developing converging movements which point up the growing awareness in Canada of the dangers to the country's security and peace resulting from the "made in

USA" cold-war policies pursued by the Diefenbaker government.

Canadian membership in NATO and NORAD; the establishment in Canada of U.S. bases; the permission by the Canadian government for "U-2" flights over Canada towards the Soviet north for espionage purposes; the economic and political domination of Canada by Washington and Wall Street; the military integration with the U.S.—all this raises in the minds of many people the question: what is left of Canadian independence? Is Canada to remain a willing tool in the hands of Washington leaving its security and the very lives of the people at the mercy of the Pentagon? And Canadian public opinion is beginning to move against such a suicidal policy.

The economy is more and more beginning to feel the depressing effect of U.S. domination over Canadian trade. Canada's balance of payments deficit for 1959 reached a peak of \$1,600 million. The army of unemployed swelled to over 750,000, the predictions being that before the end of 1960 their number will be well over a million, or over 15 per cent of the total labor force. Canadian agriculture is experiencing a long-drawn-out crisis due to loss of markets, mainly to the U.S.

Canada is spending on military purposes 90 dollars a year for every man, woman and child. The Diefenbaker government is building two more bases and is planning to have atomic weapons stored on Canadian soil under U.S. control. As the Defense Minister, George Pearkes, stated before the Commons Defense Committee: "At the present time negotiations are proceeding with the United States for the general use by Canadian forces of U.S. nuclear warheads and the storing of atomic weapons in Canada for the use either by United States or Canadian forces."

No wonder Canadian public opinion, contrary to the militarist propaganda designed to deceive the people, is opposed to the continuation of such bankrupt policies. Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, head of the National Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards, is calling for "the creation of a Canadian Department of Peace and Disarmament, recognition of Red China by the United Nations and Canadian leadership in world disarmament." Recently a joint delegation of eighty students from the three universities in Montreal went to Ottawa to present a petition demanding "No Atomic Warheads in Canada." *Peacemaker or Powder Monkey*, a book by J. M. Minifie, Washington correspondent of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which sets forth a policy of neutrality as being also in the interests of Canadian capitalism, is now in its third printing in Canada.

Peace supporters are particularly active in Toronto. The recently formed Toronto Committee for

Disarmament has put forward the slogan: "The only alternative to peace is not war. It is death." On June 10 the committee held a public meeting which was attended by over 2,000. A Women's Committee for Peace was organized by women prominent in public life in the Toronto area. The Canadian author Farley Mowat took the initiative in establishing a Committee for Canadian Independence directed toward stopping United States domination of Canada. Besides these there are several Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy. There is also the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament consisting of a group of professors and students of the University of Toronto. And the organization which in 1949 initiated the great movement for peace — the Canadian Peace Congress—is continuing its valuable activities.

Indignation was aroused by the statement of Defense Minister Pearkes that Canadian military forces should be armed with nuclear weapons to be used even when a non-nuclear attack would be made against them. The Committee for Nuclear Disarmament sent a telegram to the Prime Minister in which it said: "Our belief in the sincerity of the Government in opposing nuclear warfare and promoting disarmament is completely shaken. The immediate resignation of Mr. Pearkes is essential." And the Toronto Committee for Disarmament published in the press an Open Letter to the Prime Minister, calling upon him "to declare to the House of Commons, to the nation and to mankind that nuclear weapons shall not be permitted in territory, or to persons, subject to the Government of Canada."

Large sections of the working class are ready to develop activities for disarmament and peace, against the U.S. bases in Canada, against atomic war. But the right-wing leadership of the trade unions and of the CCF (social democratic party) are holding back organized labor from such action. They continue their anti-Sovieteering and in the main follow the cold war policy of the government.

But the process of awakening is underway among the rank and file of the trade unions and of the CCF. Of the resolutions sent in to the CCF for discussion at its National Convention (August 9-11, 1960) at least one-quarter dealt with various aspects of what Canada's foreign policy should be. These resolutions range from a proposal to withdraw from NORAD, modify and change NATO, to several which propose that Canada declare itself neutral.

At the last Convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (April 1960) in Montreal many resolutions were submitted by local unions and labor councils calling for an end to H-bomb tests, the outlawing of nuclear weapons, total world disarmament and Canadian neutrality. While these resolutions were side-stepped by the Right-wing leadership dominat-

ing the different Convention committees, they clearly showed the position of the rank and file of the trade unions for a policy of disarmament and peace.

The idea of disarmament and Canadian neutrality is being grasped by ever wider sections of the Canadian people, and will steadily become a material force that will in time dispel the fog of confusion, blind prejudice and distrust which is now a major obstacle to organized, broad united front action for peace and disarmament. This idea is bound to triumph because it spells the very survival of Canada as an independent and peace-loving state.

The Party's efforts for a new foreign policy for

Canada—a policy of neutrality—correspond fully with the peace program proclaimed in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto signed by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in November 1957 and in the Bucharest Communiqué of the twelve Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries.

In calling for a new policy of neutrality and peaceful coexistence, the Communists in Canada are working to unite the growing movements for disarmament and peace.

July, 1960

H. GURALNICK

The Fight for Peace—A Supreme Task

RECENT international developments have alarmed the people of Greece. This is explained by the fact that, by virtue of various overt and secret agreements, Greece's territory, air space and seas have been placed at the disposal of the aggressive NATO bloc.

West German naval craft call at our ports, neo-fascist ministers and generals like Strauss and Heusinger visit our country and, like their American colleagues, inspect military units and installations. Crete, used as a "training center," is being turned into a rocket-launching site.

In its foreign policy the Karamanlis government is aligned with the worst enemies of peace, and is ready to resort to any provocation in order to aggravate the cold war in the Balkans, to worsen relations with Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania. It has flatly rejected all the proposals made by the socialist countries for peaceful and friendly discussion of issues for equal economic co-operation and for making the Balkans a zone of peace. It has even made the provocative statement that Greek territory might possibly be used for espionage flights should "allied" interests call for these.

The purpose of this is to add to our economic dependence on foreign capital. By way of illustration we can point to the enslaving agreement with the U.S. Esso company, granting it practically unrestricted rights to exploit our oil deposits. The government has undertaken to buy equipment from the United States at a price 25 per cent higher than world prices. Another agreement, both unprofitable and sapping our independence, has been concluded with West German monopolies for construction of a nitrogen plant and a sugar refinery.

A recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, after discussing the situation and the tasks of the Party, pointed out that the task of the moment was the struggle for international

détente, for averting the danger emanating from the government's policy. "Today," reads the C.C. resolution, "vigilance and the fight for peace are more essential than ever."

The meeting explained that the cold war policy of subordination to U.S. imperialism has doomed the Greek economy to stagnation and backwardness, resulting in the steady deterioration of the conditions of the working people. The growing burden of military expenditure, which swallows approximately one-tenth of the national income and over a third of the state budget, is strangling the economy, making it impossible to reconstruct industry and agriculture. The cold-war policy and the dependence on foreign monopolies aggravate the effects of the economic crisis, make it more difficult to overcome, and make it chronic in a number of branches of agriculture.

The government, increasingly, is going out of its way to comply with the insolent demands of the foreign companies, while rejecting equal and mutually advantageous economic relations with the socialist countries, although trade with these countries would ensure a market for the unsold agricultural produce, would enable us to obtain industrial equipment and infuse new life into the economy as a whole.

Demagogically, the government has proclaimed five and ten-year development programs. The public are told that these programs and the line-up with the Common Market will further Greece's industrialization. In point of fact, these measures will not change the structure of the economy or help overcome its backwardness.

The Central Committee meeting suggested the following measures to ensure real economic progress: change the economic structure by building our own heavy industry and reconstructing other basic industries; provide jobs and reduce the non-productive, military and police expenditure; expand

trade and economic relations with the socialist world; raise the standard of living.

As against the anti-national policy of the government, the people are fighting for a democratic way out of the present situation. In this struggle they are headed by the working class. The number of workers participating in strikes has risen compared with 1958. More workers voted in the elections held early this year for trade union offices than on any previous occasion. Despite police repressions, militant candidates were elected in a number of unions.

The peasants, too, are on the move. Meetings and rallies in Herakleion, Khania and Rhethymnon, the worker-peasant struggle in Megdova (Thessaly), the holding up of trains by Stavropolis tobacco-growers and Stefanoviki grain growers — all are signs of the militancy of the peasant movement.

Civil servants, handicraftsmen and artisans, doctors, lawyers and students are fighting more actively against the reactionary policy of the government. The so-called "non-payment of taxes bill" heralding another increase in the tax burden, has roused the indignation of the middle sections. Protest rallies have been held in nearly all towns.

In recent times the national bourgeoisie, too, opposed to the penetration of foreign capital and the alignment with the Common Market, has taken part in the struggle.

Considerable sections of the bourgeoisie and the opposition parties—the EDA (United Democratic Left), the Liberal Party, the New Political Movement, the Progressive Party, the Social Populist Party—which between them represent the majority of the people, have repeatedly condemned the cold war policy of the government. I. Papandreou, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party, who on the whole supports the pro-American policy, has called for more cultural and trade contacts with the East. The leaders of the ruling National-Radical Union see that continuation of the reckless policy pursued by Karamanlis is fraught with grave consequences. All this shows the extent to which the base of the cold war policy has narrowed.

The numerous trials of Communists have stimulated joint action by nearly all the opposition parties; they called for the repeal of Law 375 and the abolition of capital punishment.

The fact that in the past two years the military tribunals have not passed a single death sentence and have had to deliver verdicts of not guilty in some cases (as was the case with the trial of 42 democrats) is explained by the popular resistance and by the support received from all over the world.

"The main feature of the moment," it was pointed out at the C.C. meeting, "is the rising militancy of the people's struggle against the oligarchy and

its government seeking to keep Greece in line with the reckless cold-war men of Washington and Bonn, against their entire anti-national policy."

The conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of the situation in Greece is that the interests of the country and the will of the overwhelming majority of the people demand that the Karamanlis Government, cringing before the foreigners, be replaced by a democratic government which will carry out a policy of détente, peace and democratic normalization in the country. This change can be made, provided all patriots—both of the Left and the Right—unite in a common front on the basis of a minimum program acceptable to all.

The reactionaries argue that the Army and the Americans would never sanction the existence of a government that would co-operate with the Left parties. But the Army is only a part of the people and it cannot go against their will. Recent developments in South Korea and in Turkey have shown that popular indignation with the police regime had its effect also on the armed forces which, like those in Greece, are under U.S. control. The task of the Communists, stressed the Central Committee resolution, is to unite all democrats and patriots in the struggle for the people's and national demands, so that Greece may take the way of democratic reconstruction. To attain this end united actions should be developed everywhere: in the factories, streets and villages. Not all working people understand as yet the need for unity, and this makes it incumbent on us to step up our work among the masses. Some of our comrades still underrate the significance of the struggle outside parliament, others have a wrong idea about the role of the working class in the democratic movement. While rebutting the opportunist claims that the working class, being the minority, cannot pretend to a leading role in the movement for democratic reconstruction, these comrades declare that the leading role of the working class in the democratic bloc should be recognized beforehand, forgetful that the working class emerges as the leading force as a result of its deeds and not words, as a result of its persistent struggle.

The meeting outlined the main lines of Party work in the trade unions and in the other mass organizations, stressing in particular the significance of work among the youth which is threatened today more than ever by the dangers arising from unemployment, Americanization, and the resurgence of the fascists. Unity of the democratic forces can be attained only by the mass actions of the people and, above all, by the struggle of the working class.

Legal status for the Communist Party, a pressing national need and a vital condition for the restoration of democracy, would help rally all patriots, would contribute to the triumph of the policy of

peace and co-operation among all nations. Most of the opposition parties, it should be said, have supported the demand for making the Communist Party legal.

The Communist Party of Greece, which unanimously approved the Bucharest Communiqué of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, is explaining to the people that the

present world balance of forces is characterized by the obvious superiority of the peace fighters and this makes it possible to avert catastrophe, ensure peaceful coexistence of countries with differing systems and utilize the productive forces of the nations for the benefit of all.

S. ANDONIADIS

Taking Part in Physical Labor

IT HAS become established practice in China's political life for leading cadres to engage in physical work. Labor as both work and study is an important aspect of their day-to-day activity.

The participation of cadres in physical work has a splendid tradition behind it. Ever since the founding of the Party it has been one of the basic methods of leadership of the mass movement for the revolutionary leaders to be among the workers and peasants in the capacity of rank and file laborers, to live, work and fight together with them, and thanks to this the Party has established close ties with the masses.

The Central Committee directives concerning the rectification movement (issued in May 1957) stressed the need to continue to maintain "the basic system of combining mental and manual work by the leading workers of the Party and the state alike." In addition the Central Committee has at different times issued directives concerning the participation of cadres in physical labor, and has worked out a series of political regulations and measures.

These directives have been persistently implemented by the Party. All Party and administrative cadres, from the C.C. members down to the local cadres of the Party, government, the Army and the people's organizations, as well as the leading personnel in the enterprises, in research, cultural and educational establishments, regularly engage in physical labor. With the exception of the aged and ill, those unfit for physical work or able to perform only light work, each comrade is obliged to undertake not less than one month's physical labor.

In organizing the participation in physical labor of this vast army of leading cadres the Party committees employ various organizational forms, depending on the specific features of all categories of cadres, in order to achieve the best possible results.

Younger cadres from among the intellectuals who have had no experience of physical work or who have done little work, are sent, as a rule, to local production units (mainly to people's communes in the countryside) for initiation. In view of the fact that there are many such, they are allocated according to the plan, in shifts and in

groups, and for a definite period. Each group has to work for about one year. During this time the cadres live, eat and work with the working people, and are jointly responsible for the production targets, and for labor discipline; they are subordinate to the leadership of the local organizations and are controlled by the masses. Their main task is to merge with the people in the process of work and in every way remould their ideology. The Party also expects them as Party and government workers to take an active part in the political life of the masses, to conduct ideological and political work among them, and disseminate scientific and cultural knowledge. Between the autumn of 1957 and the summer of 1959 about 1,300,000 leading cadres were sent, in groups, to the lower units to get tempering in work.

Leading cadres of the Party, government and public organizations perform physical work mainly as members of the people's communes or as workers in industrial enterprises for about one month each year. Their task is, on the one hand, to work alongside the rank and file, to merge with the masses, to become steeled ideologically through labor, to improve their style of work; on the other hand, they, bearing in mind the central task of the Party, should everywhere investigate and study the state of affairs, generalize experience, help the lower-level cadres to improve both their guidance and their work. Not a few leading cadres when sent on investigating missions take advantage of the opportunity to participate in physical work with the local population.

The forms of the participation in physical labor for the cadres in agriculture, including those in the district bodies and people's communes, are even more diverse. Some are sent for a short time to the lower organizations to work as members of work-teams. In conducting work in the localities the rural cadres take part directly in production and in management. Moreover, large numbers of the cadres together with the peasants and agricultural experts work on the "experimental fields." They combine practical work with experimentation, and creatively develop the methods of raising bumper harvests in conditions of different soils and

climates and, having resolved one problem, utilize the experience thus gained for all-round leadership. The good harvests in 1958 and 1959 were obtained precisely because of the common efforts of the cadres and the masses.

The cadres in industry and mining, in the sphere of capital construction, transport, communications and trade, using this method of working on "experimental fields," devote part of their time to work in one shift with members of their organizations. At the industrial enterprises with complex technology the managerial workers work at first as apprentices or assistants to the skilled workers. Doing physical work, they establish close contact with the workers, help them raise their labor enthusiasm, generalize the best experience, discuss with them on the spot ways and means of overcoming difficulties, and master the know-how of particular trades. They work either in the leading shops and sectors or in the relatively backward ones, using the method: "by grasping at the extreme links bring forward the intermediate link."

In view of the nature of their jobs the Party, when allocating workers in science, culture and education for physical work, makes specific demands on them. In addition to the general task—to remould their ideology through labor—the technicians in industry and agriculture spend part of their time working in industrial enterprises or in the people's communes. While engaged in physical work they often conduct experiments. Working among the masses, workers in the realm of social sciences study social phenomena. The Party demands that the workers in the realm of literature and art should, on the one hand, merge with the workers and peasants in the process of work, help them in their cultural activity, and on the other hand, should enrich their own creative work by the experience drawn from the masses. In line with the Party's demand to combine education with labor, teachers and other educational workers, together with their pupils, engage simultaneously in study and labor, build small enterprises and farms in the schools, act in the spirit of thriftiness and love of work.

