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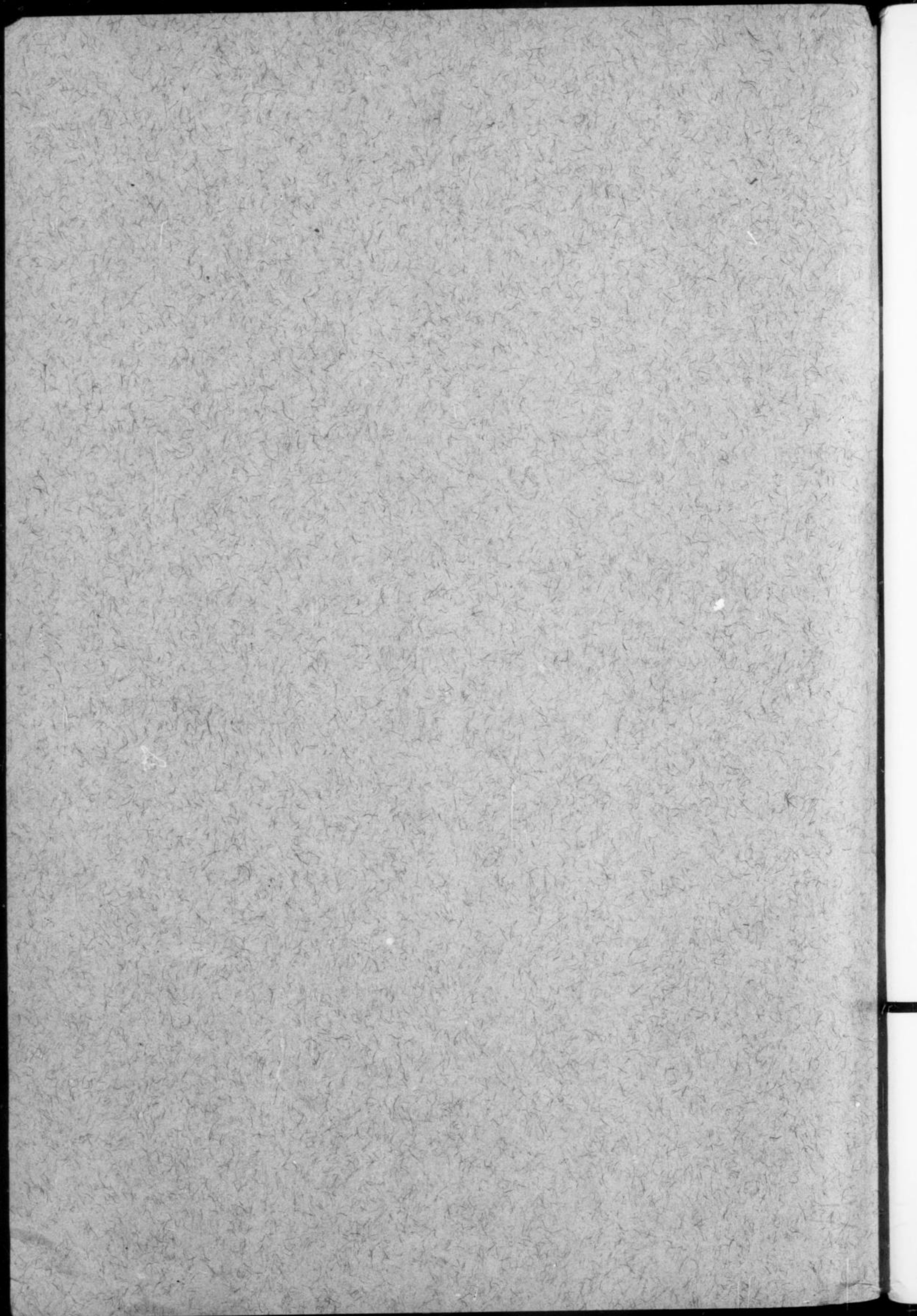
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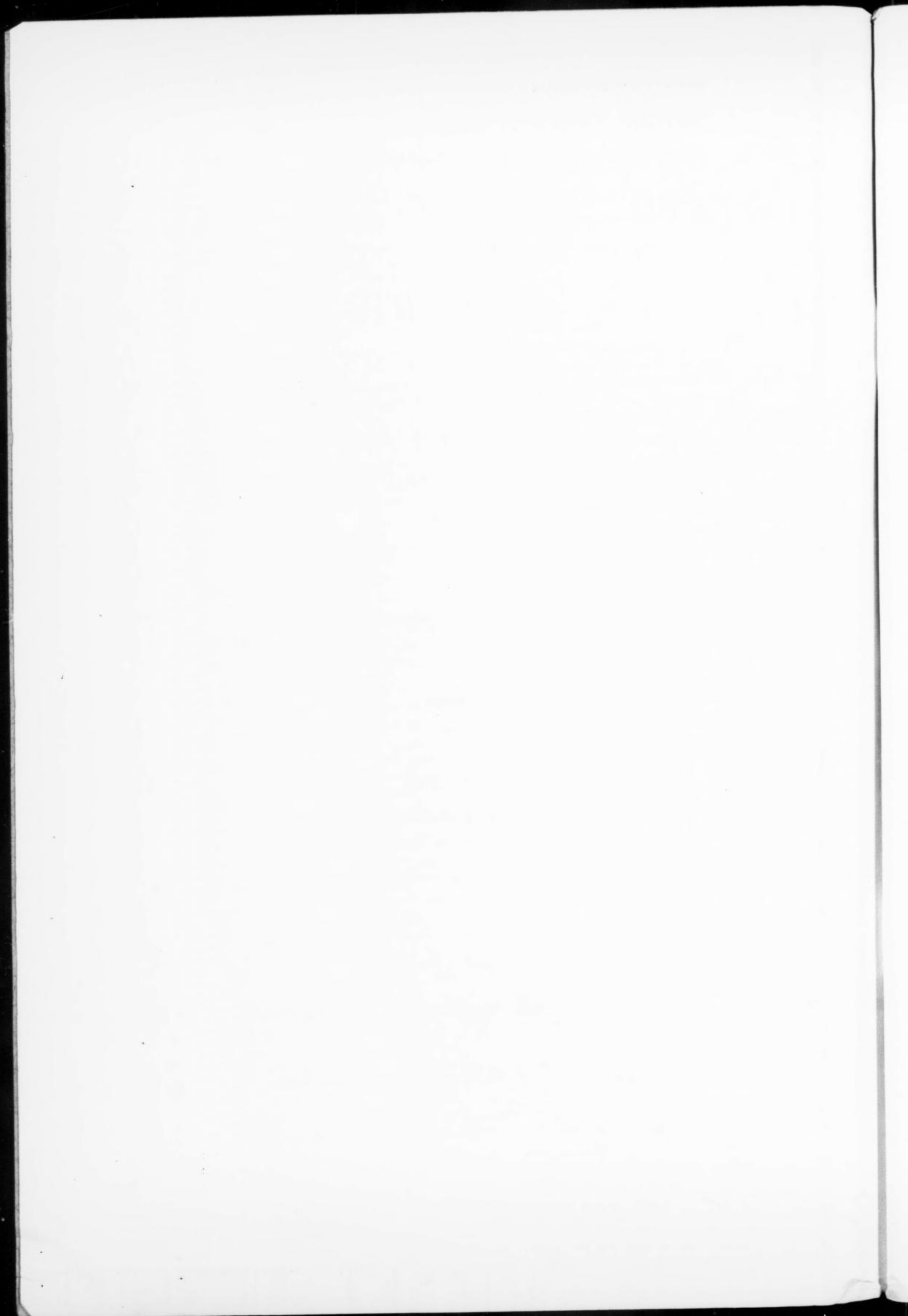
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For New Victories for the World Communist Movement

N. S. Khrushchov

(Speech delivered at a meeting of the Party organizations in the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C., CPSU, on January 6, 1961.)

COMRADES,

The Meeting of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist parties, held in Moscow in November 1960, will go down in the history of the world Communist and working-class movement as one of its most vivid chapters. The Meeting made a profound analysis of the present international situation and arrived at a common standpoint on the major issues facing our movement. As a result of the Meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal unity, the million-fold family of Communists in all countries have drawn closer on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and have redoubled their strength in the valiant struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism.

The Meeting, the most representative in the history of the Communist and working-class movement, was attended by veterans steeled in class battles, people who have experienced long years of grim struggles and who remained staunch under the torture of fascist executioners and other enemies of the working class. It was attended by leaders of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries, by representatives of the Communist parties which in difficult conditions are fighting valiantly against capitalism, and by militant leaders of the national-liberation movement—in short, it was a gathering of the flower of the world Communist movement.

Now that the Communists in all countries are vigorously discussing the Statement issued by the Meeting and its Appeal to the Peoples of the World, both of which they endorse unanimously, it is perfectly clear that the time and effort which the participants in the Meeting devoted to their common task were not wasted. The working people everywhere can see for themselves that the Marxist-Leninist parties have justified the hopes of the peoples.

Over a thousand million people in the socialist countries followed the proceedings of the Meeting with close attention. They were

confident that it would result in the further consolidation of the socialist camp and closer unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement. The working class, all working people in the capitalist countries wanted to know how best to fight for their revolutionary goals, for social progress and for democratic rights and liberties, how to resist imperialist reaction effectively. The fighters for national independence expected the Meeting to tell them how to abolish, speedily and for ever, the shameful colonial system and how to ensure the development of the liberated countries along the road of national independence, peace and social progress.

All peace-loving people awaited from the Meeting the answer to the great question of the day—how to safeguard the world against nuclear war and how to establish lasting peace on earth and friendship among all nations, how to ensure the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

And hundreds of millions of people all over the world experienced deep satisfaction when they learned about the results of the Meeting.

The Meeting greatly enriched the ideological treasure-house of international communism. The Statement, which was adopted unanimously, is a militant Marxist-Leninist document of the utmost international significance. It reaffirms the loyalty of the Communist parties to the Declaration adopted in 1957. At the same time it furnishes a profound analysis of the new developments in the world arena, and contains theoretical and political conclusions which are important for all the Marxist-Leninist parties. For the Communists, the working class and progressive people in all countries this Statement will be a reliable guide in the further struggle for their noble aims.

The Statement contains a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the times, and points to the new prospects opening up before the inter-

national Communist, working-class and liberation movement. The documents of the Meeting show the way forward for the socialist world system and for the further consolidation of the socialist camp; they define the major issues of the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, of the fight for the final abolition of the infamous colonial system, and for the unity of all those taking part in the movement to avert war.

The Appeal to the Peoples of the World is an impassioned call for unity in the struggle to solve the most pressing problem of our time—to prevent a world war. The Appeal shows once again that it is we, the Communists, who are the most consistent champions of the interests of the people, that it is we who show the only way to preserve peace and make it durable.

The work of the Meeting was inspired by proletarian internationalism, Party democracy and the desire to reinforce the unity of the Communists. The delegations from all the parties expressed their views, shared their experience, and made their contribution both in assessing and in elaborating the problems of the day.

The chief results of the Meeting were greater unity of the world Communist movement and the further consolidation of the international Communist front on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This can be described as a new ideological and political victory for the Communists, a victory of the greatest significance and, by the same token, as another defeat for the enemies of communism and progress. The imperialists and their stooges were bitterly disappointed when they read the document that came out of the Meeting. We have every reason for saying that the unity of the world Communist movement, which strikes terror into the hearts of the imperialist reactionaries, is now stronger than ever. This is a notable success for our common cause.

1. Our Epoch Is the Epoch of the Triumph of Marxism-Leninism

An analysis of the world situation as it appeared at the beginning of the sixties cannot but impart to all members of the great Communist movement feelings of deep satisfaction and legitimate pride. Indeed, comrades, the reality has greatly exceeded the boldest and most optimistic predictions and expectations.

In the past we used to say that history was working for socialism. By that we meant that eventually man would consign capitalism to

the dustbins and that socialism would triumph. Today we can say that socialism is working for history, because the rise of socialism and its affirmation on a worldwide scale are the basic content of the historical process in our times.

In 1913, that is, four years before the October Revolution, Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher, wrote that since the time of the *Communist Manifesto* world history could plainly be divided into three main periods, the first from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871, the second from the Paris Commune to the Russian revolution of 1905, and the third from the Russian revolution. Lenin rounded off his characterization of the three periods in these words: "Since the emergence of Marxism, each of the three great epochs of world history has brought it further confirmation and new triumphs. But the future will bring Marxism, the doctrine of the proletariat, an even greater triumph." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 18, p. 547.)

Those prophetic words have come true with amazing force and accuracy. The new epoch foreseen by Lenin has arrived and qualitatively it can be described as a fundamentally new epoch in world history. No previous epoch can be compared to it. Those were epochs when the working class was gathering strength and when its valiant struggles, while shaking the foundations of capitalism, were unable to solve the main problem, that of the transfer of power to the working people. On the other hand, the new epoch is distinguished from all others by the historic victory of socialism, initiated by the October Revolution in 1917. Ever since, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine has been winning one resounding victory after another. And today its impact and revolutionizing role are felt not merely in separate countries and continents, but throughout the world.

There are a number of factors which make the march of socialism irresistible. To begin with, Marxism-Leninism has been taken up by hundreds of millions of people and for this reason it has become, as Marx put it, a mighty material force. Moreover, in the eyes of mankind Marxism-Leninism is not just a theory, it has become a living reality; today the socialist society being created in vast areas of Europe and Asia embodies that theory. There is no longer, nor can there be, a force in the world capable of halting the growing urge of vast masses of the people to see with their own eyes and feel with their own hands what socialism is like—not

through books or manifestoes, but in reality, in practice. There is no longer any force in the world capable of barring the road to socialism for the peoples of more and more countries. There is yet another circumstance of prime importance. Whereas yesterday hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America were crushed by the oppression of the imperialist "civilizers," today the scene is undergoing a drastic change. The rise of growing numbers of nations through revolution provides most favorable conditions for an unprecedented extension of the sphere of influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The day is not far off when Marxism-Leninism will dominate the minds of the majority of the population of the globe. That which has taken place in the world in the forty-three years since the victory of the October Revolution is proof of the scientific soundness and vitality of the Leninist theory of the world socialist revolution.

It will be useful to recall how Lenin characterized the process of the world socialist revolution and the forces taking part in it. "... The socialist revolution," he said, "will not be solely and chiefly a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in the country concerned against their own bourgeoisie; it will be a struggle of all the colonies and dependent countries oppressed by imperialism against international imperialism." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 138.) Stressing that that struggle was aimed primarily at achieving national liberation, Lenin said: "And it should be perfectly clear that in the coming decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the world, first aimed at national emancipation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism, and will, perhaps, play a much greater revolutionary role than we expect." (*Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 32, p. 458.)

Now that a socialist world system has taken shape and with anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolutions in full flood, it is necessary to determine the further course and perspective of world development. This cannot be done without a profound understanding of the essence, content and nature of the decisive tasks of the present epoch.

The question of the character of the epoch is not an abstract, purely theoretical question. Inseparably linked with it are the general strategy and tactics of world communism and of each Communist Party.

The ideologists of imperialism, and their reformist and revisionist associates, are doing

their utmost to misrepresent the character of the present epoch. This is an instance of falsification with a definite aim: to mislead the masses of the people, divert them from the revolutionary path, hitch them to the bandwagon of imperialism and create the impression that capitalism is not in its death-throes but is creeping into socialism through a sort of calculated "evolution." This is the notorious theory of the so-called reformed capitalism. The falsifiers maintain that this "reformation" is in the best interest of all classes and that peace and harmony are, therefore, the order of the day in capitalist society. That is how the bourgeois ideologists, the Right-wing Social-Democrats and the revisionist renegades depict the present epoch. It is not accidental that the capitalist ideologists substitute far-fetched definitions such as "people's capitalism" and the "welfare state" for "capitalism" and "imperialism."

Naturally, we must expose this ideological sabotage and counter it with our scientific, Marxist-Leninist definition of the epoch. We must do so in order properly to define the relationship of forces and use the new opportunities which the present epoch opens up for the further advancement of our noble cause.

What, then, are the requirements which a Marxist-Leninist characterization of the times should meet? It should provide a clear idea of the class that holds the key position in this epoch, of the basic content, trend and tasks of social development. Secondly, it should encompass the entire revolutionary process from the formation of socialism to the complete victory of communism. Thirdly, it should show the forces aligning themselves with the working class, which is the key force in our times, and the movements flowing in the general tide against imperialism.

At a time when the socialist revolution has triumphed in many countries, when socialism has become a powerful world system, when the colonial system of imperialism is approaching complete disintegration, and, with imperialism in a state of decline and crisis, the definition of our epoch should reflect these decisive developments.

The Statement adopted by the Meeting defines the epoch in these terms:

"Our times, the basic content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, are times of struggle between the two opposed social systems, times of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions,

of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, times of the transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale."

This definition of the character of the present epoch can be regarded as an example of a creative, genuinely scientific solution of an important and responsible task. The strength of this definition is that it faithfully characterizes the main achievements of the world liberation movement and provides the international Communist and working-class movement with a clear perspective of the victory of communism on a world scale.

In defining the essence and character of the present epoch as a whole, it is absolutely essential that we should be clear about the main peculiarities and distinguishing features of its present stage. The post-October period, seen from the point of view of its basic motive forces, is clearly divided into two stages. One of these began with the victory of the October Revolution. It was, to use Lenin's phrase, the period of establishing and developing the national dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat within the national bounds of Russia alone.

Although right from its inception the Soviet Union began to exert a very great influence on international affairs, imperialism largely determined the course and character of international relations. But even in those early days it proved incapable of crushing the Soviet Union, of preventing it from becoming a mighty industrial power, the bulwark of progress and civilization, a center of attraction for all the forces fighting against imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage in the development of the contemporary epoch dates from the rise of the socialist world system. This was a revolutionary process of historic significance. The October Revolution broke the first link in the imperialist chain. After this the chain was broken in a number of places. In the past, we used to speak about the breaking of one or more links in the imperialist chain, but at present an all-embracing chain of imperialism no longer exists. The dictatorship of the working class has emerged beyond the confines of one country and become an international force. Imperialism has lost not only the countries where socialism has triumphed, it is rapidly losing nearly all its colonies. Naturally, as a result of these blows and losses, the general crisis of capitalism has become much more acute, and the balance

of forces in the world has changed radically in favor of socialism.

The main distinguishing feature of our time is the fact that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. This finds direct expression also in the sphere of international relations. In the conditions of today socialism is in a position to determine, in growing measure, the character, methods and trends of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism is an "insignificant factor" which can be ignored. Not at all. Imperialism is still very strong. It controls a powerful military machine.

Now, in peacetime, imperialism has created a gigantic war machine and a ramified system of military blocs and has subordinated its economy to the arms drive. The U.S. imperialists, bent on bringing the whole world under their sway, are threatening mankind with missile-nuclear war. Modern imperialism is increasingly marked by decay and parasitism. In their evaluation of the prospects of international development, Marxist-Leninists do not, and must not, have any illusions with regard to imperialism.

The facts of the barefaced provocations and aggression on the part of the imperialists are countless. There is nothing new in this. What is new is that all the imperialist probings in addition to being conclusively exposed, are firmly repelled, and the attempts made by the imperialists to start local wars are being thwarted.

The present balance of world forces enables the socialist camp and the other peace forces to set themselves, for the first time in history, the entirely realistic task of forcing the imperialists to refrain, for fear of seeing their system destroyed, from starting a world war.

In connection with the possibility of preventing a world war, I should like to deal with the prospects of the further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is common knowledge that both the first and the second world wars greatly influenced the rise and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Can it be inferred from this that world war is an indispensable condition for the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such an inference would be absolutely wrong, because it distorts the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and inverts the true causes of revolution. A proletarian revolution is not caused solely by military cataclysms; first and foremost it is the result of the development of the class

struggle and of the internal contradictions of capitalism.

It is obvious that the rise of the socialist world system, the rapid disintegration of the colonial system and the unprecedented growth of the struggle of the working class for its rights and interests are sapping the foundations of capitalism and intensifying its general crisis. Capitalism has suffered irretrievable losses from these blows. This applies both to the capitalist system as a whole and to the main capitalist country—the United States.

The strongest capitalist country has been affected by the general crisis more than any other capitalist country. Since the war the United States, with its frequency of economic shocks, has already experienced three slumps — 1948-49, 1953-54 and especially in 1957-58.

U.S. industrial production last year, according to the American press, rose by only two per cent, and as for this year, U.S. economists forecast not a rise, but a 3.7 per cent drop in production. Soviet production in 1960 rose roughly by 10 per cent.

It is none other than monopoly capital in the United States that shows inability to utilize the available productive forces. The richest country of the capitalist world is also the country of the greatest chronic unemployment. Obviously garbled official U.S. figures show that the wholly unemployed in the United States rose from 2,600,000 in 1956 to 3,800,000 in 1959, and exceeded 4,000,000 towards the end of 1960. Furthermore, there are millions of part-time employed in the United States.

Growing under-capacity operation of industry is a permanent factor in America. In 1959, some 37 per cent of the U.S. steel industry's production capacity was idle, despite the fact that steel output rose somewhat after a steep decline in the crisis year of 1958. By the end of 1960 less than half the production capacity of the U.S. steel industry was in operation. Despite the big increase in military appropriations, the rate of growth of production has slowed down in the post-war years, barely exceeding the growth of population. Between 1956 and 1959, U.S. industrial production per head of population remained at the same level.

Although the United States is still the main economic financial and military force of contemporary imperialism, its weight in the economy and politics of the capitalist world is declining. The share of the United States

in the industrial output of the capitalist countries dropped from 54 per cent in 1950 to 47-48 per cent in 1959. In 1950 the United States produced 57.4 per cent of all the steel produced in the capitalist countries; by 1959 output had dropped to 40.4 per cent. The share of the United States in the total exports of the capitalist countries shrank from about 30 per cent in 1946 to 21 per cent in 1953, and to 17.4 per cent in 1959. Nevertheless, the U.S. monopolists were, and still are, the greatest usurers and exploiters of peoples.

There is every reason for saying that both economically and in the sphere of international affairs the principal capitalist power has entered a phase of growing difficulties and crises—the twilight phase.

As for the economy of the other capitalist countries, it, too, is characterized by greater instability.

Although at present the capitalist world is not split into two imperialist camps, as was the case on the eve of the two world wars, it is nonetheless far from being united, and is being rent by bitter internal conflicts. The shop-window of the so-called "Atlantic solidarity" is a cloak for an unprepossessing picture of internal strife and conflict and increasing resistance to United States leadership and *diktat*. The rebirth of German militarism and revenge-seeking in the heart of Europe is restoring the complex tangle of Anglo-German, Franco-German and other imperialist contradictions. One has only to compare the present state of capitalism with what it was at the end of the Second World War, to see that its general crisis has become much deeper.

Having profoundly analyzed the international situation as a whole, the Meeting reached a conclusion of very great theoretical and political significance, namely, that "*a new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.*" The feature of this new stage is that it originated, not in the conditions of a world war, but in the circumstances of competition and struggle between the two systems, of the ever-growing changes in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and of pronounced aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism, in circumstances when the successful struggle of the peace supporters for peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from wrecking world peace by their aggressive actions, in an atmosphere of rising struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism by the masses. All this speaks of

the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Our militant comrades in the Communist parties in the capitalist countries take cognizance of this when defining their further tactical line in the struggle for the working-class cause. And we can confidently say that the immediate future harbors new successes for the combined forces of world socialism, the working class and the national-liberation movement.

2. All-Out Building of Communism in the USSR and Prospects for the Socialist World System

Comrades, the socialist world system is the great motive power of our time. The international working class and its Communist vanguard see their duty in reinforcing in every way the might and unity of the socialist camp—the bastion of peace, freedom and independence of the nations.

You will recall that the Meeting devoted close attention to matters associated with the further development of the socialist world system. The Statement adopted by the Meeting formulated important theoretical and political propositions on these matters. I should like to dwell on some of them.

As pointed out in the Statement, the cardinal task of the socialist countries is to make use of the possibilities inherent in socialism and to surpass the capitalist world system in the shortest possible term in the physical volume of industrial and agricultural output and, thereafter, outstrip the most developed capitalist countries in output per head of population and in the standard of living.

The period since the previous meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 has seen a steep rise in the economic strength and international prestige of the socialist world system. Between 1957 and 1959 industrial production in the socialist countries rose 37.1 per cent, compared with a 7.4 per cent increase in the capitalist countries. In the same period, output in the Soviet Union increased 23 per cent, and in the United States only 4.6 per cent. The average annual rate of growth amounted to 17 per cent for all the socialist countries, and to 3.6 per cent for the capitalist countries. The average annual rate in the Soviet Union was 10.9 per cent, in the United States it was 2.3 per cent.

The changes effected by socialism in all spheres of life in the People's Democracies are so profound that we can now say with

feelings of legitimate pride that not only in the Soviet Union but also in all the other countries of the socialist camp, the socio-economic possibilities of capitalist restoration have been abolished. The socialist world system has entered upon a new stage in its development.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held that it was its duty to inform the world Communist forum about the work of our Party and to acquaint it with our immediate prospects.

Our Party is concentrating on the all-out building of communist society. The main tasks here are: first, to establish the material and technological base of communism; second, to develop from this base communist social relations; and, third, to mould the man of the future communist society.

The Seven-Year Plan is a vital stage in establishing the material and technological base of communism in our country. According to the plan figures, industrial output was scheduled to go up 17 per cent during the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan. Actually the rise was nearly 23 per cent. If the present rates of development are maintained, industrial output will rise approximately 100 per cent in the seven years, instead of the 80 per cent envisaged in the Plan. This will mean about 90,000 million rubles' worth of industrial output (in terms of the new currency) in excess of Plan. You will get a better idea of what this figure means if you recall that Lenin proudly reported to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International that in 1922 our country was able for the first time to invest 20 million rubles in heavy industry.

Such was the modest sum in 1922. And look at the possibilities we have today!

Here I should like to say a few words about our iron and steel industry. The Seven-Year Plan fixed a target of 86-91 million tons of steel by 1965. Last year's output was 65 million tons. The increase planned for 1961 is six million tons. This will bring the total to 71 million. In the event of our raising the annual output for the remaining years of the Plan by not more than the 1961 figure, we will be producing at an annual rate of 95 million tons by the end of 1965. And should we push steel production at the same rate as during the first three years of the Plan, we could raise steel output to 100-102 million tons by 1965.

But in all probability we will not pursue a policy of developing iron and steel to the

full extent of our potential. The likelihood is that we will channel part of our capital investments to agriculture and light industry. Communism cannot be built by machines and ferrous and non-ferrous metals alone. People should be able to eat well and dress well, they should be properly housed and enjoy other material and cultural amenities.

This is not a revision of our general line, it is rather a rational utilization of our material possibilities. When we were surrounded by enemies and our industry was weaker than that of the capitalist countries, we economized on everything, even on schools, as Lenin said. Things are different now: we have a powerful industry, and our armed forces are equipped with the most modern weapons. Why, then, deny ourselves the things that we can have without detriment to the further development of our socialist state.

At present the Central Committee of the Party and the Government are drawing up a general economic development plan for 1960-1980. Truly exciting is the perspective opened up by establishing the material and technological base of communism, by making the people prosperous through completing the grand projects mapped out by Lenin, our immortal leader and teacher.

The rise in the cultural level of the masses is one of the really great achievements of socialism. In 1959, there were 2,200,000 student in the higher and specialized secondary schools of our country, and today the number of non-manual workers is in excess of 20 million.

Of the people engaged in manual labor the numbers with a secondary and university education have grown considerably. Before the revolution no worker or peasant had a secondary, to say nothing of a university, education; whereas now, according to the last census, 32 per cent of the citizens engaged in manual labor have had a secondary or university education, including 39 per cent of the workers and 21 per cent of the collective farmers. These figures show convincingly that we have made tangible progress in the gradual elimination of the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor.

The results of this great cultural revolution are clearly reflected in the achievements of Soviet science. The whole world admires these achievements. The three Soviet earth satellites, the solar satellite, our luniks and spaceships—all this is a striking indication of the success and superiority of the socialist

system, of the socialist genius of the people who are building communism.

The first stage of the all-out building of communism, as represented by the Seven-Year Plan, is also a decisive stage in fulfilling the basic economic task of the USSR. In 1950, the industrial output of the Soviet Union amounted to less than 30 per cent of U.S. output, today it is approximately 60 per cent. Economists estimate that by 1965 the Soviet Union will have surpassed the United States in physical output, and somewhere around 1970 in output per head of population.

The peoples of the other socialist countries, too, are working selflessly on the basic economic task of socialism. The time is not far off when socialism will assume first place in world production and capitalism will suffer defeat in this decisive sphere of human endeavor—the sphere of material production. As a result of fulfilling and overfulfilling the Seven-Year Plan and the rapid rates of economic development in the People's Democracies, the countries of the socialist world system will be producing more than half of the world industrial output.

Victory for the Soviet Union in its economic competition with the United States, and victory for the socialist system as a whole over the capitalist system, will be a major turning point in history, one that will have a still more powerful revolutionizing influence upon the working-class movement of the world. And when this happens even the most inveterate sceptics will see that socialism alone provides everything needed for man's happiness and will make their choice in favor of socialism.

The most important thing today is to win time in the economic competition with capitalism. The faster our economic development, the stronger we shall be economically and politically, and the greater will be the influence of the socialist camp on the trend and rate of development, on the future of the world.

The Statement of the Meeting stresses the need steadily to improve political and economic work and continuously to perfect management of the national economy, the need for scientifically-grounded socialist economic management. Experience shows that the correct solution of these matters is highly important. We are devoting special attention to the matter of gearing economic management to the objective conditions, so as to avoid running ahead and, equally, to avoid retarding the rates of development.

Measures are being taken on a vast scale in the USSR to make the utmost use of the natural resources. Forty-one million hectares of virgin and long-fallow land—an area equal to that of several West-European countries—have been brought under cultivation. A cascade of giant hydro-electric stations has almost completely harnessed the waters of the Volga. The Angara cascade will consist of a chain of even larger hydro-electric stations, including the more than 4,000,000-kw. Bratsk station. Still more powerful stations of up to 5,000,000 kw. will harness the great Siberian river, the Yenisei. One of the world's richest iron-ore deposits, the Kursk magnetic anomaly in the heart of the European part of the country, is now being worked.

Oil derricks are spreading farther and farther East. Three-fourths of the oil in pre-revolutionary Russia was extracted in the Baku region. And while the oil output in Baku has more than doubled since the Revolution, yet in 1959 it was less than 15 per cent of the total Soviet oil output. The inexhaustible mineral wealth of Siberia is being developed, yielding millions of tons of ferrous, non-ferrous and rare metals, a wide range of other mineral raw materials and industrial diamonds. Millions of hectares of arid land are being irrigated. Consideration is being given to reversing the flow of some of the biggest northern rivers. These are just a few examples to show what fruitful results are obtained through scientifically-grounded methods of economic management which enable us to make full use of the creative possibilities of socialism.

Elaboration of the theoretical questions posed by everyday life is an important and organic part of the work of the Party in guiding the communist construction. The practice of communist construction raises many questions for which we have no ready answer. In building communism we are following as yet unexplored paths. Man has as yet no exhaustive theoretical grounding and experience in organizing all the aspects of social life in communist conditions. Marxists, it is true, have a good knowledge of the general laws and principles which will shape the mode of life under communism. But today knowledge of the general laws alone no longer suffices. Communism has emerged from the sphere of theory into the sphere of practice. The Party is resolving the new problems of communist construction correctly because it treats Marxism-Leninism not as a dogma but as a creative, constantly-developing doctrine.