Army officers regularly perform physical work together with their men. Officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, in addition to military training and the country's defense, have other very important tasks: development of virgin lands, construction of railroads, irrigation projects, etc., which play a big part in economic development.

In addition to the above-mentioned forms of physical work, cadres at all levels and of all categories are being constantly organized to help the peasants during sowing and harvesting, or they work as volunteers on the building sites. Many offices, military units and educational establishments have

organized auxiliary farms, vegetable gardens, cattle-breeding and poultry farms.

In organizing physical labor for the cadres Party organizations at all levels conduct educational work among them, instilling a correct attitude to labor and fostering labor enthusiasm and consciousness. The participation of cadres in physical labor is an important item on the agenda of Party organizations. The Party committees at all levels draw up comprehensive plans for this work, constantly check on the fulfilment of these plans, popularize and generalize the experience of this work. The participation of the cadres in physical labor has now become a custom and constitutes a basic permanent system in our political life. This has made the close contact between the Party and the masses still stronger. It signifies concrete application of the method of Party leadership, the mass line, in our practical work.

The facts show that the participation of cadres in physical labor not only helps raise their class consciousness, makes them better serve the people and uproots the negative effects of bourgeois ideology, but is also a means of profound, lively and effective education of the masses, of deepening their political consciousness and labor enthusiasm; thanks to this measure the masses become even more aware that the Party expresses the interests of the working people, sincerely support its policy, trust its cadres, and rally still closer around it.

This movement not only improves the style of work but also the relations between the leaders and the masses. The cadres are now in a position to consider questions not only from the standpoint of those who lead but also, thanks to their own experience, from the standpoint of those who are being led. The fact that they work among the masses as rank-and-file workers helps them better to understand the views and aspirations of the masses, to have a better idea of how the political directives and measures of the Party are being implemented, more directly and positively resolve the various questions arising in practical work by discussing them together with the masses.

Thanks to this movement profound changes have taken place in the habits and thinking of people as well as in their relations. The views inherited from the old society such as contempt for physical work, for the working people, the countryside, etc., are now being overcome much faster. The working people have become still more aware of their position and responsibility as the masters of the country; they are taking part in production and public life with unprecedented enthusiasm, and warmly support the Party general line of "exerting every effort to advance toward socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results." They work selflessly together with the

cadres, striving to achieve the highest possible economic rates to end the country's poverty and cultural backwardness. The example of the masses has inspired the cadres, and the example of the cadres has, in its turn, inspired the masses. Experience shows that the participation of our cadres in physical work has been an essential factor in the cultural and technological revolution, in the big leap in industry and agriculture. It is also a permanent factor helping to continue the leap in our economy and culture. Moreover, it has an even greater significance; in the final count the permanent participation of cadres in physical labor will lead gradually to the abolition in the minds of people of such survivals of the ideology of exploiting classes as

contempt for physical work—the outcome of the division into classes and the antithesis between mental and manual work which existed for thousands of years. This is particularly essential for the cadres of non-working class origin. Participation in physical labor will help substantially to inculcate a communist attitude to labor, which, instead of being a burden, will become a pleasure, a prime necessity. The system of combining mental and manual labor in conditions of the unfolding cultural and technological revolution, of the steady rise in the cultural level and technical know-how of the working people, opens, in our view, the way to the gradual abolition of the differences between these two kinds of labor.

Han WEN

Nothing Will Break Us

THE Salazar dictatorship in Portugal is losing ground. The people are beginning to realize that under the present regime Portugal will not be able to get out of the abyss of poverty, backwardness and illiteracy into which she was driven by the fascists.

Last year your journal* reported on the decline in industry, the plight of agriculture and the mass bankruptcy of the middle sections. This year the situation has worsened. The average citizen spends nearly all his earnings on a diet which, according to the foreign bourgeois press which is ever ready to whitewash Salazar, is poor indeed. The corruption among the ruling classes is a source of profound indignation in the country. An official report admitted that more than 70 per cent of the colonial officials spent more than their official incomes. Embezzlement, bribery and fraud are commonplace.

Salazar is seeking the support of the ultra-reactionary forces of world imperialism. An exchange of visits took place this year between the Defense Ministers of Portugal and Federal Germany. In June, Salazar had a meeting with Franco. Our country was "blessed" also by an Eisenhower visit.

At home Salazar is trying to overcome the growing contradictions by stepping up repressions. No effort is spared to strengthen the secret police. By means of police measures he hopes to keep the patriotic forces divided. But the desire for unity is growing. Despite persecutions there are already organizations working for unity. They are composed of people of different political views. Among these organizations are committees formed in the enterprises to safeguard the interests of the workers; these include the National Liberation Junta, the Resistance and Action Group and the

National Independence Movement. These organizations, though still small, exist and are active.

The Communist Party is pursuing a steadfast policy of unity. A Central Committee statement widely circulated this spring said: "A unity movement requires that all the political groups and leaders should strive for co-operation and mutual understanding. This means that all should make mutual concessions . . ." The Communists maintain that "the re-establishment of civil liberties, the rapid reorganization of the state and an early solution of the pressing economic problems" are demands around which all forces dissatisfied with the present situation can be rallied.

A movement capable of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship cannot, of course, arise only at the whim of the opposition leaders. Long preparatory work is needed as well as mass struggle and constant political work among people in all walks of life. As things are, even struggle for partial economic demands is bound to develop into political struggle; it serves as a good school for unity and for the political education of the masses.

The spread of the struggle in any form adds to the prestige of the Communist Party. Despite the severe conditions in which we are forced to work, we always feel the support of non-Party people. Needless to say, the brilliantly organized escape of Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary of the Central Committee, and a group of Communists from the Peniche prison is an example of the Party's well-conducted underground work and of the support it enjoys among the population. The comrades who escaped issued a statement to the people, which was a striking demonstration of the fearlessness of the Party, of its readiness to fight for freedom and legality.

The Party organizations have circulated this document as widely as possible. Socials and the collec-

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 11, 1959.

tion of donations to the Party fund were organized, and we could see that our supporters were really stirred when they read the document.

Although our Party is forced to work under extremely difficult underground conditions it is growing steadily. But precisely for this reason it does not tolerate any manifestation of complacency, which is always fraught with grave dangers, and especially now.

The intensified repressions make it imperative for the Party to improve its methods of work. Recently the C.C. adopted a special decision on this question. The sincere self-criticism it contains could be made only by a Party which has profound faith in its strength and in the justness of its cause.

During the past two years the secret police managed to arrest a number of Party workers. While most of them stood firm during interrogation others informed on their comrades with the result that further arrests were made. The C.C. closely studied these facts and published its conclusions in the Party bulletin *O Militante*. The main point made is that in a country under the iron heel of a fascist dictatorship the successes achieved in political and organizational work can be frustrated if there is inadequate vigilance.

Some of the conclusions, we believe, may be useful to other Parties. It was pointed out that some comrades met people in the wrong place and at the wrong time, were not sufficiently cautious, rushed things, were careless in conversation and kept notes which, when seized by the enemy, injured our cause. Unnecessary risk was regarded as a virtue. And for this the Party has paid dearly. The failures caused by insufficient vigilance were no less than those caused by treachery.

How to right this situation?

The possibility of a somewhat free interpretation of the rules of underground work was a shortcoming which we failed to foresee. We have decided to define these rules more exactly and to demand of all members, beginning with the leaders, strictly to adhere to them. We have become accustomed to judging the gravity of a mistake by its effects. But in underground conditions this is not enough, for not only the actual but also possible consequences of a blunder should be taken into account.

No matter how good the rules may be, they in themselves are not enough to guarantee success. Educational work is needed to cement discipline and to make each member staunch in face of the enemy. Without conscious discipline the Party, particularly if it is underground, cannot fulfil its tasks.

Lack of staunchness and courage injures Party practical work, undermines the confidence of the

masses in it, and retards its growth. The member who yields to the enemy is a coward who has neither dignity, class consciousness nor faith in the Party, in the people and in victory. It would be an over-simplification, however, to say that such a man has always had these shortcomings. To a certain extent these weaknesses are the result of our insufficient political and educational work with our cadres. For example, in recent years we have hardly said a single word about how a Communist should behave in case of arrest. Nothing has appeared in our bulletin *O Militante* on the subject during the past three years apart from a summary of the pamphlet "If You, Comrade, Are Arrested"

Today the Party is intensifying its work of steeling its members. The branches discuss the attitude of Communists in the event of arrest, and individual talks are also held on this subject. The talks are conducted on the basis of our general ideological principles and illustrated by examples from our practical work.

We should remember that there is no force in the world that can make a man speak if he does not want to. Experience shows that neither torture, psychological devices nor "scientific" means can make the ideologically staunch person open his mouth.

Arrest by the police does not mean the end of the struggle for the Communist. The struggle simply acquires another form. And its outcome depends solely on him. Our point is that the Communist who blabs to the police nullifies all the good he has done in the past, endangers his comrades, and destroys himself politically and morally. Victory, clearly, does not come at once. Each interrogation means struggle which it is difficult to wage but possible to win. The police resort to all sorts of subterfuge: persuasion, intimidation, beatings and provocations. But the Communist should keep silent.

When discussing aspects of underground work we describe the different circumstances in which the Communist may find himself. When we speak about staunchness we cite examples of courage displayed not only by Communists but also by other patriots. For example, out of the 200 who were thrown into the Caxias prison 180 stood firm during the interrogations. Among them were Alentejo peasants, Lisbon workers and intellectuals, students who had taken part in the international youth festivals.

We know that the more ground the Salazar dictatorship loses, the more severe will be the repressions rained upon us. The growth of the Party's prestige and the success in work among the masses should not lead to any let-up in vigilance.

Joan MATOS

Short Notices

Argentina

SUNDAY MEETINGS

A LONG with holding the regular Party meetings the Buenos Aires Party organization holds broader meetings to which relatives, friends and acquaintances are invited. Sometimes these meetings are held on Saturdays after work, but the favorite day is Sunday when time is not pressing. A member's birthday, a wedding or the birth of a child often serve as the occasion for these meetings.

In spring and summer they are usually held out of town, in a cottage or in the woods. The branch arranges for transportation either free of charge or for a small charge, for which purpose it approaches members or supporters owning cars. After a snack the company go for a stroll or a swim, after which the meeting begins.

The speaker concentrates on current issues and questions of concern to the particular group. Sometimes the leader of a neighboring branch tells of its experiences. A regular subject is how relatives and friends of the members can help in the work of the branch. When possible, comrades who have visited the socialist countries are invited to share their impressions. Such meetings have proved very popular.

At lunch the company relaxes, with political toasts accompanying the drinks. If a meeting takes place indoors, the participants listen to gramophone records and see films (district committees usually have cinecameras). Amateur theatricals are also organized.

By attending the meetings, the friends and relatives of the Communists get a better understanding of the Party, of why its members devote so much time to political work. The branches hold that meetings of this kind provide each member with "solid allies" in his own family.

Belgium

END THE COLONIALIST GAMBLES!

THE Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party has published a statement on the aggression in the Congo, the responsibility for which rests with the Belgian government. "In its subservience to the colonial companies . . .," reads the statement, "the government has not stopped before the risk of an international conflict."

Laying bare the reasons which impelled the government to support the puppet Tshombe, the state-

ment emphasizes that the points at issue are the natural wealth of Katanga and the interests of l'Union Minière. "We should not tolerate a situation in which our soldiers are continuing to die for l'Union Minière. 'No' to war for Katanga—such is the vital demand of the policy which the workers' organizations and all the democratic forces should immediately elaborate." The statement criticizes the Right-wing of the Socialist Party which is trying to save the government by supporting its colonialist policy.

The Communist Party demands the immediate withdrawal of the Belgian troops from the Congo and the resignation of the discredited Eyskens government. "A new Government, clearly, is essential. But as things are, the simple replacement of the Government by a coalition of the Social-Christian and the Socialist parties or by a tripartite coalition would doom the working-class movement to support for reaction, would bind it hand and foot and would signify relinquishing all struggle: social, economic and political The correct solution is to prepare a new policy and to unite the forces of the working class and the people

"There is a direct link between the situation in Belgium, the growing unemployment in the country, the destruction of its natural wealth and the fact that the colonial gambles, having spoiled relations with the young Republic of the Congo, have compelled her to seek trading partners not in our country. Consequently, it is impossible to separate the action of the Belgian government in the Congo from its general policy."

The Party has put forward the following program for uniting the democratic forces: restore friendly relations with the Congo and render assistance to her; cut the military budget by 10,000 million francs and in this way satisfy the vital demands of the people; foreign policy to be orientated on peaceful coexistence; higher wages, full employment, anti-capitalist reforms beginning with control of the financial companies and nationalization of the power enterprises.

This program, says the statement, can unite the working people — Communists, Socialists and Social Christians — and win the support of democratic majority capable of achieving a real turn in government policy.

Spain

IMMEDIATE TASK OF THE ANTI-FRANCO FORCES

THE Spanish Communist Party has issued a statement to the other opposition forces containing new proposals for joint action. The statement stresses the need to draw a lesson from recent events in South Korea, Turkey and Japan.

"These events show that the struggle of the masses, peaceful in the main, can put an end to the rotten regime of tyranny . . . , that when the united people resolutely affirm their intention to effect a political change, the army and the police force can either support the people and thus put an end to the tyranny or simply refuse support to the tyranny and thereby facilitate its defeat. Everything depends on the unity and energy of the people and the degree of disintegration of the tyrannical regime"

Franco is clinging to power, the statement goes on to say, but the worsening economic situation is intensifying the discontent. "Signs of the impending storm are not wanting . . . The working people are fighting against unemployment and dismissals, against the lowering of wages and other consequences of the 'stabilization plan.' Never in recent years have there been so many demonstrations as in the past few months, not only in the industrial centers but also in the countryside."

Noting that discontent is growing also among other sections of the population and that the struggle for an amnesty for political prisoners is spreading even to Catholic circles, the Central Committee emphasizes: "Agreement between all the anti-Franco forces seeking a change by peaceful means is absolutely essential."

A grave responsibility rests with the opposition forces; the opposition, it should be said, represents the overwhelming majority of Spaniards. The situation today calls for agreement between all, agreement which would not affect the differences between the opposition forces, which would respect their political independence and unite them around two main national problems:

"1. Organization of nationwide actions which should culminate in a peaceful national strike accompanied by large-scale demonstrations in order to put an end to the dictatorship without bloody conflicts.

"2. An obligation to respect the law which the Spaniards will create by way of free elections, and to act within the framework of this law."

The Party maintains that "on the basis of this agreement a core of leaders can be created capable, at this moment, of assuming the functions of a provisional government." The Communists would support the provisional government if it included in its program such demands as restoration of democratic liberties without any discrimination; a general pardon for political prisoners and exiles, extending to all participants in the Civil War who fought in either one or the other camp; abolition of capital punishment; better conditions for the workers, peasants, private and government employees and the people generally; a foreign policy

of peaceful coexistence; election of a Constituent Assembly which will give the people the democratic guarantee of choosing the system they like.

"The time has come when the Spanish people, provided they unite, take to struggle and boldly make the sacrifices it will require, can quickly win freedom. Their path is clearly indicated by recent international developments as well as by the political situation in many countries: this is the path of large-scale mass actions, of a peaceful nationwide strike. This strike should be prepared now by intensifying the partial economic and political struggles of all sections of the population—such is the immediate task facing all groups and parties of the opposition."

Federal Germany

YOUNG WORKERS ARE JOINING THE PARTY

DESPITE the repressions and difficulties in Party work more people are joining the Communist Party of Germany. There is an influx of young people, particularly in the big industrial centers, in the Ruhr and Saarland.

Neue Zeit, published by the Saar regional Party committee, features letters from branch members which show that these organizations have become bigger, more active and are winning more support among the population. "We have admitted seven new members and have a wider range of supporters," says one of the letters. Another tells about the interests displayed by the youth in the Party. A member from Ottweiler wrote that ten young people had been recruited.

The authors share their experiences. Personal contact with Social Democratic workers and supporters has proved most effective. As a result of the talks with young workers in Saarbruecken, twenty applied for membership.

The Party calls upon its young members to maintain contact with young trade unionists and the various youth organizations, to enlist them in the struggle against atomic armament, against conscription and for legislation to safeguard the rights of the young workers.

Not long ago Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Party, talked with 120 young men and women from the Ruhr about the Party's fight for peace, democracy and social security. "The Communist Party of Germany," he said, "is a party of the youth, it always fights for the demands of the young generation, who want peace, democracy and a better life." Nine of those present at the talk applied for membership.