In carrying out the practical tasks of building communism, our Party is continuously developing Marxist-Leninist theory. The great Lenin teaches us that the revolutionary Marxist doctrine is inseparable from revolutionary practice, that theory and practice are interwoven and supplement each other, that theory lights the way for practice.

Allow me to mention some of the theoretical matters on which our Party has worked in the recent few years. They are the questions of the two phases of communism, of the transition from the first phase to the second, higher phase, and questions concerning the development of the productive forces and the production relations during the transition from socialism to communism, the growing over of socialist statehood into communist public self-government, the communist education of the working people, etc.

I should like to dwell for a moment on some of these questions. As we advance towards communism, management of the socialist economy becomes more complicated and the links between its branches and between the economic regions of the country become closer. Consequently, our Party devotes special attention to economic management and to planning. In 1957 we reorganized the management of industry and building, abolished the ministries in some branches of industry and set up economic councils in the economic administrative regions. The purpose was to shift the centre of gravity in the day-to-day management of economic development to the localities concerned, while retaining the principle of centralized planning. As a result, democratic centralism has been further developed. This is in keeping with Lenin's words that, with the advance towards communism and the rise in the cultural level of the working people, economic management will become more and more democratic.

Further. Our Party has worked out the ways of elevating collective-farm and co-operative property to the level of public property and has indicated their merging into the single form of communist property. The Party has worked out and effected a series of economic, political and organizational measures designed to invigorate and develop all aspects of the collective-farm system and collective-farm and co-operative property (e.g., reorganization of the machine-and-tractor stations, sale of machinery to the collective farms, modification of the procurement system and the price policy, despatch of personnel to the countryside, and others).

Our Party is devoting close attention to the correct application of the socialist principle of distribution. It has demonstrated that wage-levelling and weakening of incentives are economically inept and wrong. It may be recalled that in the past there had been deviations from the principle of incentives, particularly in agriculture. These deviations caused grave harm to agriculture and to the collective-farm system. Neglect of the material needs of the working people and putting the emphasis chiefly on enthusiasm and political consciousness, on social and moral forms of encouragement and reward, were detrimental to the growth of production and the raising of the standard of living. This had bad effects at home and even abroad, because it hurt the prestige of the collective-farm system and played into the hands of the enemies of communism.

We have eliminated these shortcomings and are working for consistent application of the principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." This principle makes labor obligatory for all. Its realization is of immense importance for raising labor productivity, improving skills, and for educating people in the spirit of a communist attitude to labor as life's prime necessity. At the same time, our Party combines material and moral stimuli. As we draw nearer to communism, the role of the moral factor, which is highly important even now, will steadily increase. The appearance and the spread of the movement for communist-work teams, shops and enterprises is one of the outstanding things in Soviet life.

The transition to the communist principle of distribution to each according to his needs will not be effected until the productive forces and the productivity of labor attain a level that will ensure an abundance of material values, and, until labor becomes life's prime necessity for the members of society. At present, the bulk of the national consumption fund is distributed according to the quantity and quality of labor done. At the same time, a considerable portion of the working people's requirements are satisfied free of charge. Allocations for social and cultural measures, public education and the health services, which all citizens enjoy free of charge, amount at present to about 25,000 million rubles annually. For us, increasing the public funds for personal consumption is a communist way of raising the standard of living.

The Party is devoting close attention to problems of the theory of the socialist state.

In our country, where exploiting classes have long ceased to exist, there is taking place the gradual withering away of the administrative bodies, first and foremost of those exercising functions of compulsion. Our Party is firmly following the line of extending democracy, of transferring certain functions of the state organs to the public organizations, of encouraging public initiative in all spheres of political and cultural life, of enlisting the participation of the masses of the working people in economic management, in maintaining public order, in combating infringements of the law, etc. This line, far from weakening socialist society, is strengthening it and is in keeping with the perspective of public self-government.

These and other questions of the theory and practice of building communism will be reflected in the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This program, now being drafted, will be discussed by the Party and adopted at its forthcoming Twenty-Second Congress.

The Statement expresses the common striving of the Marxist-Leninist parties to see things in each of the socialist countries going smoothly, that the problems stemming from the building of socialism and communism be solved correctly, in the interest of the respective country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In this connection emphasis is laid on the very great importance of the collective experience of the socialist camp, accumulated on the basis of the socialist construction in the different countries.

Our Party is closely studying the experience of the fraternal parties in these countries, for they are contributing much that is valuable to the Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society. The accumulated collective experience of socialist construction is a valuable asset of the entire international Communist movement. The study and correct application of this experience by all the fraternal parties is a primary condition for the development of every socialist country.

The prototype of the new society for all mankind is being created on the part of the globe occupied by the socialist world system. This places a special responsibility on the Communist parties in the socialist countries. With proper political and economic guidance, which takes into account both the general laws governing the building of socialism and the specific features of the respective countries and the peculiarities and demands of

each stage of development, we shall be able to utilize with still greater effect the advantages of socialism and attain new successes.

The countries of the socialist world system are drawing closer to each other; their co-operation in all fields of endeavor is growing. This is a natural development. There are no insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries. The more developed and economically stronger are rendering disinterested fraternal aid to those less developed. For instance, some 500 industrial enterprises and installations have been built in the fraternal socialist countries with Soviet help. Our loans and credits to these countries amount to 7,800 million rubles in the new currency. At the same time we are bound to acknowledge that the fraternal socialist countries are aiding in the development of the Soviet economy.

The socialist world system is an aggregate of the national economies of sovereign independent countries. The steady strengthening of contacts between the national economies is a law of the system as a whole. There are good grounds for saying that the further development of the socialist countries will be along the lines of consolidating the world system of socialism. As the Statement points out, the Marxist-Leninist parties at the helm in these countries are unanimous in their striving actively to further this process.

They are working jointly for a correct solution of the problems concerned with specialization and co-ordination of production, with the international division of labor, and by so doing are contributing to a fuller utilization of the advantages of socialism. Co-ordination of the national-economic plans is the main form of pooling the production efforts of the socialist countries at the present stage. It is in the interest of all the socialist countries to perfect this work, especially in view of the task of drawing up long-term plans for these countries.

The consolidation of the common economic base of the socialist world system and the creation of the material base for the more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism will be accelerated to the extent that the internal resources of each of the countries and the advantages of the socialist international division of labor are fully utilized; this will result in evening up the various levels of economic development. By gradually abolishing the historically conditioned disparity in levels of economic development we are showing the peoples of the world the communist way of

doing away with the economic and cultural backwardness caused by imperialism. The effectiveness of this way was first demonstrated by the formerly backward peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, who, with the generous aid rendered by the more developed socialist nations, the Russian nation first and foremost, rapidly overcame their backwardness and caught up with the industrially developed regions of the country. This process is now taking place throughout the socialist system.

It is our common duty to continue to strengthen in every way unity, co-operation and mutual aid among the socialist countries. The Statement of the Meeting reads: "*The Communist and Workers' parties constantly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The firm unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and of the socialist camp as a whole.*"

The Communist and Workers' parties have correctly defined, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the principles governing the relations among the socialist countries and nations. It stands to reason that some shortcomings and rough edges are bound to appear in such a momentous undertaking. But the socialist community is characterized, not by incidental shortcomings, but by the essentially international nature of socialism, by the international policy of the fraternal parties and countries and the epoch-making successes achieved thanks to this policy. As to the shortcomings, we must remove them, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of international solidarity and fraternal friendship, seeing our main aim in consolidating the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has always sacredly fulfilled its international duty, putting the interests of the unity of the socialist countries and of the international Communist movement first. Our Party will steadfastly adhere to this policy.

Closer unity of the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism will provide still better opportunities for solving the paramount problems of the day in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

3. Prevention of War Is the Question of Questions

Comrades, the Meeting focussed its attention on the issues of war and peace. Those present were conscious that the matter of preventing a nuclear holocaust is the great and vital issue facing mankind.

Lenin pointed out that since the time of the First World War the issue of war and peace had become the basic issue of the policy of all countries, a matter of life and death for tens of millions. Lenin's words sound even more forcefully today, when mass annihilation weapons hold the threat of unprecedented destruction and death to hundreds of millions of people. The most pressing task today is to avert such a catastrophe.

The Meeting charted ways and means of making still more effective use of the new possibilities of averting world war afforded by the rise of the socialist camp and its growing might, and also by the new balance of forces in the world. The peoples believe that the Communists will use the might of the socialist system and the greater strength of the international working class to rid mankind of the horrors of war.

Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the historic mission of the working class and its Communist vanguard not only in abolishing oppression, exploitation, poverty, and lack of rights, but also in delivering mankind from sanguinary wars.

Lenin instilled in our Party the spirit of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, for durable peace and friendship among all nations. These principles have always been the essence of our foreign policy. Our Party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that capitalism, even while disintegrating and dying, is still capable of bringing misfortune to mankind. Our Party, always vigilantly on guard against the danger emanating from imperialism, has educated the Soviet people accordingly, doing everything to prevent the enemy from taking us by surprise. We alert the peoples to the danger of war in order to sharpen their vigilance and rouse them to activity, to rally them in the struggle to avert world war.

The stand taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the questions of war and peace is known to all. It has been stated on more than one occasion in the decisions of its congresses and in other Party documents.

Wars arose with the division of society into classes. This means that the breeding ground of war will be completely abolished only when society is no longer divided into hostile, antagonistic classes. With the victory of the working class throughout the world, with the triumph of socialism, which will destroy all the social and national causes giving rise to wars, mankind will be able to rid itself of this dreadful scourge.

In the present conditions we must distinguish the following kinds of war: world wars, local wars, and wars of liberation or popular uprisings. This is necessary in order to work out correct tactics in regard to each.

Let us begin with the problem of world wars. The Communists are the most resolute opponents of world wars, as they are of wars between countries in general. Only the imperialists need these wars in order to seize foreign territories and to enslave and plunder the peoples. Prior to the rise of the socialist world camp, the working class was unable to exert a decisive influence on the decision of the question whether there would or would not be a world war. In those circumstances the finest representatives of the working class advanced the slogan of turning an imperialist war into a civil war, that is, of the working class and all working people using the situation created by the war to take power. A situation of this kind set in during the First World War, and it was used in classical fashion by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

In our time the conditions are different. The socialist world camp with its powerful economy and armed forces exerts an ever-growing influence on the decision of questions of war and peace. To be sure, acute contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist countries and the urge to profit at the expense of the weaker still exist. However, the imperialists are compelled to heed the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and fear to start a war between themselves. They are trying to tone down their differences. They have formed military blocs and have entangled many capitalist countries in them. And although these blocs are torn by internal conflicts, their members are united, as they themselves admit, by their hatred of communism and, naturally, by the common nature and aspirations of the imperialists.

In the conditions of today the likelihood is that there will not be wars between the capitalist, imperialist countries, although this eventuality cannot be ruled out. The imperial-

ists are preparing war chiefly against the socialist countries, above all against the Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist countries. They would like to sap our might and by so doing restore the one-time rule of monopoly capital.

The task is to raise insurmountable obstacles to the unleashing of war by the imperialists. Our possibilities for putting roadblocks in the way of the warmongers are growing, so much so that we can avert a world war. It stands to reason that we cannot completely exclude the possibility of war, since imperialist countries continue to exist, but it is now much more difficult for the imperialists to start a war than was the case heretofore, prior to the rise of the powerful socialist camp. The imperialists can start a war, but they cannot do so without giving thought to the consequences.

I have had occasion to say that even Hitler, had he had an inkling that his reckless gamble would end in the way it did and that he would be forced to commit suicide, would in all probability have thought twice before starting the war against the Soviet Union. But at that time there were only two socialist countries — the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. Yet we smashed the aggressors, and in doing so we made use also of the contradictions between the imperialist states.

Today the situation is entirely different. At present the imperialist camp is opposed by the socialist countries, and they are a mighty force. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp, its influence on world developments and, consequently, on deciding the question whether there is to be war or not. Now that there is a mighty socialist camp with powerful armed forces, the peoples can undoubtedly prevent war and thus ensure peaceful coexistence provided they rally all their forces for active struggle against the bellicose imperialists.

Now about local wars. There is much talk in the imperialist camp today about local wars, and the imperialists are even making small-calibre atomic weapons to be used in such wars. There is even a special theory on local wars. Is this mere chance? Not at all. Some of the imperialist groups fear that a world war might end in the complete destruction of capitalism, and for this reason they are banking on local wars.

There have been local wars in the past and they may break out again. But the chances

of starting wars even of this kind are dwindling. A small-scale imperialist war, no matter which of the imperialists starts it, may develop into a world thermonuclear and missile war. We must, therefore, fight against both world war and against local wars.

An example of a local war started by the imperialists was the aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt. They wanted to strangle Egypt and intimidate the other Arab countries fighting for their independence, to scare the peoples of Asia and Africa. When we were in London, British statesmen, Mr. Eden included, spoke to us quite frankly about their desire to settle accounts with Egypt. We told them plainly: "If you start a war, you will lose it, we will not be neutral." Eventually, when the war did break out, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not upset the aggressors; they went ahead with their dirty business and thought they would soon reach their goal. The Soviet Union, and the socialist camp as a whole, came to the defense of Egypt. The stern warning which the Soviet Government gave to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. A local war, the gamble in Egypt failed ignominiously.

That was in 1956 when the balance of forces between the socialist and imperialist countries was not quite as favorable to us as it is now. At that time we were not as powerful as we are today. Moreover, the rulers of Britain, France and Israel banked on profiting from the difficulties that had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Representatives of the imperialist countries whispered to us, "You have your difficulties in Hungary, we have ours in Egypt, so don't meddle in our affairs." But we told the whisperers what we thought of them. We refused to shut our eyes to their knavish acts. We intervened, and we frustrated their aggression.

There you have an example of how a local war, started by the imperialists, was nipped in the bud by the intervention of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have said that local wars may recur. It is our task, therefore, always to be on the alert, to summon to action the forces of the socialist camp, the people of the other countries and all peace-loving forces, in order to prevent wars of aggression. If the people of all countries are united and rallied, if they fight indefatigably and combine their forces both in each country and on an international scale, wars can be prevented.

Now about *national-liberation wars*. Recent examples of wars of this kind are the armed struggle waged by the people of Vietnam or the present war of the Algerian people, which is now in its seventh year.

These wars, which began as uprisings of colonial peoples against their oppressors, developed into guerilla wars.

There will be liberation wars as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. Wars of this kind are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only justified, they are inevitable, for the colonialists do not freely bestow independence on the peoples. The peoples win freedom and independence only through struggle, including armed struggle.

Why was it that the U.S. imperialists, who were eager to help the French colonialists, did not venture directly to intervene in the war in Vietnam? They did not do so because they knew that if they gave France armed assistance, Vietnam would receive the same kind of assistance from China, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and that the fighting could develop into a world war. The outcome of the war is known—North Vietnam won.

A similar war is being waged today in Algeria. What kind of a war is it? It is an uprising of Arab people against French colonialists. It has assumed the form of a guerilla war. The imperialists of the USA and Britain are helping their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a party to NATO, to transfer troops from Europe to fight against the Algerian people. The people of Algeria, too, get help from neighboring countries and others sympathizing with their love of freedom. But this is a liberation war, a war of independence waged by the people. It is a sacred war. We recognize such wars; we have helped and shall continue to help peoples fighting for their freedom.

Or take Cuba. A war was fought there too. It began as an uprising against a tyrannical regime, backed by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a puppet of the United States and the United States helped him actively. However, the USA did not directly intervene with its armed forces in the Cuban war. Led by Fidel Castro, the people of Cuba won.

Is there a likelihood of such wars recurring? Yes, there is. Are uprisings of this kind likely to recur? Yes, they are. But wars of this kind are popular uprisings. Is there the likelihood of conditions in other countries reaching the point where the cup of the popular patience overflows and they take to arms?

Yes, there is such a likelihood. What is the attitude of the Marxists to such uprisings? A most favorable attitude. These uprisings cannot be identified with wars between countries, with local wars, because the insurgent people are fighting for the right to self-determination, for their social and independent national development; these uprisings are directed against the corrupt reactionary regimes, against the colonialists. The Communists support just wars of this kind wholeheartedly and without reservations and they march in the van of the peoples fighting for liberation.

Comrades, mankind has arrived at the stage in history when it is in a position to solve problems that were too much for previous generations. This applies also to the problem of all problems, that of preventing world war.

The working class, which today rules over a vast area of the world and in time will rule over all the world, cannot allow the forces doomed by history to bring down hundreds of millions into the grave with them. For a world war in the conditions of today would be waged with missiles and nuclear weapons, that is, it would be the most destructive war in all history.

Among the H-bombs already tested there are bombs each of which is several times more powerful than all the explosives used in the Second World War and, indeed, ever since man appeared on earth. Scientists have estimated that the explosion of a single H-bomb in an industrial area would kill up to 1,500,000 outright and bring death to another 400,000 through radiation. Even a **medium hydrogen** bomb would be enough to wipe out a large city. According to British scientists four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire and Yorkshire, would kill at least 20 million. According to data supplied by U.S. experts to the Senate, the anticipated casualties in the United States in 24 hours of nuclear war would range from 50 to 75 million people. The American physicist Linus Pauling says that the areas likely to receive powerful nuclear blows are inhabited by a total of about a thousand million people and that 500 to 750 million people would be likely to perish within 60 days of a nuclear blow. Nor would nuclear war spare the people in the countries not directly subjected to the bombing; in particular, millions would die as a result of radiation.

We know that if the imperialist madmen were to begin a world war, the peoples would wipe out capitalism. But we are resolutely opposed to war, because we are concerned

for the fate of mankind, its present and its future. We know that the first to suffer in the event of war would be the working people and their vanguard — the working class.

We remember how Lenin put the question of the destiny of the working class. Just after the revolution, when the first country of the workers and peasants found itself besieged, he said, "if we can save the working man, save the main productive force of society — the worker — we shall get everything back, but, should we fail to save him, we are lost . . ." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 29, pp. 334-335.)

There exists in the world today, not just one country of workers and peasants, but a whole system of socialist countries. It is our duty to safeguard peace and ensure the peaceful development of this grand creation of the international working class, to protect the peoples of all countries from a new war of annihilation. The victory of socialism on a world scale, inevitable by virtue of the laws of history, is no longer far off. War between countries is not needed for this victory.

A sober consideration of what a nuclear war implies is indispensable if we are to pursue a consistent policy of averting war and of mobilizing the masses for the purpose of doing so. For the realization by the masses of what a nuclear war means strengthens their resolve to fight against war. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the masses about the deadly consequences of a new world war and arouse their righteous wrath against those who are plotting this crime. The possibility of averting war is not a gift from heaven. Peace cannot be had by request. It can be secured only by an active, purposeful struggle. That is why we have been waging this struggle, and will continue to do so.

The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at strengthening peace. We have used and will continue to use the growing might of our country, not to threaten anyone, not to arouse war-like passions, but in order to pursue a steadfast policy of combating the war danger and averting world war.

We have always held that we stand for friendly relations with all peoples for the benefit of peace, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Comrades, experience has demonstrated the soundness of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy constantly pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For our Party the policy of peaceful coexistence, which we have inherited from Lenin,

is the general line of its foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the highway of the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries.

Consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the positions of the world socialist system, furthers the growth of its economic might, international prestige and influence, and provides favorable opportunities for it in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

And because the socialist countries pursue a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, the prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is higher than ever. It is a fact that the socialist countries today are in an extremely favorable international position. The prestige of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, parties which carry on their work in particularly difficult conditions, is likewise growing daily. The whole world now acknowledges that the active and effective foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which carries great weight, is winning the support of additional millions for peace and socialism.

This active struggle for peace imparts a dynamic quality to the foreign policy actions of the socialist countries. In recent years the initiative in the world arena has belonged to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, while the imperialist countries and their governments have had to fall back on the defensive. Their prestige and international influence have never been as low as they are now.

The policy of peaceful coexistence promotes the growth of the forces of progress, of the forces fighting for socialism; in the capitalist countries it facilitates the work of the Communist parties and the other progressive organizations of the working class, makes it easier for the people to combat the aggressive war blocs and foreign military bases, and contributes to the success of the national-liberation movement.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is, then, as far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic, political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism in the world arena.

The struggle against imperialism can succeed only if its aggressive actions are firmly resisted. Scolding will not halt the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way in which they can be curbed: steady strengthening of the economic, political and military power of

the socialist countries, vigorous consolidation and reinforcement of the world revolutionary movement, mobilization of the people for the struggle to avert war.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government will continue to do everything to increase the military might of our country, since the imperialists are continuing the arms drive.

In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our Party and Government always display firmness and self-control. In upholding the interests of the socialist camp, we invariably strive to direct developments in such a way as not to allow imperialist provocateurs to launch a new world war.

We see our task as that of exposing the aggressive nature of all the military-political alignments of the imperialists, such as NATO, SEATO and CENTO, and in working for their isolation and eventual abolition. We have repeatedly declared that we are ready, on this condition, to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The nations of the world stand to gain from the ending of military alignments.

This would be a real contribution to peace and would bring about a better international climate; it would be an achievement for the policy of peaceful coexistence. All their efforts notwithstanding, the imperialists have in recent times failed to draw a single new state into their military blocs. It is significant that all the newly independent states have declared it their intention to pursue a policy of non-participation in military blocs.

Of special importance for peace in Europe, and not only in Europe, is the struggle against renaissance West German militarism. The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries in various ways, the most important being the struggle for a peace treaty. The initiative of the socialist states in advancing a program for a peaceful settlement of the German question and the solution, on this basis, of the question of West Berlin, has done much to unmask the aggressive elements in the USA, the Federal Republic and the other NATO countries as opponents of a détente. The international position of the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe—has been strengthened.

The positions of the USA, Britain and France have proved to be especially vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers still cling to the old positions, but they cannot fail to

realize that sooner or later the occupation regime in that city must be ended.

It is necessary to go ahead with bringing the aggressive-minded imperialists to their senses, and compelling them to reckon with the real situation. And should they balk, then we will take resolute measures, we will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, since we are firmly resolved to conclude at long last a peace treaty with Germany, end the occupation regime in West Berlin, and by so doing remove the thorn from the heart of Europe.

Comrades, if prevention of a new war is the question of questions, then disarmament is the best way to do it. The Meeting of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties declared that the realization of the Soviet program for general and complete disarmament would be an act of historic importance.

Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical move. We sincerely want disarmament. In this we stand squarely on Marxist-Leninist ground. Engels pointed out as far back as the end of the last century that disarmament, which he described as the "guarantee of peace," was possible. In our times disarmament was first advanced as a practical goal by Lenin, and the first Soviet proposals for complete disarmament—or, for partial disarmament—were made at the Genoa Conference.

The struggle for disarmament is a most important factor for the prevention of war. It is an effective factor in the fight against imperialism. In this fight the socialist camp has most of mankind on its side.

Peace and progress are our cherished ideals. After all, the inaugural Manifesto of the First International, written by Marx, contained the appeal "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations." (Marx, Engels, *Sel. Works. F.L.P.H., Vol. I, p. 385.*)

When we call for a world without arms and without wars, we take into account, of course, that in the conditions of today, with two differing world social systems, there are forces in the imperialist camp, and fairly strong forces at that, who not only refuse to support this call, but who are waging a struggle against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class question. In the case of the struggle for peace, this is a question the solution of which can unite not only the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but

also that part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of a thermonuclear war.

Consequently, the slogan of the fight for peace by no means contradicts the slogan of the fight for communism. The two go hand in hand, for in the eyes of the masses communism appears as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of a missile-nuclear war, whereas imperialism is, increasingly, associated with war, as a system engendering wars. That is why the slogan of the fight for peace is, as it were, a companion of the slogan of the fight for communism.

As correctly pointed out in the Statement, "the peace movement is the broadest movement of our time; it embraces people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse social classes, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure an enduring peace." People of different social strata, different political views and different religious beliefs are represented among the peace supporters.

The fight for disarmament is an active fight against imperialism, for narrowing its war potential. The peoples must do everything to achieve the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of wholesale annihilation. Peace will then be ensured and the peoples will be able to arrange their lives in keeping with their wishes and interests.

A primary condition for progress in disarmament is the mobilization of the people, their growing pressure on the imperialist governments.

Two trends can be observed in the policy of the capitalist camp in relation to the socialist countries — one bellicose and aggressive, the other, moderate and sober. Lenin pointed to the need of establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie which gravitate towards pacifism, "be it even of the palest hue." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 33, p. 236.) In the struggle for peace, he said, we should not overlook also the saner representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The soundness of these words is confirmed by current events as well. Fear for the future of capitalism haunts the ruling classes of the imperialist camp. The more reactionary circles are displaying a growing nervousness and tendency towards reckless practices and aggression, by means of which they hope to mend their fences. At the same time, there are also among the ruling circles of these countries those who know the danger to capitalism of

a new war. Hence the two trends: one leaning towards war, the other towards accepting, in one way or another, the idea of peaceful co-existence.

The socialist countries take both of these trends into account in their policy. They work for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals and promote personal contact between statesmen of the socialist and capitalist countries. Every opportunity should be used as before to expose the cold-war men, those who want to keep up the arms drive, and to convince the masses that the socialist countries really mean what they say in working to safeguard world peace.

The peoples are becoming increasingly aware that it is the Communists who advocate that relations between countries be based upon the principle of peaceful coexistence, that it is they who are the most ardent and consistent fighters for peace. We can take pride in the fact that peace and communism are being more and more associated in the minds of people.

The Communists believe that if all the progressive and peace-loving forces of our times — the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, the newly established national states and all other countries opposed to war, and all supporters of peace — will wage a determined fight against the war danger, they will be able to tie the hands of the warmongers and prevent the catastrophe of another world war. Every day bigger sections of the population should be drawn into the struggle for peace, and the passivity which unfortunately still prevails among some sections in the bourgeois countries overcome. "The struggle against the threat of a new world war must be waged now, not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall," the Statement of the Meeting stresses.

The fact that communism is the standard-bearer of peace is one of the main sources of its moral power, of its tremendous influence over the masses. The banner of peace enables us to rally the masses around us. By holding aloft this banner we will be even more successful.

The Communists consider it their sacred duty to make full use of all the available opportunities to bridle the warlike forces of imperialism and prevent a new war.

The international communist and working-class movement has become so powerful and

so well organized that it is now setting itself the task of saving mankind from the ordeal of another war. The Statement of the Meeting says:

"The Communists see their historical mission not only in abolishing exploitation and poverty on a world scale and in banishing for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also in safeguarding humanity from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties of all countries will devote all their strength and energy to this noble mission."

4. Abolition of Colonialism and Perspectives of the Further Development of the Newly-Independent Countries

The peoples that have gained national independence have become another mighty force in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The national-liberation movement is striking telling blows at imperialism, strengthening peace and accelerating social progress. At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important centres of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Some 40 countries have won national independence since the war. Nearly 1,500 million people have cast off the chains of colonial slavery.

The Meeting with good reason noted that the disintegration of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is second in historical significance only to the rise of the socialist world system.

A splendid new chapter is now being opened in the history of mankind. It is easy to imagine the things that these peoples will do when they have completely ousted the imperialists from their countries and feel themselves the masters of their destinies. This multiplies enormously the progressive forces of mankind.

Take Asia, for example, that ancient cradle of human civilization. Look at the inexhaustible forces at the disposal of the peoples of this continent! And what a great role the valiant Arab peoples, those already liberated or now in the process of being liberated from political and economic dependence upon imperialism, and all the peoples of the Middle East could play in resolving the issues now confronting mankind!

The awakening of the people of Africa is one of the most outstanding events of our epoch. Dozens of countries in North and Central Africa have already won independence. The south of the continent is in ferment

and there is no doubt that the fascist dungeons in the Union of South Africa will crumble to dust, that Rhodesia, Uganda and other parts of Africa will become free.

The multiplying of the forces of the national-liberation movement is due in large measure to the fact that in recent years one more front of active struggle against U.S. imperialism, namely, Latin America, has emerged. Only a little while ago that vast continent was identified by a single concept—America. And that concept accorded largely with the facts, for Latin America was bound hand and foot to Yankee imperialism. Today, the Latin American peoples are showing by their struggle that the American continent is not a manorial estate of the USA. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano. The eruption of the liberation struggle has wiped out dictatorial regimes in a number of the countries. The thunder of the glorious Cuban revolution has reverberated throughout the world. The Cuban revolution is not only repulsing the onslaught of the imperialists; it is spreading, signifying a new and higher stage of the national-liberation struggle, when the people themselves come to power, when the people become the master of their wealth. Solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the Latin American peoples, but also of the socialist countries, the entire international Communist movement and the proletariat all over the world.

The national-liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism has become much weaker with the disintegration of the colonial system. Vast territories and large masses of people have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for it, as a source of cheap raw materials and cannon fodder. Asian, African and Latin American countries, supported by the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, are more and more frequently inflicting defeats upon the imperialist powers and coalitions.

We were glad to welcome at the Moscow Meeting representatives from the fraternal Communist parties of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, staunch fighters for the independence and free development of the peoples. Today there are Communist parties in more than 50 countries of those continents. This has extended the sphere of influence of the Communist movement, making it truly worldwide.

Addressing the Second All-Russian Congress (1919) of the Communist Organizations of the Eastern Peoples, Lenin said: ". . .

Whereas the Russian Bolsheviks were able to make a breach in the old imperialism, to take upon themselves the exceptionally difficult but also exceptionally noble task of paving new ways to revolution, you who represent the working masses of the East are faced with a greater and even more novel task." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, pp. 137-138.) Lenin saw that task in encouraging the revolutionary urge of the working masses for activity and organization irrespective of the level they had attained, in using Communist theory in the specific conditions of their countries, in merging with the proletarians of other countries in common struggle. (*Ibid.*, p. 141.)

This task had not yet been realized anywhere when Lenin first set it, and there was no book to tell how it should be carried out. The Communist parties in the countries which are now fighting for national independence or which have already won it, are in an incomparably more favorable position, for there is now a vast store of experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of countries and areas which capitalism had doomed to age-long backwardness.

This experience gained by the world Communist movement is a great treasure-house for all Communists. Obviously, only the Party **operating in the country concerned** can make proper use of this experience and correctly shape the policy to be pursued.

These parties are concentrating on the main point of how best to approach their own peoples, how to convince the masses that they cannot win a better future unless they fight against imperialism and the forces of internal reaction, and how to strengthen international solidarity with the socialist countries, with the Communist vanguard of the working people of the world.

The renovation of the world on the principles of freedom, democracy and socialism, in which we are now participating, is a great historical process in which different revolutionary and democratic movements unite and co-operate, with socialist revolutions exerting the determining influence. The successes of the national-liberation movement, due in large measure to the victories of socialism, in turn strengthen the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. It is this truly Leninist concept of the historical processes which forms the basis for the policy of the Communist parties and socialist countries, a policy aimed at strengthening the

close alliance with those peoples fighting for independence or who have already won it.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians claim that the national-liberation movement develops independently of the struggle waged by the working class for socialism, independently of the support of the socialist countries, and that the colonialists themselves bestow freedom on the peoples of the former colonies. These fabrications are designed to isolate the newly-independent states from the socialist camp and are an attempt to prove that they should act the role of a "third force" in the international arena instead of opposing imperialism. Needless to say, this is a falsehood.