Important Dates

(40th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Great Britain)

THE foundation of the Communist Party of Great Britain marked a new stage in the history of the British working class. The Party was founded by the most active and best known leaders of the militant sections of the socialist movement of Britain.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the bankruptcy of reformism was quickly made clear. In Britain the official Labor leaders in both the Labor Party and the trade union movement became, for the most part, propagandists and recruiters for war. But many of the best leaders of the British working class, active in different fields of the Labor movement, for instance in the British Socialist Party, in the Socialist Labor Party (mainly in Scotland), in the different socialist clubs of South Wales, in the Workers' Socialist Federation (mainly in East London), in the left wing of the Independent Labor Party, in the Shop Stewards' movement that arose in the course of the war, began to see the need for a new kind of revolutionary, working-class Party in Britain. This understanding was further fostered and clarified by the effects of the great October Revolution of 1917.

In 1919 unity discussions began between the most active Marxist and other revolutionary groupings, and after many long (and often difficult) negotiations agreement was reached between the main groupings for the calling of a Unity Convention. The London Unity Convention (July 31-August 1, 1920) saw the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The foundation of the Communist Party, therefore, was a merger, a unification, and not a splitting.

The founders of the Party saw the need for a Party in Britain that would, at one and the same time, help and guide the workers and participate in all the immediate struggles that confronted them, wages and hours, housing, health, education, peace and democracy; a Party that would, under the banner of international working-class solidarity, fight side by side with the working class and working people of the world, defend the young Soviet Republic from the aggressions of international capitalism, fight for the independence of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the British empire; a Party that would give to a leading section of the British workers a new and revolutionary type of organization based on democratic centralism; a Party that would, on the basis of the theories of Marxism-Leninism, help give to the British working class and people a socialist understanding, a socialist consciousness, and would combat the false

ideas of reformism that had hitherto exercised so great an influence in the British Labor movement.

In campaign after campaign, the Party endeavored to live up to its lofty aims. Within a few days of its formation it played a large role in the fight for the establishment of Councils of Action to combat intervention against Soviet Russia (August 1920). Within a few weeks it was organizing solidarity with the British miners' struggle against a major offensive of the coalowners. It fought courageously against the class conciliation of the Right-wing Labor leaders in face of the employers' offensive in the early 'twenties. At the time of Black Friday (April 1921) it, almost alone, tried to rally the workers to stand firm. When the working class began to advance again and the new movement of struggle began that culminated in Red Friday (1925) and the General Strike (1926), the Communist Party was playing, small though it was, a leading position, and it was not by accident that it was its leaders that were singled out for arrest in the period immediately preceding the General Strike. When the reformist leaders betrayed the General Strike the Party stood firm by the miners in the long months of painful struggle that followed.

In the subsequent years the Communist Party combatted and exposed the ideas spread by the Right-wing, ideas of class conciliation, of "Fordism," of the "new capitalism," i.e., that capitalism had ceased to be capitalism and would thus solve all problems of poverty and unemployment. These warnings were proven all too true when the world economic slump of 1929 broke.

The Party did all that it could to rally the workers in hard fought strikes and bitter unemployed battles. From its foundation the Party had stood at the head of the movement of the unemployed, which took on a most extended form in Britain. British capitalism had hoped to use the mass of unemployed workers (rarely less than 1½ million at this period) as a reserve for reaction, as strike-breakers and scabs. In fact, under Communist leadership, the unemployed movement right through the 'twenties and 'thirties proved the reverse—a reserve of the militant working-class movement.

In 1930 the Communist Party established the *Daily Worker*, whose activity over thirty years has been a miracle of working-class organization and sacrifice.

The Communist Party from its foundation stood under the banner of proletarian internationalism. Unlike any party before it in Britain, at the center of imperialism, the Communist Party accepted its

responsibilities for full support, in practice as well as in theory, to the colonial peoples in their struggles for national independence.

The Communist Party took the lead in Britain in the fight against fascism—at home against the Mosleyites, and internationally. It took the lead in the fight for solidarity with Republican Spain and initiated the organization of the British battalion of the International Brigade.

In face of Hitler's threats, the Communist Party called and fought for an alliance of the Soviet Union, Britain and France and worked at home to unite all socialist, democratic and progressive people in a common front against fascism. Almost alone in Britain, it exposed the Munich conspiracy of complicity with fascist aggression and the subsequent "phoney war" of Chamberlain and Daladier. But when the anti-Hitler alliance was achieved, the Party threw in all its energy to achieve the aims of the alliance and a speedy victory over fascism.

Following the war the Communist Party continued its fight for peace and it was the first to warn against the attempts of the American monopolies to dominate Britain politically and economically, and to turn Britain into a base for American military aggression. Whilst fighting alongside the colonial peoples for their independence it developed the fight for the independence of Britain from American imperialist domination. Warning against the dangers of the rearmament of West Germany, fighting for peaceful co-existence, to ban the H-bomb and to stop its manufacture in Britain, for an end to all tests of nuclear weapons, the Party made an important contribution to the unity of all forces for peace in Britain, accepting the fight for peace as the central task facing all humanity, a life and death matter of the British people.

The Communist Party led the fight against the wage freeze, for shorter working hours, for work

(against unemployment), for an increase in the pensions of the old-aged and improvement in the conditions of the youth.

In 1951 the Party published the first draft of its program—*The British Road to Socialism*. This was a work of creative Marxism, of applying to the specific conditions of Britain the general principles and approaches of Marxism-Leninism, and showing in practice along what lines and in what way socialism could be established in Britain. This had an especial importance as British reformism in these years moved even further in retreat. When the Right-wing Labor leaders launched the idea of removing from the Constitution of the Labor Party the famous Clause 4, which stood for "the social ownership of the means of production" and propagated instead the idea of a "mixed economy," of "making capitalism work," it was, above all, the British Communist Party that fought to maintain socialism as the aim of the British Labor movement.

This record of forty years of intense struggles has shown that for the successful establishment of socialism in Britain a strong Communist Party is the most essential factor. It has shown again and again that reformism leads inevitably to bankruptcy and defeat, and that no effective left movement can be developed except in association with the Communist Party. As the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party on its 40th anniversary declares: "Success in the fight against Right-wing leadership and policies depends on an organized political party of socialism, based on Marxist-Leninist theory, a Party closely associated with all militant and progressive sections in the trade unions and Labor movement, which can rally a majority to defeat the Right-wing reformist leadership and policies and pave the way to the achievement of political power by the working class and the coming of socialism."

James KLUGMANN

Exchange of Views

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

Our Questionnaire

This subject was dealt with in No. 5 (1960) of our journal in a special questionnaire and editorial comment. Below we continue the exchange of views. Contributions have been made by the Swedish journal Vor Tid, Jan Buecking, a reader from the Federal Republic of Germany, and a group of research workers of the World Economics and International Relations Institute attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences. This discussion will be continued.

VOR TID (Sweden, Stockholm):

THE problems posed by your journal are extremely interesting for the Swedish working-class movement. In our country, as in all other capitalist countries, serious changes are taking place in the social and economic status of the proletariat—new groups are emerging and developing, the factory and office workers are being confronted with new serious problems and new demands are consequently arising. The party of the working class, if it is to lead the working people and not follow in the wake of events, must take all these changes into account. Properly speaking, an analysis of the changes in the structure of the working class under capitalism should, in our view, be taken as the theoretical basis on which the Communist parties in the capitalist countries will be able to formulate important political demands. That is why the discussion begun in No. 5 of *World Marxist Review* is of great value to the world communist movement.

In our contribution we shall try to describe the situation in Sweden regarding some of the problems posed in your questionnaire.

The Sources of Replenishment of the Swedish Working Class

A major source from which our proletariat is being replenished is its own young people, who remain almost completely in the ranks of the class which gave it birth and education. According to sociologist B. Bualt, in 1957 only two per cent of the secondary school graduates in Stockholm were of working-class origin, while 46 per cent came from "well-to-do families" (by which statisticians mean chiefly the bourgeoisie), and 14 per cent—from the so-called middle class (petty bourgeoisie,

peasants, lower and middle office workers). Here we should bear in mind that in Stockholm it is relatively cheaper and easier for workers' children to receive secondary education than in the villages and, particularly, in the outlying industrial centers. Only an insignificant portion of boys and girls from working-class families graduate from higher educational establishments, and this at the cost of great privations. Therefore hardly any of the civil servants who are selected from among people with higher education, come from the working class.

Small peasants continue to be another important source of replenishment of the working class. In the past fifteen years an increasing number of the farmers, particularly small and middle, has been ruined as a result of capitalist concentration. The rate of bankruptcy in the immediate postwar years was five-six farms daily, in 1951-56—eight, and in 1959—13. Between 1951 and 1956, 5.6 per cent of the farms with two-five hectares of land and 11.5 per cent of the farms with 5-10 hectares were ruined in South and Middle Sweden.

These figures, however, do not provide a complete picture of the village-to-town migration. Rural youth particularly tend to go to towns and industrial centers. The number of people employed in agriculture is rapidly declining. Whereas at the end of the last century almost half the country's labor force was engaged in agriculture, by 1930 the numbers employed in agriculture, forestry and fishery (statistics regard these three branches as one) had shrunk to 31.8 per cent, and by 1950—to 20.3 per cent. During these 20 years none of the other groups of the gainfully employed population except personal services showed such a sharp decline as that engaged in agriculture, which can be seen

from the following table:

**EMPLOYMENT IN VARIOUS BRANCHES
OF ECONOMY**

	1930 (thous.)	1950 (thous.)	% increase or de- crease	% of total labor force	
				1930	1950
Agriculture, forest- ry and fishery	876.4	631.5	-27.9	31.8	20.3
Industry and handicrafts	938.4	1,267.3	+34.5	34.1	40.8
Transport	178.7	250.6	+40.2	6.5	8.1
Trade	329.5	497.3	+50.9	11.9	16.0
Services (except personal ser- vices)	190.3	344.7	+81.1	6.9	11.1
Personal services	222.1	90.3	-59.3	8.1	2.9
Other branches	20.5	23.1	+12.7	0.7	0.8
Total	2,755.9	3,104.8	+12.4	100.0	100.0

**Effects of Technological Progress: 35 Workers in
an Automated Plant Replace 230**

There are factors in Sweden which retard the introduction of automation. Our industry traditionally specializes in producing relatively small quantities of high-quality goods. The potentialities of mass production are restricted by the narrow home market.

Today, in the big and medium-sized enterprises, there is a tendency to limit the range of goods produced, up till now very wide, in order to organize mass production. As the tendency grows the introduction of automation, at least in its simplest form, will possibly increase. So far, as can be seen from an investigation carried out in 1957 at 220 machine-building enterprises, only one plant is to be completely automated in the near future, while 112 enterprises intend to introduce automation gradually.

But already these first steps towards automation are affecting the position of the working class—above all because automation has raised labor productivity to a point Sweden has never known. While “rationalization measures” on the basis of further mechanization stepped up the intensification of labor and in some cases raised labor productivity by a considerable percentage, automation has boosted labor productivity several times over. Thus, in an automated shop at the Ferslevsholm hosiery factory one woman worker operating an automated line now produces the same amount of goods as was previously produced by eight experienced workers. In an automated foundry at the Hyskvarana Vapenfabrik two workers cast more frames for sewing machines than 24 workers did before automation.

Automation induces the capitalists to cut down the labor force, and especially skilled labor. The following example is significant. An automated electric equipment plant recently built in Vimmerby

has only 35 workers, but fulfils all the orders of the Iveverken joint stock company for safety fuses, a job which previously required 220 workers, not including maintenance workers, and ten foremen. Thus 185 workers have become redundant. Another example: a few years ago the Filipstad hardtack factory, the country's biggest, was automated. The 17 automatic lines in the dough shop are now operated by only 25 workers, whereas before automation this number of workers was enough to operate only one line. Technological progress affects employment in whole industries, as, for example, in the textile industry.

Under today's relatively favorable economic conditions the displaced workers do not normally become unemployed but are given other jobs either in the same enterprise or elsewhere. But in his new job the worker often gets lower wages. This is confirmation of the fact that under capitalism automation works against the proletariat.

**Clerical Workers Become Operatives
and Mechanics**

Clerical work is being automated even more rapidly than in industry. As the above-mentioned investigation shows, in 1957 half of the 220 machine-building enterprises had computing machines. These and other business machines are even more widespread in insurance companies, governmental and other big offices. Since these machines operate with lightning speed and reduce the need for labor by approximately 10 per cent, many clerical workers are threatened with redundancy. Very few of them are being retrained to operate new machines. By virtue of the changed conditions and character of their work clerical workers are more and more becoming operatives and mechanics, and this of course is not to the liking of most of the older employees. Consequently it is not the factory workers who are being “promoted” to the ranks of office workers, as is claimed by bourgeois and reformist propaganda, but, on the contrary, the office workers are coming closer to the factory workers insofar as the conditions of their labor are concerned. Thus, the difference between clerical workers and those employed directly in production is being eliminated.

Therefore, we regard the assessment of the class position of the majority of clerical workers given in the “First Comment” as being correct. The effects of automation on employment and the growing danger of mass unemployment arising therefrom constitute one of the gravest problems facing the trade union struggles of industrial and clerical workers alike. Today it becomes increasingly difficult for the employers to foster mutual mistrust and antagonism which was previously a dominant feature of the relations between these two groups of workers. Following the example of

the industrial workers, office workers resort more and more often to strikes and picketing in order to defend their rights.

There are still in the country two trade union centers—the Central Association of Swedish Trade Unions with a membership of about 1.5 million and the Central Association of Trade Unions of Clerical Workers with almost 400,000 members—and this objectively hinders the establishment of closer relations between factory and office workers. Behind this division lies an unscientific concept of Swedish bourgeois statistics which when dividing the workers into categories represents factory workers as a declining and office workers as an increasing category. This division is, to all intents and purposes, arbitrary. Indeed, about one-third of the members of office workers' trade unions are engaged directly in industry in the capacity of engineers, technicians, foremen, clerks, etc. Whereas an automated line operative is described as a factory worker and is a member of the first trade union center, a computing machine operative is described as a clerical worker and is a member of the other center. This is a source of permanent confusion, and is not infrequently criticized even by reformist researchers. Nevertheless, the reformists defend this faulty division since they have a stake in dividing the working class into various organizations and groups.

We maintain that most of the members of the Central Association of Trade Unions of Office Workers come within the working class since they have no means or instruments of production of their own and are exploited by capital. Therefore they should be educated in the spirit of proletarian solidarity. We should not, of course, forget that industrial workers of the old type who directly participate in production remain as before the backbone of the working class. But of that part of the labor force which statisticians list as clerical workers, only a minority, under orders of the state or the employers, acts directly against the interests of the working people. This is true of the police, managers and some others, but these and similar groups are relatively small, although they should not be ignored.

In this way the changes in the structure of the gainfully employed population in Sweden create broad opportunities for extending the struggle for socialism in our country.

Labor Aristocracy, Its Definition: the Economic Criterion Is Not Enough

A labor aristocracy began to appear in Sweden in the period immediately preceding the First World War and particularly after it. This was, to a certain degree, due to the fact that Swedish big capital amassed huge profits from trade with both belligerents and allocated only a small part of these

profits for corrupting certain groups of the workers. At that time the term "labor aristocracy" was applied to workers employed in state-owned enterprises who had a stable wage and the right to holidays with pay and a pension. Workers in private enterprises usually enjoyed no such privileges.

Today those employed by the state are no longer considered to be in a privileged position. The workers in private enterprises have won the same rights. Holidays with pay and pensions have been secured by the working class as a whole. On the other hand, the position of the workers in state enterprises has relatively deteriorated. Previously dismissals of persons employed by the state were prohibited by law, today the number of those employed by the state who do not enjoy this privilege is steadily growing. State employees are forbidden by law to go on strike or resort to other means of struggle. As a result the wages of this group of working people are now even lower than the average wages of the Swedish worker.

When unemployment in Sweden was high, particularly in the thirties, those who had permanent jobs and were not threatened by dismissals were considered privileged workers. From among them were recruited reformist leaders of the central and local organizations of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. And it is they who make up the labor aristocracy. Today when jobs have ceased to be a privilege, the fairly high level of employment, no matter how paradoxical it may be, serves to reduce the size of the labor aristocracy and limits the possibility of its replenishment. This undermines the prestige of social reformism and of the bourgeois parties among the working class. Small wonder that the employers make no secret of their anxiety to preserve unemployment — in all industries if only on a limited scale — so as to be able to split the workers.