It is an historical fact that attempts made by peoples to break the chains of colonialism prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, failed. History is the proof that until socialism triumphed in at least a part of the world there could be no question of destroying colonialism.

The imperialist powers, above all the United States, are doing their utmost to harness the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke to their system and thereby strengthen the positions of world capitalism, to infuse it, as bourgeois ideologists put it, with fresh blood, to rejuvenate and consolidate it. If we look the facts in the face, we shall have to admit that the imperialists have powerful economic levers with which to exert pressure on the newly-independent countries. They still succeed in enmeshing some of the politically independent countries in the web of economic dependence. Now that it is no longer possible to establish outright colonial regimes, the imperialists resort to disguised forms and methods of enslaving and plundering the countries that have attained freedom. At the same time, the colonial powers back the internal reactionaries in all these countries; they impose on them puppet dictatorial regimes and involve them in aggressive blocs. Although there are sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries, they often take joint action against the national-liberation movement.

But if we take account of all the factors shaping the destinies of the peoples that have shaken off colonial rule, we will see that in the final analysis the trends of social progress opposing imperialism are bound to prevail.

But these matters are resolved in bitter struggle within each country. The Statement of the Meeting contains important propositions on the basic issues of the national-liberation movement. It defines the tasks of the Communist parties and their attitude to the various

classes and social groups. In expressing the identity of views of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Statement calls for the maximum utilization of the revolutionary possibilities of the various classes and social strata and for drawing all allies, no matter if inconsistent, shaky and unstable, into the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are revolutionaries and it would be a bad thing if they failed to discern the new opportunities, to find the best ways and the best means of reaching the goal. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the Statement about the formation of national democratic states. The Statement outlines the main characteristics of these states and their tasks. It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now moulding their own way of life, a variety of ways of solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-independent countries consists precisely in seeking the forms that take cognizance of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples to unite all the sound forces of the nation, to ensure the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle completely to eradicate the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and to clear the way for the ultimate advance towards socialism.

Today, when imperialist reaction is striving to foist the policy of anti-communism on the young independent states, it is most important to give a truthful explanation of the Communist views and ideals. Communists support the general democratic measures of the national governments. At the same time, they explain to the masses that these measures are far from being socialist.

The aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of colonialism are particularly appreciated and understood best of all by the working people of the socialist countries, by the Communists of the whole world. Our world outlook, the interests of all working people for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples take the right road to progress, to the efflorescence of their material and spiritual forces. We, by means of our policy, must strengthen the confidence of the peoples in the socialist countries.

The aid extended by the USSR and the other socialist states to the countries which

have won independence has but one aim—to help strengthen the position of these countries in the struggle against imperialism, to further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their people. Noting that the working class of the advanced countries is vitally interested in “ensuring the independence” of the colonial countries “in the shortest possible period,” Engels wrote: “One thing is indisputable: the victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on another nation without undermining thereby its own victory.” (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 27, pp. 238, 239.)

The international duty of the victorious working class consists in helping the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries to smash the last links in the chains of colonial slavery, in rendering them all-round aid in their struggle against imperialism, for the right to self-determination and independent development. However, it does not follow that socialist aid exerts no influence on the prospects of the further development of newly-independent countries.

The Soviet Union has been and is the sincere friend of the colonial peoples; it has always championed their rights, interests and strivings for independence. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our economic and cultural co-operation with countries which have become independent.

The Soviet Union submitted to the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly the Declaration for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

As a result of the bitter political struggle which raged around this proposal both within and without the U.N., the General Assembly adopted the Declaration. The basic point in the Soviet Declaration — the need for abolishing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations rapidly and for good — was in the main reflected in the resolution adopted by the United Nations. This was a victory for the progressive forces and all the socialist countries, which are defending the cause of freedom and independent national development of peoples firmly and consistently.

It should be stressed that when the matter was debated in the General Assembly the colonialists were isolated by the socialist and neutral countries — countries which are also working for the abolition of the colonial system. Even some of the member-countries of the aggressive blocs, Norway and Denmark for instance, voted for the abolition of colonialism. The colonialists comprised a group of

only nine countries which abstained during the voting. This was highly indicative. It showed the world which countries stand for abolishing the colonial system, and the attitude of the so-called "free countries." Is it not revealing that the countries which abstained included the United States, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Belgium.

Though doomed, colonialism still has considerable power of resistance and causes untold harm to many peoples. All that is moribund and reactionary rallies around it. Colonialism is the direct or indirect cause of many conflicts which threaten humanity with another war. Colonialism, which has caused bloodshed on so many occasions, is to this day a source of the war danger. It manifests itself repeatedly in outbursts of maniacal fury, as eloquently illustrated by the bloodshed in Algeria, in the Congo and in Laos; it still holds tens of millions of people in chains. Not all the peoples which have won national independence enjoy its fruits, because their economies are still dominated by foreign monopolies.

The peoples of the socialist countries, the Communists and progressives all over the world see it as their duty to abolish the last remnants of the colonial system of imperialism, to support the peoples now liberating themselves from the colonial powers and to help them to realize their ideals of liberation.

5. Some Ideological Questions of the Communist Movement

In summing up the historic victories of the Communist movement we address our first word of gratitude to our great teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin. For their teaching has made the international Communist movement all-powerful and secured it its victories. As we work out our strategy and tactics for the future, we again consult with Marx, Engels and Lenin. The guarantee of all our future victories is our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

The path of the Communist movement is a difficult and thorny path. No other party has suffered so many trials and losses as the Communists. Hosts of reactionaries have had a go at destroying communism. But communism has emerged from these trials still stronger and has become the mighty force of our times.

You have all seen at one time or another a sturdy tree with roots going down deep into the soil. Such a tree fears neither storms nor hurricanes. Though the slender tree may bend under the gale, the sturdy one weathers the storm, the foliage of its crown becomes

denser and even more luxuriant, reaching outward and upward towards the sun. The same can be said of the Communist movement. Though imperialist reaction unleashes storm after storm against it, the Communist movement remains unshaken, keeps on growing and becomes more tempered.

Forty-one years ago when the First Congress of the Comintern took place here in Moscow, Communist parties and Left socialist organizations from 30 countries were represented at it. Not counting the Communist parties of the Republics which today form the USSR, there were only five Communist parties in Europe at that time. There were no Communist parties in Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania. On the American continent there was only the Communist Party of Argentina. Today Communist and Workers' parties exist in 87 countries. They unite more than 36 million people. The ideas of communism have won the minds of millions in all corners of the globe. That is a good thing, a very good thing, Comrades!

We are witnessing the birth of many new Communist parties. Twelve such parties have appeared and established international contact since the Moscow Meeting of 1957. If Marx, Engels and Lenin could have been present at the November Meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, how happy they would have been to see this mighty army of Communists of the whole world!

The growing ranks of the Communist parties reflect the deep urge of the masses for communism. That is one of the most remarkable phenomena of our times.

The communist system, for which the Marxist-Leninists are fighting, has been prepared by the entire process of social development; the transition to it is on the order of the day. Marxist-Leninists cannot but concern themselves with indicating the ways of the transition to the new society. Here many complex questions arise. The fraternal parties have highly appreciated the contribution made by the 20th Congress of the CPSU in elaborating the urgent problems of our day. Both the 1957 Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, and the November 1960 forum of the world Communist movement devoted considerable attention to these problems and further developed the theory and practice of the Communist movement.

For us Soviet Communists, sons of the October Revolution, recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of capi-

talist society into socialist society is axiomatic. The road to socialism lies through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As regards the forms of the transition to socialism, these, as pointed out by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, will become more and more varied. This does not necessarily mean that the transition to socialism will everywhere and in all cases be associated with armed uprising and civil war. Marxism-Leninism starts from the premise that the forms of the transition to socialism may be peaceful and non-peaceful. It is in the interests of the working class, of the masses, that the revolution be carried out in a peaceful way. But in the event of the ruling classes resisting the revolution with violence and refusing to submit to the will of the people, the proletariat will be obliged to crush their resistance and launch a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that with the growth of the might of the socialist world system and the better organization of the working class in the capitalist countries, increasingly favorable conditions for socialist revolutions will arise. The transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions may be effected by utilizing Parliament and in other countries by utilizing institutions conforming to their national traditions. In this case it is a question of using the parliamentary form and not the bourgeois Parliament as such in order to place it at the service of the people, and to fill it with new meaning. Thus, it will not be a matter of electoral combinations or simply skirmishes round the polls. The reformists indulge in this sort of thing. Such combinations are alien to us Communists. For us the rallying and consolidation of the revolutionary forces of the working class and of all working people, and the launching of mass revolutionary action are an absolute condition for winning a stable majority in Parliament. To win a majority in Parliament and transform it into an organ of the people's power, given a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means smashing the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and setting up a new, proletarian people's state in parliamentary form.

It is quite obvious that in those countries where capitalism is still strong and still commands a huge military and police apparatus, the transition to socialism will inevitably take place in conditions of sharp class struggle. The political leadership of the working class, headed by the Communist vanguard, is

the decisive condition no matter what the forms of transition to socialism are.

These conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of the fraternal Communist parties, on the experience of the international Communist movement, and rightly take into account the changed international conditions. They orientate the Communist parties towards uniting the working class, the majority of the people, and mastering all the forms of struggle — the peaceful and non-peaceful, the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. Lenin taught the Communists to be ready to use the various forms of struggle, depending on the situation, and to educate the masses of the working people in the spirit of preparedness for decisive revolutionary action.

Of course, it is for the proletariat itself in each country, and for its Communist vanguard, to decide on the forms and methods of struggle to be employed by the working class of the respective country in the concrete historical situation.

In this connection it should be stressed that in the present conditions the following thesis, formulated in the Statement of the Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, acquires particular importance:

"The Communist parties, guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, have always rejected export of revolution. At the same time they are definitely against the imperialist export of counter-revolution. They hold that it is their international duty to call on the people of all countries to unite, to rally all their forces, to act vigorously and, backed by the might of the world socialist system, prevent or firmly repulse any interference by the imperialists in the affairs of the people of any country who have risen in revolt."

To lead the masses to the socialist revolution is a highly complicated matter. We know from the experience of our own Party that when the Bolsheviks were fighting for power they focused attention on work among the masses, on forming and cementing the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, on preparing the political army of the socialist revolution. Leninists worked wherever the masses were — among industrial workers and peasants, among women and youth and in the army. Each party knows best what slogan is most suited at the given moment to the task of winning the masses, of

leading them, of reinforcing the political army of the socialist revolution.

The importance of working among the youth was stressed at the Meeting. Bourgeois propaganda is spreading lies about the youth of today, calling them the "lost generation," and depicting them as being apolitical. But the latest revolutionary manifestations in a number of countries show that the young people can be a powerful revolutionary force. No political party can so attract the youth as the Communists — the most revolutionary of all parties, and the youth delight in revolutionary action.

The working class is the leading revolutionary force of our times. The working class in the developed capitalist countries forms a large proportion of the world army of labor. It numbers 160,000,000 factory and office workers, which is about three-fifths of the total in the non-socialist world. The working class in the developed capitalist countries is a great revolutionary force not only because of its numbers, but above all because it is organized. It has its mass trade unions and its mass parties. We are well aware that the Communists in Western Europe and in the United States come up against big and specific difficulties. They have to deal with an experienced bourgeoisie that has vast material resources and a powerful military, police and ideological machine. But we have every confidence in the working class of the West-European countries, the successor to the revolutionary traditions of the Communards of Paris and the English Chartists, the leader and organizer of the anti-fascist resistance movement. The working class, which has experienced and mass Communist parties in many countries, with steered Marxist-Leninist cadres, will make its contribution to the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrades, the greater the successes of the socialist system, the greater becomes the international army of Communists, and the more the bourgeoisie rages. In its rage it resorts to fascist methods of government and to other forms of tyrannical rule. It musters all its means of propaganda in an attempt to whitewash the capitalist system, to besmirch socialism and our communist ideas. Bourgeois propaganda is becoming more insidious and subtle. It is using anti-communism as its principal weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the Communist parties. We must vigorously expose this anti-scientific ideology, which is false from beginning to end.

The socialist cause cannot be successfully advanced without waging relentless struggle against opportunism in the working-class and Communist movement, against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

It will be recalled that three years ago the Communist movement was furiously assailed by the revisionists. This was a matter of life and death for the revolutionary working-class parties in some countries. In the Communist Party of the United States the Gates group was active and in the Communist Party of Denmark the Larsen group conducted its disruptive work. The revisionists were a grave menace also to some other fraternal parties. We can now say with deep satisfaction that the revisionists have been exposed and expelled from the ranks of the parties. The Communist parties have emerged from the struggle against the revisionists stronger and more steered and experienced. The Communist parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism, against any deviation from Leninism, is as important as ever. It is a struggle aimed at strengthening the socialist camp, at consistently applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin pointed out with his innate foresight that the struggle against the evil of nationalism, against the most deeprooted nationalistic petty-bourgeois prejudices "comes increasingly to the fore as the task of turning the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of shaping world politics) into an international dictatorship (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat embracing at least a few advanced countries and capable of exerting a decisive influence on world politics) becomes more actual." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 31, p. 126.)

The struggle against revisionism in all its varieties continues to be an important task of the Communist parties. As long as the bourgeois system exists there will be soil for the revisionist ideology. That is why we must always keep our powder dry and conduct an uncompromising struggle against revisionism which is trying to emasculate Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary substance, to embellish capitalism, undermine the unity of the Communist movement and confine the Communist parties to their own national quarters.

The Communist movement faces yet another danger — dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united

to fight imperialism, prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising towards dogmatism. Lenin wrote: "... It is necessary to grasp the indisputable truth that the Marxist should study life as it is, the precise facts of reality, and should not cling to the theory of yesterday which, like any theory, at best can but indicate the basic, the general factors, and can but draw close to an understanding of the complexities of life." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 24, p. 26.)

Dogmatism nourishes a sectarian bigotry, which hampers the unity of the working class and of all progressive forces with the Communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are irreconcilably at variance with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application, they lead to the isolation of Communists from the masses of the working people, doom them to passive anticipation or to reckless ultra-leftism in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from utilizing all the opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and of all the democratic forces.

The Statement stresses that the Communist parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts — against revisionism, which is still the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Dogmatism and sectarianism may also become the main danger at one or another stage in the development of the various parties unless a consistent struggle is waged against them.

The international duty of all the Communist and Workers' parties is to hold aloft the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as the decisive condition of all our future victories.

6. For the Further Consolidation of the Communist Movement on the Principles of Marxism-Leninism

Comrades, the battle between the Communists and all popular forces on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, on the other, is entering upon a new stage. In these circumstances, the unity of the socialist camp, of the entire international Communist movement, acquires paramount importance. Our solidarity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, is the main condition for the victory of the working class over imperialism. The behest of the great Lenin to advance shoulder to shoulder, is sacred to us. The unity of our ranks multiplies our forces tenfold. Unity, unity and again

unity — this is the law of the world Communist movement.

The very essence of Leninism implies that no Marxism-Leninist party can permit either in its own ranks, or in the international Communist movement, any actions likely to undermine its unity and solidarity.

The common goal of struggle of all Communists demands, as in the past, unity of will and action of the Communist parties of all countries. The Meeting made a big contribution to the further consolidation of the international Communist movement by declaring, fully in keeping with Lenin's teachings, that the Communist parties will do all in their power to strengthen the unity of their ranks and of the entire international Communist movement.

"The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause," the Statement says, "demand from each Communist Party and from the great army of Communists of all countries the further consolidation of their ranks and ever closer unity of will and action. The supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party is to work steadfastly for greater unity of the international Communist movement.

"Resolute defense of the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the impermissibility of any action likely to undermine this unity are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for accomplishing the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would weaken the forces of communism."

It should be noted that at the Meeting the delegation of the CPSU expressed its point of view concerning the formulation that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp and the CPSU at the head of the Communist movement. The delegation declared that this formulation was regarded above all as high appreciation of the services rendered by our Party, founded by Lenin, and expressed its heartfelt gratitude to all the fraternal parties for it. Our Party, reared by Lenin, has always seen its first duty in fulfilling its international obligations towards the working class of the world. The delegation assured the Meeting that the CPSU would continue to hold high the banner of proletar-

ian internationalism and would spare no effort in carrying out its international duties.

Nevertheless, the CPSU delegation proposed that the formulation be not included in the Statement or other documents of the Communist movement.

As to the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, the CPSU very definitely expressed its views on this matter at its 21st Congress. From the rostrum of the Congress, we declared to the whole world that in the Communist movement, as in the socialist camp, there has always been complete equality and solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' parties and socialist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not lead other parties. There are no "superior" or "subordinate" parties in the Communist movement. All the Communist parties are equal and independent, all are responsible for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its setbacks and victories. Every Communist and Workers' Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the entire international working-class and Communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in it leading the other socialist countries, but in it being the first to blaze the trail to socialism, in it being the most powerful country in the socialist world system, in it having accumulated vast positive experience in building socialism, and being the first to embark on the full-scale building of communism. It is stressed in the Statement that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being its most experienced and steeled contingent.

At the present time, when there is a large group of socialist countries each facing its own specific tasks, when there are 87 Communist and Workers' parties each with its own tasks, it is impossible to lead all the socialist countries and Communist parties from any single centre. It is both impossible and unnecessary. Tempered Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their parties, their countries, have grown up in the Communist parties.

And, indeed, it is well known that the CPSU does not issue directives to other parties. The fact that we are called "the head," spells no advantages for our Party or the other parties. Just the reverse. It only creates difficulties.

As is seen from the Statement, the fraternal parties agreed with the reasons stated by

our delegation. The question may arise: will not our international solidarity be weakened by the fact that this proposition is not written down in the Statement? No, it will not. At present there are no rules regulating relations between parties, but we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to this ideology is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is essential that we guide ourselves consistently by the directions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, that we persistently put into practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The international solidarity of the Communist movement will then constantly increase.

Our Party as an international party closely follows the struggle of its class brothers in all countries of the world. We are well aware of the difficulties which the Communists have to overcome in their struggles under capitalism.

From the rostrum of the Meeting the delegation of the CPSU expressed our Party's boundless solidarity with the fighters for communism in the capitalist countries, and especially with our comrades languishing in the prisons of Spain and Portugal, Greece and West Germany, the UAR, Iraq and Iran, the USA and Paraguay, and with all the other prisoners of Capital. We are confident that our words of greeting will encourage the selfless fighters for the people's happiness.

Comrades, representatives of the Communists of all countries assembled at their Meeting at an auspicious time when the international Communist movement is in a steep ascent. Striking successes have been attained by the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. More and more victories are scored by communism in the countries where the working class has triumphed. Not only have these countries withstood the onslaught of foreign and domestic class enemies, but, acting upon the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction, they have scaled great heights in their economic, cultural, scientific and technical development, and in improving the living standard of the people. The peoples in these countries show monolithic solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties.

Whereas in the past the slogan of struggle for socialism, for communist changes, was a slogan of the Communist parties, today the struggle for socialism, for communism, has in these countries become a nationwide cause, a nationwide struggle for the triumph of the new, communist world. In this way, life itself

confirms the correctness of our revolutionary theory, the correctness and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

It is a great reward for us Communists that the potent force of communism is now realized not only by the peoples of the socialist countries, but even by people who do not accept the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They cannot help acknowledging the great results of the development of our countries, achieved on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory. And that, comrades, is immensely important.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the guide to action, the guiding star for us Communists. Being the front-rank contingent of the working class, the Communists have always regarded it as the scientific program of their struggle for victory, have always put implicit trust in it, and have always fought perseveringly for its realization. Today, when, on the basis of this doctrine, the socialist countries are attaining major successes in the economic competition with the capitalist states, the broad masses see that socialism, communism, is the greatest force of our time, and that the future belongs to communism.

It stands to reason that in the process of socialist and communist construction new forms and methods emerge, which yield good results in the achievement of the great socialist aims. Inasmuch as in the socialist countries conditions differ from country to country, it is only natural that each Communist Party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in keeping with the conditions obtaining in its country. For this reason, we must show understanding for this urge of the fraternal parties, which should know the conditions and features of their countries best.

We act upon the behest of the great Lenin that "all nations will come to socialism: that is certain, but all of them will come to it not in entirely identical ways and each will contribute something of its own to this or that form of democracy, this or that variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, this or that rate of socialist change in the various aspects of social development." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 23, p. 58.)

Naturally, one must not inflate the importance of these distinctive features, exaggerate them and overlook the basic general line of socialist construction chartered in the doctrine of Marx and Lenin. We have always firmly championed the purity of the great teaching of Marx-Leninism and the basic principles for its realization, and will continue to do so.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties exchanged opinions on questions of the current international situation and discussed the pressing problems of the Communist and working-class movement, or, as comrades put it figuratively at the Meeting, we set our watches. Indeed, the socialist countries and the Communist parties need to set the time. When someone's watch is fast or slow, it is adjusted, so as to show the right time. The Communist movement, too, needs setting the time, so that our formidable army marches in step and advances with confident stride towards communism. Putting it figuratively, Marxism-Leninism, the jointly prepared documents of international Communist meetings, are our time-piece.

Now that all the Communist and Workers' parties have adopted unanimous decisions at the Meeting, each Party will strictly and undeviatingly abide by these decisions in everything it does.

Comrades, the importance of the Meeting lies in the fact that the participants in it now feel even better, stronger and more confident and have acquired an even broader view of the great epic struggle of all the Communist and Workers' parties. All this contributes to the unity of the international Communist movement. At the international forum each fraternal party gained added confidence in the victory of our common cause, which is of tremendous importance for the consolidation of the entire international Communist movement.

The unity of every Communist Party, the unity of all the Communist parties, is what makes up the integral world Communist movement, which is aimed at achieving our common goal, victory for communism throughout the world. The main thing that is required of all the Communist and Workers' parties today, is perseveringly to strengthen to the utmost the unity and cohesion of their ranks. The unity of the ranks of the Communist movement is especially important in present conditions. This is due to the historic tasks the Communist movement is called upon to perform.

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our delegation assured the participants in the Meeting that for our part we would do our best to strengthen still more our close fraternal bonds with all the Communist parties. Our Party will do everything to make the socialist camp and the world Communist front still stronger.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen unity and friendship with all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, with the Marx-Leninist parties of all the world. In this connection I want to emphasize our constant effort to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship with the Communist Party of China, with the great Chinese people. In its relations with the Communist Party of China our Party always proceeds from the premise that the friendship of our two great peoples, the unity of our two parties, the biggest parties in the international Communist movement, are of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our Party has always exerted and will continue to exert every effort to strengthen this great friendship. We have one common goal with People's China, with the Chinese Communists, as with the Communists of all countries — safeguarding peace and the building of communism; common interests — the happiness and well-being of the working people; and a firm common basis of principle — Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will do their utmost to further increase the unity of our parties and our peoples, so as not only to disappoint our enemies but to jolt them even more strongly

with our unity, to attain the realization of our great goal, the triumph of communism.

Comrades, it is a magnificent time we live in! Communism has become the invincible force of our epoch. The further successes of communism depend to a tremendous extent on our will, our unity, our foresight and determination. By their struggle, by their work, the Communists, the working class, will achieve the great goals of communism throughout the world.

Men of the future, the Communists of the coming generations will envy us, they will keep going back in their thoughts to our times, times when there is an especially powerful ring to the lines of the Party Anthem:

"Let power be wielded by the masses
Let those who labor hold the reins."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, is, and will ever be loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism and friendship among the peoples. It will always fight for world peace, for the victory of communism, as the great Lenin taught us!

(Comrade Khrushchov's speech was repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause, and his closing words were followed by a prolonged ovation.)

The Socialist Camp— Mainspring of World Progress

G. Gheorghiu-Dej

I

WE are living at a turning point in history, when the camp of socialism, the international communist and workers' movement, all the forces of freedom and social progress headed by the working class, the most consistent revolutionary class, are playing the decisive role in shaping man's destiny. It is this that imparts to our epoch its grandeur, that determines its basic content—the transition from capitalism to socialism. Today socialism has become the mainspring of global development.

When we defined the law of uneven development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, Lenin pointed out that the socialist revolution would not triumph simultaneously in all or even in the majority of countries, as Marx and Engels had predicted in other historical conditions, but first in a few countries or even in one, at the weakest link in the chain of imperialism. This happened in old Russia, where all the contradictions of imperialism were interwoven. The Great October Socialist Revolution made a profound breach into the world system of imperialism, shaking it to its foundations in all spheres—political, economic, social and ideological. For the first time in history the peoples were shown in practice that their aspirations could be realized and that they now had material support in their struggle for freedom and progress. As Lenin wrote, "the era of the world proletarian, communist revolution has begun."*

Imperialism failed in its efforts to crush the first workers' and peasants' state; it was unable to prevent socialism from emerging from the confines of a single country and becoming a world system. Lenin's forecast that the dictatorship of the proletariat would change from a national dictatorship, i.e., one existing in a single country and unable to determine the world political climate, into an international dictatorship capable of being the decisive force on the world arena, has come true.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Draft Program of the RCP(B)*.

In our times the struggle between capitalism and socialism has spread to all aspects of the social, political and economic development of society. The policy of contemporary capitalism is in substance a struggle to win back for imperialism its lost positions and to re-establish its world leadership, that is, a struggle to preserve and intensify every form of exploitation, to destroy the socialist system and thus perpetuate the division of the world into ruling countries and countries that are enslaved and exploited. This policy runs counter to the aspirations and interests of all peoples, against the march of history, and precisely for this reason imperialism seeks to hide its true aims behind deceptive slogans.

Socialism counters this policy with one of struggle for social progress, to emancipate all mankind from exploitation and oppression, to exclude war from the life of society, to bring about the complete equality of all peoples and nations and their all-round development. These noble aims correspond to man's vital interests, and hence the proponents of this policy — the Communist and Workers' parties — far from concealing it, proclaim it from the housetops.

But the simple juxtaposition of these two lines does not exhaust the purport of the social and political processes of our day. What is important above all is that socialism, as the rising system, is triumphing over the decaying and disintegrating capitalism, that the general line of socialism is making a deeper imprint on man's development, while the influence of capitalism is steadily declining. *Socialism, based on the socialist world system, is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.*

All the vital problems associated with the irreversible transition to socialism were thoroughly analyzed at the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960.

This grand international forum, the biggest ever held in the history of the revolutionary working-class movement, reaffirmed the vita-

lity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to which dogmatic conservatism and stagnation are utterly alien and which by drawing on the inexhaustible foundations of life, is constantly being developed and enriched. The maturity of the fraternal parties, their many-sided work to elaborate questions of theory and their rich collective experience are strikingly expressed in the Statement adopted by the Meeting and which may well be called a program of truly historic significance.

Basing itself on the principles elaborated at the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 1957 Declaration — these signal contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism — and taking into account the latest developments and basic trends, the meeting scientifically characterized the present situation, showing that the main content, trends and features of world development are determined by the socialist world system, by the forces fighting against imperialism and for socialism. *"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society,"* we read in the Statement.

This principal characteristic, arising from the new balance of forces in the world, favorable to socialism, is making itself felt in all spheres of social development; it is reflected in the state of affairs on the world arena as a whole and in each country taken separately, in the class relations between labor and capital in the capitalist countries, and in the development of the national-liberation movement — in a word, it is reflected in the destinies of all countries and peoples.

There is nothing transient or casual in socialism becoming, in an historically brief space of time, the determining force on the world arena; it is the inevitable result of the past development of society in which the objective conditions needed for the transition to socialism have been created.

The socialist world system has now entered upon a new stage in its development, throughout this system socialism has won decisive victories. The Soviet Union is successfully building communism; all along the line the other members of the system are either laying the foundations of socialism or they are raising the edifice of advanced socialist society.

At the same time the aggravation of all the contradictions of capitalism, the growing instability of the entire capitalist system, and

the deep-going crisis of bourgeois politics and ideology show that the general crisis of capitalism has entered upon a new stage. The feature of this new stage is that it has set in not in connection with a world war, but in the circumstances of competition and struggle between the two systems, of a steady tipping of the international scales in favor of socialism, in circumstances when the fight waged by the peace forces to ensure and maintain peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from plunging mankind into a new world war.

The outcome of these two great world processes is that the influence exerted by socialism on the development of society is steadily growing, human progress is accelerated and especially favorable conditions are created for the onward march of the peoples to socialism.

II

The great vitality of socialism and its impact on capitalism find most powerful expression in the results achieved by the socialist world system in its competition with capitalism.

Socialism has firmly established its primacy in the world for the rate of growth of industrial production and has taken first place in the development of science and technology. The Soviet Union is registering resounding victories in the building of communism all along the line; its seven-year plan is being fulfilled and considerably exceeded. Since the establishment of Soviet power, notwithstanding that nearly two decades of this period were spent in fighting the wars launched by the imperialists and in the postwar rehabilitation, the Soviet Union's gross industrial output increased more than 40-fold compared with 1913; output of the means of production rose 93-fold, while output of machines was 270 times as great. In the past fifteen years (1945-1959) the average annual rate of growth of industrial output in the Soviet Union has been more than six times as great as in the United States. This rapid growth which puts the USSR far ahead of the USA for annual increase of industrial output, is swiftly doing away with the discrepancy between the gross production levels in the two countries. The Soviet Union is advancing with seven-league strides towards fulfilment of the historic task set by the Communist Party — to achieve first place in the world for both overall production and production per capita.

The Soviet Union has outstripped all other countries in cultural development and training of specialists, while its scientific accomplishments in cosmic research show that it leads also in the key branches of science and modern technology.

These achievements prove the correctness and wisdom of the general line of the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee which is creatively solving the complex problems of the building of communism, ensuring a close link between theory and practice.

The other socialist countries, too, have made substantial economic progress. They have, in accordance with their respective levels of development, launched out on the building of the new society from different starting points. Some were exceedingly backward economically before the war. Now, however, thanks to their advance along the road of socialism, their gross industrial production has grown in comparison with prewar as follows: in Albania, the growth is 22.5 times; in Czechoslovakia, 3.6; in the Chinese People's Republic, 13 (compared with 1949); the Korean People's Democratic Republic, 5.5; Bulgaria, 11; the German Democratic Republic, three; the Mongolian People's Republic, 5.8 (compared with 1940); Poland, nearly seven; Rumania, five; Hungary, 3.8, and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 2.2 times.

In the years from 1951 to 1959 the annual rate of growth for industrial output has averaged 13.7 per cent in the countries of the socialist camp, against 4.8 per cent in the capitalist countries. Many bourgeois economists and philosophers no longer debate whether socialism will succeed in overtaking the capitalist world economically, today the talk has veered to when this will happen.

In the socialist system, with its relations of mutual aid and fraternal co-operation, a process of gradual equalization of development levels is under way. Here the less developed countries are drawing closer to the level of the more advanced, while these in turn are themselves steadily advancing; consequently they all will enter communism more or less simultaneously.

In contrast to this trend, which is characteristic of socialism, development in the capitalist world becomes more and more uneven: the imperialist countries, retarding the progress of the weaker nations, are preventing them from taking the way of industrialization in order to keep them economically and politically dependent. The problem of the underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia

and Latin America is so acute today not because of the people there but because imperialism has held back their development and robbed them of their wealth through rapacious exploitation.

The achievement of socialism in the economic competition of the two systems is exploding one of the weighty anti-communist myths — the "inability" of socialism, to ensure a high standard of living. The gradual introduction in the Soviet Union of the shortest working day and working week in the world, the abolition of taxes by stages, the rising purchasing power of the people and the allocation of vast sums for social and cultural measures in that country, together with the achievements of the other socialist countries in ensuring material well-being and satisfying the spiritual requirements of the people, give tangible proof of what socialism and communism can do.