Those groups of workers which during the past thirty or forty years have won considerable wage increases cannot be classified as labor aristocracy. By them we mean particularly skilled workers in the various trades of the building industry and those general workers engaged in construction who are doing much more skilled work owing to technological progress. The builders have won higher wages by hard struggle. Metalworkers, one of the biggest sections of the Swedish working class, have also won some of their wage claims—and again through struggle. The miners of Northern Sweden are also in the category of the highly-paid workers, although in recent years their wages have increased to a lesser degree.

Nevertheless the building workers, the metalworkers and the miners of the North remain as before the most militant sections of the proletariat. Despite their relatively high standards of living,

these sections continue to fight for higher wages because the cost of living is constantly rising.

So we maintain that in defining the labor aristocracy, the economic factors should not be the

only yardstick. In our view, one of the criteria in placing a particular group of workers in the category of the aristocracy of labor should be whether this group has a bourgeois outlook.

JAN BUECKING (reader from the Federal Republic of Germany, Bremen)

Dear colleagues,

I warmly welcome your questionnaire on the changes in the structure of the working class. In the past, unfortunately, the progressive press has paid little attention to the Marxist analysis of the new tendencies in the social structure of the capitalist countries. Particularly insufficient research has been done into those phenomena which have appeared in the past few decades and were not, therefore, known to the founders of Marxism-Leninism. That is why your initiative deserves credit.

Allow me to make some criticisms of the editorial comment. In the first item you state that the increase in the numbers of non-production workers is due to the following reasons: the growth of state monopoly capitalism, the growing parasitism and economic difficulties of capitalist society. This viewpoint is, of course, correct, but, in my opinion, none of these processes is the fundamental cause of the growth of employment in the non-production sphere. If I am not mistaken, the same tendency has also been noted for quite a long time in the socialist countries. I do not think this should surprise anyone. The output per worker employed in material production usually grows at a faster rate than in the other spheres of the economy. The number of items which a worker can produce in a unit of time in mass production (and in most of the industrial enterprises there is mass production) can be, as a rule, largely increased by technical improvements. On the contrary it is obvious that the number of customers a shop-assistant can service in a given unit of time, the number of buildings which an architect can design, the number of letters which a department head can dictate and a typist can type, the number of children whom a teacher can teach, the number of newspapers which a postman can deliver, either cannot be increased at all by technical improvements, or, perhaps, only to a much smaller degree. Therefore it is to be expected that in all highly-industrialized countries the percentage of workers outside material production will continue to grow, and the numbers directly employed in material production will possibly decline not only relatively but also absolutely. It is obvious that here the difference between what happens under capitalism and under socialism lies mainly in the distribution of employment outside material production. In the socialist countries the percentage of commercial workers is evidently lower because

advertising, brokerage and similar undertakings are almost completely non-existent, whereas the percentage of those employed in the social services and cultural fields is, on the contrary, higher.

I would say that on these questions I agree with the French economist Prof. Fourastie. He is by no means a Marxist, but I think his views on this question are correct.* It is true, my agreement with Fourastie's conclusions depends partly on the classification of engineers and technicians. Nevertheless the fact that among those directly engaged in production the center of gravity is shifting towards clerical workers, also merits attention.

Now on the second point. You write: "Nor can one associate with the working class those civil servants employed in political offices and those who help to carry out the military-police functions of the capitalist state." Here, I believe, a deeper analysis is needed. What is the difference between the class positions of a policeman and, say, a teacher? Both are civil servants. But while the teacher by teaching children—future workers—participates to a certain extent in creating surplus value, the policeman does not. At the same time, although the work of the policemen is non-productive, it is still to a considerable degree (traffic regulation, sanitary police, etc.) just as necessary as the work of a caretaker. But the work of both—even when it is objectively necessary, so to say—serves to preserve the existing order. The same is true, at least in most cases, of the work of teachers. I think that here it is hardly possible to make an exact distinction. If in trying to determine the class status of an individual we proceed only on the basis of productive and non-productive labor this analysis will not in many cases sufficiently reflect realities. As a result certain forms of labor will be put into opposing categories though in their character and in the social position of the individuals performing them they are the same—for example, the labor of a cleaner of machines and

*Obviously the author of the letter has in mind the Fourastie conception, which was most clearly outlined in the latter's book *The Great Hope of the 20th Century*, translated into many languages. Fourastie wrote in part: "The conception underlying our theory on the sphere of distribution and services, amounts to the following: the number of persons engaged in trades which are but little affected by technological progress has been steadily growing ever since 1800 in relation to the total labor force." He contends that the sphere of distribution and services will tend to expand in all countries without exception till it embraces approximately 80 per cent of the gainfully employed population. (J. Fourastie. *Le grand espoir du XXesiecle*. Deuxieme edition. Paris, 1950, pp. 89, 90)—Ed.

of a cleaner of windows, a draughtsman and a poster artist, an operator of an electronic computer and of an accountant.

I hope my remarks will help further the discussion.

Yours sincerely,

Jan BUECKING

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PROBLEMS affecting the changes in the structure of the working class in the capitalist world today are of particular importance for both the theory and practice of the international working-class movement. A broad exchange of views between Marxists in various countries, an exchange undertaken on the initiative of the journal is valuable. The very first answers to the questions posed in the questionnaire and the preliminary comment provide ample material for consideration.

Development of the Productive Forces and Spheres of Material Production

The editorial comment gives three reasons for the structural changes occurring in the composition of the working class: "The growth of state-monopoly capitalism, the growing parasitism and the economic difficulties encountered by capitalist society, the features associated with modern mechanized and automated production."*

To analyze each of these reasons would require detailed independent study. We would like to call the attention of the readers to those changes in the composition of the working class which are the result of the development of the productive forces and are directly connected with the mechanization and automation of production.

Development of productive forces, both quantitative and qualitative changes in technology as well as further division of labor (all being universal historic laws) work changes in the economic structure of society, expand the boundaries of capitalist material production and give rise to new branches. For instance, activities which were in the past the function of the household are now developing into a number of independent branches: production of household refrigerators, washing machines, household equipment, public laundries, clothes repair shops, food processing factories, etc.

Science is also playing a different role in production. Whereas in the past research was chiefly concentrated in specialized scientific and educational establishments, today the situation has changed radically. A high level of productive forces and rapid development of technology require not only reorganization of production techniques on a scientific basis but also the implementation of science in production processes. Many of the monopolized enterprises are setting up their own scientific re-

search laboratories and departments, institutes and designing bureaus. The implementation of scientific discoveries determines the rate of technological progress and of the reduction of production costs, and hence, to a large degree the competitive capacity of the enterprise and the level of profit received by its owners.

Whereas in the technological field these new developments stimulate the growth of the productive forces, in the economic and social field they tend to subordinate science directly to the capitalists. Scientific research is not only made to serve the aims of the capitalist state, for instance, its military aims which embody the common interests of the capitalist class, but it also becomes a necessary condition for ensuring high profits.

All these processes result in the appearance of new detachments of the proletariat as well as in changing the structure of the working class. The ranks of the working class are being replenished by those workers who enter the new branches of industry. The appearance of new machines in growing quantities, as well as new techniques, call for an absolute and relative increase in the number of workers engaged in mental labor in material production. There are more qualified engineers and technicians as well as scientists working at the enterprises.

Mechanized and automated production creates a demand for workers with technical training, who must have a sufficiently high standard of general and professional education. At the same time mass production under capitalism reduces the labor of the workers of large enterprises to a series of monotonous operations which require concentrated attention and constant nervous strain. This in turn cuts the demand for qualified workers of the old type, by which Marx meant workers skilled in handling their tools. The functions of the highly skilled worker of the past are, so to speak, divided between qualified engineers and technicians, on the one hand, and, on the other, the so-called "semi-skilled" workers who today constitute the bulk of the workers employed in large-scale industry.

The materials published in issue No. 5 indicate that in the capitalist world the labor of the main body of qualified engineers and technicians tends to approach that of the workers. We maintain that this conclusion is correct. According to Marx the qualified engineers and technicians belong to the

*World Marxist Review, No. 5, 1960, p. 50.

working class, and there is no doubt about this. The editorial comment quotes excerpts from *The Theory of Surplus Value*. We would like to refer also to Vol. I of *Capital*. When Marx analyzed the changes in the structure of the working class during the transition from the manufactory to machine production he pointed out that the main groups of factory workers in large-scale industry comprised workers operating the machines and their assistants (unskilled workers). "In addition to these two principal classes," he wrote, "there is a numerically unimportant class of persons, whose occupation it is to look after the whole of the machinery and repair it from time to time; such as engineers, mechanics, joiners, etc. This is a superior class of workmen, some of them scientifically educated, others brought up to a trade; it is distinct from the factory operative class, and merely aggregated to it."*

Thus Marx singled out the qualified engineers and technicians into a special section of the working class pointing out at the same time that its position in production is determined by the "purely technical" character of the division of labor.**

Nevertheless in the middle of the last century the difficulties of getting an education and the small number of qualified engineers and technicians contributed to the fact that they were highly paid and were able to keep up with the bourgeoisie in their mode of life. And this enabled the capitalists to keep them away from the class struggle of the proletariat.

Today the situation is different. The colossal increase in the numbers of qualified engineers and technicians and the extension of education have enabled the bourgeoisie to pay less for their labor. The gap between the general educational level of the trained worker and the technician, between that of the technician and the qualified engineer has narrowed, thereby decreasing the difference in the value of the labor power of these groups. The main body of qualified engineers and technicians has a mode of life which approaches the mode of life of the proletariat. This, by the way, is one of the reasons why the number of persons applying for higher technical education has become smaller and for the fact that there is a shortage of college-trained engineers in the leading capitalist countries, a source of complaint of bourgeois economists.

Since the interests of the qualified engineers and technicians on the one hand, and those of the factory workers—the best-organized, militant detachment of the working class—are tending to coincide more and more, this fact cannot but contribute to a change in the ideology of the qualified engineers and technicians as well as in their atti-

tude towards class struggle. But the bourgeoisie is unwilling to release them from its ideological and political influence; it does everything to instil in them the idea that they stand above the proletariat and constitute a section of the so-called "new middle class."

Marx, in keeping with his principled approach in ideological matters, called attention to this phenomenon when it was only just appearing. In the footnote to the words quoted above Marx wrote: "It looks very like intentional misleading by statistics (which misleading it would be possible to prove in detail in other cases too), when the English factory legislation excludes from its operation the class of laborers (namely, engineers, technicians, etc.—*Note by the authors*) last mentioned in the text,"* for they do not recognize them as factory workers.

This deliberate statistical—and not only statistical—deceit reached unprecedented heights in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism and constitutes a component part of the policy of **doping the working people**, a line pursued by the advocates of monopoly capital.

The capitalists and their apologists endeavor to convince the qualified engineers and technicians that they are in a privileged position. With this aim in view the pay for their labor power is intentionally called a salary as distinguished from the pay received by the factory workers, which is called wages. In other words the relations of exploitation—appropriation by the capitalist of the unpaid labor of the engineer and technician — is disguised by a fig leaf.

In reality the role of this section of the working class in social production is determined above all by the fact that like the factory workers it creates value and surplus value on which the capitalist class lives. If Marx in his time defined the qualified engineers and technicians as a section of the working class, there is all the more reason for such an approach today when they are no longer "a numerically unimportant" stratum but rather a large section of the labor force.

Social Status of Office Workers

The editorial comment draws attention to a group of office workers whose functions are connected with the organization and management of production. It is pointed out that this section of office workers cannot be mechanically grouped with manual workers because a considerable section of rank and file office workers is not only exploited by the capitalist class but is also objectively an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the proletarian masses.

We feel that this correct thesis should be elaborated and augmented.

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 420.

**Ibid.

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 420.

The capitalist mode of production excludes the scientific planning of the economy. But the anarchy which reigns in the economies of the capitalist states as a whole appears side by side with the planning of production at the individual enterprises. Each big plant has special departments for supply, marketing of produce, and organization of production employing dozens and sometimes even hundreds of people. The staff of office workers employed at capitalist enterprises in accounting and organizing production displays a constant tendency to grow in connection with the increasing scale of production and its growing concentration.

"Bookkeeping, as the control and ideal synthesis of the process (of production—*Note by Authors*), becomes the more necessary the more the process assumes a social scale,"* writes Marx. The role of the personnel that fulfills the functions referred to by Marx becomes even more important in connection with automation. A modern automated enterprise deals with two inter-related and mutually conditional flows — "the flow of things" and "the flow of information." The processing of "the flow of information," which is carried out by the office workers, is in fact a necessary, organic element of production. The labor of this group of office workers is productive in character for they participate in the creation of value and surplus value.

But this is only one side of the question. As far as the other side is concerned the tendency towards an absolute and a relative increase in the number of office workers is abnormal due to the specific conditions under capitalism. The fierce struggle for markets, complex financial and legal relations inside the monopoly groupings as well as between the companies and their clients, between the state and the private firms and above all the antagonistic character of relations between labor and capital call for special services and result in the bloating of the office staff which functions in the sphere of circulation and distribution. Centralization of capital—mobilization of the means of hundreds of thousands of small shareholders, formation of gigantic monopolies with a multi-stage hierarchy with numerous links which have no direct bearing on production—works in the same direction.

Those groups of office workers that appear in ever larger numbers as a result of the specific antagonisms of capitalism cannot be classed with those office workers who are engaged in productive labor. The former constitute one of the sections of working people engaged in the non-production sphere; and it is on this basis that their place in society should be determined. Thus the stratum of persons covered by the term "office workers" is heterogeneous and is the result of the operation of various laws and processes; however, in practice

it is sometimes difficult to determine the origins of this or that group of office workers—whether they are the outcome of the developing productive forces or of the anti-social character of the capitalist mode of production.

It should be pointed out, however, that the overwhelming majority of the office workers, both those engaged in productive and in non-productive labor, does not directly carry out functions of exploitation. As far as their role in the social organization of labor is concerned, their position is not different from that of the workers. Their labor is also composed of necessary and surplus, it remains wage labor which for the most part is not remunerated but is appropriated by the capitalists.

Productive and Non-Productive Labor

Marxist teaching on productive and non-productive labor, as is correctly pointed out in the editorial comment, is most important for an analysis of the structure of the working class in capitalist society. While emphasizing correctly that from the viewpoint of capital as embodied in the person of the capitalist, work in the non-production sphere for gaining surplus value for the capitalist is the same sort of productive labor as that in material production, the editorial comment, in our view, is guilty of one inaccuracy. The comment states that "it is immaterial to the *capitalist class* (our italics—*Authors*.) how the worker produces the surplus value, whether directly—in the shape of commodities—or in a round-about way, creating by his labor the conditions for a redistribution of the surplus value from the other sectors of the economy."* However, in reality the capitalist class is far from indifferent to this question. Capital and, hence, the bourgeoisie as a class, seeks to increase the mass of surplus value inasmuch as the law of surplus value is the fundamental law throughout the whole period of its development. Before surplus value can be redistributed it needs to be produced and it can be produced only in the sphere of material production. Insofar as the *individual capitalist* is concerned this is a totally different matter. He does not care about the way by which he gets the surplus value, whether directly from material production or from other economic spheres.

To Which Class Do the Working People in the Non-Production Sphere Belong?

The expansion of the sphere of circulation and "services"*** is pointed out in all the answers to the

**World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1960, p. 52.

***We put this word in quotation marks because the sphere of "services" is far from being homogeneous. It includes, on the one hand, services engendered by the objective process of development of the productive forces and distribution of labor which is characteristic not only of the capitalist but also of the socialist formation, and, on the other, services which are intended to meet the purely parasitic requirements of the capitalist class.

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, p. 135.

questions posed in the questionnaire and also in the editorial comment. According to the comment the reason for this is the struggle for markets and spheres of application of capital, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and the parasitism and decay of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism and general crisis. In our view these theses are correct.

Generally speaking, the development of the productive forces in contemporary society tends relatively to decrease employment in material production. Even if we were to take into account that the production process is in part extended to the sphere of circulation and services (transportation of goods, sorting out and packaging of commodities, repairs) we see that today there are relatively fewer people directly engaged in material production than 100 years ago. And if we were to compare the various countries we should see that this ratio is smaller in the economically developed than in the underdeveloped countries. (However, the sphere of material production is being simultaneously extended.) Technological progress calls for a higher general standard of education of the working people and, hence, the expansion of public education. The intensification of exploitation is the cause of the disastrous depreciation of the labor force, which calls for more comprehensive medical services. Changes occurring in the character of labor and the pattern of consumption lead to the appearance of new kinds of services in the sphere of culture, sanitation and hygiene. Various media of information come into universal use, which are at the same time means of propaganda and publicity—papers, radio and television. In other words, the means which are meant to meet spiritual needs are becoming an ever more necessary and ever more important element comprising the value of labor power.

In an antagonistic society the working class receives spiritual benefits, as well as material benefits, not in the form of presents from the bourgeoisie. Far from it. The working people of capitalist countries have managed to win certain concessions and to consolidate them as elements of the living standard peculiar to a given country only as a result of fierce class struggle for better conditions. No small effort was required, for instance, to implement in a number of countries laws on universal elementary education. Nevertheless even today the most vital requirements of the working people in health protection and education are not met. On the other hand, the school in the bourgeois state gives a distorted education—the minds of the pupils are poisoned by bourgeois ideology while time is not allocated for instruction in certain spheres of science and culture. Under capitalism information as a rule is aimed at depriving the

proletariat of its class consciousness and is turned into a pervasive instrument for advertising commodities and services. This is a specific feature of the spiritual “benefits” that the workers get in capitalist society.

We feel that in analyzing the non-production sphere both sides—the objective need for developing the non-production sphere for society and the antagonistic forms which this development acquires under capitalism—should be taken into account. From the point of view of the division of labor in society the increasing share of this sphere, as compared with that of material production, is in accord with the objective laws of development. High labor productivity in material production depends not only on the division of labor directly in that sphere but also in the increasing division of labor in society as a whole, including the non-production sphere.

On the other hand, the tendency towards the relative decrease in the number of people engaged directly in production is aggravated by the antagonistic character of capitalist production. The immediate stimulus for development of production under capitalism is by no means the satisfaction of the needs of society but rather the appropriation and accumulation of surplus value. The contradiction between production and consumption inherent in capitalism inevitably paves the way to the artificial curtailment of production, and hence the non-production branches provide a source of increasing attraction for capital.

Under capitalism, as we have seen, the artificial expansion of the sphere of circulation is also due to anarchy of production and the struggle for markets and for the customer. Not only trade but also credit are expanded out of all proportion. In expanding the sphere of services no small part is played by the purely parasitic requirements of the capitalist class as well as by the specific forms of capitalist enterprise, such as various kinds of brokers.

The evolution in the relationship between production and “services” is accompanied by the increasing subordination of the new branches outside material production to the relationship between capital and wage labor. The logic of the capitalist mode of production consists in the fact that it turns any relationship into a capitalist relationship. Capital turns the labor of the office and professional workers engaged outside material production, that of teachers, doctors, etc., into wage labor. For capital the labor of the mental workers is non-productive as long as they are “professionals” and becomes productive as soon as they are recruited into the army of wage earners. Marx invariably pointed to this specific feature of the capitalist mode of production. Apart from the quotations

from Marx made in the editorial comment we would like to make one more. In Vol. I of *Capital* Marx writes, "That laborer alone is productive, who produces surplus value for the capitalist, and thus works for the self-expansion of capital. If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a schoolmaster is a productive laborer, when, in addition to belaboring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory, instead of in a sausage factory, does not alter the relation. Hence the notion of a productive labor implies not merely a relation between work and useful effect, between laborer and product of labor, but also a specific, social relation of production, a relation that has sprung up historically and stamps the laborer as the direct means of creating surplus value."^{*}

This thesis of Marx is important because it reveals from all sides his view on the character of productive labor under capitalism. Marx does not limit the productive character of labor solely to the sphere in which commodities are produced, value and surplus value are created, namely, to material production. *Any labor for the capitalist is productive if it helps to increase the value of his individual capital and any worker who is exploited by the capitalist and instrumental in such increase is a productive worker.*

Hence, in determining the class to which this or that worker belongs, the kind of labor or the sphere in which his labor helps the self-growth of the value of capital are not of decisive importance. Of decisive importance are the social production relations in which this labor is performed.

The works of Marx contain numerous indications of the class position of the working people engaged outside material production. In addition to those referred to in the editorial comment we can quote his remark about shop assistants whom he calls workers: "The commercial worker produces no surplus value directly. But the price of his labor is determined by the value of his labor-power, hence by its cost of production, while the application of this labor-power, its exertion, expenditure of energy, and wear and tear, is as in the case of every other wage-laborer by no means limited by its value. His wage, therefore, is not necessarily proportionate to the mass of profit which he helps the capitalist to realize . . . He creates no direct surplus value, but adds to the capitalist's income by helping him to reduce the cost of realizing surplus value, inasmuch as he performs partly unpaid labor."^{**} It should be emphasized that in this particular case Marx has in view precisely those shop

assistants who are usually termed office workers, that is, those who economize for the capitalist on the expense in realization of surplus value (for instance, shop assistants), but do not increase the value and surplus value in the sphere of circulation (as, for instance, the packers).

In the replies to the question "From which social strata is the working class replenished?"^{***} as well as in the editorial comment it is correctly emphasized, in our view, that the development of contemporary capitalism leads to the extension of the social boundaries of the working class. Both economically and historically the proletariat is the product of factory industry. Its formation begins in the sphere of material production because it is precisely here that the capitalist relations of production are shaped and developed. However, with the capitalist relations of production gaining supremacy not only in production but also in the sphere of circulation and "services," the working class is being reinforced by groups standing outside material production.

In studying the relations of exploitation outside material production Marx pointed out that the labor time of these working people as, for instance, the rent collector of a real-estate owner or the messenger of a bank, is composed of necessary and surplus time. As is the case with the workers engaged in the sphere of material production, their labor in part remains unremunerated and is appropriated by the capitalist.

However, the position of the working people engaged outside the sphere of material production has a number of specific features. Their labor produces neither value nor surplus value. Their task is to ensure for the capitalists engaged in trade (or credit) a share in the surplus value produced by the industrial workers. These working people get their pay also from the surplus value produced in the sphere of material production. The fact that they are not directly connected with material production divorces them to a certain degree from the factory workers, and the Communist parties and trade unions, as experience shows, have to work hard to bridge this rift.

Factors Determining the Consciousness of the Office Workers

The heterogeneous class character of office workers mentioned by the editorial comment excludes the possibility of the appearance of any special "class consciousness" which would be characteristic of all office workers and only office workers. The consciousness of the various groups of office workers which to a greater or less degree reflects their different position in bourgeois society can be developed to a greater or lesser degree depend-

^{*}K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 509.

^{**}K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 294.

^{***}World Marxist Review, No. 5, 1960, p. 36.

ing on a number of conditions. As distinguished from the élite of the managerial staff, which does not separate itself from the bourgeoisie, the majority of the proletarian office workers do not consider themselves to belong to the ruling class although they do not yet fully realize that they belong to the proletariat.

The specific features characterizing the consciousness of the mass of office workers can be understood only as a result of a detailed analysis of the factors which have influenced the formation and development of their consciousness. The more sound basis on which the class consciousness of the proletariat is formed is the fact that wage workers do not own the means of production and are forced to exist exclusively at the expense of their labor power which they sell to the capitalist. This basis is common both to the workers and to the majority of the office workers, with the exception of those who cater to the parasitic needs of the capitalists and are imbued with the psychology of the flunkey. However, a number of specific factors are also of importance to office workers, because of which their class consciousness develops more slowly and follows more complex trends as compared with industrial workers.

Only a few decades ago office workers in the more developed capitalist countries were as a whole a relatively privileged section. The process of differentiation of the office workers and the fact that the working conditions of the main body approached those of the factory workers became evident in the last decade of the 19th century (in the USA) and in the first few decades of the 20th century (in the European countries). The first obvious results of this process which led to the shift in the social status of the mass of office workers could be observed only in the '20's and '30's. It is natural therefore that the consciousness of the office workers still bears the hallmark of the political convictions which were formed in the past but no longer correspond to their present status.

A number of specific factors help to preserve the difference that exists between the consciousness and the objective status of the proletarian mass of office workers. One of these is their petty-bourgeois environment. Office workers are to a greater degree than factory workers recruited from the petty bourgeoisie. Although this factor is losing its significance the origin of the office worker cannot fail to affect the development of his consciousness. Another factor is the relatively low concentration of office workers which, naturally, is an obstacle to developing their class consciousness.

Of late machines are being introduced into offices at a rapid rate and this, of course, helps to remove

the distinction between the labor of the factory and the office workers. However, the mechanization and automation of office work has not yet reached a degree which would enable us to put the labor of the factory and office workers on a par.

By virtue of their duties a certain part of the rank-and-file office workers, particularly at the smaller and medium enterprises, enters into direct contact with the managerial staff. The managerial hierarchy in capitalist enterprises cannot but exert a negative influence on the formation of the class consciousness even of the lower ranks of office workers. This point has been correctly made in the reply of our Austrian colleagues.

The employers resort to the most cunning devices to maintain the artificial difference in the psychology of the factory and office workers, they do everything to drive a wedge between these two groups in order to prevent their coming together. The office workers are made to believe that they are "a part of the managerial staff of the enterprise" and therefore they must "naturally solidarize" with the managerial élite and that their position depends on their devotion to the capitalist. The employers cultivate in the minds of the office workers features of craft psychology inherited from the past. They try to convince them of their superiority over manual workers. Wherever it is possible the management of capitalist enterprises tries to distinguish office workers in some unimportant ways and to instil in them illusions about their special "social status."

While their main aim is to prove the sham "community" of interests of all office workers, both of the lower and the higher grades, the employers at the same time stimulate rivalry between them. To this end they have recourse to promotions which are equivalent to a raise in pay. Of course, any genuine promotion is actually open only to the higher grades of office workers and those who come from bourgeois families. Nevertheless the office workers of the lower grades are also given the hope that such promotion is open to them and this is done to undermine their feeling of proletarian solidarity.

At the same time it should not be overlooked that some of the rank-and-file office workers are aware of their proletarian class position although this awareness is manifested only in trade union form. In 1950 the French Institute of Public Opinion polled the views of various social sections in respect to their "class affiliation." Of the office workers and civil servants of the lower grades polled, 32.8 per cent classed themselves with the working class. It is interesting to note that only 52.9 per cent of the skilled workers and small handicraftsmen stated that they belonged to the working class.

The polls conducted in Britain in the '50's revealed that about 25 per cent of the clerical workers considered themselves to belong to the working class and not to the middle sections. The lower the grade of the office workers the greater the percentage of those who realize that they belong to the working class. During a similar poll of opinion of clerks of lower grade in Greenwich more than half claimed affiliation to the working class.

As can be seen, both manual and office workers are vulnerable to bourgeois ideology. Office workers differ from the manual workers not by the fact that they are *vulnerable* to bourgeois ideology but the fact that they are *more* vulnerable to it.

The above changes in the social status of the majority of office workers tend to weaken the force of those factors which retard the development of their consciousness. As the conditions and character of labor of both the office and manual workers become more and more similar, as the market conditions in respect to labor power and as the living standards of these two groups resemble one another more and more, the consciousness of the office workers will tend to become more and more proletarian.

Exchange of Views—Only a Beginning

We, of course, do not claim to have stated our views on all the questions posed in the questionnaire and raised in the editorial comment. Our letter only raises the problem of the class status of a number of groups of mental workers—qualified engineers and technicians, office workers and people engaged in circulation and distribution.

It would appear that Marxist students interested in the class structure of bourgeois society might deal also with the status of the managerial staff, certain groups of intellectuals and some of the

other social sections. While endorsing the definition of the higher grade of office workers — the managers — who are attached to the capitalist class we think that special attention should be paid to those mental workers who occupy an intermediate position between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

It would also appear that is important to analyze the class status of civil servants, municipal officers and their like, to reveal the heterogeneous and contradictory nature of the composition of the state apparatus in the capitalist countries. Under state-monopoly capitalism this apparatus has acquired enormous dimensions. It stands on guard for the interests of monopoly capital and fulfils the functions of preserving the conditions for capitalist exploitation and suppression of the working people. Side by side with this a considerably larger portion of the state apparatus is engaged in economic functions. It is obvious that the status of the political élite, the military high brass, the managers of state-owned enterprises and other high-standing civil servants who have long merged with the capitalist class differs from that of rank-and-file clerks and other groups of civil servants of the lower grades. The civil servants of the lower grades are quite often organized in trade unions and put forward economic demands, they often join in the class struggle of the working class and ally themselves with it in the fight for general democratic changes.

We shall not dwell on the other problems raised in the questionnaire and still awaiting investigation. We hope that this exchange of views will mark a new stage in the fruitful study of the class structure of bourgeois society.

G. ARDAYEV, A. WEBER,
V. SOLODOVNIKOV

Reviews

Under Cover of the Common Market

THE heated discussion that has started recently in Austria around the question of her participation in NATO's economic bloc — the European Economic Community — and especially the fact that she has joined the European Free Trade Association, the rival of the Common Market, show that the point at issue is a far-reaching political decision on which the national sovereignty, permanent neutrality proclaimed by Parliament and the very existence of the Austrian state depend to a considerable degree. In the course of this discussion it became obvious that German capital had again become entrenched in Austria and had seized important economic positions. The strength of these positions can be judged by two booklets which recently appeared in Vienna.* Their authors consider the economic situation of Austria from opposite points of view and come to different conclusions on the question of the Common Market.

The systematic penetration of German capital into Austria's economy, with which the first booklet deals, gives rise to concern in the country. Since the conclusion of the State Treaty in 1955 West Germany has stepped up its effort to regain the economic positions Germany lost after the Second World War. Although this aim has not yet been achieved, one cannot, as the booklet shows, underestimate the danger arising from West German expansion. Vast sectors of Austrian industry and trade are falling in various ways into dependence on the West German monopolies. This is effected (according to the data furnished by the Research Group) by direct West German investment in Austrian enterprises and by setting up in Austria a host of West German firms, through license agreements, loans granted by German banks and companies, through production, credit and sale agreements, etc.

The booklet correctly explains the consequences of the West German economic penetration into Austria. "Behind this planned economic influence," it

says, "today, as before 1938, there are obvious political considerations and far-reaching aims of certain groups in West Germany. The tying up of Austrian industry to the West German economy will enable the Federal Republic to compel the Austrian government to take a stand in international affairs favoring West German interests" (p. 40).

The Austrian public gained an insight into the "political considerations and far-reaching aims" of West Germany during the public debate on membership in the EEC in which it became clear that West Germany, interested in further economic penetration into Austria, is doing everything to draw Austria into the Common Market.

The danger of domination by foreign capital is also brought to light by Dr. Nemschak, the author of the second booklet under review. "In the event of European integration," he writes, "there arises . . . the danger that a considerable part of our economy will sooner or later fall into foreign hands. Evidence of this tendency can be seen everywhere; in various parts of the country wealthy foreigners buy industrial enterprises, trading firms and real estate, and search for openings for investment in various branches; even our forests, for instance in the border regions with Yugoslavia and Italy, are passing into the hands of foreigners" (p. 43). In another place he says: "Excessive domination of foreign capital would present our small and geographically vulnerable country with numerous economic, social and political problems in connection with Austrian neutrality."

Nemschak, nevertheless, favors "European integration" and, particularly, the participation of Austria in the EEC. This contradiction is explained by the fact that the Board and the Trustee Council of the Economic Research Institute headed by him consist of leading representatives of that section of the bourgeoisie which is interested in close economic integration with West Germany.

True, Nemschak studiously avoids mentioning West Germany. Participation in the EEC is, in his view, compatible both with the State Treaty (which prohibits any political or economic integration with Germany) and the permanent neutrality voluntarily proclaimed by Austria.

But his own "arguments" in favor of "the association of Austria and the EEC" disprove his point of view. "Austria's economy," writes Nemschak, "is linked more closely with the economies of the

**Der Kalte Anschluss*. Eine Untersuchung ueber den wachsenden westdeutschen Einfluss in der oesterreichischen Wirtschaft. Wien, 1959, 47 S.

Cold Anschluss. Research into the Growing West German Influence in Austria's Economy. Vienna 1959, 47 pp. Published by the Research Group of Assistance for the Economic Development of Austria (the group includes prominent economists).

Die Zukunft der oesterreichischen Wirtschaft. Oesterreich und die europaeische Integration. F. Nemschak. Wien, 1959, 49 S.

The Future of Austrian Economy, F. Nemschak. Vienna, 1959, 49 pp. The author is head of the Economic Research Institute.

EEC members than the economy of any other European country. Not less than half of our export goes to the EEC countries and 54 per cent of our imports come from this area" (p. 14). In actual fact behind the EEC stands West Germany. About half of the goods exported to the six Common Market countries go to West Germany, and nearly three-fourths of the goods bought by Austria in the Common Market area are imported from West Germany. There has never been such extensive trade between Austria and Germany as today. In 1937 (a year before the Anschluss) Germany's share in the total export of Austria was 14.8 per cent; at present Federal Germany's share in Austria's export is 25 per cent, and in imports it has risen from 16 in (1937) to 40 per cent.