All this is of tremendous significance, for it helps to bring home to the working people in the capitalist countries the superiority of socialism not simply by way of theories but through the fact of its ability to ensure a steady and unlimited growth in living standards. These achievements give a powerful impetus to the spread of the ideas of socialism, enhancing their power of attraction, revolutionizing the thinking of the masses, helping to stimulate their political activity and inspiring the working people in the capitalist countries to fight for their vital interests.

At the same time, despite the efforts made by the rulers of the capitalist world, all the "panaceas" for the ills of capitalism prescribed by "brain trusts" of all kinds, despite the measures taken to "regulate" economic life, the symptoms of a new depression are multiplying in the USA and in other capitalist countries of the West; undercapacity working is on the increase, and inflation, budget deficits and growing unemployment are the order of the day.

The socialist gains in the competition of the two systems, on the one hand, and the steady decline of monopoly capitalism, on the other, knock the bottom out of the apologist theories about a new capitalism, all the illusions of the opportunists, reformists and revisionists about the so-called "regeneration" of capitalism, and the emergence within it of "elements of socialism," etc.

The development of the socialist world system parallel with the crisis of capitalist economy is reflected in the crisis of bourgeois ideology. Indicative in this respect is the

pessimism of some Western politicians. For instance, the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles complained that his country had failed to formulate the principles of an outlook adapted to the times and which would combine the power of conviction with the power of attraction, while Walter Lippman has conceded, and not without grounds, that the absence of great goals is a grave weakness of American society. The more farsighted spokesmen of capitalism compare their own philosophy of hopelessness and impotence with the confidence and resolve with which the Communists voice their certainty of the victory of socialism, its inevitable triumph throughout the world.

Even now we can clearly discern the world-historic significance of the fulfilment of their long-range plans by the socialist countries, which are advancing towards the time when the socialist world system, embracing one-third of humanity, will be producing more than half of the world output. This will be a resounding defeat for capitalism and a decisive victory for socialism in the principal sphere of human activity — the sphere of material production.

On this score there is growing anxiety in the West. For instance, in a collection of reports published by the joint economic committee of the U.S. Congress it is admitted that the rapid economic advance of the socialist countries exerts a magic influence and acts as an attractive force in vast areas of the world. And true enough, *now that socialism is no longer merely an advanced theory, but is embodied in the socialist world system, we have the most striking confirmation of Lenin's view that the countries in which socialism has triumphed would influence the development of world revolution chiefly through their economic policy.*

Our experience in Rumania is proof of the opportunities for rapid progress opened to a nation by the socialist reconstruction of society, by association with the socialist world system. It will be recalled that Rumania's economic development was retarded for years by the imperialist powers which regarded her as an agrarian adjunct, a mere source of raw materials and a market for their manufactures.

After liberation, the people of Rumania set to work to overcome the economic backwardness inherited from the past and made good progress in building the new society under the leadership of their Workers' Party. The Third Congress of the Party, analyzing

the deep-going social and economic changes that had taken place in the country, was able to say that socialism had won in Rumania. Today our country has entered upon a new stage — that of completing the building of socialism.

Guided by the teachings of Lenin, our Party has directed the main efforts of the nation into such spheres, decisive for the victory of socialism, as the creation of the material and technological base of the new society through socialist industrialization, steady development of heavy industry and of its backbone, means of production, introduction of the latest techniques in all branches, automation, raising labor productivity, growth of the national income — the basis for raising the living standards.

As a result of the rapid rate of development of socialist industry, its annual output increase during the years 1951-1960 averaged 13 per cent; in the old Rumania of the bourgeoisie and the landlords the annual industrial growth during 1929-1938 was about four per cent. In 1959 the national income mounted to 242 per cent of the 1950 level, with industry and building accounting for 66.9 per cent as against 50 per cent in 1950, and agriculture and the timber industry, 19.3 as against 28 per cent. In terms of value, industry accounted for 48,000 million lei as against 15,100 million in 1950. These figures give an idea of the structural changes that have taken place in our national economy.

By 1965, when the directives of the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party concerning the six-year plan will have been carried out, our industrial output should be about 2.1 times as great as the 1959 figure, while the long term fifteen-year economic program (1960-1975) will increase it more than sixfold.

The Congress decisions constitute a program behind which the entire nation has rallied. In 1960 output of our industry rose roughly by 16 per cent compared with the previous year, although the six-year plan called for only a 14 per cent increase.

Our Party devotes constant attention to agriculture. At present the socialist sector embraces over 81 per cent of all the farm land and more than 83 per cent of the cultivated land.

Special mention should be made of the fact that with the spread of socialism in the countryside farm production has increased, all branches of agriculture are forging ahead,

and there has been a substantial increase in the trade between town and country. Today our agriculture fully meets the growing requirements of the population, providing the food industry with all the raw materials it needs, and almost wholly takes care of the raw material needs of light industry.

In effecting the socialist reconstruction of the countryside, our Party has had a reliable guide in Lenin's counsel about the need strictly to observe the voluntary principle, to ensure the correct social and economic relations with the peasantry, and steadfastly to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasant masses as the foundation of the rule of the working people.

Our national economy, balanced and stable, is steadily developing. Our Party attaches cardinal importance to material incentives as a powerful lever making for increased output and higher labor productivity in all branches and in fostering a conscientious socialist attitude to work. With the expansion of the economic base of socialism, profound changes are taking place in the minds of the working people. The Party, basing itself on the new economic relations, gives free rein to creative initiative, conducts intensified political and educational work among the people with a view to deepening their socialist consciousness and moulding the ethics of the new man — the builder of the most progressive social system.

The economic success and the rising national income have enabled the Party and the Government to pursue the policy of steadily raising living standards; wages have risen and prices have fallen; substantial sums — nearly a quarter of the state budget — have been allocated for housing, public health, education, science and culture.

All this is the fruit of the constructive labors of our people, the fruit of our Party's policy, which is based on the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the conditions of our country, and of our association with the great commonwealth of socialist countries.

The main and decisive condition for the successful building of socialism is the observance and creative application of the principles, in essence universal, of socialist construction, of not over-estimating the role of the national features or ignoring them. In the process of building the new society, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries are steadily enriching Marxism-Leninism through generalization of their prac-

tical experience. They are applying the basic principles of Marxism creatively, for Marxism is not a code of immutable formulas, but a teaching that springs from the requirements of everyday life, from the new which life brings to the fore, from the concrete conditions of the given time and the given situation.

It is the experience of our country, as of all the socialist countries, that the most important international factors in their achievements are their co-operation and mutual aid and, in particular, the all-round fraternal assistance accorded to all the other socialist countries by the Soviet Union. The Moscow Meeting emphasized the importance in building socialism of consolidating fraternal co-operation and mutual aid, constantly perfecting the international division of labor through co-ordination of plans as well as specialization and co-operation in production on the basis of free will and mutual benefit, in the interests of each country and the socialist system as a whole.

In addition to the economic achievements, the development of consistent socialist democracy exerts a powerful influence on the working people in the capitalist countries.

Steady growth of the social and political activity of the people is characteristic of the socialist countries, where growing numbers are taking a direct part in economic management and cultural development. In keeping with the general progress made by each country, functions that hitherto belonged to the state are gradually being transferred to public organizations and the role played by the community in inculcating and enforcing standards of behavior is growing.

That the socialist system is superior to bourgeois "democracy" is becoming increasingly evident. No amount of effort by the bourgeois ideologists to depict it as "true" democracy can conceal the realities of bourgeois democracy; they are patent in the anti-labor laws and in race persecution in the USA, in the hounding of democrats in the German Federal Republic, in the transformation of Spain and other "free world" countries into prisons for their people, in the reprisals against fighters for national freedom. In the conditions of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, bourgeois democracy is being discredited more and more and its bankruptcy is becoming increasingly manifest; under pressure of the ultra-reactionary groups of monopoly capital, the old forms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy are being

replaced in a number of countries with regimes based on naked suppression of the working people and abolition of civil rights.

With the steady economic and social progress of the socialist countries, the working people everywhere are coming to see more and more clearly that socialism alone opens up to man every opportunity for the full satisfaction of his requirements, for the full development of his personality and talent, for the realization of the ideals cherished by progressive thinkers down the centuries.

III

The growth of the socialist world system into the decisive force of historical development is the basic factor making it possible to solve in a new way, in the interests of the people, the cardinal problems of our times.

This circumstance is of enormous importance also for the primary task of the day—defense of peace.

Social developments show that whereas war is the product of a social system based on exploitation and class antagonisms, socialism and peace are indivisible. Territorial expansion and war are alien to socialism. Its ideal is peace, all-round development of all countries, abundance of the good things of life for the people. Socialism is the realm of labor and freedom, fraternal friendship and co-operation among the peoples. That is why the Communists have always fought against aggressive wars, which bring disaster above all to the working population.

Lenin pointed out that only the working class, after it has won power, can really carry out a policy of peace, not just in words. "We promise the workers and peasants," he said, "that we will do everything for peace. And we shall live up to our promise.*"

And this counsel of Lenin guides the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

But while pursuing a policy of peace, they do not ignore the aggressive nature of imperialism, which remains unchanged. The frenzied stockpiling of armaments — especially nuclear weapons — inspired by the USA in the NATO countries; the intensive efforts to rebuild German militarism as the shock force of imperialism in Europe; the American plan for making NATO a new "atomic power"; expansion of the network of American military bases; U.S. interference in the affairs of the Congo and Laos; the pro-

vocations against Cuba, and the war against the people of Algeria — these and other facts are clear proof that the aggressive circles, and primarily the U.S. imperialists, are continuing to create and sustain centres of tension and unrest, preparing another war.

But gone are the days when the imperialists could decide at will whether to start a war or not. It is humanity's good fortune that our epoch, although it has produced unprecedented means of destruction, has also created the force that can prevent their use. This force is the socialist camp with its steadily growing economic power, excellent defense capacity and high political and moral prestige, the other peace-loving states, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, and the world peace movement. Should the imperialists dare to unleash a war, the combined forces of the peoples would wipe capitalism off the face of the earth.

But the world knows how disastrous a nuclear and missile war would be for all mankind. It would wipe out the main economic and cultural centres and treasure houses of civilization; entire countries and nations would be annihilated and the toll of life would run into hundreds of millions. What the socialist countries need is not war, but peace, in order to go ahead with their rapid economic development and ensure a high standard of living.

The facts prove the efficacy of the persistent struggle waged by the Communist and Workers' parties and the countries of the socialist camp to prevent war. Although the imperialist adventurers began to prepare aggression against the socialist countries before the echoes of the Second World War had died away, they have not been able to unleash it. Time and again in recent years the forces of socialism and peace have stopped the imperialists from starting local wars or compelled them to cease hostilities where such conflicts did break out, thereby preventing them from developing into a world conflagration. Here we can clearly see the difference between the present situation and that on the eve of the Second World War when it was impossible to prevent the seizure of Manchuria, the invasion of Ethiopia, the defeat of Republican Spain, the occupation of Austria, or the rape of Czechoslovakia — all acts of imperialist aggression, the prelude to the world war.

The further strengthening of the socialist world system and the further growth of the

*V. I. Lenin, *Report on Foreign Policy*, May 14, 1918.

superiority of the forces of socialism and peace and the prospect of the absolute domination of socialism on the world arena, hold out the promise that it will be possible to exclude world war from the life of society even before the final victory of socialism on a global scale.

The idea of preventing war spurs the peoples to action, gives them new confidence, rallies them in the struggle and multiplies their forces. Nothing could be more pernicious to the cause of peace than a fatalistic and passive submission in the face of the war danger. Hence, while showing that in our time war can be prevented, the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties never fail to stress that in order to do this the broad masses should be mobilized without delay, all the peace forces should be active, exerting every effort and displaying maximum vigilance, in building up a broad front for peace. The countries of the socialist camp are conducting, as Lenin taught us, a highly principled and at the same time flexible foreign policy aimed at uniting all the forces to prevent world war.

In the sphere of world politics, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp invariably hold the initiative. Even bourgeois politicians have conceded this. By their actions and proposals on the basic international issues, the socialist countries have laid diplomatic siege to the aggressive imperialist elements. In this connection mention should be made of the proposals to terminate nuclear weapons tests, for general and complete disarmament, for the abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, for an atom-free zone in the Pacific area, in Central Europe and in the Balkans, for signing a peace treaty with Germany and settling the Berlin question, and for the peaceful unification of Korea and Vietnam.

At the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly the socialist countries were able to concentrate the debates on the most pressing problems of international life, drawing the attention of the nations to these issues and winning a major political and moral victory for the forces of socialism and peace.

The steadfast general line followed by the socialist countries in their foreign policy is peaceful coexistence as the only alternative to war. There is no "third" way, and to search for such would be tantamount to balancing on the brink of a precipice; it would mean continued tension fraught with the danger of

the cold war turning at any moment into a global shooting war.

It goes without saying that the policy of peaceful coexistence and economic competition of the two systems does not imply "harmony" of interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it is a form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism. It enhances the international prestige of the socialist countries, strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige of the Communist parties, creates favorable conditions for the struggles of the working people as well as the national-liberation movements, and corresponds to the vital interests of all peoples.

Together with the other socialist countries, the Rumanian People's Republic is doing its share to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence. It has advanced proposals on co-operation in the Balkans and for a rocket- and atom-free zone in this area; on regional measures to promote good-neighborly relations among the European states, and on educating the youth in the spirit of peace and understanding among the nations. The Rumanian People's Republic stands for political, economic and cultural relations with all states, irrespective of their social and political systems, in the interest of international cooperation.

In the past the experience was that whenever a country or a group of countries gained superiority of strength over other countries, the danger of war, of resorting to arms to resolve controversial issues, increased. But now when the superiority is on the side of the socialist states, we see the opposite, the prospects of lasting peace become brighter and brighter.

It is not mere chance that it is the great socialist power — the Soviet Union — which is urging general and complete disarmament. The underlying ideas of its program, embodied in the slogan "A world without armaments, without armies and without wars," having struck deep roots among all peace-loving people, are now the watchword of the masses the world over.

In order to minimize the impact of the Soviet disarmament proposals, the imperialist propagandists claim they are nothing but a "chimera", a "propaganda trick". The object is to undermine faith in the feasibility of disarmament and to weaken and disorganize the fight for it. But no matter how long the way to disarmament may still be, the socialist

countries, together with all other peace-loving forces, are pursuing this course firmly resolved to exert every effort to achieve this great ideal of socialism, as Lenin called it. Backed by the might of the socialist camp, the peoples, by resolute and united action, will be able to overcome the resistance of the imperialists, isolate them more and more, and compel them to agree to general disarmament.

Defense of peace and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and disarmament call for active, unremitting struggle against the imperialist aggressors. The economic and political strength of the socialist camp, the fact that the means of defense at the disposal of its member-countries, and primarily the Soviet Union, give them superiority in the sinews of war, together with the steady growth of the forces of peace throughout the world and their preponderance on the international arena — all act as a curb on the imperialist aggressors and, for this reason, are the decisive factor of peace.

IV

The disintegration of colonialism in the post-war period is the second greatest event after the rise of the socialist world system. The transformation of the former colonies from a reserve of capitalism into an active anti-imperialist force undermines the pillars of imperialism and aggravates the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The imperialists never bestow independence on a nation they have enslaved; it has to be won in grim struggle and at the cost of heavy sacrifice by the colonial peoples.

The world situation today particularly favors the national-liberation struggle. Whereas formerly the colonial powers could handle the national-liberation movements by sending a few warships or battalions of marines, now these methods are becoming less and less practicable. For, in addition to the scale acquired by the national-liberation movements as such, there is now the mighty socialist camp which renders powerful support to the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. Moreover, the other peace-loving countries are also giving expression to their solidarity with them. The example of Cuba, which has overthrown U.S. monopoly domination, shows that in our time even a small country, thanks to the support of the forces of peace headed by the socialist camp, is

able to resist the imperialists and uphold its independence.

The adoption by the U.N. General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Government of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples is a big victory for the forces of peace and progress throughout the world. This victory will hasten the onset of the historic moment when the loathsome colonial system will have been abolished for ever.

The peoples who have broken the chains of colonial slavery or are still fighting for their liberation can now see that in their fight for freedom, political and economic independence, to abolish poverty and to raise their standard of living, they have no more sincere and reliable friends than the socialist countries. The aid given by these countries to the new independent states is real and effective, primarily because its purpose is to ensure all-round development of the economy, to build up industry and train national technical personnel, and to harness the national resources in the interests of the emerging nations themselves with a view to their independent development. The years will pass and many changes will take place in the life of these nations, but the enterprises built with the aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, such developments as the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works and the Aswan Dam, will always be a glowing symbol of true help at a time of need.

As the socialist world system develops, the aid extended by the member-countries will increase, and this will further accelerate the progress of the new independent states.

The countries that have won political independence from imperialism are confronted with big problems of social and economic development. In our times the possibility of a non-capitalist way of development opens up before these countries the possibility of avoiding the agonizing ordeals associated with the capitalist system.

The predominant influence exerted by the forces of socialism on world development is reflected in the incomparably greater opportunities that have opened for the peoples to shape their lives in a new way, to choose at will the path of development which corresponds in the fullest measure to their aspirations and interests.

The choice of one or another social system is a matter for each people to decide for themselves. Faithful to Lenin's counsel the Communists reject any "export of revolution."

No revolution, and least of all the socialist revolution, which presupposes the most deep-going reconstruction of all economic and social relations, can be artificially "exported" from one country to another. Speaking of the future influence which socialist countries would exert, Engels said: *Only one thing is indisputable: the victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on another nation without undermining thereby its own victory.*"*

A bloodless revolution is most of all in the interests of the working class and the people generally, for it corresponds to the national interest of each country. Speaking of the possibility of the revolution taking a peaceful course, Lenin pointed out that though in the situation that existed at the time, this could happen only as a rare exception, the proletariat could not but attach the greatest importance to it. In the changed conditions of our time, as pointed out both in the 1957 Declaration and in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of 1960, the working class in a number of capitalist countries may be able, on the basis of a united workers' and people's front or other forms of political coalition and co-operation among different parties and public organizations, to unite the majority of the people, win political power without civil war and take over the basic means of production. The fundamental prerequisite for this is broad, incessant class struggle waged by the working masses, with the proletariat in the vanguard, against monopoly capital, for deep-going social reforms, for peace and socialism.

Still it should be borne in mind that the transition to socialism might have to be effected in a non-peaceful way; wherever this happens, the intensity of the class struggle and its forms will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the violence of the resistance offered by reaction to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people. Whether a revolution is bloodless or not will depend on the concrete historical conditions in the given country.

The fight of the peoples for the right to shape their own lives derives strength from the existence and solidarity of the socialist camp. The Communist and Workers' parties, resolutely against any export of counter-revolution by the imperialists, consider it their international duty to rally the peoples and, supported by the socialist world system, to

prevent any interference by the imperialists in the internal affairs of the peoples that have taken their future in their own hands, or to repel such intervention where it has taken place.

V

The socialist world system is the motive force of contemporary history, the decisive factor determining the content and direction of social progress. Each new achievement of socialism accelerates social progress throughout the world. It used to be said that history was working for socialism, now we can add that socialism is working for history.

The greatest influence on world development is exerted by the Soviet Union, which has blazed the trail for the peoples to a radical reconstruction of society in the interests of the masses, and which is charting the way to communism — the first country to build socialism and the first to begin building communist society. An inspiring example for the forces of socialism everywhere is set by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which for nearly sixty years now has held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The CPSU is the most experienced and steeled detachment of the international communist movement, its recognized vanguard enjoying tremendous prestige among the working people of the world.

The socialist countries form a single, close-knit family. The strength of this camp lies in its unshakable unity. In contrast to the capitalist world, with its antagonistic contradictions which divide classes, nations and states, the nature of socialism is such that it knows no objective reasons for contradictions and conflicts between the socialist peoples and states. There is no antagonism between them, nor can there be. On the contrary, the more headway they make in building the new society, the greater is their solidarity and the stronger the moral and political unity of the entire system.

The fact that the socialist countries are linked by bonds of fraternal cooperation, that they co-ordinate their activities and work for one and the same goal, multiplies the strength of each country taken separately and the socialist camp as a whole. And they see their prime international duty in further consolidating the unity of the socialist camp.

The Moscow Meeting was an historic occasion, for it testified to the further strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the Communist and Workers' parties, and

*Letter to Kautsky, September 12, 1882.

equipped them with a program providing a reliable guide in the struggle to consolidate and build the socialist world system and the international communist movement. The Rumanian Workers' Party, deeply convinced of the correctness of the ideas set forth in the Statement, will, together with the other Communist and Workers' parties, do its share in

carrying out these ideas, in reinforcing the international communist and workers' movement and advancing the cause of socialism and peace.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism carried by the heroic Communist and Workers' parties, socialism will triumph all over the world.

The General Crisis of Capitalism Deepens

James E. Jackson

A GENUINELY revolutionary policy must of necessity be elaborated on the basis of a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the times. For only if the conditions in which the working-class movement develops are precisely assessed is it possible to define the most effective ways of achieving the ultimate aims of the Communists. Let us recall what Lenin said: "Only an objective consideration of the sum-total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and, consequently, a consideration of the objective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for correct tactics of the advanced class."* Consequently, a scientific characterization of our times presupposes an analysis of both the *new developments* in capitalism and the *new correlation of forces* between the two diametrically opposed world systems — capitalism and socialism.

We find this analysis in the Statement of the November 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, which contains conclusions of fundamental significance for the working-class movement in elaborating a correct political line. And one of the most important of these conclusions is that the general crisis of capitalism has entered upon a new stage.

The Weakening of the Imperialist System in Conditions of Peace

The general crisis of the capitalism was defined by Lenin as the period of "the disinte-

gration of capitalism on a world scale and the birth of socialist society."* Underlying this crisis is the aggravation of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system to the point where it is no longer able to maintain its domination over individual countries, and the latter, breaking with capitalism, take to socialism. And, in turn, the existence of the socialist system and its growth accelerate the disintegration of imperialism.

Capitalist society, as we know, has passed through two stages of its general crisis. The first stage had its genesis already at a time when the laws of monopoly capitalism held *unrestricted* global sway. The outcome was that all the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist system found their fullest expression in the world imperialist war of 1914-18. The war led to a situation in which a breach was made in the imperialist front at its weakest sector. The first socialist country was born. Capitalism, now no longer a global system, was confronted by its opposite, socialism, which began to grow and develop though still within the frontiers of one country.

But the laws of capitalism still *predominated* on the world arena, exerting the decisive influence on international relations. In particular, the inevitable alternation of war and peace, characteristic of the imperialist era, continued. The peace-loving progressive forces were not able to avert the catastrophe of the Second World War. Yet the same laws of capitalism, which engendered the new world war, had summoned to life also the powerful

*V. I. Lenin, Karl Marx.

*V. I. Lenin. *The Seventh Congress of the RCP(B). Report on the Revised Program.*

forces which, in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, were to act as the gravediggers of the system based on exploitation. This ushered in the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the salient feature of which was the rise of the socialist world system over one-quarter of the globe. Since then the course of history has been shaped in growing measure by the competition between the two systems.

The stage of the general crisis of capitalism which we have now entered differs from the previous in the sense that it is not the outcome of a world war or of countries or territories breaking away from capitalism. It has set in in the conditions of peaceful co-existence and the competition between the two diametrically opposed systems, and has not been accompanied by any changes in the boundaries of the capitalist system. What, then, are the distinguishing features of this stage?

The first and main feature is the development of the socialist world system into the decisive factor of social development. In our times the sphere of the operation of the laws of imperialism is steadily shrinking, while the influence exerted by the laws accompanying the rise of the socialist world system is growing. The peculiarities of the processes that ushered in this new stage of capitalism's general crisis are explained by the new historical laws gaining the ascendancy as a result of the rapid economic and political growth of the socialist system. Because of this the further aggravation of the crisis took place not in conditions of war, but in conditions of peaceful competition between the two systems, when the struggle of the peace-loving forces has prevented the imperialists from unleashing another world war. The march of events shows that peace is an ally of socialism, that it furthers social progress and debilitates the imperialist system.

The second feature of the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism is the considerable shrinking of the sphere of imperialist domination. Although capitalism has not suffered any territorial changes to speak of, imperialism has, nevertheless, lost ground in vast areas of the world. This is due to the sweep of the national-liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples who now have a powerful ally in the socialist world system. In the fifteen years since the war some forty independent, sovereign states have come into being in Asia and Africa. The victory of the Cuban revolution has opened up

new perspectives before the Latin American countries, giving a powerful impetus to the popular movements. And the final disintegration of colonialism will further reduce the sphere of imperialist domination and confront imperialism with new problems.

The third feature is the continued aggravation of all the contradictions of the capitalist system — the contradictions between labor and capital, between the handful of monopolists and the people, between the developed and the economically backward countries, and the contradictions between the imperialist powers. As a result, the general instability of the development of capitalism is growing and its decay becomes more and more pronounced.

Another feature is the steady decline of the influence exerted by imperialism in world affairs. The predominant influence exerted by the socialist system on world events and the appearance on the international arena of the young Asian and African states have caused a crisis of imperialist foreign policy. Mention should be made also of such a major development as the growing crisis of internal policy in the imperialist countries, the bankruptcy of bourgeois ideology. History is steadily driving capitalism into a blind alley and its prospects, both economically and politically, are dim.

And at bedrock of the general crisis of capitalism are such cardinal processes as the growing strength of world socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system and aggravation of the capitalist contradictions. The further development of these irrevocable processes will, like an onrushing flood, sap the rotting pillars of imperialism, give rise to great class battles in the capitalist countries, and consolidate the international and internal positions of the forces of progress, democracy and peace.

Accelerator of History

The transformation of the socialist world system into the decisive factor of social development is a landmark in history. In the transition from capitalism to socialism the time is bound to come when the forces of the new systems will have gained the upper hand over the forces of the old society, not only within the frontiers of a single country, but on the world arena, a time when the mounting tensions of internal and international class struggle, having reached the revolutionary "boiling point," will end in a qualitative leap. It is this moment in history that we are now witnessing.

The ascent of socialism to the position of the *decisive global factor* is a twofold process—internal and external.

The essence of the internal processes lies in the decisive victories won on the scale of the entire socialist system. One-third of mankind has got rid of capitalist exploitation. The Soviet Union has entered the phase of all-out building of communism. The other socialist countries are successfully laying the foundations of socialism or have begun the building of developed socialist society.

Socialist democracy has been developed both in substance and in form.

The external background to the growth of socialism into the decisive force on the international arena is the further weakening of capitalism as a world system.

These two processes are not isolated developments simply coinciding in time; they are interactive and, in a sense, one conditions the other. The very existence of the socialist world system accelerates the disintegration of the capitalist system, while the global decline of the society based on exploitation gives impetus to the anti-capitalist forces and by so doing reinforces the positions of the new, ascending system.

These interwoven but opposite trends find concentrated expression in the *competition of the two world systems*, which, while the main form, is a higher stage of the class struggle on the international arena. And in the process of this struggle socialism has become the decisive factor of social development on a world scale.

This contest is being fought out mainly in the *economic* area, and it is here that the socialist system has given the most striking proof of its superiority. In recent years the average annual growth of industrial output in the socialist countries has exceeded the rate in the capitalist countries nearly fourfold. The prospects of the socialist world system achieving absolute superiority for overall output both in industry and agriculture have become a matter of the foreseeable future. Indeed, socialism is already hard on the heels of the leading capitalist countries. The time is approaching when it will have achieved complete victory over capitalism in the *decisive sphere of human activity* — material production.

The effects of the economic competition between the two systems are felt in many of the processes taking place in the capitalist system. For instance, by expanding their for-

eign trade and extending economic aid to newly independent countries, the socialist states, cutting in on the old imperialist patterns of international division of labor, are restricting the omnipotence of the monopolies in the capitalist world economy.

In the *political* sphere, the growing strength of socialism is clearly visible. For one thing socio-economic possibilities for restoring capitalism in the socialist countries no longer exist. The superiority of the socialist world system also creates a new background for working-class struggle in the capitalist countries. It makes it harder for the imperialist forces to exert pressure from without in order to influence the outcome of class struggle in one or another capitalist country, impedes and at times even precludes the export of counter-revolution. Socialism has demonstrated that it can paralyze imperialist aggression and, as the examples of Egypt, Syria and Iraq showed, frustrate their war designs. Socialism has placed on the order of the day the exclusion of war from the life of society. Its principles of peaceful coexistence are finding more and more support from countries still within the capitalist orbit.

The socialist camp firmly holds the initiative in the diplomatic sphere. Thanks to its efforts, the imperialist powers have been forced to discuss issues of vital concern to all humanity such as general and complete disarmament and the abolition of the colonial system.

The *scientific and technological* achievements of socialism are of the greatest importance. These, too, are the results of the economic and political superiority of the new system. Socialism, now in the forefront of scientific, technological and cultural development, acts as the pathfinder in the new era of civilization.

The achievements of the socialist countries in recent years in economy, politics, science, technology, education and art have revolutionized the minds of people in the capitalist world. The progress registered by socialism has led to a complete change in the outlook of big segments of the population, especially among the intellectuals. This revolution in the minds of men is a powerful factor, for the new ideas are being taken up by millions of working people. Thus the economic and political achievements of socialism find their reflection also in the sphere of *ideology*. Thus socialism, which not so very long ago was a remote and abstract ideal, has grown into a real and tangible force. It will not be an over-

statement to say that its ideas now dominate the spiritual life of humanity, for they alone chart the way to the realization of man's cherished aspirations.

The economic level reached in the socialist countries, their scientific and technological accomplishments, their moral and political unity and their success in the realm of ideology are ample evidence that the concentrated strength of the socialist camp is already greater than that of capitalism. Moreover, the socialist system is strong not only by virtue of its inner potential; it is reinforced enormously by the broad support accorded it by all the progressive movements of the day. As an international force the socialist system acts as a powerful accelerator of history, the march of which signifies the complete downfall of the system of exploitation.

The Twilight of Colonialism

One of the more outstanding manifestations of the growing general crisis of capitalism is the crumbling of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement. Steadily gaining momentum, this movement, growing in scale, is becoming more and more widespread. Having begun with the political tasks, it is gradually undertaking the solution of pressing social and economic problems.

The rapid disintegration of the colonial system and the spreading national-liberation movement are closely associated with the achievements and influence of world socialism.

Were it not for the influence of socialism on the world arena, little Cuba could hardly have withstood the U.S. attacks. But as things are, the situation in this area is no longer determined solely by the state of affairs and the correlation of forces on the American continent.

Were it not for the changed relationship between the forces of capitalism and socialism, we would hardly be witnessing the success achieved by the national-liberation movement, the rise of the independent countries in Asia and Africa forming the so-called "neutral bloc," or the new social and economic developments in these countries.

True, these new countries, taken in the aggregate, cannot be described as a special kind of system. But deep-going changes of a progressive nature are taking place in their economies. In many of the underdeveloped countries, together with private capitalists and small producers, state capitalism is developing rapidly. In the conditions of today state-

capitalist forms of ownership in these countries are objectively directed against imperialist domination and help to build up the national economy, thereby strengthening the positions of those countries on the world arena.