Furthermore, trade with West Germany, as revealed in the booklet *Cold Anschluss*, is extremely disadvantageous to Austria. For instance, 75 per cent of the imports Austria gets from Federal Germany are manufactured goods and half-finished products and only 25 per cent are raw materials. On the other hand, in the export to Federal Germany steel ingots, sheet iron, timber and cellulose comprise only one-third; machines, electrical equipment and transport facilities make up 10 per cent; metal products two per cent, and chemical products one per cent. "The terms of exchange between Austria and Germany," the booklet says, "are very one-sided, and approach the type of trade relations with a semi-colonial country" (pp. 38-39).

Obviously as a result of Austrian participation in the EEC "German economic intrusion" into Austria would assume still sharper forms. The West German monopolies are trying to by-pass the State Treaty in a round about way, through the Common Market. As in the past the annexation of Austria by Hitler Germany was preceded by economic subordination of Austria to German monopoly capital; today participation in the EEC would be the first step towards an Anschluss, the beginning of the end of Austria's independence. By becoming a party to the NATO countries' economic bloc Austria would cease to be a neutral state. Having proved this in a convincing way, Dr. Alfred Ferdross, an international law expert, concluded that "a state adhering to permanent neutrality cannot therefore join an interstate economic organization like the EEC" (*Die Furhe*, November 28, 1959). And however hard Nemschak tries to prove the opposite, a fact remains a fact: the participation of Austria in the EEC runs counter to the provisions of the State Treaty and her permanent neutrality status.

It is noteworthy that in Austria Nemschak's arguments in favor of the EEC were enthusiastically accepted by those who benefit from the penetration of German capital into Austrian economy and who

are linked with West German enterprises by agreements or common interests. By supporting the Common Market the big capitalists want to ensure for the Austrian bourgeoisie, who were weakened by the Second World War, a shield for its struggle against the working class, using for this purpose the West European, chiefly German, monopolies united in the EEC. They want with the help of West Germany to consolidate their positions in the nationalized enterprises in the main branches of heavy industry, to weaken, to undermine and, finally, to abolish nationalization completely.

These aspirations, however, are opposed by large sections of the Austrian people, evidence of which is the booklet *Cold Anschluss*. If Austria lost her tariff and trade sovereignty by transferring it to the EEC and if the latter could liberalize through customs duties the trade turnover and the circulation of capital in Austria, the Austrian economy (compared with the other West European states, especially with West Germany, which are stronger economically and financially) would find itself in a difficult position. The estimates of the Austrian economists show that if the country joined the Common Market one-third of her industrial enterprises would not withstand the increased competition in the home market, while another third could survive only with the help of expensive modernization for which Austria has not the resources. Expressing the interests of those sections of the Austrian bourgeoisie (first and foremost petty bourgeoisie) which are suffering from West German competition and fear that by joining the EEC Austria would be doomed to ruin, the Research Group of Assistance for the Economic Development of Austria writes:

"Austria should refrain from participating in all closed trade and currency agreements and organizations which are not open to all states and which therefore have as their aim discrimination against uncommitted countries. It should also keep aloof from those supranational organizations which oblige their members to cede part of their sovereignty and to submit to the directives of the supranational body" (*Cold Anschluss*, p. 45).

The Austrian workers oppose participation in the EEC. Although in his speech at the Fourth Congress of the Trade Union Center (on which his booklet is based) Dr. Nemschak advocated participation in the EEC, the overwhelming majority of the delegates resolutely rejected his arguments and conclusions. The workers reject the EEC not only because they have had the bitter experience of all kinds of "annexations" (anschlusses) in the past but also because they regarded it as a reactionary body dominated by monopolies, a body in which the working class has no say.

Of all political parties only the so-called Austrian

Liberation Party fully supports the arguments of Nemschak and, consequently, the European Economic Community. Being a rag-tag collection of former Nazi, pan-German and militarist elements, it is still financed by West German capital and Austrian big capital closely associated with it.

Two wings have appeared in the Austrian People's Party, the principal capitalist party, corresponding to the different attitudes of the Austrian bourgeoisie to the EEC. Whereas one wing opposes participation in the Common Market, the other lines itself up with this economic bloc, parroting the arguments of Nemschak. Especially noteworthy in this respect was the statement by Krainer, the Chief Minister of Styria, who belongs to the pro-German wing of the People's Party: "Respect for our status of neutrality should not lead us . . . to become estranged from the idea of an Integrated Europe or bury it . . . We should not starve in the conditions of neutrality" (*Die Presse*, November 29, 1959). After this statement Federal Chancellor Raab, who is also a member of the People's Party, rebuffed the panic-mongers in his party, and their false theses on "starvation in the conditions of neutrality." In one article, which attracted public attention, he wrote: "It goes without saying that neutrality is a precious blessing for us, which we do not want hastily and thoughtlessly to risk for the sake of a mess of pottage, an imaginary material advantage" (*Oesterreichische Neue Tageszeitung*, December 6, 1959). It is worth noting that at the last Party Congress in February 1960 the advocates of the Common Market compelled Raab to resign from the post of Party Chairman and elected Dr. Gorbach who favors participation in the EEC.

Two trends have also appeared in the Socialist Party, although the differentiation here is considerably less pronounced than in the People's Party. Indeed the party has actually changed its attitude towards the Common Market. In past years it was the Socialist leadership which tried to be more "European" than the People's Party and was above all enthusiastic about the European Economic Community. And though it still favors "the integration of Europe" its enthusiasm over the EEC has obviously cooled down. It now uses arguments similar to those contained in the booklet *Cold Anschluss*.

At the Congress of the Socialist Party organization of Forarlberg Land in the summer of 1959 Vice Chancellor Pitterman, Chairman of this party, declared: "In order to reinforce its positions in Europe cartel capitalism has set about establishing

the European Economic Community. The 'supranational bourgeois bloc' created within the framework of this organization denotes the beginning of a development which we must oppose at the right time"; whereas at the Party Congress in November 1959 he said that "the warmly recommended participation in the EEC on the conditions of relinquishing a part of our economic independence" should be regarded as "not only a threat to our neutrality but also a repetition of Anschluss — not to one state but to a community of states."

In his New Year article* which aroused considerable interest, Pitterman came out against participation in the EEC. Denouncing "supranational Europeanism" he wrote that it meant "the establishment of the domination of the European states over other countries," "the weakening of the control of national parliament and, first and foremost the expulsion of democratic workers' organizations."

The attitude of the Socialist leaders towards the EEC changed probably because they realized that with the entering of Austria into the "supranational bourgeois bloc" of the European Economic Community the extreme Right-wing trend in the bourgeois parties would be strengthened and the Socialist Party weakened. In particular, it would endanger the nationalized industries for which Pitterman is responsible in the government and in which the Socialist Party has strong political positions.

It should be borne in mind however that there are forces in the Socialist Party which also line up with West Germany and the European Economic Community.

The Communist Party, while consistently upholding national independence and neutrality, resolutely rejects the entering of Austria into any economic bloc of capitalist states and stands for free trade with all countries. At the moment the Communists are campaigning above all against the Nato countries' economic bloc with the help of which German imperialism seeks to tighten the grip on Austria.

The failure of Nemschack at the Trade Union Congress and the wide support given to the arguments expounded in the booklet *Cold Anschluss* show that the defense of independence and neutrality has become a matter of vital concern for the vast majority of the Austrian people.

Hans WOLKER

*"Europe Is not Europeanism." *Arbeiter Zeitung*, January 1, 1960.

Belgian Monopolies at Home and in the Congo

THE book by the Belgian Marxist economist Pierre Joye* convincingly shows the emptiness of catch phrases such as "people's capitalism," "democratic capitalism," which, in effect, are simply apologetics for the monopolies and modern capitalist society. Adducing a wealth of factual material, the author shows the predatory activities of the Belgian monopolies not only at home but also in the Congo. The book is an indictment against the capitalist monopolies — the real organizers of the aggression against the new Republic. It is of interest also because it poses a number of problems which are being widely discussed in Western Europe.

The Growing Monopoly Stranglehold

Arguing against the bourgeois economists who imply that small and medium-sized enterprises are making headway in Belgian economy today, the author, citing official statistics, shows that the share of these enterprises in the economic life of the country has decreased considerably in the past decade.

Some 200 big companies dominate the Belgian economy. Concentration of capital is proceeding at an accelerated rate in all sectors of the economy. Thus, for example, between 1948 and 1958 the number of coal companies declined from 84 to 52, and by 1960 this number had fallen to 47. "Companies under the direct control of the big trusts . . . extract some 26,120,000 tons of coal, i.e., about 90 per cent of the total output. The companies controlled by Société Générale alone, produce nearly half of Belgium's coal" (pp. 26-27).

Two metallurgical companies — Cockerill-Ougrée and Hainaut-Sambre — turn out more than half the steel ingots. Concentration of capital is underway also in other industries — machine-building, chemical, cement, glass, textile and cotton.

It should be pointed out that concentration of capital in Belgium, and in many other West European countries, was particularly pronounced in the period immediately preceding the country's entry into the Common Market. Citing official statistics the author shows that between 1948 and 1953 there were on the average 15 mergers of companies annually. In 1954 37 mergers took place, in 1955 — 51, in 1956 — 66, and in 1957 — 239 (p. 221).

*P. Joye, *Les trusts en Belgique*. La concentration capitaliste. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. Bruxelles, Société Populaire d'Éditions, 1960, 272 p.

P. Joye, *The Trusts in Belgium*. Capitalist concentration. Second Revised and Augmented Edition. Brussels, 1960, 272 pp.

The book shows how, on the basis of growing concentration of capital, banks coalesced with industry, how the big banks dominate the companies and the entire economy of the country.

Who are these uncrowned kings of Belgium? They are, above all, the main financial groups such as Société Générale de Belgique, Solvay, Brufina-Cofinindus, Boerenbond, Empain, Lambert, Sofina, and others. Of these the most powerful is Société Générale whose "holdings in the companies are so numerous that it is next to impossible to enumerate them. Actually this powerful bank controls directly or indirectly many hundreds of companies in Belgium, in the Congo and in other countries" (p. 107).

Having seized the key positions in the economy, the financial barons have the final say in the government's home and foreign policies. More and more frequently they place their own men in the government. For example, since the Second World War some 40 ministers of the various cabinets were directly linked with the financial and industrial oligarchy.

Joye's book shows that at one time capitalist concentration played a positive role in Belgium, having been responsible, to use the words of Lenin, for "immense progress in the socialization of production." But at present a tendency towards stagnation, decay and parasitism is increasingly manifest. "The general crisis of capitalism," the book emphasizes, "has greatly aggravated the parasitic character of this system and, today, concentration develops mainly in its negative features" (p. 236). This process is clearly reflected in the slowing down of the rate of production.

Monopoly rule is synonymous with a greatly swollen bureaucratic apparatus both in the state and in the monopolies. During the past fifty years the numbers employed in the government departments (excluding the army) have increased more than sixfold.

Military expenditure is a particularly heavy burden on the working people. The trusts, getting military orders and making fabulous profits, are zealous advocates of the armaments drive and the militarization of the economy. The balance-sheets of the Fabrique National d'Armes de Guerre in Herstal show the profits made by the "munition kings." During the past ten years (1950-59) this trust has had net profits in the proximity of 600 million francs (not counting the allocations to reserve and depreciation funds). During this time

the price of this company's shares has risen six-fold.

Monopoly bondage is becoming increasingly burdensome because in addition to native capital the working people are exploited by foreign monopoly capital. Foreign trusts have invested considerable capital in Belgium. "Some industries, auto and oil-refining, for example, are, in effect, completely dominated by powerful foreign companies, while in others foreign capital plays first fiddle" (p. 175).

The Common Market has led to an influx of U.S. capital in Belgium. Quoting American sources, Joye shows that by the end of last year some 240 American firms had subsidiaries and agencies in Belgium — approximately 150 of them since the end of the war. Total U.S. investments in Belgium amount to \$200,000,000.

French, British and West German trusts, too, have big investments in Belgium. In its turn Belgian capital has spread its tentacles far beyond the confines of the country.

The Threads of Aggression in the Congo Lead to Brussels, New York, Paris . . .

The book describes the plunder of the Congo by the big Belgian monopolies jointly with other imperialist monopolies. Société Générale de Belgique, Solway and Brufina-Cofinindus, whose interests intertwine with the monopolies of other imperialist powers, are the culprits responsible for the developments in the Congo. Société Générale has turned the Congo into its private domain; its numberless subsidiaries dominate all branches of the country's economy. With at least 70 per cent of the Congo economy under its control, the Société Générale group is piling up riches. Super-exploitation of the natives brings the colonial companies much bigger profit than that usually obtained in the metropolitan country. In 1954, for example, companies whose basic enterprises are located in Belgium obtained 13,690 million francs clear profit from a capital (plus reserves) of 189,950 million, i.e., average rate of profit was 7.2 per cent. But companies with basic enterprises in the Congo and a capital of 36,590 million, netted 7,075 million, an average of 19 per cent (p. 120).

Société Générale dominates in Katanga, the Eldorado of the Congo. It exercises its rule through the powerful trust l'Union Minière (with a capital of 10,000 million francs) which is the capitalist world's biggest producer of uranium and cobalt and holds third place for copper, immediately after the American Kennecott and Anaconda companies.

This gigantic trust which has over 20 companies under its control holds sway over 70,000 Congolese workers and their families; it has its own special police force supposedly to "maintain public order." In the past six years l'Union Minière has had a

profit of 20,600 million francs. Its annual rate of profit is in the neighborhood of 60 per cent. In 1959 alone the clear profit was 3,535 million francs. (*Le Monde*, July 17-18, 1960.) Hence it is not difficult to discern the threads of the conspiracy which led to the proclaiming of Katanga's "independence."

The book also shows that in plundering the Congo the Belgian monopolies "co-operate" with the monopolies of other imperialist powers. For example, the Rothschild group (France) owns a large number of shares in l'Union Minière (p. 178); last year the British Barclay's Bank secured control of Credit Congolais (p. 141); in 1950 the Rockefeller group secured a big slice of l'Union Minière shares (p. 185).

These facts explain why the U.S., British and other imperialist rulers give every support to Belgium in its aggression against the Republic of the Congo, why Belgian troops use the U.S. military base in Libya as a trans-shipment point on the way to the Congo, and why Katanga is filled with American experts.

It is highly significant that at their last meeting the Foreign Ministers of the Common Market countries expressed solidarity with Belgium, saying "they were ready to help her as far as possible. . ." (*Le Monde*, July 20, 1960).

The latest developments in the Congo and in other African countries show, however, that the attempts of the imperialists to save their crumbling colonial empires are suffering one defeat after another. Neither bribery nor force can halt the growing disintegration of the colonial system. Moreover, the action of the international monopolies aggravates the antagonisms between the imperialist powers and the colonial peoples. The latter, naturally, are anxious to link their fight against the capitalist monopolies with the class struggle of the working people in the metropolitan countries who also suffer under the yoke of monopoly capital, and they are more and more turning to the socialist countries for help.

The gap between the monopolies and the people is widening, and a broad democratic front of struggle against the financial oligarchy is taking shape. Together with the working class, the most consistent fighter against the monopolies, other classes, too — the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie — are resisting the monopoly stranglehold.

This being so, it is essential that the working class should adopt a correct attitude to capitalist concentration and to choose sound tactics of anti-monopoly struggle.

The most interesting chapters in Joye's book are devoted to these important matters.

The Working Class Versus the Monopolies

The growing omnipotence of the monopolies and

the attitude of the working class towards the concentration of capital and the monopolies are now being widely debated in Western Europe. They were discussed also at the meeting of the Social Democratic parties and reformist trade unions of the Common Market countries held in Brussels last July.

At the latter discussion two main attitudes typical of a definite part of West European Social Democracy were revealed. One group of Social Democrats, referring to the inevitability of capitalist concentration, argued that struggle against the monopolies was impossible.

The author recalls that in 1955 the Belgian Parliament enacted the so-called Brasseur law which facilitated concentration by considerably reducing company taxes in the event of mergers. This law was approved also by the Socialist deputies, some of whom "justified their attitude by saying that concentration of production was a 'Marxist law' and that it would be wrong for the Socialists to try to oppose it. This rather unexpected invoking of Marxism derived from an utterly fantastic interpretation of scientific socialism" (p. 222).