This new and highly important trend originated in the process of the struggle for economic independence. The realities confronting them make it imperative for the young Asian and African states to build up the state sector and develop their heavy industry. And in this endeavor they can rely on the tangible aid of the socialist states. And as the world positions of the socialist system become stronger and the progressive forces grow in the underdeveloped countries, the conditions will be more favorable for them to choose the non-capitalist way of development.

The disintegration of the colonial system is bound to have far-reaching repercussions in the internal development of the imperialist countries. Although it will not lead to the automatic collapse of imperialism, it is bound to create new and insuperable difficulties for it. The independent economic development of the young national states aggravates the problem of markets in the capitalist world and makes it more difficult to exploit the underdeveloped countries by exporting capital. U.S. imperialism, for instance, with its production capacity inflated beyond all reason on the assumption that its global economic expansion will go on forever, is faced with the by no means distant prospect of market difficulties that will severely shake the economy. All the imperialist powers are finding it harder to maneuver and solve their internal contradictions by redistributing spheres of influence and markets in the underdeveloped countries. This intensifies the cut-throat competition between the giant monopolies, who are trying to find a way out at the expense of their weaker capitalist partners. The result is the steady crumbling of the so-called "Western unity."

In this new situation the ruling bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries is intensifying the exploitation of the masses, waging an offensive against living standards and the social gains of the working class. This sharpens the struggle between labor and capital, impels the workers to fight back against monopoly capital. The growth of class-consciousness among the working people is spurred on also by the fact that the disintegration of the colonial system and the economic progress of the underdeveloped countries, by narrowing the

possibilities hitherto enjoyed by the imperialist bourgeoisie to corrupt the upper strata of the working class, undermine the economic base of the labor aristocracy.

The recent events in Belgium are indicative in this respect. When the Belgian monopolies tried to make up for the considerable weakening of their economic positions in the Congo by an "austerity plan" increasing taxation and substantially cutting expenditure for public and social needs, the working people responded with a general strike that paralyzed the economic life of the country. The Belgian action was one of the numerous big class struggles which are now becoming a feature of capitalist society. These processes cannot but accelerate the disintegration of imperialism and change the correlation of forces in favor of socialism.

The Growth of the Imperialist Contradictions

The new stage of the general crisis of capitalism is marked by a sharp aggravation of all the contradictions of bourgeois society, and, in particular, its basic contradiction — between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation. Above all, these contradictions are manifested in the growing inability of the capitalist system to use all its productive forces. The trouble with present-day American society, according to Arthur Schlesinger, U.S. writer, is that the whole emphasis is on profit for the private entrepreneur. More and more complaints are heard about the United States not being able to rise "above the department-store counter." Thanks to the capitalist system, the country of Edison, which has always been distinguished for the talent of its people, has lost its position of leadership in science and technology. Its highways are jammed with millions of motor cars, yet many important scientific and technological discoveries made some 25 or 30 years ago have either remained in the freeze because they are not profitable enough for private enterprise, or have been placed in the service of militarism.

For the monopoly bourgeoisie the way out of the dead end created by the contradictions between the social character of production and the private-capitalist form of appropriation is greater exploitation of the working people through state-monopoly capitalism. But this form, too, is rooted in the basic contradiction of capitalism, it can but aggravate the contradiction. The purpose of state-monopoly capitalism is to preserve private own-

ership and capitalist production relations. Yet it is precisely private, capitalist property that is the source of all the contradictions of modern bourgeois society. State-monopoly capitalism gives full expression to the general contradiction of capitalist development. On the one hand, it reinforces the economic and political positions of the monopolies and, on the other, it prepares the material base of socialism, leads capitalist economy towards all-round socialization of production thus facilitating the subsequent realization of the tasks of the socialist revolution.

With the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, the general instability of capitalism and its steady decline are accentuated. A feature of postwar capitalism is the increasingly spasmodic functioning of the economic setup, the absence of stability for any appreciable length of time, deformation of the economic cycle, constant fluctuation in business activity and irregular alternation of the so-called booms with prolonged periods of economic decline and stagnation. Such features as under-employment of production capacities, militarization of the economy, deliberate wastage of a vast part of the productive forces, curtailing farm production and inflating the non-production sphere have become components of economic life in the USA. The most highly-developed imperialist power, it is the country in which the economy is most distorted by militarization.

In the fifteen years since the end of World War II the USA has experienced three crises of overproduction and has again entered a period of economic decline. And this despite all the state-monopoly "prons" of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Unemployment is still the number one problem. In 1960, even according to official figures, the number of unemployed was more than six per cent of the total labor force.

The uneven economic and political development of the principal capitalist countries has also become more pronounced. In the past ten years U.S. industrial output has increased at a rate one-half to two-thirds less than in Western Europe. The share of the USA in the industrial output of the capitalist countries declined from 56.5 per cent in 1948 to about 47 per cent in 1959, whereas the share of the Western European countries increased notably. The same thing is happening on the world market as well. In the early postwar years the USA was exporting more goods than all the West European countries taken together; now the exports of the latter are

2.5 times those of the United States. The dollar, which once ruled the foreign exchange markets, now finds itself in an extremely difficult situation. An unfavorable balance of payments is draining the U.S. gold reserves at a disastrous rate and experts entertain serious fears that the administration may have to devalue the dollar.

The economic difficulties far from weakening the U.S. imperialist expansion serve to intensify it. An indication of this is the growth of investments abroad. By the end of 1959, the total foreign investments of the U.S. monopolies amounted to 64,700 million dollars. It has been estimated that more than three-quarters of the profits made from the export of capital by all the capitalists taken together flow into the vaults of American banks and industrial corporations. U.S. imperialism is indeed the *biggest international exploiter*.

At the same time the USA invariably takes part as *international gendarme* in every operation undertaken by imperialist reaction. Whenever the ruling bourgeoisie of one or another country is unable to cope with the growing forces of democracy and progress, support is sought from the U.S. imperialists. The American finance tycoons and monopolists have been the initiators of joint action by the imperialist powers in the underdeveloped countries. U.S. imperialism is the hub, the driving force and leader of neo-colonialism.

But although it is the dominant military power in the imperialist camp, U.S. prestige in the capitalist world has declined and its leadership is questioned more and more frequently. Having passed the zenith of its world influence, the era of the weakening of the global positions of U.S. imperialism has set in. And the progressive weakening of this main bastion of the imperialist system is one of the most important and striking indications of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

A dual process is under way in the political sphere in the capitalist countries. On the one hand, part of the ruling class, alarmed by the achievements of socialism and the national-liberation movement, is searching for a way out in "emergency" measures, in acts of political recklessness and in plotting war as the way to success in the competition of the two systems. On the other hand, the more sober-minded politicians are inclining to the view that the growing strength of socialism cannot be countered only by police terror at home and use of force abroad. The labor movement should not ignore the difference between these

two trends, for it cannot be indifferent as regards the *methods* used by the ruling class.

The new world situation enables the democratic forces, which have yet to say their last word, to exert growing pressure also in those countries where there are reactionary regimes. The new correlation of forces on the world arena facilitates the struggle for political democracy.

At the same time the persecution of Communists and democrats continues. This persecution, varying in form from country to country, is felt both in Spain and in the United States, in France and in West Germany. As regards the United States, here we see a steady usurpation of power by a handful of finance-capitalists and a tendency for the richest men in the country to take the reins of government into their hands. Although there has been a certain retreat from McCarthyism in its more outrageous forms, the domination of the top brass and the war-industry corporations is felt more than ever before.

The apologists for capitalism try to cover up its deep-seated difficulties and contradictions with the fiction that capitalism has "changed." Capitalism, they claim, has become a "people's capitalism," while some—the American economist, Adolph Berle, for instance—say that the U.S. economic system could best be described as "non-state socialism."

This is a case of capitalism being ashamed of its own name! What clearer proof could there be of the debility of the capitalist system, and what a lack of faith in its own future?

The Force of Example Is a Revolutionary Force

An analysis of the latest stage in the general crisis of capitalism further clarifies the prospects and forms of the working-class struggle. It enables us to deduce first of all that the chain of imperialism can be broken in the conditions of peace. It shows, moreover, that peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition accelerate the revolutionary process.

Peaceful coexistence signifies broadening and developing the class struggle in the forms most effective and expedient from the standpoint of the working class and all other working people. The revolutionizing effect of the economic and cultural advance in the socialist countries is strikingly evident today. For in our times the class struggle in the capitalist countries develops not only on the basis of

the sharpening internal contradictions of capitalism, but also under the growing impact of the example of the socialist nations. And the force of example can be a truly revolutionary force.

The progress made by the socialist countries helps the working class in the capitalist countries to intensify their struggle for both immediate and ultimate aims. And, we say with certainty that the building of socialism and communism makes it easier for us to develop our work among the masses. With the achievements of the socialist countries to point to, we can more effectively make the advantages of the new social system clear to the workers, farmers, intellectuals and especially the technicians on whom the scientific, technological and cultural achievements of socialism cannot but exert a powerful influence.

The social and national struggles in the capitalist world are taking place against the background of the changes on the world arena. Take, for instance, the struggle waged by the Negro people in the USA. None can deny that they have wrested considerable concessions from the rulers of the country in the past half century. And this advance far from causing any abatement, has, on the contrary, elevated it to record levels. The explanation is that the present struggle of the Negro people in the United States for full rights is objectively tied up with the growth of world socialism and the victories of the liberation movement in all corners of the earth. The new surge of the Negro movement derives not only from the home situation but also from the radical changes in the correlation of class forces on the world arena.

Influenced by the achievements in the socialist countries, the working class in the capitalist countries has intensified its struggle for economic demands. In hard-fought class battles it has won concessions from the capitalists and it is resolved to uphold and augment these gains. It would be wrong, therefore, to base our work among the masses on the anticipation of a crisis of overproduction or on the absolute impoverishment of the working people.

Nor should our work among those sections of the working people who have won concessions from the ruling class be based on the assumption that they are threatened with the loss of the gains and that only by bringing this home to them can we convince them of the necessity of socialism. The mainspring of the growth of revolutionary consciousness

nowadays should be not in telling the worker that tomorrow he will be worse off than he is today; it should be sought in other ways. First, it should be borne in mind that those sections of the working class which have won the greatest gains in economic struggle against capital, are becoming increasingly aware that for many of them they are indebted to the socialist world system. For the very existence of this system often compels the monopolists to make concessions which, in other circumstances, they would not even dream of conceding. Second, growing numbers of workers in the capitalist countries are beginning to realize that the partial victories in the economic struggle will not rid them of exploitation, the scourge of unemployment, the crisis and insecurity, nor will they alter in any way their position of inequality in the capitalist system of production.

Today, as never before, big sections of the working people are entering the revolutionary struggle under the impact of the undeniable successes of socialism. In the highly developed capitalist countries the workers are beginning to appreciate that even with the productive forces at the present level of development, socialism can provide a much higher standard of living and at the same time abolish all forms of exploitation. The workers see that even the gains won under capitalist conditions can be retained only by persistent class struggle. This, in particular, explains the growing strike movement in the capitalist countries. It should be stressed, moreover, that as things are today purely political issues can be the preliminary to far-reaching social actions even without a purely economic motive to start them off.

The Statement of the November 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that the fight for peace is a primary task of the Communist parties. This follows from the premise that the policy of peace stimulates rather than retards the revolutionary processes, and helps to rally the most varied social forces behind the working class. The peace policy multiplies the class allies of the proletariat; provides bigger reserves for the socialist revolution and simultaneously narrows the social base of monopoly capital.

The demand for general and complete disarmament links the class struggle on the world arena and in the capitalist countries into an integral whole; it combines the struggle for democracy and the economic demands of the working people with the movement for so-

cialism. The Communists in the capitalist countries see their job in combining these diverse aspects of the class struggle. For instance, the fight for better housing can produce results if it is combined with the fight for peace and disarmament. Given the alternative of home or the barracks, the worker always knows which to choose. At the same time the fight for peace and disarmament will help the working people in the capitalist countries to get rid of whatever jingo sentiment the bourgeoisie may have instilled into them during the cold war. In other words, it will help to strengthen the unity of the working-class movement and deepen its class consciousness.

We must help rid the working class of the illusion that militarism means jobs and a high level of business activity. The slogan of general and complete disarmament provides the working class of the capitalist countries with an economic and political program of struggle for their immediate demands. At the same time it helps to isolate the more reactionary elements of the ruling class—the war-industry monopolies—and by so doing clears the way for the fight for democracy. In these circumstances we should not close our eyes to the prospect of powerful mass actions of the organized workers and other forces to win concession after concession from the governments and compel them to use state-capitalist measures in the interests of the people as a

whole. In the conditions of today action for democracy, peace, and national and social rights can lead the masses on to the fight for far-reaching social reforms, to the anti-monopoly phase of revolution. Action of this kind paves the way for uniting the majority of the population around the working class, with a view to effecting the peaceful transition to socialism in a number of capitalist countries.

It is imperative to rally all the revolutionary forces against the imperialist oppression and exploitation. These forces include the peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and the various general democratic movements.

The fusing of all these forces into a single mighty stream depends not only on favorable objective conditions, but also on the correct tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties, on their clear understanding of the unity and indivisibility of the national and international tasks of the working class.

Every turn in the situation nowadays imparts to the working class a more important place in the march of history, makes it more so than ever before the core of all the progressive movements. In its struggle it pursues not only its own class aims, it stands for the progress of all mankind. This is the guarantee of the inevitable and complete victory of socialism throughout the world.

Corrections in December 1960 Issue

1. Page 67: the three italicized lines in the last paragraph of column 2 should be inserted between the 3rd and 4th lines of the last paragraph in column 1 on that page.
2. Page 68: the footnote at the bottom of the page goes with the asterisk at the bottom of column 1 on page 67.
3. Page 69: a) the first sentence of the first paragraph of the Alberdi article should read:

"The answers to the questionnaire and the first editorial comment can be regarded as an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist research into the typical features and peculiarities of the new sections of working people now joining the ranks of the proletariat."

b) the last line on the page in column 1 should follow line 2 of column 2 at the top of the page.

***In the Communist
and Workers' Parties***

Post-Election Policy of the Italian Communist Party

AT ITS plenary meeting early in December, the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party discussed the situation in the country and the Party's tasks after the November local elections.

The political events of last summer in Italy had a decisive influence on the election results. At that time the ruling Christian Democratic Party had refused to change its policy in any way and by seeking agreement with the fascist deputies was angling for a firm majority in Parliament. Their reactionary plans were upset, however, by the militant anti-fascist movement which began in July; this action forced the Christian Democrats to scuttle the Tambroni government, unquestionably the most reactionary of all the postwar governments. In answer to Communist, Socialist, Social Democratic and Republican demands for a transitional government which would pave the way for political leadership by new and more Left forces, the Christian Democrats formed the Fanfani government.

The Communist Party denounced the Social Democratic and Republican support of the Fanfani government as surrender to the Christian Democrats and recognition of their political omnipotence, as rejection of the unity of the democratic forces which had triumphed in July. The Communists also criticized the Socialists for abstaining from voting in Parliament when powers were being sought for the Fanfani government, for this signified a weakening of the fight against the Christian Democrats and of working-class unity. The Communists launched a mass struggle against the government, whose policy runs counter to the demands advanced by the popular movement of July.

Significance of the Election Results

Many Italian voters are still influenced by the unlawful and shameful pressure brought to bear upon them by the Church authorities; this explains why their attitude in the elections is much more to the Right than it is in their everyday life. Nevertheless the election results were a defeat for the policy pursued by the Rights and the maneu-

vers of the Right-Center and Center. They confirmed the soundness of the Communist policy of seeking unity and of consistently fighting against the Christian Democratic Party.

On a nationwide scale this party lost roughly one million votes compared with the 1958 general election, and about 50 per cent in the South specifically. The Monarchists suffered a crushing defeat; only a part of their votes went to the fascist MSI party (Italian Social Movement).

The Socialist Party lost over 220,000 votes, while the Communists gained more votes than any other party (over 100,000, an increase of 1.5 per cent) and are now consolidating their positions in the industrial regions. In fact 6,085,937 voted for the Communists — one voter in every four.

All in all the Left received one and a half million more votes than in the 1956 local elections. In other words nearly 40 per cent of the electorate voted for them — 46 per cent if we take into account the other parties who call themselves "Lefts" and stand to the Left of the Christian Democratic Party.

The Central Committee meeting did not confine itself to analyzing gains, it examined the objective and subjective reasons for the small or inadequate increase in the vote in some places and why Communist positions had weakened there or made no headway.

Among the objective factors accounting for the loss of votes, especially in the southern towns with populations of over 10,000, is the fact that the fight for the development of the South has abated in recent years. When the battle was really on, the middle sections and the vacillating groups of the population came closer to the Communists. Other factors contributing to the loss of votes in the South were the Party's poor organizational work and insufficient unity between the movement for the development of the South and the anti-fascist struggle throughout the country.

Concrete Programs, Not Unscrupulous Deals

Immediately after the elections the Communists exposed the anti-democratic attempt to form new

municipal and provincial councils through electoral deals. They proposed an accord among the democratic forces on the basis of municipal and provincial programs permeated with an *anti-fascist, anti-monopoly spirit, for the radical democratic regeneration of the country and better conditions for the people.*

In the view of the Communist Party these programs should be based on the following demands:

1. Immediate setting up of regional governments; defense and extension of local autonomy; decentralization of municipal government;
2. Further municipalization of the public services; implementation — through public control — of government programs for agricultural development; initiative of local administrations in the utilization of power sources and the distribution of consumer goods; participation by these bodies in regional economic development plans;
3. Measures against speculation in building, acquisition of municipal building sites; town planning; a democratic housing policy leading to a substantial cut in rents;
4. Reform of local finance; tax reductions for the working people and other producers;
5. Extension of powers of and more initiative by local government bodies in matters affecting the secular modern anti-fascist school, and culture; the establishment of youth advisory bodies in all the municipalities; the democratization and reorganization of the system of social security.

The aim, then, is to achieve political decentralization and popular participation in modernizing and democratizing the life of society through the local bodies elected by the people.

The Aim of Unity

Wherever the Communist and Socialist parties hold the majority of seats in the local government bodies, they work to broaden their majority by encouraging participation of other Left and democratic groups and parties. Wherever there is a possibility of establishing a Left majority, the Communists seek an agreement with the Socialists, Social Democrats, Radicals, Republicans and autonomist forces.

Wherever the Left is in the minority, the Communists call for joint Left programs and unity in the struggle against the Christian Democrats. Such unity in the localities — with each organization retaining its autonomy and character — the Communists stress, is the most effective means of winning strong positions from which to negotiate with the Christian Democratic Party, of compelling it to shift towards the Left and to break its alliance with the fascists, the monarchists and the Right Liberals.

Whoever is for a democratic regeneration should work to achieve this unity, rejection of which by

parties and groups styling themselves Left, will spell a crisis in their ranks and may lead to their losing their Left character.

After the elections the Christian Democratic Party proposed collaboration with the overtly Right forces such as the Liberal and Monarchist parties, etc.

Comrade Togliatti spoke at the meeting of the need "to put an end to the ambiguous situation in which the Christian Democratic government calls itself anti-fascist and declares that it has no intention of co-operating with the fascists in local government bodies, yet in Sicily the Christian Democrats are in the saddle together with the fascists." There can be no compromise on this matter and no respite in the struggle.

The anti-communist and "middle-of-the-road" attitude of the Left wing of the Christian Democratic Party and the Left Catholic forces has made them ideologically and politically powerless. This has enabled the ruling group in the Christian Democratic Party to slow down the development of the crisis engendered in the past few years by the opposition in its ranks. Unity of all democratic and Left parties and groups is essential in order to steer the crisis along the right channel and help rid the Catholic forces of their anti-communism, "middle-of-the-road" ideas and the false dogma of Catholic unity.

To combat the present policy of the Christian Democratic Party is and will be part and parcel of the Communist policy of reaching agreement with the Catholic masses, a policy that forms an integral part of the strategy of the Italian working class aspiring to socialism.

How the Communist Party Criticizes the Socialists

Comrade Togliatti's speech clarified the nature of Communist criticism of the Socialists and Nenni. "It seems to me," he said, "that there is a tendency among the Socialists to divert the Socialist Party from the road of struggle for socialism to the path followed by the political groups and parties of the so-called third force — the bourgeois-democratic parties which are not fighting for socialism." The increasing frequency with which features of anti-communism are appearing in socialist agitation and, especially in the Socialist Party press, is a manifestation of this. Shamefaced though this anti-communism is, the Communists must combat it, conducting the polemic calmly and soberly so as not to aggravate the relations between the two parties of the working people. The indecision and duplicity displayed by the Socialist Party during the election campaign have cost it many votes; for the first time in many years the Socialist Party made no headway. And it will lose even more votes if it degenerates into the usual kind of radical democratic party with an anti-communist attitude. Indeed, the strength of the Socialist Party and its association with the Com-

munist Party flow from the fact that the former has taken the road of fighting for socialism. The attempt to shunt it off this road is a misguided and dangerous one. For it will deepen the rift in the working class and may for a time even halt the struggle for socialism. Only a diametrically opposite trend would be the correct one, for the working people, including the Catholic working people, are in ferment; more and more they are talking about the need to abolish the capitalist regime and for a social system aligned against capitalism, a system which would be socialist at least in trend.

To steer along the path of struggle for socialism the democratic parties and those in the Catholic camp who really want to see democracy develop—that would be the correct position. The conditions are favorable for success in this field. But they can only be turned to account by pursuing a correct policy, stemming from the possibilities and perspectives which appeared as a result of the new balance of forces in the world and which appeared as a result of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Shamefaced anti-communism and the pooh-poohing of the socialist perspective are out of step with reality, for they ignore the new balance of forces.

What Should Be Done Today?

At the present stage, Comrade Togliatti said, "the contradictions and conflicts rending the entire structure of capitalist economy and capitalist society are coming to a head and bursting."

Stressing that "the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism are inseparable," Comrade Togliatti went on to say that "in this situation the working class has to pose the question of power differently from the way it did at other stages. . . . At the present stage, even when there is no revolutionary crisis, the working class feels

the need to pose the question of ousting the ruling classes from power and of securing the advent to power of the working class in alliance with the broad masses of the working population and the middle sections. . . .

"But the working class can only make headway in this direction if it has a vanguard party that understands the peculiarities of the present situation and is able to act according to the exigencies of that situation. If the vanguard Party withdraws into its shell, confines itself to conducting propaganda and waiting for the hour to strike, the enemy will always manage to keep in the saddle, even when the conditions are similar to those obtaining now.

"What should be done today? The working-class struggle should embrace all spheres of civic and political life, and the Party at the head of working-class actions should be able to lead that struggle effectively and achieve concrete results. . . . The nationwide struggle for socialism should be linked ever more closely with the international anti-imperialist struggle, for otherwise we shall grope about like a blind man, without seeing the enemy, or believing that there is no such thing. . . . The anti-imperialist struggle and the fight for peace and solidarity with the socialist countries are something which cannot be bypassed if one desires to wage effective struggle for democratic development along the road to socialism. First and foremost today we should extend the activities of a party of democracy and socialism such as ours is, by establishing close ties with all sections of the working people and especially those strata whom we would like to see in alliance with the working class. For we know that the objective conditions for this alliance exist and that it is a prerequisite for the progress of these sections and the advance of our society as a whole."

From the Experience of the Communist Party of Uruguay

(Letters)

1. THE PARTY SLOGAN: "UNITY NOW!"

A BIG rally held last October on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Communist Party called on the anti-imperialist and democratic forces to unite around a platform for the democratic regeneration of the country.

The main points in this platform are:

- an independent foreign policy of peace, national sovereignty, trade and friendship with all countries, unity of all Latin Americans against U.S. imperialism, support for Cuba and the Havana Declaration;
- agrarian reform;
- protection and development of the national economy and abolition of the systems of monoculture;
- preservation of civil rights, the extension and regeneration of the democratic institutions;
- satisfaction of the socio-economic and cultural needs of the workers, peasants, pensioners, office employees, students, teachers, painters, writers and other intellectuals, small and middle businessmen and traders;
- protection and development of public education, of secular education, independence of the University, and democratization of the educational system.

This initiative of the Communist Party will without doubt exert a big influence on political life. Its proposals are being discussed in the University, by workers and other sections. The Party newspapers are featuring readers' letters endorsing the platform, while the pro-imperialist press, finding it impossible to bury the appeal in silence, is attacking the Party.

The struggle launched by the working people in 1955 was intensified after the 1958 elections when the government, playing up to the latifundists and big compradore capital, swung further to the right. This struggle is now at its greatest momentum. In the month between August 15 and September 15 three general strikes took place, embracing over 250,000 workers, about 50,000 students and other sections. The first strike was held under the slogan of defense of the Cuban revolution, the others were staged in solidarity with the workers who had downed tools in defense of democratic liberties, against

the diktat of the International Monetary Fund and in support of the students demanding bigger budgetary allocations for the University.

The working people have won not a few gains in recent times: they frustrated the Government's design for emergency powers, paralyzed the "austerity" policy imposed by the International Monetary Fund, safeguarded civil rights and formed new trade union branches.

The ruling classes are doing everything in their power to prevent the triumph of the mass patriotic movement. But the people are marching in step with the times. The Cuban revolution, which met with profound response among the people, has enabled them to get a better understanding of the different political forces and is furthering their unity. Anti-Soviet propaganda, McCarthyism and anti-communism of all hues are too closely associated in the minds of the people with the attempts to deprive them of bread and freedom for them to be recruited under these banners.

The ultra-reactionary groups in the two traditional parties ("Blanco" and "Colorado") would like to concentrate public attention on the forthcoming elections, to divert the masses from the vital issues, prevent any repetition of the Cuban example and maintain the rotten political regime by all means. But the party of the working class takes into account that the social composition of these parties is varied. Although the leading posts are occupied by people who lend support to imperialism or who take a conciliatory attitude towards it, there are in these parties groups holding different views. Sometimes they even disagree with the leaders on such issues as the attitude to the Cuban revolution, defense of working-class rights and support for working-class demands and democratic freedoms. In working out our policy of unity we, naturally, have these groups in mind.

But the basic condition for a broad democratic, anti-imperialist front is strong Socialist-Communist unity as the rallying point for all the patriotic and democratic forces.

The Party's appeal is addressed to all progressives, irrespective of their political affiliation. The

Party calls upon them to pool their efforts and work for the democratic regeneration of the country.

The Party calls on the leaders and members of the various patriotic movements to approach the question of a formula for unity in all seriousness, taking into account the present situation and the future of Uruguay, to cast aside narrow-minded views and to make no concessions to imperialism and reaction. This idea was expressed with the utmost brevity in the slogan "Unity Now!", which means rounding off the struggle for a United Trade Union Centre and, on the political plane, the unification of all progressive forces with the workers, students, teachers and pensioners.

The Communist Party points to the dangers threatening the country: the intensification of reactionary tendencies and the loss of national sovereignty. The line of the ruling circles, says the appeal, "creates favorable soil for political corruption and unprecedented government lawlessness, accompanied by inroads into democratic rights, by restricting the freedom of assembly, in ignoring the Constitution, in security measures, victimization of teachers and office employees, beating up workers and students and using gases against them, in forming and protecting pro-fascist groups financed by the U.S. Embassy; these groups have raided trade union premises and even staged a "general rehearsal" — an abortive attack on the University. The government's actions reveal a tendency towards abandoning the Constitution, violating law and abolishing democracy."

This is why the question which way to take, is a matter of urgency for the people of Uruguay. The present policy of the government is worsening the already bad condition of the people. The Communist Party offers the people another way. This way envisages measures which signify a far-reaching change in the present line and not just the replacing in power of one traditional party by another, with the socio-economic structure and foreign enslavement remaining as before. The Communist Party does not claim that its platform is formulated once and for all. On the contrary, it can be broadened in agreement with the forces that are ready to combine.

The platform expresses the basic tactical line of the Party, the line of ensuring for the patriotic and democratic forces a bigger say in deciding the destiny of the republic, a bigger influence for the working-class movement and the Communist Party in national life and, lastly, of isolating the agents of imperialism and the other reactionary forces.

To all who are ready for unity in the common struggle the Communist Party suggests a preliminary exchange of opinion, possibly at a conference convened by leaders of the trade union movement, students, pensioners, etc. The Party is confident that its slogan, "Unity Now!", expresses the aspirations of hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, all of whom are striving for the regeneration of the republic, for aligning it with those Latin American countries which, by their struggle, are hastening the inevitable destruction of imperialism.

Rita IBARBURU

2. COMMUNIST M.P.'S AND THE MASS MOVEMENT

ALTHOUGH there are only two Communists among the 99 deputies in the Chamber of Deputies in Uruguay, it is they who often become the centre of attention during parliamentary debates.

Why is this so?

The point here of course is not in any personal qualities but rather in the close contact between the Communists and the working people generally, and in the nature of their work. The Communist M.P.'s express the aspirations of the masses, they are the genuine representatives of the people. They take up the demands advanced by working people at meetings and demonstrations and use them in shaping parliamentary proposals and bills.

How is this done? A trade union, let us say, puts forward demands. The Communist Party commit-

tee and branches in the particular locality develop a struggle around these demands and rally the people. Our newspaper, *El Popular*, launches campaigns for them; its correspondents interview labor leaders and talk with the workers at factory gates. Their reports and articles help create a certain public opinion. Similar campaigns are developed also by the local Party press.

The Communist M.P.'s attend workers' meetings, set forth the views of the Party and undertake to introduce a parliamentary bill reflecting the demands of the working people. Not infrequently they draft bills jointly with the union leaders and then insist both in the Chamber of Deputies and in committee that these bills be placed on the order of the day, debated and approved.

A stay-in strike, say, is reported to the Communist M.P.'s who then go to the factory concern-

ed. They often come to the Party branch meetings attended by non-Party workers (the usual method of recruiting members). Whenever workers request the Communist M.P.'s to address their meetings and outdoor rallies, they are never let down. The reception office of the Communist M.P. is always crowded; here one can meet rank-and-file workers, and trade union officials. In this way our deputies become acquainted with the needs of the working people, and this enables them to do better work in Parliament.

Getting a law enacted in a capitalist state is often very complicated. Persistence and determination are needed to surmount all the obstacles. When a bill is drafted it is passed on to the appropriate parliamentary committee which decides whether it should be put on the order paper and debated. After this the bill goes to the Senate, and much public pressure is needed in order to get this body to approve a Communist-drafted bill. This coordination of efforts of the Party, its branches, M.P.'s, the Party press and the working-class movement yields fruit.

In the meat-packing industry, for instance, our Party has been working in two directions — investigating the sources of profit made by foreign firms (daughter enterprises of U.S. companies Swift and Armour and the British Anglo company), and the struggle for the workers' demands. The profits investigation, carried out with the participation of the Communist M.P.'s, showed that the imperialist monopolies are plundering the country and constantly violating its laws. This investigation played a part in driving the foreign companies out of Uruguay after their nearly fifty years' domination; in 1958 the property of these companies was nationalized. The workers have also gained success in regard to unemployment benefits, Christmas bonuses (so-called "family gifts"), etc. These gains were the joint fruits of the investigation, the strike of the meat-packers and the general strike in solidarity with them.

The October events of 1958 were of great significance. Two mass demonstrations took place outside Parliament in the first half of that month; the demonstrators included factory and office workers, pensioners, students, peasant delegations, intellectuals and representatives of the middle sections. Their demands were the same as those put forward by the Communist M.P.'s in Parliament. Many of the demands were incorporated into the bills introduced by the Communists or drafted with their participation. Law after law was passed till the last day of the term of office (October 15 of the election year). Over 40 laws were passed in favor of the working people, and the Statute of the University, drafted on the initiative of students and teachers, was approved.