Giving the lie to the falsifiers of Marxism, Pierre Joye emphasizes that objective laws can be discovered and utilized in the interests of society. "But the fact that Marxism analyzes the laws of the economic growth of capitalism obviously does not signify that Socialists should passively accept the consequences of these laws. The exploitation of the proletariat by capital and the constant growth of this exploitation is also a law of capitalism, but this does not mean that Marxists should tolerate this exploitation. On the contrary, they, when explaining that exploitation is a concomitant of capitalism and can be abolished only by abolishing the capitalist system, summon the working class to fight, *within the framework of this system*, against the exploitation engendered by capitalism" (pp. 222-223).

Other speakers at the Brussels gathering of Social Democratic parties, mentioning the prewar "anti-trust" measures in the United States, suggested that the "abuses" of the monopolies should be investigated and legislative measures taken against them. The resolution adopted at the meeting also spoke about a "consultative body to study" the activities of the monopolies within the framework of the Common Market (*France Observateur*, July 14, 1960).

This, of course, is simply philistine talk. It is common knowledge that the "anti-trust" legislation in the United States did little to prevent the growth of the monopolies and their power. In West Germany, too, there is an "anti-cartel law" consisting of 109 articles; one of these prohibits the establish-

ment of cartels, while the other 108 permit them "in exceptional cases."

Last June a law was enacted in Belgium which, allegedly, is spearheaded against the monopolies. But that this law is utterly ineffective and harmless so far as the monopolies are concerned is recognized even by the Belgian Socialists. Thus, *La Wallonie*, the Socialist Party newspaper, wrote on July 12: "The procedure of this law is so long, complex and ineffective that the monopolists can sleep peacefully — there is no threat to them." Commenting on this law André Genot, prominent member of the Socialist Party and secretary of the General Federation of Labor, wrote in *Syndicats* (July 16): "To try to abolish the abuses of the trusts and the cartel agreements . . . it would be necessary to have heavy artillery and not a primitive fowling-piece which has just been made for the purpose of exhibiting it."

The Marxist-Leninist parties are opposed both to a fatalistic acceptance of the "historically inevitable" omnipotence of the monopolies and to the methods of curbing them suggested by the reformist quacks of capitalism.

It is perfectly clear that only the abolition of the capitalist mode of production can finally abolish the capitalist monopolies and end their oppression of all sections of the population. But so long as capitalism exists the working class never relinquishes the struggle to curb the monopolies. Moreover, only in this day-to-day struggle against the arbitrary rule of monopoly capital can a broad alliance of all democratic forces be built; unless this is done it will be impossible to overthrow the dictatorship of the financial oligarchy.

Joye shows why this concept is important. "The working people are not opposed to the concentration of production, which has its source in technological progress, because, being powerless to prevent the operation of objective laws of capitalism, such a struggle would be useless. But the workers can and most oppose the negative consequences of the concentration. They can and must tirelessly resist these consequences. Recognizing the existence of objective economic laws does not mean that something is inevitable, that there is no need for action by the people and that this action is ineffective Although the working people cannot, of course, build socialism within the framework of capitalism, they can, to a degree, restrict the pressure of capital; through their struggle they can restrict the degree of exploitation" (pp. 254-55).

The methods of the anti-monopoly struggle waged by the working people differ radically from those suggested by the reformists. There is only one way to curb the monopolies, namely, resolute struggle by the working class, by the people as a

whole. The appeal issued at the meeting of the 17 Communist parties of capitalist Europe reads in part:

"The struggle for democracy demands today a fight to limit the power of the monopolies, and restrict their domination over economic life and political institutions.

"Measures for this aim include: nationalization of some monopolized sectors of industry, democratization of the agencies running the public sectors of economy; development of the initiative and influence of the workers in every aspect of economic life; democratic control of investment in industry and agriculture; implementation of agrarian reforms and the defense of small peasant proprietors, as well as the defense of other small and middle producers against the stranglehold of the monopolies."

It is clear that in implementing these measures which are in the nature of democratic reforms, the stress is laid on political and economic ad-

ministration of the country, i.e., the blow is in fact directed against the political and economic domination exercised by the monopolies.

The recent struggles of the Belgian working class are evidence of its unbending will resolutely and persistently to combat the capitalist monopolies. Suffice it to recall the events in Borinage in February 1959 — the first mass actions by the working people of Europe against the consequences of the European Coal and Steel Community; the day of struggle held on May 29, 1959, by the General Federation of Labor; the mass demonstration called by the Christian trade unions on October 10, 1959; and, lastly, the general strike of January 29, 1960. Since 1950 the struggle reached its highest development. In other countries the struggle is also gaining momentum.

Pierre Joye's book will be of help to the working people in their struggle to curb the monopolies, for a better life and for socialism.

Yu. POPOV

A Fighter for Peace

IN Frederic Joliot-Curie's *Selected Writings** we have a series of stirring documents from which we get an insight into the life of this famous scientist, who fought tirelessly for peace and a happy future for man. Penetrating into the working of his mind, looking at his intelligent, determined features, Chekhov's words involuntarily come to mind: "Everything in man should be beautiful — his appearance, his dress, his spirit and his thoughts."

From the opening pages we catch a glimpse of the image of the man who in all truth could be described as the conscience of his people.

The mushroom clouds caused by the first A-bombs dropped by the Americans on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had barely cleared away, scarcely had humanity grasped the horror of the instantaneous death of a hundred thousand people and the suffering of two hundred thousand others affected by radiation, when Joliot-Curie, addressing a gathering in the Sorbonne, condemned this action and warned against the consequences of an atomic war which could break out unless the peoples succeeded in curbing the imperialist warmakers. It was his conviction, he said, that French scientists, jointly with their colleagues in other countries, would combine their efforts against those who were impelling the world towards the abyss of atomic war.

The first articles in the volume tell in simple and lucid language about the discoveries made in radioactivity by Pierre Curie and Marie Sklodowska and

in which he, together with his wife, Irene Joliot-Curie, took part.

Most interesting are the two brief papers submitted to the Academy by Irene and Frederic Joliot-Curie, read by Jean Perrin, which in laconic language tell the story of the great discovery of nuclear physics, of artificially produced radioactivity and radio-active elements — radio-nitrogen, radio-phosphorus, radio-silicium. These works, for which Irene and Frederic Joliot-Curie were awarded the Nobel Prize, became the basis for further research into the use of atomic energy. In the speech he made when presented with the Nobel Prize, Joliot-Curie spoke about the possibility of nuclear transformation and nuclear chain reactions: should these transformations really become possible, what vast quantities of useful energy could be released. The idea of releasing the energy of the atom captivated Joliot. In 1939 he, together with Halban and Kowarski, submitted to the Academy the design for a uranium atomic reactor and all the calculations necessary for its construction. This design, which is reproduced in the *Selected Writings*, was published only ten years later.

The years 1939-40 found Joliot-Curie working on the construction of the atomic reactor. The Hitler invasion interrupted his experiments; the laboratory, scientific papers and the stocks of "heavy water" were evacuated, but he himself remained in France. During the grim years of the enemy occupation he devoted himself heart and soul to

*F. Joliot-Curie, *Textes choisis*. Paris, Editions sociales, 1959, 289 p.

the Resistance Movement, heading the University group of the National Front for the Freedom and Independence of France. His laboratory now made explosives, stored underground literature and became a meeting place for the Resistance fighters.

He joined the Communist Party in 1942. In the brief article "Why I Am a Communist," published in 1946, he wrote: "The Communist Party is the only party fighting persistently against fascism, against the egoistic and conservative minorities, for a greater freedom, for progress and justice. The Communist Party supports every initiative aimed at full utilization of the results of labor for the material and moral benefit of people."

In 1944 Joliot took part in the Paris uprising. After the war he worked, with all his enthusiasm and energy, to build France's first atomic reactor for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. When the reactor was commissioned, Joliot stressed in an article headed "France's First Atomic Pile" that the efforts of all scientists should be directed towards peaceful uses of atomic energy.

But elsewhere in the world the preparations for atomic war went ahead. A-bombs were being tested one after the other. Together with his colleagues in Britain, the Soviet Union, Italy, India and other countries, Joliot-Curie helped organize the first World Congress for Peace. Addressing the Congress, which opened in the Pleyel Hall in Paris on April 20, 1949, he spoke about the responsibility of scientists for the uses to which their discoveries were put. And, speaking for the scientists, he protested against their discoveries being used for war purposes.

Pointing to the danger of a nuclear war, he emphasized that millions of people, provided they could be alerted to the danger, would be able to avert it. He called for a combined effort by the people in all countries in the fight for peace and expressed the conviction that their struggle would triumph. For him the fight for peace was the fight for France, for the happiness of his people. This theme was the keynote of his speech at the Communist Party's Twelfth Congress. Denouncing the schemes of the imperialists who were preparing war against the socialist countries, the horrors that would be precipitated on mankind in the event of the A- and H-bombs being used, Joliot-Curie declared that the forward-looking and Communist scientists would never yield a particle of their knowledge for war against the Soviet Union. By acting in this way, he said, we will perform a service for France and for mankind.

All the articles in the volume are permeated with the noble ideals of humanism, with faith in science, and love of France. Take, for example, the article on Pierre Curie, written in March 1956. Drawing a picture of the famous scientist, the author, bitterly, quotes the words of Marie Sklo-

dowska: "In our society dominated by the thirst for luxury and wealth, the value of science is not appreciated. It is blind to the fact that science is part of its most precious moral values; society does not realize in full measure that science is the basis of all progress, that it makes human life easier and lessens its sufferings."

And here the author cites the examples of the Soviet Union where "every concern is shown for the scientists and the very best conditions are created for scientific work in the interests of all."

Joliot-Curie's warm feeling for the Soviet people grew with his visits to the USSR. He underlined that science was planned in the Soviet Union, that the training of scientific personnel was conducted in a planned way, and that Soviet scientists lacked nothing for research. In this connection we cannot but recall his address delivered in 1949 at a session of the Department of Physical and Mathematical Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Speaking about science in France, he pointed out that the government, meekly obeying the State Departments *diktat*, was steadily reducing budgetary allocations for science, while simultaneously increasing the allocations for military purposes.

"It can be said," he went on, "that at the present time science in France is endangered . . ." In an interview with *Pravda*, published on October 15, 1957, on the occasion of the launching of the first Sputnik, he spoke about the achievements of Soviet science.

"The history of world science knows of comparatively few leaps of such decisive significance. The Sputnik is one of the most important leaps." Replying to the question which was on everybody's lips at the time: what was the explanation for the fact that the Soviet Union had taken the lead in space flights, he described the progress made by Soviet science as the "logical outcome of development of the new society." Comparing the conditions of science in the Soviet Union with those in the capitalist world, he said that in the West political factors, rivalry between competing firms, and economic conditions often "thrust scientific and technological thought onto a secondary, devious way," thus preventing science from developing for the benefit of humanity. Pouring scorn on the artificial barriers erected between the West and the Soviet Union, he spoke about the need for "extensive scientific and cultural ties between France and the Soviet Union; such contacts, he said, would be of tremendous benefit to the world. "Thanks to Soviet scientific and technological achievements," he said in the interview, "man has become much more conscious of his possibilities. We now have every reason for pointing to the exploits that can be carried out in the interests of the working people, peace, progress and civilization."

This man, whose whole life was devoted to ato-

mic research, always thought in terms of its peaceful uses, of the immense reserves of energy at man's disposal, of possible ways of a fuller utilization of solar energy. These ideas are discussed in his article "Some Thoughts about Energy and Its Uses."

He had in mind not only the direct benefits of atomic energy thanks to the construction of powerful atomic plants but also the vast horizons opened to science through the use of radio-active isotopes. He was confident that in this way not only would the secrecy of photosynthesis be penetrated but that substances would be created artificially which, like the chlorophyll of plants, would absorb and accumulate solar energy and turn it into chemically-fused energy of food and fuel. But in this case, too, Joliot-Curie, the ardent admirer of science, clearly seeing its significance for man, never forgot about the possibility of science being used for criminal purposes.

With what delight would we have welcomed this achievement of scientific thought, he wrote, commenting on the release of atomic energy, had we not been shocked by the barbarous form of its application. Humanity will never forget the destruction of cities of no military significance by A-bombs dropped from U.S. aircraft.

After the war Joliot-Curie gave all his energy to the development of France's atomic power system and, simultaneously, headed the worldwide movement for peace, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and total disarmament.

It was Frederic Joliot-Curie who coined the opening words of the Stockholm Appeal: "We insist on unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, which are weapons of aggression and wholesale annihilation." This brief and expressive text was signed

by hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

To his last day Joliot-Curie never ceased his struggle for the noble cause of peace.

Illness prevented Joliot-Curie from attending the World Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation held in Stockholm in July 1958. But his friend, Pierre Biquard, read a message from him (the message concludes the *Selected Writings*), in which Joliot-Curie made the point that continuing nuclear tests were a source of harm to present and future generations. He urged that no effort be spared in working for an agreement to prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons and to discontinue the tests. In this last message Joliot-Curie shows what a world without disarmament would be like. He had deep faith in the possibility of total disarmament and called on all to pool their efforts to achieve this noble aim. He ended his message by expressing conviction that the Congress would justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples, that it would lead to fresh action against the atomic danger, for disarmament and peoples' unity.

The two years that have passed since the death of Joliot-Curie have seen the further growth of the struggle for peace. To the provocative policy of the U.S. Government, which frustrated the summit meeting, more and more people are responding by joining the active struggle against the reactionaries, for peace. The policy of provocations, far from intimidating the masses, is impelling them to fight for peace with renewed vigor.

The *Selected Writings* unfold before the reader the entire life of Frederic Joliot-Curie and with a feeling of profound gratitude one salutes the exploit of this no ordinary man, who was at once a brilliant scientist and a true Communist.

A. KUZIN

Communications and Comment

Developments in Honduras

(*Letter from Tegucigalpa*)

Dear Friends,

We would like, through the medium of your journal, to acquaint the people in other countries with the struggle waged by our people for freedom and independence.

Whereas in the past our people knew, to quote the words of a young poet, that "patria (native land) was merely a word with six letters, they will tell you now that it means rivers of tears, a land of unbelievable distress in which brutal exploitation takes toll of many, many lives, and in which many do not even know what bread is. And yet it was not so very long ago that a stooge of the U.S. fruit monopolies, which have lorded it in our country for over half a century, boasted that "there were no social problems in Honduras." Political parties, excluding the political machine needed by the monopolies and the government for the election swindles, were banned, while the mere mention of the word "trade union" was punished by shooting or by incarceration in a torture chamber.

Up to 1954 the country was wholly at the mercy of U.S. imperialism which ruled through the banana companies and the compradore bourgeoisie. According to official data, which certainly do not give the whole picture, direct U.S. investment is estimated at 380 million lempiras.* The North American monopolies are the biggest ranchers and capitalists in our country. Together with the native landowners they own about 1½ million hectares, while 95 per cent of the farmsteads own slightly more than one million.

After crushing the first revolutionary action of the workers and peasants in 1931-32 and destroying the young Communist Party (founded in 1927) these forces installed a ruthless dictatorship. The U.S. monopolies were exempted from taxes, a measure which in the period from 1932 to 1943 enabled them to rake in an extra 142 million lempiras; compared with this the tax revenue accruing to the State during the same period amounted to 115 million lempiras. Under the 1949 agreement with the United Fruit Company the latter ceased to be under Honduras jurisdiction and actually turned the country into its colony. A bilateral military agreement with the United States has placed our army under the control of the U.S. military mission. Res-

ponsibility for this treachery lies at the door of the semi-feudal landowners and the compradore bourgeoisie grouped in the so-called Nationalist and Reformist parties.

As a result of the democratic upsurge thanks to the victories over fascism in the Second World War the militant workers and representatives of the small and anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie formed in 1944 an underground political organization with a program of national liberation. The new body, known as the Revolutionary Democratic Party, played a big part in exposing the ruthless rule of the U.S. monopolies and their stooges. Government repressions and internal strife caused by its heterogeneous composition, weakened this Party and led to its decline. Its working-class members formed Marxist groups. The political awakening of the working class was furthered by the rise of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union and by the proximity of revolutionary Guatemala; many Hondurans took part in the liberation movement in Guatemala. At a conference held in April 1954, the Marxist groups united in the Communist Party. It was not accidental that the Party was born at the time of the preparations for the strike (the biggest ever fought in Honduras) of agricultural workers, dockers and railwaymen in San Pedro Sula, the center of the United Fruit "domain."

In this most developed region on the northern coast the working class* unfurled the banner of anti-imperialist struggle. The strike lasted two and a half months; the first May Day demonstrations were held during this period. As a result, the workers, led by the Communists, won a wage increase from the U.S. companies and recognition of their unions. The "May walk-outs" paved the way to subsequent democratic gains and opened up a new stage a feature of which was the emergence of the working class as an important factor in the political struggle.