We shall mention some of these laws: a six-hour day for medical workers; amendments to the law on family allowances; unemployment benefits for the workers employed at the San-Jose mill; annual holidays for workers in state-owned enterprises on the same terms as in privately-owned enterprises; sick benefits for road-transport workers and the personnel of the interdepartmental bus lines; regular hours and definite shifts for the personnel of service stations, garages and private telegraph agencies; general unemployment benefits; sick pay for building workers; amendments to the law governing the labor exchanges in ports; subsidies to the dockers in the port of Montevideo; allowances for the seasonal workers employed in the Artigas and Swift meat-packing plants; increased payments to bank employees upon reaching pension age; a minimum wage of 150 pesos for agricultural laborers, etc.

What does the law on sick benefits signify to the building worker? He gets his full wage beginning from the fourth day of illness and also in case of accident, and this continues for two years. In the event of a man being incapacitated he can draw his wage for 200 days ahead. During illness the worker receives medical aid practically free of charge (the fee is negligible).

Of great significance in Parliament is the labor legislation committee. A good many of the bills that come before it are submitted by the Communist deputies, who make a point of attending its meetings. This committee is visited by numerous delegations of workers and usually plays the role of mediator in labor disputes. When a strike breaks out the Communist deputies often suggest that this committee should try to settle the dispute, in favor of the workers, of course.

For Communist deputies Parliament is not only an instrument for upholding the workers' interests but also a tribune from which they speak in support of proposals of national importance and seek to achieve unity with all the anti-imperialist forces. The Communists have exposed in Parliament the political, economic and military penetration of U.S. imperialism, the colonialist designs of the International Monetary Fund and its attempts to turn Uruguay into its domain; they have condemned the provocations against the socialist countries, stressed the need for a radical agrarian reform and have raised their voices in defense of the Cuban revolution, in support of the Latin American peoples fighting against the military dictatorships imposed on them by U.S. imperialism.

Parliament, then, is an arena for the defense of democracy. When "the state of emergency" was proclaimed (on the pretext of breaking strikes the people were deprived of basic freedoms), the Communist M.P.'s called on the people to be vigi-

lant. They laid bare the design to perpetuate this regime. The 60,000-strong demonstration held on April 6, 1960, outside Parliament and the joint protest of the Communist deputies, Socialist and other democratic forces, resulted in the rejection of a bill restricting trade union rights.

Sometimes the Communist M.P.'s make interpellations. In Uruguay an interpellation signifies something more than putting a question to ministers; it opens a general debate on government actions in one or another sphere. Such is the right of a parliamentary minority. The interpellation is accepted if it has the backing of thirty-three deputies. In this case the minister is obliged to reply; a debate is opened with the deputy who submitted the interpellation acting as the leading spokesman. The vote of censure may lead to the resignation of the minister. The present government is doing everything it can to avoid interpellations with a view to making this weapon of the opposition ineffective.

The first interpellation in the present Parliament was made by the Communist deputies; it concerned the demand for increases in old-age pensions and benefits. The Communist deputies initiated inquiries about the sanctions taken against teachers and lecturers in higher education, in defense of secular education, etc. They have upheld in Parliament the rights of the civil servants, the demand for bigger allocations for public education, the health service, and so on.

The Communist deputies regularly report on their

activity at rallies arranged by the Party and to meetings of trade unionists.

All that has been said about the Communist M.P.'s is equally applicable to the Communist municipal councillors (there are three Communists in the Montevideo municipal council). The local councillor takes up the demands of the townspeople and the municipal employees, questions of high prices, fares, etc.

The activity of the Communist M.P.'s furthers the political education of the people. Workers meet the Communist deputies and the Party leaders at meetings, during strikers' marches to the capital, and in the factories occupied by the strikers. The workers see for themselves that the Communist deputies fight on their behalf both in Parliament and outside it, fight for one and the same aims, and they compare them with the bourgeois deputies. This enables the working people to distinguish friends from enemies, helps them to acquire political experience.

Although the possibilities of the Party depend on the political situation and the scale of the mass movement, the work of the Communist deputies is a vital factor. We consider it necessary to stress, within the limits of our modest experience, the active, dynamic, organizing and educational role of the Communist deputies and the importance of the Party co-ordinating, on the basis of a uniform plan, work in the mass movement, the work of the Communist deputies, the Party press and the factory branches.

Niko SCHWARTZ

3. OUR COURSES AND SCHOOLS

IDEOLOGICAL work in the process of building the Party has never been viewed by us as a purely inner-Party matter; we have always linked it with the militant activity of Communists in the mass movement, the experience of which is summarized in theoretical concepts.

After the Sixteenth Congress (1955) of the Party which was a turning point in the application of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Uruguay, the Party leadership organized a series of study courses. We studied those Marxist-Leninist classics which had a particular significance for our ideological problems. We organized also a discussion on the basic issues facing the country. *Estudios*, the theoretical journal of the Party, dates from this time. For the purpose of acquainting the activists and functionaries with the main ideas of the discussions we arranged weekend schools at which the Congress materials were studied. Shortly afterwards we opened a national

Party school which trained 20 contingents in two years.

We practice the method of *public meetings*, that is, branch meetings to which non-members are invited. At these meetings Party speakers explain the theoretical and political problems of international and home policy. These meetings are useful from the educational standpoint and are a means of recruiting new members.

A new educational plan adopted in June 1959 based on the Seventeenth Congress decisions, defined the purpose of ideological and political education as follows:

"1) To train politically and ideologically hundreds of intermediate-level functionaries; 2) to raise the political level of the leading cadres; 3) to acquaint both old and new members especially workers with the basic ideas of the program and the Rules of the Party; 4) to make a deep study of the home situation and to arrange for the training

of tutors in such subjects as philosophy, history, economics, etc.; 5) to arrange for the consistent study of theory by the basic cadres, chiefly workers, who will be the future leaders of the Party."

What progress did we make in this direction? How did we go about the job?

We should mention in the first place the four-week *National School* for intermediate-level cadres, especially for the outlying districts. The curriculum includes a study of the problems of the revolution in Uruguay and Latin America as a whole, tactics of the Party, its principles and methods of organization, political economy and history, the economic and political structure of the socialist system, and the transition from socialism to communism based on the example of the USSR. Then there are classes on everyday Party life: how to phrase slogans and posters, to edit articles and how to prepare speeches, etc.

We have in addition an *advanced* eight-week evening course. Those attending are relieved of Party work. During the week the students study particular subjects which are then discussed in class under the guidance of a tutor. Study materials include the program and the Rules of the Party, the plan for building the Party and developments in the Soviet Union.

Short-term courses which study the program and the Rules of the Party are attended by those new to political life, especially the new members recruited among workers.

Public lectures held in Party premises attract hundreds of people. The subjects include: Lenin's theory of a democratic and socialist revolution; the experience of building socialism in the USSR and other countries; the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; the revolution in Cuba; the Leninist teaching on the Party; democratic centralism; the Party and the masses; modern revisionism; bourgeois theories of contemporary capitalism; the main stages in the socio-economic history of Uruguay; aspects of the forty years' history of our Party, etc.

Not long ago we arranged a cycle of four lectures — one a month — for the branches: on the program, the Rules of the Party, its political platform and, lastly, on the Soviet Union. Non-members are also invited to these lectures.

The newspaper *El Popular* has a special column entitled "Theory and Policy." The column, which appears weekly, carries brief points on theory, explains the terminology used in Marxist-Leninist literature, and recommends reading material.

On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth the Central Committee and the Party Committee in the Montevideo Department held seminars on the role of the bourgeoisie in the Latin

American revolution and on some problems of Leninism. Central Committee members attended a series of lectures read at the National school. There are also permanent courses for the personnel of the Central Committee departments.

The Communist Youth Union has held seminars for the branch secretaries of the youth organizations and for its student members; educational-recreation camps have proved useful, too.

The decisive thing, of course, is the quality of the study. There are two dangers here: the danger of losing touch with reality and with the vital political tasks, a dogmatic approach to problems of theory, and the danger of reducing the theoretical study to a commentary on current events. One way of correctly linking theory with practice is that in addition to such documents as the program and Rules of the Party, we study important articles and statements by leaders and theorists of our Party and the fraternal parties, published in the journals *Estudios* and in *World Marxist Review*. The classes discuss the plans for Party work, concentrating on the essence of the matter and not on the organizational details. Of great significance is the direct participation of the Party leaders in the educational work (reading lectures, conducting seminars, and so on).

But the decisive condition for improving the studies is proper selection and training of the tutors. The difficult here is the shortage of personnel. Most of our tutors — comrades with rich experience of Party work and a good grounding in theory — have, as a rule, other assignments, often very important ones. We are trying to train more tutors, selecting them from among the more promising students, taking into account, of course, their social background and their experience of Party work. Once a week all tutors attend a special class, and tutors' meetings are held regularly.

In line with the new plan for extending and consolidating the Party, we contemplate a further development of educational work. We have in mind the gradual inclusion in the curricula of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy and, consequently, the study of the Marxist-Leninist classics. Some of the students attending the National School will take a special, advanced course. The publication of a series of booklets (on the international situation, the Soviet Union, building socialism in the different countries, organizational matters, economics, etc.) will enable us to arrange a new type of course, mainly for the new members. We make a special point of systematic *individual study* by our leading cadres, especially members of the Central Committee and personnel of its departments and also by a few dozen of the better developed workers. Education in the ranks of the Communist Youth Union and especially among student mem-

bers is not satisfactory and must be improved. Lastly, a decision has been taken to open a *Marxist-Leninist Institute* for research and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism.

Realization of the vital importance of educational work constantly impels us to search for new ways and means of intensifying it.

Jose Luis MASSERA

For the Leninist Party Spirit in Philosophy

IDEOLOGICAL life in Hungary is being appreciably influenced by the Theses published some time ago and entitled "For the Leninist Party Spirit in Philosophy."

Prepared by a group of comrades working in the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party, the Theses were discussed at a meeting of philosophers.

They review briefly the development of Marxist philosophy in Hungary which was always closely associated with the struggle waged by the Communist Party. Even when the Party was underground theoreticians were working on the problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and helping the Party's political and ideological work. And after the Liberation Marxist philosophers attuned their work to the Party's ideological struggle. In their future work too, they will be guided by these traditions.

When at its Seventh Congress the Party charted the course for the accelerated building of socialism, it laid the foundation upon which the philosophers should base their activities. The international class struggle and the building of socialism require that Marxist philosophy should effectively help in scientifically substantiating Party policy, in deepening socialist consciousness, in furthering science and in combating bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology.

But as the Theses point out, philosophical work in the past decade has not been without shortcomings, for a long time it failed to meet the demands made upon it, and at one time anti-Marxist trends began to appear among the philosophers. Especially harmful was the philosophical revisionism which fused with political revisionism and in 1956 joined company with other bourgeois ideological trends. The spread of dogmatism, naturally, did not make it any easier to overcome revisionism. For some years prior to 1956 there had been no really consistent Marxist-Leninist line on the fundamental problems of philosophy. After the counter-revolutionary putsch, therefore, communist philosophers again had to set about building a united Marxist-Leninist philosophical front, combating anti-Marxist trends and making a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems. In the course of this work

they had to look the truth in the face, get at the core of the harmful phenomena which in the past had hampered philosophical work and take resolute action against revisionism and dogmatism.

Georg Lukacs, one of the more influential representatives of international philosophical revisionism, was chiefly responsible for the spread of revisionism in Hungary. Lukacs' revisionism is, in fact, a system of anti-Marxist views. Although he has achievements to his credit in the sphere of aesthetics and in historico-literary work, his writings are, on the whole, permeated through and through with the spirit of revisionism. The Party had justly criticized his Right views — especially on politics, literature and aesthetics—as far back as 1949-51. The mistake, however, was that his revisionist philosophical concepts were not subjected to the appropriate criticism in good time. For this reason Lukacs and his followers were able for many years to influence the country's philosophical life in the revisionist spirit. Even after 1956 the attitude towards Lukacs' revisionist views was conciliatory, despite the fact that his political stand during the counter-revolutionary putsch brought out the revisionist essence of his theoretical concepts. Conciliation and wavering in relation to philosophical revisionism were displayed even by comrades who, while loyal to the Party on fundamentals, failed for a long time to see through the anti-Marxist essence of philosophical revisionism and especially of Lukacs' philosophy.

The meeting of philosophers unanimously condemned the conciliatory attitude towards the manifestations of philosophical revisionism in past years in the Institute of Philosophy and in the journal *Magyar filozofiai szemle*. The ideological struggle against revisionists of the Lukacs type was an integral part of the operation of purging cultural life of revisionist influence; the statements made by German, Soviet, French and other comrades against the Lukacs revisionism were also of great help.

We must continue to combat manifestations of philosophical revisionism, and the struggle should not be confined to criticism of Lukacs' views—although we cannot say that this criticism is over and done with.

Dogmatism, too, had a detrimental effect on philosophical life. It was manifest in the scornful atti-

tude towards any philosophical analysis of the problems posed by social reality and the development of the natural sciences, in underestimating the importance of the laws and categories of dialectical materialism, questions of dialectical logic, in the nihilistic approach to the history of philosophy and in eschewing criticism of modern bourgeois philosophy and sociology. What is true of ideology in general is equally true of philosophy — revisionism cannot be combated from dogmatic and sectarian positions. A conciliatory attitude towards dogmatism is every bit as alien to Marxism as coming to terms with revisionism — and the remnants of dogmatism in philosophy have not yet been wholly eradicated.

It is typical of modern Marxist philosophy in Hungary that it is steadily overcoming the former revisionist and dogmatic mistakes. Lenin's concept of the Party spirit is, increasingly, coming to the fore in philosophical works. The philosophers have had to defend this concept from bourgeois "objectivism" on the one hand, and from dogmatic subjectivist distortions, on the other. "Objectivism," which divorces philosophical research from life and from Party activity, imparts to philosophy an abstract pseudo-scientific character, and steers it away from the practical class struggle (this, however, did not prevent the revisionists, when it suited their purpose, from indulging in anti-Party activity). On the other hand, subjectivist distortions separate the Party spirit from the search for objective truth, hamper creative thinking and try to fit Marxist-Leninist philosophy into rigid confines.

The Theses proceed from the unity of the Party and the scientific character of dialectics, from the historical materialism of Marx and Lenin. Loyalty to the cause of the Communist Party and hence to the working class and the working people as a whole, is a vital condition in the search for objective truth in the conflict between the social world outlooks. And the Party spirit in its turn calls above all for a strictly scientific approach to the search for objective truth. In the main the Party spirit at present is manifested in the close link between theoretical work in philosophy, on the one hand, and practice, the Party's policy, the international and domestic ideological struggle, and the advance of science, on the other.

Sectarianism underrated the importance of ideological work. It would be a mistake to think that the Party spirit signifies a parroting of Marxist principles. That, like the attempts theoretically to justify sectarian mistakes, is the subjectivist concept of the Party spirit. And after the harm caused by dogmatism, it should be stressed over and over again (although this would appear to go without saying) that the principle of the Party spirit is realized in the way problems are solved, in the nature of the articles and books. Even the most topical

problem will be of little value if the level of its elaboration is low, if it is schematic, makes no generalizations, and if ideological boldness, a really creative approach and fighting spirit are wanting.

On the basis of these demands, the Theses indicate the main lines along which philosophical work should go. The primary task is to continue working on philosophical problems germane to the building of socialism, to study the operation of the laws and categories of dialectical and historical materialism in Hungary in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, and to extend and enrich the content of the laws and categories of dialectical materialism by generalizing experience. Philosophy should analyze the concrete manifestations of reality and not seize upon isolated superficial phenomena and fit them into abstract concepts which, in this way, become lifeless and sterile.

The Theses enumerate the problems on which the philosophical work should centre: objectivity of social laws and the conscious application of these laws; the dialectics of the productive forces and the production relations in the transition from capitalism to socialism; the nature of the contradictions in a society building socialism; the character of the socialist state and its socio-economic role; the laws governing the shaping of class relationships; the contradictions between the two world systems; the problems of peaceful coexistence; the relation between internationalism and the specific national features; the problems of socialist ethics; the cultural revolution and the development of socialist consciousness.

Communist philosophers should exert an influence on ideological and cultural life, and help the Party combat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends in science, literature and the arts. The Theses point out that historical science, literary research, economic science, literary and art criticism and pedagogics necessitate the elaboration of problems of an ideological and methodological nature. Criticism of nationalism and religion is urgently needed, because these two forms of a retrograde ideology are the most widespread and the most harmful.

Much attention is devoted to the connection between Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences. In this sphere there is adherence to sound traditions. However, idealistic and especially positivist views continue to influence the teaching of the natural sciences. To strengthen the bond linking philosophy and the natural sciences, the philosophers should make a deeper study of the natural sciences, and the natural scientists of philosophy. Marxist philosophers should play an active part in combating idealistic, bourgeois reactionary trends in the natural sciences, first and foremost in the sphere of the Quantum theory, the theory of rela-

tivity, the physics of elementary particles, biology and physiology.

Propagation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the active participation of the philosophers in moulding the socialist consciousness of the working people are important components of philosophical work. Although considerable success has been achieved in the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideology there is still a lag in this field. Popularization of philosophy must be more convincing and effective. Correct answers must be given to the questions agitating the people; it is necessary to proceed from the actual problems of life, to combat anti-Marxist views which hamper the development of socialist consciousness among the working peo-

ple. We must see to it that Party activists know the classics of Marxism-Leninism, are conversant with the problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. They should be able to apply dialectical materialism in their work. At the same time the teaching of philosophy should be conducted in the broadest possible way.

In drafting the fifteen-year plan for scientific research, provision was made for philosophical investigation of this kind, measures worked out for improving the *Magyar filozofiai szemle* and the Chairs of Philosophy in the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in the Higher Party School and in the higher educational establishments.

The Question of Mauritania

(Patriotic Attitude of the Moroccan Communists)

THE people of Morocco and the various classes and groups are anxious to round off the independence of their country. They are insisting on the withdrawal of U.S. and Spanish troops, they are supporting the people of Algeria and want to help Mauritania to reunite with Morocco, the motherland.

This last aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle has assumed a particularly sharp character with the granting of "independence" to Mauritania. A conflict which has arisen on this issue between independent Morocco and imperialist France threatens to develop into an armed clash.

The Communist Party of Morocco, like the liberation movement generally, holds that Mauritania is part of Morocco. The population of both territories come from one and the same ethnical stock.

For centuries Mauritania and Morocco were a single entity both economically and culturally. What is more, up to the time of the French occupation they were not administratively divided.

The invasion of the Moroccan territory began in 1904, and it was only thirty years later that the French imperialists conquered Mauritania. The people of its territory put up a sturdy resistance and, what is very important, they fought under the slogan of reunification with the motherland. All Moroccans sided with them in this struggle.

The French military occupation put an end to the unity of Mauritania and Morocco.

Why are the French imperialists trying so hard to split off Mauritania from Morocco? Chiefly be-

cause since 1956 Morocco has been an independent country. And all the signs are that in the years to come Morocco will achieve complete liberation — complete independence from the imperialists both economically and in the military respect.

French imperialism needs a toehold in Africa to keep an eye on the African countries, first of all on Algeria. The facts show that it has chosen Mauritania for this purpose. And it is not mere chance that the puppet premier of Mauritania has made a request for 40,000 French soldiers in addition to those already in the country.

France, of course, has also economic interests. Mauritania, which occupies an area of 1,100,000 square kilometres, is rich in minerals. Deposits of iron ore, for instance, are estimated at 8,000 million tons; some of the deposits have a 70 per cent iron content, that is, higher than that of Swedish iron ore. The deposits of copper ores and rare metals are likewise considerable.

The independence granted to Mauritania and to the other colonies of the French Union is purely formal. This is not to imply, of course, that we take a negative view of the steps which the imperialists have been forced to take. On the contrary, we think that these measures will help people who have been granted this "independence" to advance towards genuine liberation. But as far as Mauritania is concerned, the "independence" accorded to it is, in our opinion, a negative factor because it detaches a part of the territory of a country, and establishes a new form of foreign domination there. The "independence" granted to

Mauritania is an obstacle to its progress, whereas reunification with Morocco would enable it to go ahead. This does not mean that we would prefer a continuation of French rule in Mauritania. We want her to win freedom through reunion with the already liberated part of Morocco. Our view is in line with the aspirations of the bulk of the Moroccan liberation movement and of most Mauriticians.

The struggle for the liberation of Mauritania is only beginning. And there can be no doubt that it will develop in the days to come. We, the Moroccan Communists, are confident that it will end in the reunification of Mauritania with a free and independent Morocco.

We see the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie

on the Mauritanian issue, and we believe that the working class and its Party in alliance with other progressive forces will have to overcome this weakness of the national bourgeoisie and resolve the issue.

We do not separate this struggle from the other tasks — from our aid to Algeria and from the struggle to extend democracy in our country. Nor do we separate it from the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence.

We are convinced that we are supported in this not only by the communist movement, but also by progressive people everywhere.

Mohamed ESSAOUIRI

The Daily Worker — Paper of the Working Class

THE *Daily Worker* operates in exceptionally difficult circumstances. It is common knowledge that, in the postwar years, a number of big British newspapers have either disappeared or been swallowed up by mergers. This was the case recently with the *London News Chronicle* and *Star*, papers of long standing and which had a fairly large circulation. Not a single successful daily newspaper has been launched throughout this period.

So the *Daily Worker's* continued appearance is truly a miracle. It appears every day only because of the unstinted financial and moral support of its readers and the loyalty and devotion of the Party members.

In the fourth decade of its existence the *Daily Worker* has a more decisive role to fill than ever. Its aim is to speak for the people of Britain. The paper is in the van of the struggle for the national interests. It acts as a collective organizer in support of a more rational solution of the vital problems. A recent example was the discussion in its columns of the problems posed for the labor movement in Britain by the refusal of Gaitskell to abide by the Scarborough decisions. This discussion, which will culminate in a *Daily Worker* conference in February 1961, is designed to further the campaign against the U.S. nuclear bases and for unilateral nuclear disarmament and should be instrumental in bringing about closer unity in the struggle for a really sound home and foreign policy and for socialist aims.

We maintain that a policy based on nuclear weapons is no defense of Britain. That is why the paper is foremost in voicing the popular protests

against the bomb, for example, the marches from Aldermaston to London at Easter, and other marches to American bases.

The *Daily Worker's* columns are open to persons reflecting the broad progressive trends. During the past year, for example, it has published articles by Labor M.P.'s, including Konni Zilliacus, Richard Kelley, among others, and interviews with many trade union officials. It fearlessly exposes those Right-wing Labor and trade union leaders who are ready to follow Pentagon policy and to place Britain in pawn to the U.S. imperialists.

The good-will built up by the paper extends far beyond its circulation. Just an example. Recently the *Daily Worker* was denied the right to advertise on TV. In view of this the Independent Television Authority which imposed the ban was literally flooded with protests from trade unions and other public organizations. When this issue was raised in the House of Commons on December 21, Labor M.P.'s spoke against this discrimination in relation to the daily paper of the British working class.

The *Daily Worker's* leading articles and commentaries, its reporting of political and economic activities, such as its struggle for higher wages are highly esteemed among the workers in the enterprises. So, too, is its reporting of the fight against rent increases, a case in point being the recent rent battle in St. Pancras, London. The paper consistently campaigns for the tenants, many of whom have been forced to pay double and even treble the previous rents. It vigorously protests that money from the tenants pours into the pockets of the landlords and money-lenders. We are convinced that

without the sympathetic treatment in the *Daily Worker* the tenants' struggle could hardly have reached its present high level.

In all these things the *Daily Worker* proves that it is a real champion of the people's interests — the only champion of its kind in Britain. Without it the people would be tremendously handicapped in their struggles for a fuller and better life, in their struggles against all the forces of reaction. For these reasons a bigger circulation — from which can emerge a bigger paper better able to serve all the progressive trends among our people — is essential.

Thanks to the efforts of the Party branches and members, nearly 16,000 extra copies of the *Daily Worker* are sold at weekends. For the Party to be in touch with these readers among whom are many ardent supporters, is a big political asset.

A number of Party branches have arranged for local news agents to display the *Daily Worker* by guaranteeing them against loss of unsold copies. On average, half of the copies displayed are sold. This experience has demonstrated the great value of this to the *Daily Worker*. It helps the paper to become known as a recognized daily newspaper in the eyes of many people who have heard of it but never seen it and are therefore deprived of the

chance of buying the paper. Furthermore, the bigger the sales of the *Daily Worker* the bigger the chance of breaking the press monopoly of big business.

The editors are trying all the time to make the paper as interesting as possible. For example, an International Children's Art Exhibition organized by the paper some time ago, was generally declared to be the most successful venture of its kind in Britain. Paintings and drawings came from children in many countries, the exhibition being shown in London and a number of other cities. The venture met with such a response that it has been agreed to organize another exhibition.

Limits on what the paper can or cannot do are imposed by its small resources. It has four pages and as yet cannot increase its size or employ a host of reporters and representatives. But we aim at producing a newspaper worthy of the traditions of struggle of the British working class.

One day, let us hope soon, the political consciousness, good will and comradeship engendered in the struggle of the working class will result in a mass circulation for the *Daily Worker* and new members of the Communist Party. That is the aim.

George SINFIELD

The Agrarian Problem and the National-Liberation Movement

This was the subject of an exchange of views organized in September 1960, in Havana (Cuba) and Bucharest (Rumania), under the auspices of the Editorial Board of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, the Editors of FUNDAMENTOS, theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, and the Institute of Economics of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences. Contributions were made by Marxists from 27 countries: Abde hamid Boud af, Abdelkader el-Ouahrani (Algeria), J. M. Garcia (Argentina), J. Kolle (Bolivia), N. Sanmugathasan (Ceylon), J. Ahumada (Chile), G. Vieira, J. Villegas (Colombia), B. Roca, S. Aguirre, A. Regalado, L. Soto (Cuba), F. Havlicek, I. Karlik (Czechoslovakia), P. Saad (Ecuador), R. Barbe (France), S. Muench, N. Steinberger (German Democratic Republic), J. Rodriguez (Guatemala), E. M. S. Namboodiripad (India), Kia-Nouri (Iran), Aziz Al Hajj (Iraq), D. Tabet, A. Monastero (Italy), S. Sawaya (Lebanon), A. Bourquia, M. Riffi, M. Ferhat (Morocco), V. Tello (Panama), R. Urquiza (Peru), V. Malinschi, R. Moldovan, B. Schiopu (Rumania), Kh. Bagdache (Syrian Region of the United Arab Republic), R. Arismendi (Uruguay), R. Ulyanovsky, M. Danilevich, M. Maximov (USSR), A. Ojeda (Venezuela) and others. A written contribution was received from S. Alvarez (Spain).

Those who took part in the meetings, conscious of both the complexity and importance of the subject which, as yet, has not been adequately elaborated, are hopeful that the exchange of views will be followed by a systematic, joint discussion in the columns of our journal.

Commencing with this issue publication (abridged) of the papers read at the sessions, the Editors invite readers to take part in the discussion which will be continued in subsequent numbers.

KH. BAGDACHE

(Syrian Region of the United Arab Republic)

THE national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, supported by the socialist countries and by the democratic forces throughout the world, has led to the breakup of the colonial system. Dozens of new, politically independent states have emerged, and continue to emerge in imperialism's former colonial domains. But colonialism is still alive. It is fighting for its existence in new ways.

Political sovereignty is but the first step towards genuine freedom, democracy and social progress for the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke. The peoples who have won their freedom are faced with formidable and interconnected tasks—to consolidate their political independence and pursue a national foreign policy of peace; take the way of democracy and social progress, build up a national economy through industrialization and mechanized farming, find a democratic solution to the agrarian question and do away with

feudal survivals, abolish the poverty and the chronic malnutrition of their populations—the legacy of imperialist rule—and achieve a rapid rise in living standards, national culture and public health.

The solution of the agrarian problem is of the utmost importance for the implementation of these tasks and the further development of each country that has won political independence. And indeed, this independence cannot be consolidated unless there is an independent economy; no industrialization is possible without a radical solution of the agrarian question; and genuine democracy and higher living standards are out of the question without a developed national economy and the abolition of the remnants of feudal relations.

In solving their national problems the newly-independent countries are taking different roads.

In those countries where the worker-peasant alliance under working-class leadership has been the

principal motive force of the revolution the people are taking the socialist road. Their experience shows that this revolutionary course ensures a radical solution of all national problems, including the agrarian question, in the shortest time and in the interests of the peasantry and the people as a whole.

A different situation obtains in those countries where the bourgeoisie has headed the national-liberation movement. The bourgeoisie wants development along capitalist lines. The class standpoint of the national bourgeoisie is marked by indecision and by a tendency to compromise and concede ground to both the imperialist bourgeoisie and the feudal lords. All this reflects upon the economic and social changes, including the agrarian reforms that are being effected in these countries.

A radical solution of the agrarian problem in present-day conditions means a solution in the interests of the peasant masses. It presupposes ending the feudal survivals in the countryside, ending the exploitation of the peasants by the foreign banks, clearing the way for the development of the productive forces in agriculture, and turning the land over to the peasants free of charge. It means, moreover, ridding the peasants of the scourge of usury and excessive taxation, meeting their requirements in the matter of seed, water, technical and other assistance.

A question of cardinal importance to the future of the newly-independent countries and to the practical activities of the Communist parties is this: is the national bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries capable of carrying out a radical agrarian reform?

Kh. Bagdache replies by turning to the experience of the United Arab Republic, to the agrarian relations and the agrarian reform in Egypt and in Syria.

Before the agrarian reform in Egypt 12,000 feudal proprietors and landlords owned one-third, or nearly 2,000,000 feddans*, of the cultivated land, some 2,000,000 peasant families with plots of less than one feddan owned about 13 per cent of the land, while several million peasant families had no land at all. Prior to the land reform in Syria, a little over 7,000 feudal beys held more than 3,000,000 hectares of the non-irrigated land, while about three-quarters of the irrigated land or some 400,000 hectares were held by approximately 1,600 landowners. The peasants owned only 20 per cent of the cultivated land.

Here are the principal features of the agrarian reform law promulgated in Egypt in 1952 and enacted, with some amendments, in Syria in 1958: the big feudal estates are restricted, but not

abolished (the law restricts land holdings in Egypt to 135 hectares, and in Syria—to 460 hectares of non-irrigated land and 120 hectares of irrigated land); the purchase price paid by peasants for the plots they are given approximates the market price of land; they are obliged to join the co-operative societies directed by government officials whose main functions are collecting taxes and the instalments due for the land and the purchasing of seed and fertilizer.

Comrade Bagdache assessed the agrarian reforms carried out in Egypt and Syria as follows.

1. The reform has restricted ownership by landlords and has reduced somewhat, especially in Egypt, the political influence of the feudal lords. However, the large compensation paid to the landlords has cut their economic losses to the minimum. The class of landlords has not been abolished, it has become the ally of the ruling bourgeoisie with whom it has joined forces in the struggle against a democratic solution to the agrarian question and against the democratic movement in the country.

2. The big bourgeoisie has profited most from the land reform in Egypt. Additional capital has been invested in industry and the banks. Greater opportunities have opened up for capitalist development in the countryside in Egypt and Syria.