The first labor laws were enacted, women were granted civic rights, and so on. Whereas formerly U.S. imperialism had acted brazenly and openly, after the "May walk-outs" it had to search for more refined forms of keeping the country in bondage.

*More than 30,000 workers are employed in U.S. enterprises on the northern coast, and about 12,000 in the capital. The population of Honduras is about two million—Ed.

*One lempira is valued at \$0.50 U.S.

Under pressure from the masses presidential elections were held for the first time in conditions of relative freedom. Ramon Villeda Morales became President. Villeda Morales was the candidate of the Liberal Party which at the end of last century had carried through a bourgeois revolution against the church and the landowners. This Party, which had been subjected to persecution in the '30's and '40's, enjoyed mass support.

The Liberal Party, heterogeneous in composition, includes representatives of the national bourgeoisie which also suffers from the monopoly oppression. This explains why, when the popular movement is on the rise, the national bourgeoisie joins it, calls for reforms, while some of its representatives even speak of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It also participates with the compradores and landowners in such organizations as the Association of Farmers and Cattle-Breeders, the Association of Industrialists and the Chamber of Commerce, often seeks agreement with the compradores and makes deals with imperialism.

In the election campaign the Liberal Party was supported by part of the intellectuals, the small bourgeoisie in the towns, and also by part of the peasants and workers. Its election program contained some democratic and progressive demands (civil liberties, respect for the workers' rights, agrarian reform and economic independence). For this reason the underground Communist Party advised the people to vote for Villeda Morales, while pointing at the same time to his inconsistencies.

The oligarchy did not recognize the Liberal victory. The tyrannical regime was not abolished. This being the case the Communist Party and the trade unions formed the Patriotic Committee for the Defense of the People's Rights. Fearing that the tyranny might be overthrown by a popular uprising, the U.S. monopolies and the army effected a coup d'état in October 1956 and held elections to the Constituent Assembly. The Liberal Party won again. But, adhering to the view that power could not be achieved without the consent of the banana companies, Villeda Morales struck a bargain with them. Two months before his inauguration, he and his colleagues held a clandestine meeting with the president of the United Fruit Co., Redmon, the U.S. Ambassador Willauer, the legal advisers to the monopolies and top-ranking army men. In exchange for the promise of a lavish loan from the United States and the support of the army, the Liberal leaders renounced their program and agreed to give ministerial portfolios to Nationalist and Reformist representatives, to legalize the army's independence of the government, suppress the working-class movement, support the U.S. foreign policy and safeguard the interests of U.S. capital in Honduras.

Nevertheless, the Villeda government was at first compelled to honor some of its election promises. The new Constitution recognized some civil liberties. A Labor Code was promulgated, although it curtailed the workers' rights and, in particular, legalized government interference in trade union affairs and reduced the right to strike to naught. The Foreign Minister, a left Liberal, declared that "Honduras would trade with all countries including those of the socialist camp." (This promise far from being kept has nearly cost the Minister his post.) The representatives of the national bourgeoisie in the government signed a contract with a French concern for the construction of a hydropower station on Rio Lindo on terms more favorable than those offered by U.S. and West German monopolies.

But even these faltering steps perturbed the imperialists. Through the army the U.S. monopolies exerted pressure on the government from within and from the outside, using the so-called liberation forces — the reactionary gangs formed on the territory of Nicaragua under the command of a Colonel Velasquez. The chiefs of the army, who sympathized with these "forces," allowed the subversive groups to cross the border. Some of the garrisons even joined the interventionists. The popular discontent occasioned by the grave economic situation which caused thousands to roam the country in search of work, played into the hands of the reactionaries.

In these conditions the Liberal government made fresh concessions to the imperialists in December 1958. Changes introduced into the Labor Code whittled away the workers' rights. The Ministry of Labor, giving a free hand to the monopolies to trample upon labor legislation, stepped up repressions against the independent trade unions and encouraged in the trade union movement the activity of agents of the reactionary Inter-American Regional Organization of Working People. Nicaraguan political emigrants were deported, and the ministers who had signed the contract for the construction of the hydropower station on Rio Lindo were forced to resign. At the demand of the U.S. the contract was cancelled.

The moment the demands of the U.S. imperialists were satisfied "tranquillity" set in. The gangs were dissolved. In mid-1959 when the people protested against the murder of Nicaraguan revolutionaries by army officers, the foreign monopolies again tried to instal a naked dictatorship. Relying on the troops in two military zones, on the police, a military college and on the landowners — so-called nationalist groups — Velasquez staged a revolt. Although the workers, students, and indeed all the democratic forces, including the Communist Party, had denounced the pro-monopoly policy of the Villeda government, they fought the rebels and won. A part of the army at first adopted a wait-and-see

attitude. But when it saw that the balance of forces was in favor of the people, it, too, came out against the rebels but mainly for the purpose of saving their chiefs from punishment and of disarming the workers and students.

After crushing the revolt the Villeda government veered further to the right. In violation of the Constitution it enacted anti-Communist Decree No. 183, which banned the democratic publications. Well-known fighters for the cause of the people: the journalists D. Ramos Bejarano, A. Robledo Castro and L. M. Zuniga and the trade union lawyers O. Moncada and R. Perez were arrested. Although, after protests from workers and students and at the request of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, these men were released, Ramos Moncada and Perez were rearrested in June this year together with three railway workers, charged with being members of the Communist Party. The real reason for the arrests, however, were articles which had appeared in the newspaper *Tribuna revolucionaria*, articles which defended the interests of the working class, peasants and the progressive forces generally. In Tegucigalpa union leaders have been arrested and subjected to torture. Reprisals were undertaken recently against peasants who wanted to create their own organizations.

Inflation, the high cost of living and unemployment are causing much suffering at a time when millions of lempiras are lavished on the army. The government obediently supports the U.S. foreign policy, and stands for "neutrality" in relation to the tyrannical regimes in Nicaragua and Guatemala. It closes its eyes to the establishment by the banana monopolies of a base in Honduras from which to attack Cuba, and to the recruiting of gangs of mercenaries.

The reactionary measures of the Villeda government, under the banner of anti-communism, are accentuating the country's dependence on U.S. imperialism and the arbitrary rule of the army chiefs.

But this policy is vigorously opposed by the numerous sections fighting for democracy and for radical agrarian reforms, against militarism and imperialism. The Communist Party is in the forefront of these forces. Many of its members have been arrested and tortured; many have fallen, along with other patriots, victims of the tyranny. On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Party the Central Committee pointed out in its appeal that "the Communist Party is

a patriotic Party not only because its members were born on Honduras soil but chiefly because its struggle, program and attitude express a genuinely national approach to the problems and interests of our country."

The Party has called upon all democrats to rally in the struggle for independence, for decent conditions and a democratic agrarian reform, for amending the Labor Code and enacting legislation envisaging the development of national industry and trade, for trade with all countries and for civic rights. The Communists are urging the people to work for a political regime which would defend the sovereignty of Honduras. Tirelessly strengthening its ties with the masses, the Party proclaims the need for a patriotic liberation front which would unite the workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

This front is already taking shape. Workers and students have formed joint committees for the defense of democratic liberties, for upholding the sovereignty and independence of Honduras, against the hegemony of the armed forces and the pro-U.S. policy of the militarists, for non-interference in trade union affairs. These committees aim at organizing the peasants and are demanding democratic agrarian reforms. They are supporting the strikes at the enterprises owned by U.S. capitalists.

There is no doubt that new prospects are opening up before the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in Honduras. As the balance of forces of the socialist commonwealth, headed by the Soviet Union, rises above the imperialist camp and as the internal contradictions in Honduras grow, better conditions will be created for ending the rule of the reactionaries and imperialists and abolishing the poverty and exploitation in our country.

Realization of this victory depends on the creation of a patriotic front, on the consolidation of this front, in which all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces will unite; this victory will depend in large measure on the strengthening of the Communist Party, on the regaining of its legal status, on extending its contact with the masses and on consolidating the worker-peasant alliance; it depends also on raising the ideological and political level of the Party members and on their ability to carry out the Party's policy, which is based on Marxism-Leninism and takes due cognizance of the conditions in the country.

Celedonio FUENTES

Against the Persecution of Democrats

COLONIAL TERROR IN ANGOLA

THE crumbling of the colonial empires is forcing their rulers to resort to all kinds of trickery. The United States, for example, has hastily raised its colonies Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands to "statehood," and is feverishly preparing to "bless" Puerto Rico in the same way. Its NATO ally — the Portuguese fascists — is acting in simpler fashion. The oldest tyrant, Salazar, who for thirty-four years has acted as gaoler of his people, has blandly announced that Timor, Goa and the numerous African possessions are not colonies at all, but are parts of an "integrated Portugal."

After brutally suppressing the liberation movement in Goa, after sending patriots from Goa and Timor to the Bié concentration camp in Angola, and after executing 26 strikers in Portuguese Guiana, Salazar has suddenly discovered that Angola, his colonial bastion, is seething with the struggle for independence. Of Angola's population of 4.5 million, 4.3 million are so-called "uncivilized natives" deprived of all rights and forced to perform slave labor on plantations and in mines belonging to Portuguese and U.S. monopolies. And of the 63,000 "civilized natives, 29,000 are jobless. Racial and colonial discrimination and the yoke of foreign monopolies have become well-nigh unbearable. Three partiotic organizations — the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the Movement for the Liberation of the African Territories, and the Anti-Colonialist Movement — have established a co-ordinating center, the African Revolutionary Front for the National Independence of Portuguese Colonies, and, following the example of their brothers, have initiated the fight for freedom.

The Portuguese authorities hastily shipped a battalion of republican guards to Angola and are sending another 20,000 men. The Second Air Command has been established there. Lopes, chief of the colony's secret police, has been instructed to crush the movement by all means available. The native quarters of Luanda are swarming with police armed with machine guns. Raids and arrests are conducted all over the country. Anyone suspected of progressive ideas or simply of sympathizing with the Africans runs the risk of arrest. Over 50 persons, including Negroes and whites, workers and intellectuals, and many women, have been tried by a military tribunal on charges of high treason. Charged with having printed and distributed four pamphlets calling for independence for Angola, they have been subjected to torture during interrogation, and made to stand for 64 hours without interruption, with no food and water. Some of the prisoners have died under torture. The Portuguese colonialists try to conceal the fact that the trial is

taking place, but news has leaked to the press disclosing the names of some of the accused. They are Antonio Pedro Benge, Fernando Pascoal da Costa, Aghostinho Mendes de Carvalho, Sebastiao Gaspar Domingos, Amadeu Amorim, Higino Sousa e Almeida, Gabriel Leitao Pereira, Francisco Assis Machado, the architect Veloso de Pinho, Calazans Duarte, an engineer, and Doctor Maria Julieta Guimares Gandra. All of them face the death sentence.

In June the African doctor and poet Dr. Agostinho Neto and the Rev. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade were thrown into prison. The leaders of the Angola People's Alliance — Liborio, Newfane and Lello Figueira — have been detained in the Bié concentration camp since 1956. Their comrades Julio Alfonso, Isaias Kamutuke, Alfredo Benje, Cunha, Loubeiro Sequeira and Ambrosio Luyanzi, after having been subjected to torture, were said to be "missing." The religious leader Simao Gonsalves Togo is held in the Baia dos Tigres concentration camp. Hundreds of people from Cabinda have died under torture.

The crimes perpetrated by the Portuguese fascists in Angola have aroused a wave of protests. An appeal issued by the African Revolutionary Front reads: "The people of Angola are waging a hard and unequal struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The colonial authorities aim at destroying all the political organizations that are fighting for the liberation of Angola and at perpetuating their rule. Fifty persons have been charged with having endangered the external security of the state and the unity of the nation. On the eve of this trial the public throughout the world should take vigorous action to force the Portuguese authorities to show respect for human dignity and the right of the people of Angola to self-determination.

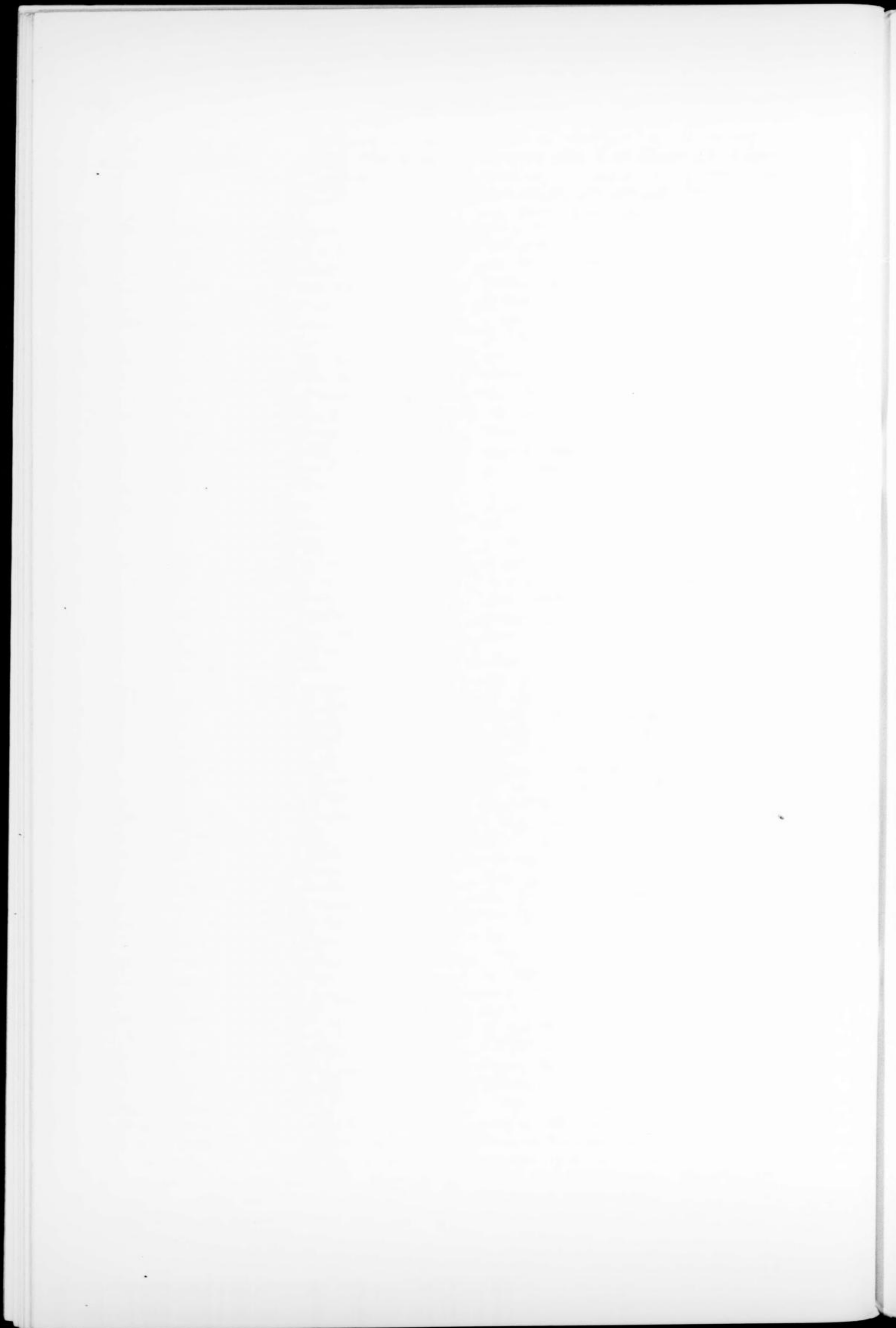
The African Revolutionary Front has called on all organizations, on all people of good will, to send deputations to Portuguese embassies, to address letters and telegrams demanding the release of political prisoners to the Ministry of Overseas Provinces in Lisbon, to the Governor-General of Angola and to Judge Pinto Furtado of the Luanda tribunal.

This call has met with a response in the press and in public organizations in the socialist countries, in the progressive press in Switzerland, Mexico and other countries. *Avante*, the underground paper of the Portuguese Communist Party, wrote: "Salazar's oppression of over 11 million Africans makes them hate the very name of Portugal . . .

The African peoples who are oppressed by Portuguese colonialism are organizing a fight for their independence. Theirs is a just cause . . . The Communist Party denounces the ominous preparations of the government. The danger with which our

people are threatened due to the Salazar colonialist policy calls for vigorous and immediate action before it is too late.

S. R.



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