3. Those who have gained least are the peasants, in whose name the reforms were supposed to have been made. In effect, the agrarian question has not been solved and by and large the feudal survivals remain. The rural bourgeoisie also gained to a certain extent. Its economic growth will, undoubtedly, intensify the exploitation of the farm laborers and the poor and middle peasants and lead to further differentiation among and impoverishment of the peasantry.

4. The reform has been utilized in the struggle against the democratic forces. In Syria it is being used as a lever for the economic and political expansion of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. In view of this, the government's concessions to the Syrian feudal lords are especially significant.

Thus, the experience of the UAR shows that the national bourgeoisie, because of its duality and contradictory nature, is incapable of solving the agrarian question. Though this bourgeoisie is interested, both from the standpoint of theory and practice, in abolishing the remnants of feudalism which stand in the way of a national economy and expansion of the home market, it has, for political reasons, chosen the road of compromise with the feudal lords in agrarian matters. Satisfied by the measures taken to restrict feudal ownership and the political privileges of the landlords, it is not pressing for the abolition of the feudal beys as a class. The bourgeoisie is reluctant to

*1 feddan=0.42 hectares.

strike a decisive blow against feudal ownership of the land. It fears the revolutionary consequences of any encroachment on the "sacred" principle of private property. Besides, it often seeks the support of the beys in its struggle against the peasant movement and against the democratic movement generally. An important factor here is that many of the national bourgeoisie in the UAR, as in other underdeveloped countries, are large landowners.

The experience of the United Arab Republic shows the fallacy of the claim that any agrarian reform in the newly-liberated countries, if it makes inroads on the privileges of the feudal beys and landlords and somewhat restricts feudal property, is automatically and in all circumstances accompanied by an extension of democracy and is a positive factor in the struggle against imperialism and political reaction. When the Right wing of the national bourgeoisie attains greater power in governing the country, the agrarian reform measures are used for purposes of unbridled social demagoguery, for crushing the masses and strangling the democratic movement. These reactionary circles try to split the national anti-imperialistic front, to prevent any alliance between the working class and the peasantry. It is no accident that the imperialists support the measures aimed at imposing certain restrictions on feudal property and at increasing the number of prosperous landowners. This is what happened in the United Arab Republic.

The national bourgeoisie will always try to carry out agrarian reforms mainly at the expense of the peasantry, in order to strengthen its own economic and political positions and, at the same time, to hinder the growth of a democratic movement. However, its degree of success in pursuing these aims will depend on the scale of the pressure exerted by the masses to secure realization of these *bourgeois* measures in a way that will be of *maximum* benefit to the people and the democratic movement.

However, it would be just as wrong to say that any agrarian reform, not radical and carried out under capitalism, is necessarily and in all circumstances a measure that cannot aid the democratic movement. Given a broad national democratic front in which the working class, united with the peasantry, plays an important part, and which embraces the progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and provided this front is able to influence policy, then the solution of the agrarian problem, as of other political, economic and social problems, will be a democratic solution. And even if it should be incomplete, this solution will, nevertheless, undermine the foundations of feudal property, further the growth of a national and democratic move-

ment and pave the way to a final and just solution of the agrarian question in the interests of the peasantry.

The working class is vitally interested in emancipating the peasants fully and completely, in ensuring prosperity for them. Experience teaches that the working class is the powerful and true ally of the peasantry, and that success in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers and peasants depends on their unity and on the strength of their alliance under working-class leadership.

The stand of the working class and its vanguard in respect of any agrarian reform depends on the conditions obtaining at the given time and place. But the chief criteria are always the same: will the particular reform further the growth of the democratic movement and strengthen the patriotic forces in their struggle against imperialism and reaction? Will it add to the peasants' fighting potential in the struggle against the feudal beys and strengthen the alliance of the working class and the masses of the peasantry?

The national bourgeoisie, especially its Right wing, wants to strengthen its position by effecting limited agrarian reforms, to disrupt the democratic movement and isolate the working class from the peasantry; the proletariat, however, wants the opposite, and it is quite possible that the outcome will not be that desired by the bourgeoisie. Much will depend on the attitude of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party—on their ability to frustrate the designs of the bourgeoisie, develop the democratic movement, reinforce the worker-peasant alliance and isolate above all the Right wing of the national bourgeoisie.

The attitude of the working class and the peasant masses on the agrarian question is expressed by the Communist Party. Ever since its inception the Syrian Communist Party has never regarded this problem as being something distinct from the other tasks confronting the people in their struggle for national independence and liberation.

The Communist Party, which has always insisted on a radical agrarian reform, is the only force that has fought for the complete abolition of the feudal survivals in agriculture.

In the struggle against imperialism and feudalism the farm laborers and the poor peasantry—the sharecroppers and peasants owning patches too small to maintain the family — are the main force in the countryside in Syria. The poor peasants, the majority in the villages, are vitally interested in the carrying out of a radical agrarian reform, in destroying the feudal survivals and in social progress.

These peasant masses are the trusted and irreplaceable ally of the urban proletariat in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, for na-

tional independence, democracy and socialism. They are the main rural social force on which the Communist Party relies. Success in drawing other sections of the peasantry, especially the middle peasants, into the general democratic struggle depends on the level of political consciousness displayed by the poor peasants and on their organization and their willingness to make common cause with the urban workers.

The middle peasants, also a considerable force, are likewise interested in a radical agrarian reform. And one of the most important tasks of the Syrian democratic movement is to draw the middle peasants into the struggle as an ally of the rural poor.

As to the rural bourgeoisie—its position is a twofold one: it wants to abolish the privileges of the feudal proprietors but in a way that would enable it to replace the feudals in the countryside and intensify the exploitation of the farm laborers and poor peasants. Still, it is possible and worthwhile to take common action with a part of the rural bourgeoisie, both locally and on a national scale, especially on particular issues. It is most important not to confuse the rural bourgeoisie with the feudal landlords, as is often done.

To meet the requirements of Syrian society, and having the interests of the vast majority of the peasantry and of the people at heart, the Syrian Communist Party proposes in its draft platform the following basic demands for a radical solution of the agrarian question:

- confiscation without compensation of the feudal estates and the land of the big proprietors and their distribution gratis among the landless peasantry and those whose plots are insufficient to provide for the family;

- confiscation of all implements of cultivation at present in the hands of the feudal beys and big landed proprietors and their transfer to peasant committees for use in the interests of the working peasants;

- the peasants to be enabled to participate, through democratically elected peasant committees, in carrying out all the agrarian reform measures, especially in confiscating and distributing the land;

- to increase agricultural output and raise the peasant standard of living, the state should provide the working peasants who obtain land as a result of the reform and also the small and middle peasants with everything needed for cultivation: seed, fertilizer, farm machinery, chemicals, etc.;

- proper use of the rivers and lakes by building dams and a ramified network of canals in order to increase the area of irrigated land, raise the level of production and rid the peasantry forever of drought and crop failure;

- aid to the peasants in forming free and voluntary co-operatives of different types and at different levels. These co-operatives, organized democratically, should be managed by elected committees; the peasants should be guaranteed the right to leave the co-operatives at any moment;

- the peasants must be freed from exploitation by foreign banks and trusts and from the yoke of money-lenders and middlemen, in particular by providing them with low-interest credits;

- democratic liberties to be guaranteed in the countryside (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, etc.);

- the necessary measures should be taken in the field of public health, cultural and social services and road building, the technical level of farming should be raised, etc.

Implementation of this platform would emancipate the peasants from feudal survivals and from the remnants of colonialism, would free the productive forces, especially those in the countryside, from their medieval fetters and further the development of the country along democratic lines.

The means with which to implement a radical agrarian reform are: firm alliance of the workers, peasants and all the democratic forces under the leadership of the working class; a determined struggle on the part of all democrats against imperialism, feudalism and other reactionary forces for a genuinely national-democratic regime and a genuinely people's government. While the Syrian Communist Party insists on a radical solution to the agrarian problem, it has always fought and will continue to fight for the satisfaction of the partial demands of the peasants.

For this reason, therefore, in the conditions now obtaining, when even the inadequate law promulgated in September 1958 is everywhere distorted and evaded in favor of the feudal proprietors, when the peasants are experiencing terrible hardships from hunger and from the anti-democratic regime, the Communist Party calls on the peasant masses and on all democratic forces to unite in the struggle for their immediate demands:

- implementation of the agrarian reform law of September 28, 1958; against any infringement and abuse of the law in favor of the feudal beys, the law to be amended in order to reduce by half the compensation paid by the peasants for the land received from the feudal beys; a term of 50 years to be enforced for paying the reduced compensation instead of the present 30 years; the peasantry to be exempted from additional payments (reimbursement for expenditure connected with the reform and interest on the bonds issued to the landowners);

—the peasant masses, through their elected committees, to supervise the carrying out of the reform;

—since the majority of the big estates in the non-irrigated areas in Jezire, Euphrates and other districts in the neighborhood of the deserts where the soil is poor and the rainfall meagre cannot be cultivated if they are broken up into tiny plots, the reform in these districts should take place in one of the following ways: either the estates should become state property and be cultivated by modern methods, or they should be made into big co-operative farms enjoying state aid—credits, machinery and whatever else is needed, on favorable terms;

—the part paid to sharecroppers working on feudal lands should be increased;

—no peasant to be evicted from his land;

—urgent and effective measures to save the population of all the famine areas from hunger and acute water shortage;

—wage increases and better conditions for agricultural laborers, who should be allowed to form trade unions and guaranteed the right to strike;

—the agricultural co-operatives envisaged by the agrarian reform law should not be subject to administrative tutelage on the part of the state; the co-operatives should be organized democratically and the peasants should be free to join them or not as they wish;

—realization in the immediate future of the agreements concluded between the Syrian Republic and the Soviet Union in 1957 providing for the building of dams and other irrigation installations, the building of a fertilizer plant and an extensive network of railways linking the main agricultural districts with the port of Latakia;

—annulment of the arbitrary measures of the Cairo government prohibiting or restricting the cultivation of the traditional Syrian crops (rice and cotton, for example);

—agriculture and the peasants in Syria to be freed from exploitation by money-lenders and foreign banks such as the French-owned Bank of Syria and the Lebanon, and also by Egyptian banks such as the Bank al-Misr. For this purpose the activities of the Syrian State Agricultural Bank should be extended and the bank should grant loans not only to big landowners but also to peasants at a minimum interest rate.

The struggle of the Syrian peasants for satisfaction of their demands is a part of the struggle waged by all Syrians for national independence and for emancipation from the colonial oppression of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie.

The experience of the nearly three years that have passed since the formation of the UAR has taught the peasants and all Syrians that the union imposed on them has no sound basis, that the policy of the Cairo government is playing havoc with the slogan of Arab unity and Arab nationalism; this slogan is being utilized to push Egyptian nationalism, which is the embodiment of the expansionist and jingoistic features of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie. The way out of the present situation is through the creation of a front of the workers and peasants, the progressive national bourgeoisie, youth, students, women—of all patriots and democrats—for the purpose of waging struggle for a radical revision of the fundamental principles underlying the union, for liberation from Egyptian colonialism, for a genuine policy of national liberation, for peace and democracy.

SEVERO AGUIRRE (Cuba)

THE Cuban revolution is taking the country along the highway of national development, with the revolutionary government solving the No. 1 problem—agrarian reform. Before the January revolution the Cuban countryside, where more than half the population lives, presented a truly terrible picture. A few North American imperialist companies and local latifundists had a monopoly of the land; aligned against them were the vast mass of peasants with little or no land, and the agricultural laborers who were employed for only three or four months a year (during the sugar season).

According to the 1946 agriculture census, Cuba had in all 159,958 farms covering a total area of

676,365 caballerias (a caballeria is about 33 acres). Of these farms 62,500, or 39 per cent of the overall number, had a mere 22,112 caballerias among them, i.e., 3.3 per cent of the total. On the other hand, 884 large estates—0.5 per cent of all the farms—accounted for 243,003 caballerias, that is, 36 per cent of all the land. All in all, the latifundia accounted for 47 per cent of the whole land area. North American companies, furthermore, owned 110,000 caballerias.

The fact that the imperialist companies and latifundists had a monopoly of the land was one of the major reasons for the unemployment in the country, the low incomes and the low purchasing power not only of the peasants and farm laborers

but of most of the working people in the towns. All in all, latifundism was detrimental to the nation. Only by carrying through a radical land reform could the home market be enlarged and the national industry expanded.

From its very inception our Party has devoted close attention to the poor in the countryside and to the agrarian problem generally, the solution of which it linked with the anti-imperialist and national-liberation struggle. The Party regarded a radical and far-reaching land reform, which would abolish the latifundia and transfer the land free of charge to those who till it, as a necessary measure for the good of the peasants and farm laborers and of the nation as a whole.

Frightened by the upsurge of the peasant movement which began in 1933, the bourgeois and latifundist politicians promised all kinds of "agrarian" plans and declared themselves the "emancipators" of the peasants. Yet none of these plans or the measures they proposed were aimed at really solving the problem. As far back as the 'thirties, our Party pointed out that any genuine land reform should pursue two basic aims: abolish the latifundia and transfer the land gratis to the peasants and the farm laborers. The plans and measures advanced by the politicians in the service of the imperialist companies, latifundists and bourgeoisie had only one object: to preserve the latifundia, dupe the peasants and perpetuate their slavery. They envisaged land purchase on the instalment system, land settlement and the division of government-owned land, although this land had either already been handed over to the imperialist companies, or else the latter and "influential people" had grabbed it. The bourgeoisie proved incapable of initiating the agrarian reform of which Cuba stood in need—a radical land reform similar to the one being carried through now.

The fight for a genuine agrarian reform was supported by the farm laborers, the poor and middle peasants, the working class and other working people in the towns, the small urban bourgeoisie and those sections of the national bourgeoisie not associated with the land and interested in developing a national industry.

In the struggle against the tyranny the united front established by the Party even included forces who were associated with some groups of the latifundists opposed to the Batista government. These provisional agreements envisaged immediate action against the tyranny. The Party's propaganda and struggle, however, always included the demand for an agrarian reform that would abolish the latifundia. This slogan did not figure in the above-mentioned agreements, but it held first place in the Party's propaganda and this enabled us to establish still closer contact with the peasant mass-

es and farm laborers and facilitated unity of action with other revolutionary forces favoring a genuine agrarian reform. The demand for a deep-going land reform could not be sacrificed to provisional agreements.

The Party's efforts brought home to the peasants, workers and the people as a whole the basic need for land reform. Even when times were most difficult, when persecution was rife and the Party illegal, it continued propaganda for reform among the peasants, other working people and the revolutionary forces. In joining the armed struggle, the peasants and farm laborers proceeded primarily from the conviction that in winning freedom they would win land. "I shall not put my rifle down," the peasant rebel declared, "until the land issue has been settled. For land means freedom." Poor peasants and farm laborers make up eighty per cent of the Rebel Army.

Our Party worked hard to unionize the farm workers and to bring the poor and middle peasants into committees of struggle and peasants associations. For a number of years these associations proved to be one of the most suitable means of creating a revolutionary consciousness among the peasants and of disseminating the idea of agrarian reform. The Batista terror broke up many of these associations but could not eradicate the militancy which they sowed among the peasants. On the initiative of the partisan command and with its support, even more militant peasant associations were organized in the liberated regions and effectively helped the armed struggle. The peasant associations now functioning all over the country are playing an extremely important part in the agrarian reform and in defending the revolution.

What are the basic features of the Agrarian Reform Law proclaimed by the revolutionary government on May 17, 1959? This law abolishes the latifundia; it fixes the maximum size of a land holding at 30 caballerias. The law prohibits land from being acquired or even inherited by non-Cubans. All land exceeding the maximum fixed by law is distributed among the peasants, farm laborers and soldiers of the Rebel Army. The law prohibits sharecropping, or any other form of rent in kind, and turns into owners all peasants who have suffered under this system. This means that the most widespread and deeply rooted of the feudal survivals in Cuba has been eradicated. Tenants who had plots of up to two caballerias are given land free of charge. Peasants who had more than two but less than five caballerias are given two gratis and purchase the remainder at a price fixed by the National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) in accordance with the value assessed by the owners on registering their property. Tenants who rented more than five caballerias do not obtain

the land gratis but are entitled to purchase up to 30 caballerias of the land formerly rented by them. Land passing into personal ownership is registered in the peasant's name in property registration books. Land which becomes common property is registered under the heading of property not subject to distribution among the members of the given association.

The new law encourages the peasants and farm laborers to unite in co-operatives for joint cultivation. These co-operatives are new to Cuba, and two types are now being set up.* Co-operatives of the first and broader type are being established on the latifundia lands. Their members consist of farm laborers, poor peasants who formerly rented land or worked as sharecroppers, and landless peasants who had been driven off their plots. Some 620 of these co-operatives, uniting 120,000 members and 80,000 seasonal workers, have been established on estates growing sugar cane. A plan now under way will turn the co-operatives into mixed farms in order to provide work for members all the year round and to encourage the seasonal workers to join the co-operatives. Another type of co-operatives is being formed by poor peasants for the purpose of doing certain kinds of work, or of ploughing up field boundaries and engaging in joint cultivation. More than a thousand co-operative is being formed by poor peasants for the reform. The output of co-operatives of both types is now quite considerable, accounting for over 50 per cent of the total production of sugar cane. There are as yet few co-operatives with members who owned land before the agrarian reform. For understandable reasons peasants are hesitant about joining the co-operatives, and we are conducting painstaking work among them, basing it on the principle of persuasion.

The Agrarian Reform Law is, then, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist; it is spearheaded against the class of latifundists (both foreign and native) whose lands are being expropriated and who, as a class, are disappearing from the scene, against the absentee landlords**, irrespective of the size of their farms, for the land becomes the property of those who till it, against the compradores and usurers, because credit, increasingly, is supplied by INRA. This body will also be authorized to purchase the produce of the peasants and the co-operatives, thereby preventing their being fleeced and eliminating profiteering when the goods are re-purchased, and guaranteeing fair prices to peasant and consumer alike. By abolishing the latifundia the Agrarian Reform Law will help to develop a mixed agriculture. It is aimed, too, against the big importers and the North American companies which

have waxed rich because of our backward farming and economic dependence on foreign countries.

These are the classes and the groups—and they are in the minority—whose interests suffer through the operation of the Reform Law. On the other hand, the poor and middle peasants and a considerable number of the rich peasants, as well as the working class, gain from it. No longer are farm workers exploited—as members of co-operatives they are masters of the land. The industrial expansion means more employment for factory workers. Office workers, technicians of all kinds, professionals, handicraftsmen and Cuban industrialists also gain from the Agrarian Reform Law.

The working class, the poor and the middle peasants, and the radical petty bourgeoisie are solidly behind the reform. It is also supported, although less enthusiastically, by some sections of the rich peasants and of the national bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie would prefer the reform to be a less radical one. Moreover, fear of the proletariat and of the deep-going social changes now being effected with the help of the worker-peasant alliance does not evoke enthusiasm among the bourgeoisie.

The Agrarian Reform Law is being implemented consistently and in a revolutionary spirit. All farms passing into the possession of peasants free of charge no longer pay rent, irrespective of whether the title deeds have been handed over or not. In point of fact, on INRA orders, the peasant becomes the owner of the land the moment he ceases to pay rent. In the first year of the agrarian reform INRA invested over 131 million pesos in agriculture, the funds being used for the purchase of machinery, seed, fertilizers, and chemical weed-and-pest killers, the ploughing of the virgin soil, the granting of credits to co-operatives and individual peasants, for irrigation systems, buildings, stores, dwellings, schools, hospitals and roads.

The agrarian reform is changing life in the villages. It has broken down the semi-feudal structure which rested on the latifundia, the oppression and exploitation of peasants and farm workers by the imperialist companies and absentee landlords. The social composition of the rural population is changing and new production relations are coming into being. The economic and, hence, political might of the latifundist class has been broken and the class itself is being abolished. The peasants and farm laborers are now the masters of the land and with increasing help from the state can, in the near future, organize into co-operatives in order to farm better. Before them lies the road to a new life.

With the implementation of agrarian reform, state farms—mostly cattle-breeding, rice production and poultry raising—have appeared. Three forms

*For further details see *World Marxist Review* No. 8 — Severo Aguirre's letter on the achievements of agrarian reform.

**Landlords who rent their land.—Ed.

of agricultural production obtain at present: the co-operative, state and individual. The individual sector is comprised of the farms of poor, middle and rich peasants, and landlords. Individual farming will continue for some time to come, but it has no prospects and will decline. Factors contributing to this will be the steady growth of the share of the agricultural workers co-operatives and state farms in the volume of national production and the change that will take place in the outlook of the poor and middle peasants—all of which will encourage greater numbers to join the co-operatives. The deep-going changes in the countryside open up great opportunities for industrial development which has already begun thanks to the aid given by the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

The Cuban people's struggle shows that it would have been impossible to carry through a radical agrarian reform in the country or to advance even a step along the path of independent economic development had we not overthrown the reactionary classes—the latifundists and the bourgeoisie—whose interests were tied up with those of North American imperialism and who thrived on imperialist oppression. Progress would likewise have been out of the question had the revolution, at its present stage of national liberation, been led by those sections of the bourgeoisie who, although they have some contradictions with the imperialists, nevertheless seek to solve them by coming to terms with the imperialists at the expense of the working class, the peasantry, and the national interests. Only on the basis of an alliance between the working class and the poor and middle

peasantry and the radical, i.e., revolutionary, circles of the small bourgeoisie in the towns, can these national and anti-imperialist tasks be carried out. In this the working class, headed by its Party, plays the decisive role. But working-class leadership is not achieved by making general declarations. It is won by pursuing a correct line, by conducting persistent and patient work among the masses and the leaders of the democratic trends, by combating Leftist and Rightist mistakes.

In these conditions the national bourgeoisie can play a positive part in anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. But our experience tells us that we must be vigilant, alert to the self-seeking conciliatory tendencies of the bourgeoisie. In most Latin American countries the bourgeoisie are talking about the need for agrarian reform. But common to their plans for the reform is the desire not to fall out with the imperialists and the latifundist semi-feudals; not to break up the semi-feudal latifundia but to turn them into capitalist farms; to find a new way of enslaving the peasants by selling them land on the instalment system and perpetuating the exploitation of the farm laborers on semi-feudal estates converted into capitalist farms. The implementation of a reform of this kind (which the bourgeoisie believes to be the "only possible" one) would enable it to head the peasant movement and the national-liberation movement as a whole and this would be fraught with dire consequences for our people. We in Cuba, together with all the revolutionary anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, are fighting not for a "possible" agrarian reform, but for a reform that is *essential* for the peasants and the country as a whole. The outcome of this struggle in Cuba is plain for all to see.

A. BOUDIAF (Algeria)

THE national-liberation movement in Algeria is at its greatest momentum; the people are waging an armed anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. During the six years of war the National Liberation Army has grown into a powerful revolutionary force. It has been tempered in battle, repelling the assaults of the 600,000-strong regular French troops and the 200,000-strong auxiliary units of the republican security forces, territorial militia and gendarmes.

Eighty per cent of the population are peasants who constitute the main body of the National Liberation Army. A big part in the revolutionary army since its inception has been played by the poor peasants and agricultural workers. It was the poor peasants who assisted the military and poli-

tical leaders in spreading the flames of revolutionary struggle to the countryside. Knowing well who are friends and who are enemies they helped the rebel leaders to lead the friends and to isolate the enemy. Thanks to their efforts a military organization has been established in the countryside.

The agricultural workers travel under cover of darkness to the headquarters of local revolutionary organizations, carry out the operations entrusted to them and collect information about the movements of the enemy. For its fighting efficiency the National Liberation Army owes much to their knowledge of the locality and to their valor. Since the first days of the war the agricultural workers have collected food for the army.

The middle peasants attached to their plots also support the liberation struggle though they are not as devoted to the revolution as the poor peasants and agricultural workers. They regularly supply the National Liberation Army with food, giving it part of their crop, clothing and medical supplies, and placing their homes at the disposal of the revolutionary soldiers.

Rich peasants, numerically few in Algeria, also support the revolutionary struggle. Those who have refused to do so, have been isolated and neutralized.

Since the first days of the insurrection the main burden, naturally, has been borne by the peasants. The liberation struggle could not have been continued without their participation and tremendous sacrifice. This explains the malicious attacks of the enemy against the peasants. The French colonialists have not only destroyed hundreds of thousands of peasants physically, they have in addition forced many to change their habitation, the consequences of which it is as yet difficult to foresee.

The working class, though small numerically, exerts a great influence on the revolution. Handicraftsmen, intellectuals, urban and rural workers were the first to go to the "maquis." Around them the revolutionary forces have been rallied.

Along with the political and ideological contribution which the Algerian workers have made to the revolution by their participation in the war of independence, they have played the vanguard role as a class thanks to the Communist Party, their own organization. At the beginning of the revolution the General Trade Union Alliance, which is inspired by the Communists, organized mass strikes as part of the national struggle. Each successive action embraced larger numbers of people and added to the scope of the liberation movement.

The small bourgeoisie, by virtue of the extreme weakness of the big national bourgeoisie, has played an important part in the revolution. In the past it supplied most of the functionaries for the nationalist parties. The economic position and relatively high cultural level of the small bourgeoisie enable it to maintain contact with the workers and peasants among whom they wield considerable influence.

To obtain a clearer idea of the correlation of forces in Algeria it is necessary to point to some of the specific features of the colonization of the country. Unlike Morocco and Tunisia, Algeria was the country to which large numbers emigrated from France and other Mediterranean countries. The settlers received from the colonial administration millions of hectares that had been stolen from the Algerian peasants.

The peasants, driven from their homesteads, eked out a precarious livelihood in the mountains and in sun-parched areas. Statistics of the colonial administration show that 630,732 Algerian landowners hold about 7,349,000 hectares distributed as follows:

105,954 farms have a total of	37,200 hectares, i.e.,
	less than one hectare each
332,529 farms have a total of	1,341,200 hectares, i.e.,
	one to 10 hectares each
167,170 farms have a total of	3,185,000 hectares, i.e.,
	from 10 to 50 hectares each
16,580 farms have a total of	1,096,100 hectares, i.e.,
	from 50 to 100 hectares each
8,499 farms have a total of	1,688,800 hectares, i.e.,
	over 100 hectares each.

A point to be noted is that among the holdings in excess of 100 hectares there are beys who own thousands of hectares. Still more eloquent are the figures showing the distribution of land among the settlers. Over 22,000 European farms embrace a total of 2,726,700 hectares of which 2,381,900, or 87 per cent, belong to 6,385 big landlords.

According to available data there are 160,000 permanent and 400,000 seasonal agricultural workers. Many of these go to France in search of a livelihood. At a press conference in June 1960, de Gaulle spoke about the 400,000 Algerian workers in France; with undisguised cynicism he listed this as being to the credit of colonialism.

In the Algerian countryside there is yet another group known as khammès. The khammès, being landless, is forced into sharecropping. He leases a plot from the landlord and the latter as a rule supplies him with seed and implements. Under the rent agreement the khammès receives one-fifth of the crop. He lives in abject poverty and in the lean years he often falls into debt to the landlord. The statistics of the colonial administration offer a highly contradictory picture. According to the 1948 census the khammès numbered 132,913 but by 1954 the figure had dropped to 60,563.

The total annual income of 2,573,504 Algerians amounts to 86,604 million old francs, while that of the European settlers (1/73 of the population) is nearly 110,000 million.

Before the rebellion against the colonialists (1954) the nationalist parties displayed little concern for the peasants. The Communist Party, on the other hand, began to organize the peasants and agricultural laborers the moment it emerged from the underground. The Communists organized the peasants in trade unions. The agricultural laborers have been brought into the General Confederation of Labor. In many regions the unions have often taken successful action in support of the peasant demands and of democratic rights.

Our Party has its own organizations in the countryside.

In addition to fighting for the demands of the peasants the Communists worked to deepen their political consciousness, to prepare them, in the course of the everyday action, for a higher form of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

The political consciousness and political organization of the poor peasants, who form the main body of the revolutionary army, now at a high level generally, are particularly developed in those regions where our Party has its own organizations.

Our Party has widely propagated the slogan of agrarian reform. This slogan is now so popular among the peasants that the de Gaulle government has had to promise that 250,000 hectares will be divided among the rural population.

The six years of the armed struggle have demonstrated that the Algerian revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and that national independence and agrarian reform are its basic demands.

To formulate the program of agrarian reforms properly it is necessary to examine the conditions of the peasants. Before the rebellion our Party had no opportunity to do this. At present, in the hard conditions of the war, it is not an easy matter to examine this question thoroughly.

The agrarian reform, clearly, should have the following aims:

1. Abolition of the economic base of French land settlement — the biggest obstacle to the political, economic and social emancipation of the Algerian people.

2. Elimination of the survivals of the feudal system which has already been undermined. Although the national movement and the liberation struggle have partly neutralized the feudal beys they, nevertheless, may raise their heads again and endeavor to gain political positions in an independent Algeria.

3. Raise the peasant standard of living by releasing the immense productive forces latent in the countryside.

4. Create favorable conditions for industrialization by extending the home market which is essential for the development of national industry.

Such are the aims of the agrarian reform.

To set forth the points of the agrarian reform clearly and to carry it out in the proper way it is necessary to indicate the contradictions which still exist in the Algerian countryside.

The main contradiction is between the Algerian peasantry as a whole and the European landlords.

Others include those:

- between the poor peasants and the Algerian landowners who exploit wage labor or lease land to the khammèses;

- between the poor and middle peasants and the Algerian big landowners;

- between the small and middle European settlers, on the one hand, and the big settlers and companies, on the other. (Among the small settlers there are some who own less than one hectare.)

But the national struggle before 1954 and especially the national-liberation war have relegated to the background and even eased these secondary contradictions. The well-to-do and middle peasants tended to line up with the revolutionary forces, while the settlers with the small plots, deceived by the imperialist propaganda, gravitated to the settlers owning large farms.

The purpose of the agrarian reform is to solve the basic contradiction. The secondary contradictions will, wherever possible, be taken into account, provided this does not prejudice the alliance of all classes, with the exception of the feudal beys who have sided with the colonialists.

Our Party

- relies for support on the agricultural laborers, on the khammèses, on the poor and middle peasants—the lower strata of the peasantry;

- it will pursue the policy of alliance with the upper strata of the middle peasants, with those of the rich peasants and landlords who are loyal to the national cause (in this category there are from 20,000 to 22,000 farms);

- it will seek to isolate the big feudal landowners many of whom have joined with the colonialists. Their land will be confiscated without compensation. But among the feudal landowners there are those who, adopting the policy of wait-and-see, are playing a double game—they send their sons to the National Liberation Army and give material aid to the revolution. In regard to this group matters are more complicated and should be resolved by the peasant organizations themselves which in each case may fix the scale of compensation. Here it is necessary to make a distinction between the feudal beys and the middle and rich peasants who practice feudal methods of exploitation (leasing land to the khammèses);

- it should work to win over the European settlers who have been deceived by the enemy; they should not be excluded from the lists of those who are entitled to receive land under the agrarian reform;

- it should neutralize the middle-class settler without taking away his land which is but an insignificant part of the total scheduled for distribution under the agrarian reform.

In our view, the land to be confiscated without compensation and distributed among the peasants is:

—land owned by the big European settlers and by the big companies; the property of those Algerian beys and big landowners who have betrayed the revolution and who are collaborating with the French colonialists; the state-owned and communal land; the plots leased by the colonial administration and the land which at one time belonged to religious bodies but which was taken away from them by the colonial administration.

The holdings of those Algerian landowners and feudal beys who have remained loyal to the revolution will be reduced through the redemption of surplus land.

It is necessary to envisage also the expropriation of all the means of production owned by the big settlers, companies, and by the feudal beys and Algerian landowners who have betrayed the national interests, and the transfer to the peasants of the credit societies, producer co-operatives and the co-operatives buying and selling agricultural produce, and processing raw material (tobacco, cotton, tomatoes, etc.).

The expropriated land (with all attached property) shall be distributed free of charge among:

—agricultural laborers, khammèses and poor peasants; those who fought in the ranks of the National Liberation Army or worked in the auxiliary organizations, and the widows and families of peasants who fell in the war of liberation;

—middle peasants suffering from a shortage of land; priority will be extended to those who served in the ranks of the National Liberation Army and also to the widows and families of the men who fell in the war of liberation;

—the small European settlers suffering from exploitation by the big settlers and from a shortage of land. Priority will be accorded to those who supported the liberation struggle.

Confiscation and distribution of the land will be carried out in all regions with the obligatory participation of committees composed of peasant representatives, particularly poor peasants.

When carrying out the agrarian reform it will be necessary to adopt laws guaranteeing the private and personal property of every peasant and safeguarding him against profiteers and usurers who will again try to rob him.

Such in general outline is our draft (still incomplete) agrarian reform.

An agrarian reform which takes cognizance of the real state of affairs will inspire the peasants to revolutionary action. The Algerian Communists hold that an agrarian reform can be implemented fully only as a result of the socialist revolution. Today, however, we are speaking about a democratic revolution in which both the national bourgeoisie and the worker-peasant masses are interested.

Although this program corresponds to the interests of the nation as a whole, we cannot rely fully on the support of the national bourgeoisie during the implementation of it. There are not a few instances of the national bourgeoisie coming to power and then doing nothing or practically nothing about agrarian reform. As far as Algeria is concerned a radical agrarian reform was advanced as one of the goals at the 1956 Congress of the National Liberation Front in Soummam. It is necessary to stress, however, that in the framework of the national, democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution the scope of the agrarian reform and its implementation depend on the scale of the peasant struggle and, in particular, on the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. And our Party will do all in its power to consolidate this alliance.

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD (India)

OUR discussion has shown the great variety of forms in which the agrarian problem presents itself in the underdeveloped countries. May I add that, so far as India is concerned, we have the same variety of forms in which this problem expresses itself in the various states and, in some states, even between different regions.

Ever since the country attained independence and the bourgeoisie came to power, several measures in the direction of reforming land relations have been carried through. The agrarian program adopted by the Indian National Congress, the ruling party, was at first glance a radical, progressive one. It envisaged the abolition of interme-

diaries, rent reduction and security of tenure for tenant holdings under landlords, the right of tenants to purchase ownership from landlords; fixing an upper limit, or ceiling, on landholdings and distributing the surplus land among the landless, reducing interest rates, improving the conditions of the agricultural laborers, forming co-operatives to help the peasants in procuring seeds, fertilizers, etc., at cheap rates, and also to get fair prices for their products, organizing the rural people in Panchayats* and other local organizations.

*Elected communal village councils with restricted administrative functions.

This program, if implemented, would be a heavy blow to the feudal elements in the country. For it would not only curtail the property rights of the old type of feudal landlords but even deprive the new capitalist type of landlords of the right to enrich themselves at the expense of the common people. Furthermore, it would help the common people to start building a new life on democratic lines.

The bourgeoisie, however, is not carrying out this program in the manner in which it was envisaged in the resolution formally adopted by it. That is why, when our Party was able to form a government in one of the fourteen states, in Kerala, we declared that our government would try to implement what the Congress Party had laid down as its policy but the Congress governments had failed to carry out. It was in this light that our government in Kerala drafted its bill which, on the agrarian question, closely followed the guiding lines of the Central Planning Commission. Yet the National Congress, then in opposition in the state of Kerala, attacked the bill and jointly with the landlords organized a campaign against it and for unseating the government that introduced it. This campaign led to the dismissal of our government. And now the Central Government has returned the bill to the state legislature for the purpose of introducing amendments of a reactionary nature.

While this example shows how the bourgeoisie is not prepared to implement even what it has accepted on paper, the same is confirmed by what is happening in other states. In its resolution the Congress Party fixed December 31st, 1959, as the last date by which all the state governments should complete the Land Reform Legislation, yet very few have done so; not one has done what our government did in Kerala. This contrast between what the Congress promises and what it does is rather evident. The concrete example of how the Communist Party helps the peasantry to get what the Congress promises them is opening the eyes of many people to the real nature of the present government of India.

The Communist Party, however, does not confine itself to exposing the gap between the promises and the performances of the bourgeoisie in the agrarian question. The Party points out that, even if the program is fully implemented, the Government will not be in a position to meet all the requirements of the peasants. For the essence of its policy is to transform land relations from feudal to capitalist relations.

When the Congress program speaks about abolishing intermediaries, it means establishing a new type of landlord (who appropriates surplus value through the exploitation of wage-labor) in place of

the old-type landlord (who collects rent from the cultivator to whom he leases land). What is more, in connection with the agrarian reform the old type of landlords are given huge sums as compensation for the rights of which they are deprived, not counting a good portion of their land itself as "self-cultivated" land. This type of "abolition of landlordism," therefore, helps the old landlord to become a landlord of the new type.

The legislation for rent reduction, security of tenure and right to purchase ownership is so designed as to enable a narrow stratum of well-to-do peasants to become rich peasants or even capitalist landlords. It enables those who have some savings to become landowners, and to use this newly-acquired ownership to enrich themselves. Although the legislation provides for some rights for tenants it nevertheless enables the landlords to take possession of large tracts of land held by tenants who thus become landless.

As for fixing a ceiling on land-holdings, there are so many exemptions that many big and medium landlords are able to evade the ceiling law. They can, for example, divide their families in such a way that each new family is enabled to retain land to the ceiling level, and the actual size of the landholding will remain the same. Again, the law provides that plantations, lands held by religious or charitable institutions, land sown to special crops, and even "well managed farms" are exempted. All the exemptions together with the various subterfuges resorted to by the landlords make the ceiling a fiction.

The land reform policies of the Congress governments were summed up by our Party in its 1958 resolution as follows:

"To sum up, the general aim and direction of Congress policies is to promote capitalist relations in agriculture and to generate, foster and develop a class of substantial landholders, capitalist landlords and rich peasants—who, with state aid and support, can develop agriculture on modern capitalist lines, increase production and thus create a surplus for meeting the requirements of the general economic development of the country. In pursuance of these aims, the Congress governments, while generally curbing feudal relations, have given substantial concessions to feudal landlords, leaving in their possession enough land to enable them to resort to capitalist farming. It is also in pursuance of these aims that millions of tenants have been evicted, redistribution of land ruled out, proprietary rights denied to the vast majority of cultivators and the ceiling principle, reduced to a farce, is now being abandoned."

Another aspect of the agrarian question in India is the organization of peasants to step up agricultural production and to raise the standards of their

social and cultural life. The efforts made in this direction are concentrated in what is known as the Community Development Movement. The declared purpose of this movement was to raise agricultural production, improve technique in all its branches, organize co-operatives, form organizations of youth, women, children and cultural workers. The country was to be divided into more than three thousand Community Development Blocks, each with a fixed number of technical personnel to help the people in developing agriculture, fisheries, village industries, health, education and co-operation. Each block was to be divided into Panchayats, with an elected body of people's representatives who would work under the leadership of the block. This was the scheme through which India would develop its own "indigenous form" of "socialist society" without "violence and dictatorship."

But eight years of work of the Community Development Blocks have utterly disproved these claims. The several Evaluation Reports, prepared under the auspices of the Community Development Ministry, show how tragic has been the failure of the movement. For example, the latest report (the seventh, brought out in July 1960) says: "Reports from the blocks indicate that, even though contributions have been forthcoming in a number of blocks for projects of common benefit, the basic philosophy behind this method has not permeated to any noticeable degree among the people."

The Communist Party, however, does not take a negative attitude to the Community Development Movement. For, while not solving the basic problem of the country, the movement does help the peasantry (if they are properly organized) to improve technique and raise productivity, to raise their living standards and to organize a higher and better social and cultural life for themselves. The credits supplied by the Government, the technical personnel placed at the disposal of the blocks and the Panchayats, the facilities afforded to the youth, women, children, and cultural workers to organize their activity—all these can become a positive factor in favor of the rural poor provided the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants are conscious enough, and organized enough, to take advantage of them. As a matter of fact, it has been our experience that wherever the Communist Party, the Peasant Association and the Agricultural Labor Association, together with other progressive organizations, are able to intervene effectively, the Community Development Blocks, the Panchayats, the co-operatives and the organizations of youth, women, children and cultural workers can be used to advance the cause of the rural poor.

At the same time, we do not blind ourselves to the basic character of the Community Development Movement. Launched as it is by the government of the bourgeoisie (which is allied to the

landlords), it tends to favor the rural rich, rather than the rural poor. The resolution of our National Conference points out: "It is a fact that the bulk of the expenditure on the community development . . . flows into the pockets of the big landholders and the rich peasants. Large sums are advanced to them as *taccavi* loans; special agricultural loans are granted to them for the purchase of tractors, oil engines or for sinking tubewells. It is they who grab the lion's share of the fertilizer and good quality seed distributed by the government. In most cases they control the co-operative credit societies which largely serve their interests. Their close social links with the administration and their domination over village Panchayats enable them to secure innumerable personal advantages."

We have to recognize the advances registered in the direction of curbing feudalism, raising productivity and facilitating the organization of a new life for the rural poor. We should, therefore, organize the rural poor with a view to taking advantage of the land reform laws and the Community Development Movement.

At the same time, we should make it clear for ourselves that the policies pursued by the government do not make any basic change either in land relations or the sphere of social and cultural life in the rural areas, nor has production increased to the extent necessary to overcome the food shortage which is as serious today as it was a decade ago.

Our Party in its resolution formulated a number of demands which should become the basis for peasant action. They are:

"Vesting of ownership rights in all tenants, regardless of the tenure under which they hold their land today, subject to restricted right of resumption by small owners. Full security for sharecroppers against eviction; imposition of a ceiling on all peasant holdings without exemption barring plantations, and distribution of surplus land to evicted tenants, agricultural laborers and poor peasants; free distribution to agricultural laborers and poor peasants of all cultivable waste lands; reorganization of the tax structure in such a way that the tax burden on the poorer sections is substantially reduced. Immediate reduction of all direct and indirect taxes which weigh heavily on the rural poor, and cancellation of unjust taxes; breaking up of the monopoly trading interests in food grains and agricultural raw materials through rapid expansion of state-trading and ensuring a fair price for agricultural produce; freeing of peasants from usurious debt and provision of adequate cheap credit by government and co-operatives; fixing minimum wages and provision of work and employment for agricultural laborers; democratization of rural administration.

"These demands should become the pivotal points of the Party's agrarian program today."

Realization of these demands naturally, would not solve the basic problem of the rural areas. It would, however, put a curb on the exploitation of the rural poor. The real problem is the backwardness of the national economy as a whole. This is seen in the fact that approximately 70 per cent of the population depend on the land for a livelihood. India is among the countries with the lowest standard of living and lowest national income.

The basic problem can be solved only if the rate of industrial development is quickened much more than it is today. The Second Five-Year Plan,

for example, hopes to reduce in 25 years the proportion of people living on the land from 70 to 60 per cent. But even this figure is too high and should be further reduced if the man-power and the land resources are to be rationally utilized. For this purpose it is necessary to follow the path of rapid industrialization with the emphasis on heavy industry, taken by the Government five years ago. The Communist Party, the Peasant Association and the Agricultural Labor Association should, therefore, unite with the other progressive organizations for what our Party's resolution calls "the democratic demand of the people of India as a whole for uninterrupted and rapid industrialization of the country."

R. ULYANOVSKY (USSR)

The winning of national independence has made the radical solution of the land question in the interests of the peasantry the problem of the day. Naturally, the only radical solution is abolition of feudal land tenure and the big estates, which is also a basic condition for rapid industrialization and the growth of the home market. But the bourgeoisie, when confronted with this task, which is dictated by the interests of the nation as a whole, completely reveals its inconsistency and its inability to solve this problem in a democratic way in the interests of the peasants. In the countries of Asia where the proletariat headed the national-liberation movement, the struggle against imperialism and feudalism ended in the complete victory of the people, a factor which enabled these countries to begin the building of socialism and to solve both the agrarian question, i.e. the land question, and the peasant question as a whole, i.e., reconstruction of agriculture through peasant co-operation. On the other hand, in those Asian countries where the national-liberation movement was headed by the national bourgeoisie, although independence was won thanks to the struggle of the entire people, the anti-feudal revolution has not been carried through to the end, i.e., the land question has not been solved fully in favor of the peasantry.

Seeking to maintain its leadership in the national-liberation movement and retain its grip on the masses, the national bourgeoisie, both during and after the struggle for power, has striven to isolate the working-class movement from the peasant movement, the anti-imperialist movement from the anti-feudal movement, in order to deprive the working class of its main and natural ally, the peasantry. The latter, numerically the biggest force in the national-liberation movement, imparts

depth and scope to the movement. But upon coming to power, the national bourgeoisie, which aligns itself in one or another degree with the landlord elements, take the path of "appeasing" the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry by resorting to half-measures and partial concessions. This has been going on for more than ten years now.

The political purpose of the so-called agrarian reforms initiated by the ruling circles without relying on the democratic forces of the peasantry is to isolate the latter from the working class.

In examining any problem relating to the East today, it is necessary to proceed from the proposition that the East is not a single entity, that the countries are at various levels of development. Consequently, it would be a mistake to apply the conclusions drawn from a study of one or several of the countries to all, without regard for their specific features. True, this concrete, differentiated approach does not mean that some general conclusions are not applicable to the East as a whole or to its various regions.

If we examine the present stage of agrarian evolution in most of the non-socialist countries of Asia from this standpoint it will be clear that their national-liberation movements have not solved the agrarian-peasant question. In fact it would be truer to say that it is becoming one of the basic issues in the new stage of the class struggle in these countries.

After a brief look at the agrarian reforms and the condition of the peasantry in the principal countries of the Middle East, India and South-East Asia, R. Ulyanovsky continued:

The specific features of the agrarian-peasant question in the non-socialist countries of Asia at the present time are: first, the national bour-

geoisie came to power after the Second World War primarily with the support of the peasantry; second, the bourgeoisie in nearly all countries of the East was able, on the whole, to drive a wedge between the anti-imperialist struggle and the anti-feudal struggle of the masses and, thanks to this, still holds the bulk of the peasantry under its influence; third, in the postwar the bourgeoisie has succeeded in evading a radical agrarian revolution, or at least in putting it off. The peasantry in these countries is not yet strong enough to abolish the landlord class, and it is still not under the leadership of the working class. At the same time the bourgeoisie is no longer able to maintain and buttress its domination without carrying out some bourgeois, anti-feudal agrarian reforms based on compromise. This is a basic element of the present political situation in the Afro-Asian countries, a feature pregnant with political crises. The upheavals of recent years in some of these countries reflect to a degree the maturing of these crises.

Agrarian reforms are being carried out in nearly all the non-socialist countries of Asia. Though varying in scale and speed, these reforms are basically bourgeois reforms in the sense that the idea is to ensure a capitalistic development of agriculture. The main object is to restrict large-scale, mostly parasitic landownership, and, to some extent, usury. But such reforms cannot solve the land question fundamentally—they do not abolish the landlord class, do not give the land to those who till it, with the result that the countries are still left with landless and land-hungry peasants. Moreover, some of the landlords become agricultural capitalists.

As a rule, the reforms provide for a certain redistribution of land in favor of the peasants through land purchase—either from the state or from landlords; for some reduction in rents; abolition of some of the feudal services and dues; for restriction of the acreage in foreign hands; for extension of state credits to agriculture; for co-operatives and co-operative credits; for increased production for the market and for enabling the country to compete on the world market, and for the development of the productive forces in agriculture on a capitalist commodity-production basis.

These and similar measures have led to an increase in the number of peasant holdings and have given the peasant proprietors some rights they did not have before. Some of the more loathsome feudal dues and levies are being abolished, and the conditions on which land is leased and credits granted are becoming less onerous. But the plots owned by the peasants have either remained unchanged or are being enlarged only very slowly because the landlords and some of the merchants and usurers are beginning to farm themselves, or are enlarging their present farms by absorbing the

land formerly leased to the peasants. Because of the considerable growth of the peasant population, which is not accompanied by a comparable increase in the crop acreage, the acreage per capita declines. If we bear in mind that the wealthy sections of the rural population have considerably enlarged their holdings it will be appreciated that the peasant masses now suffer more from the lack of land than ever. The measures taken against usury too are not such as to free the peasants from the grip of the money-lenders. Although state and co-operative credits have increased, they are still insufficient and ineffective and in any case are mainly available to the well-to-do peasantry.

The bulk of the peasants have gained no appreciable benefit from the land reforms. The advantages have accrued to the landlords who have switched to capitalist farming, to the rich farmers and the well-to-do middle peasants. The governments, as a rule, encourage the landlords in their venture into capitalist farming. The big farmers, too, are heavily supported. They, however, are still not satisfied. Consequently, in most Asian countries this section still is a force capable of playing a part, in varying degree, in the fight to abolish feudal survivals, and in the first place the system of landlordism.

The development of capitalist agriculture in the countries of the East, which has gained momentum since the Second World War, and the postwar agrarian reforms have intensified the class differentiation within the peasantry. The problem of peasants suffering from land shortage or not having any land at all is as acute as ever. The use of machinery on the big farms is adding to rural unemployment. In many places peasants are being driven off the land. More and more people, especially the youth, are abandoning the countryside for the towns.

Thus the measures taken by the ruling circles to stave off the agrarian revolution, although they have eased the position of the peasantry somewhat, are nothing more than palliatives and cannot really solve the land question in favor of the peasants. As a result, dissatisfaction is steadily growing, especially among the poor peasants and farm laborers.

Millions of peasants are caught up in a ferment, which is both open and concealed. Their strivings and aspirations vary greatly, but among the more politically conscious sections a growing urge toward socialism can be discerned. In these aspirations there are many liberal illusions about equality and justice, utopian views about the future society; still, for all that, the millions can no longer be won over by propagating the idea of capitalist development. Because of this the rulers in many of the Asian countries pay lip service

to socialism, though the last thing they want is genuine socialism. Many progressive spokesmen among the national bourgeoisie are sincerely discussing the advantages of socialism, even though they do not accept Marxism. What is under way, then, is an intense ideological and organizational struggle for the peasantry. In this struggle the national bourgeoisie, seriously alarmed at the prospect of losing its hold on the working peasants who have been disillusioned by the developments of the last ten to fifteen years, seeks to maintain its influence by implementing reforms, by means of the illusions engendered by these reforms, and by indulging in naked demagoguery.

With capitalist development gaining momentum in many of the economically underdeveloped countries, the struggle waged by the most revolutionary, proletarian and semi-proletarian section of the peasantry against capitalist and semi-feudal exploitation and for a radical agrarian reconstruction along democratic lines acquires ever greater significance. Successful realization by the proletariat of its cardinal political task — building a durable alliance with the peasantry and liberating it from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the landlords — is the basic condition for raising the national-

liberation movement, directed mainly against imperialism, to a new and higher stage.

In the days before the general crisis of capitalism and the Great October Socialist Revolution, the choice between the "American" and "Prussian" ways of capitalist development in agriculture was the key issue in defining the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolutions. Today, however, when the prospect of agriculture developing along socialist lines is a practical possibility even in the economically backward countries, the differences in principle between the two ways of capitalist evolution are largely being effaced. Objectively, the essence of the class struggle in the countryside in the ex-colonial countries is no longer the choice of one of the two ways of capitalist development, as was the case in Russia 60, 80 or 100 years ago; today the issue at stake is whether to take the capitalist or the socialist road—a situation reflecting the battle between the two tendencies in social development. And this presupposes the rallying of the progressive, democratic forces in the struggle for consistent, radical agrarian reforms that would abolish all survivals of feudalism and clear the way for the development of the countryside along entirely new lines.

K. NOURI (Iran)

THE agrarian question has long been one of the most pressing issues in our country. According to official statistics, of a total of 164.3 million hectares, 50 million are arable land, 18 million wooded, 10 million pasture and the remainder desert and mountain areas. The same sources show that in 1957 only 5,715,000 hectares of the arable land were under crops, while 10,300,000 lay fallow. Of the cultivated area only 1.6 million hectares were irrigated.

Livestock raising occupies an important place in the Iranian economy. According to estimates, this branch accounts for nearly half the value of agricultural production. After oil, livestock products are one of the biggest export items.

Feudal relations predominate in Iranian agriculture. Although capitalism has penetrated into this area too, its development has been rather one-sided, and it is encountered primarily in the sphere of trade.

The basic form of ownership of land and water is large-scale landlord property, with métayage as the dominant form of relations between landlord and peasant. The big owner leases the land, water and sometimes the seed and livestock to the tiller, and the produce is divided between them accord-

ing to established rules. The most complete figures show that 60 per cent of the peasants have no land of their own; 23 per cent have less than one hectare; 10 per cent from one to three hectares, and only seven per cent have more than three hectares.

According to United Nations statistics (1955), of the total cultivated area 14 per cent belonged to peasants, 85 per cent to landlords, the state and religious bodies, while one per cent was communal peasant land.

This situation is a serious barrier to the development of all branches of the country's economy. The imperative need to change the relations prevailing in Iranian agriculture is becoming increasingly clear to broad sections of society.

The basic demands of the poor peasants are for land and implements free of charge to those peasants with no land at all or who do not have enough to maintain themselves and their families, annulment of the crushing debt burden and raising the sharecropper now in bondage to the landlord to the status of a free and independent farmer.

Although the poor peasants are the basic and most revolutionary force in the countryside, they do not exhaust its revolutionary potential.

The middle peasants, too, want to see an end to the landlord system. They, too, are ground down by the big landowners and for this reason they gravitate to the democratic revolution, one of the aims of which is the abolition of feudalism. Since this section of the peasantry can be a considerable force in the fight against the landlords, the working class cannot but pay due attention to it. The working class is interested in the middle peasant having a prosperous husbandry and a decent standard of living.

The rich farmers, on the one hand, want the poorer section of the rural population to remain farm laborers and poor peasants, and for this reason don't want them to receive land of their own. But they are also dissatisfied with feudal domination since it limits their chances of making profit. Moreover, the anti-feudal revolution, which will be directed mainly against the landlords, will not affect the rich farmers, whereas abolition of the big estates would broaden their opportunities. Hence, the rich farmers can be neutral in the future agrarian revolution. The working class is in a position to persuade them to be neutral by ensuring the inviolability of their property and holdings.

The industrial workers feel that unless land relations are changed and farm output increased there can be no talk of expanding industry.

The national bourgeoisie, the small bourgeoisie in the towns, most of the rich peasants and those landlords who are aligned with the national bourgeoisie, conscious of the need for agrarian reform, openly support it. The revolutionary wing of the national bourgeoisie stands for more deep-going reforms, the Right-wing for more limited ones.

Of late the need for agrarian reform has been admitted even by some of the country's rulers. The Shah and his entourage have been speaking about the advisability of restricting land ownership and selling part of the big estates to the peasants. The Shah himself has begun to sell part of his holdings.

It should be noted, however, that the majority of the feudal landlords are opposed to any change. At best they hold that the landlord himself must have the decisive say. Another section of the landlord class concedes the possibility of agrarian reforms, but only those that will not impinge on their interests.

What is behind the Shah's announcement that he is selling part of his estates and the opinion voiced by imperialist circles, especially the Americans, of the need for reforms?

The fight for land waged by the millions of peasants in the underdeveloped countries is of decisive importance in the development of the revolutionary movement. The imperialists realize quite correctly

that violence, police terror and dictatorship cannot solve the contradictions springing from the survivals of feudal relations in agriculture, and that so long as the contradictions exist, these countries can be likened to rumbling volcanoes likely to erupt at any moment and—as has already happened in some countries—rid themselves of the imperialist influences.

In addition to the political reasons there are economic reasons for the attitude of the imperialists. They need agricultural produce in ever-growing quantities and are always in search of new spheres of investment and for markets for their manufactures. At the same time the spheres of their influence and markets are shrinking year by year. This impels them to search for ways of recouping their losses in the areas still under their influence. Hence the imperialist support for some of the agrarian reforms in countries like Iran.

The views held by the advocates of reform were reflected in an agrarian bill which the government submitted to the Mejlis some time ago. However, the amendments introduced in a special committee of the Mejlis nullified the positive aspects of the bill, insignificant though they were. The law as finally adopted left things exactly as they were.

The initial draft set the ceiling for holdings at 300 hectares in irrigated areas and 600 hectares in the non-irrigated; besides, the landowner could give double this area to his legal heirs. Moreover, it was proposed to leave in the possession of the landlord all orchards, gardens and farms cultivated by machinery and laborers.

The terms of the bill were such that it would have affected only a handful of the very big landowners. The only new features were the fixing of a ceiling for property in land and the stipulation that any land in excess of the ceiling would be sold to the state.

The law in its final form, however, does not make it compulsory for the landlord to sell his excess land. On the contrary, he can retain his holdings in full by paying an insignificant tax on the excess acreage.

Another important point was the price fixed for the excess land. The original draft fixed it on the basis of the annual profit yielded by the holding. As it now stands the law stipulates a "fair price," that is, a price to which the big landowner agrees. This enables the latter, if he does not wish to sell his land, to drag out interminably the negotiations for a "fair price"; moreover, he is exempted even from the nominal tax until a final settlement is reached. In other words, the law now is nothing more than a recommendation to the big landowners to reduce their holdings somewhat and, if they wish to do so, to sell part of them to the state at a good profit.

It goes without saying that a "reform" of this kind cannot satisfy the peasants.

All this explains working-class policy in relation to the peasant masses at this stage, a policy of relying on the poor peasants, forming an alliance with the middle peasants, and ensuring the neutrality of the rich farmers. The gist of the *economic* program offered by the working class to the three sections of the peasantry is as follows: abolition of the landlord system and the transfer of landlord property to the peasants through confiscation of the land, water sources and other means of farm production, without compensation in the case of the feudal estates and landlords who have acted as enemies of the people, and with compensation in the case of the big landowners who uphold the national interests; annulment of the crushing debt burden borne by the poor peasants and owed to the banks, landlords and usurers; aid to the middle peasants and guarantees to the rich farmers that their property and holdings will remain intact.

As regards land belonging to the national bourgeoisie and various enterprises operating on a capitalist footing, the revolutionary government should promote the consolidation of a united front of the national forces simultaneously with the aboli-

tion of feudal relations and the big estates. This would involve the purchase of such lands at a fair price. If the land belonging to the state and religious institutions is added to the foregoing, a substantial reserve will be available for providing land and means for the peasants who have not enough land or none at all.

The *urgent* measures needed to ensure a subsistence level for the poor and middle peasants are: annulment of the burden of debt owed to the usurers and banks, adequate state credits, establishment of mutual-aid societies and consumer co-operatives and voluntary association of poor and middle peasants in these organizations, and technical and scientific help.

This emergency aid should be followed up by extensive government aid in irrigation and land reclamation through measures such as damming rivers, sinking wells, and developing and extending irrigation systems. Needed, too, are more farm machines and factories for the production of fertilizers. This, by raising farming to a higher level, would ensure a higher standard of living for the rural working people. Such are the salient features of the agrarian program of the Tudeh Party, the party of the Iranian working class.

D. TABET (Italy)

THE subject under discussion boils down to whether the national bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries is capable of solving the agrarian problem.

We believe that we could make a contribution to the discussion in the light of our experience of the struggle waged by the peasant masses in Italy.

The agrarian reform or, to be more exact, the beginning of an agrarian reform in Italy, was the outcome of a broad movement of the peasants and other sections of the people, a movement which gained in scope after the victory in the anti-fascist struggle for national liberation.

The bourgeoisie, however, adopted agrarian reform laws with the object of splitting the trade union and democratic movement in the countryside, forcing it to retreat, and of gravely undermining the influence wielded by the Communist Party, the inspirer and leading force in this struggle.

The Communist Party's line vis-à-vis the government's agrarian measures, a line with which the Socialist Party was in accord, was absolutely clear: we rejected these measures but did not confine ourselves to this. We decided to intervene

by mass actions to demand not only that the law be applied, but that it should be improved in the course of application. Our reply to the restricted expropriation of land was to call for more expropriation; to the discrimination shown against peasants in carrying out the reform, we called for realization of the slogan "Land to all who are entitled to it," that is, landless peasants or those who have not enough land and, primarily, peasants already working on expropriated lands; to the difficult conditions imposed on the peasants, we fought for better conditions in order to help the new small farmers in their difficult task.

We established new organizational forms of an alliance embracing not only the peasants, but all the democratic sections in town and countryside—"Land committees," for example, which unite, in addition to representatives of political and trade union organizations, also members of the co-operatives and free professions, intellectuals, handicraftsmen, small tradesmen, etc. Together with the parties and trade unions these "Land committees" played an important part in conducting propaganda and agitation and mobilizing the peasants and public opinion.

We can say today that the reactionary plans of the government have met with fiasco. The bourgeoisie did not succeed in splitting the peasant movement, in weakening the Communist Party or in achieving the political results on which they reckoned. Communist Party influence grew in the regions in which agrarian reform was carried through. Important results were achieved during the struggle for the economic demands of the peasants, the democratization of the obligatory co-operatives and of the offices carrying through the reform.

The granting of even a small portion of land to the working peasants did away with some of the obstacles standing in the way of capital investments in agriculture. The experience of the reform offices and centers has proved that through struggle the requirements of the peasants, for instance, in agricultural credits, tractor servicing, land reclamation, etc., could be met by these bodies—instruments of the capitalist state. Agricultural production has increased substantially on these lands.

It has been our policy to get the peasants to participate actively first in discussing the agrarian reform law in Parliament and on a nationwide scale, and then in carrying through the reform, amending the law in the course of its application.

The land reform, limited though it was (the peasants have already received about one million hectares on fixed terms), was a big blow to large-scale landownership and feudal survivals (and, hence, undermined the political influence of the big landowners) precisely in those regions where feudal survivals took the typical form of *latifundia*. True, feudal survivals were not completely abolished, but they are no longer the dominant element in agriculture. Even in regions where capitalist development has long since eradicated the feudal survivals, implementation of the "land to the tiller" slogan is the basic condition for removing the obstacles to greater investments in farming, improving the conditions of the working peasants, the growth of peasant co-operation and expanding the home market. Realization of this slogan is a condition for the abolition of one of the pillars of clerical and fascist reaction—large-scale landed property.

In recent years the penetration into the countryside of finance capital, closely associated with the big landowners and clerical and fascist groupings, has been so rapid and on such a large scale that the fight for land reform is now closely linked with the anti-monopoly struggle.

The aggravation of the agricultural crisis and the Common Market Agreement have resulted, among other things, in nearly one million peasants having to leave their farms in recent years and look for work elsewhere in the country or

abroad. This extremely difficult situation has created new conditions for the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle: new peasant masses, hitherto considered to be the reserve of reaction, can now be brought into motion, won from the influence of social conservatism and, under the leadership of the working class, participate in the movement to make a reality of the slogan "land to the tiller," for the reform of the country's economic, social and political structure in conformity with the principles of the republican Constitution won in the great anti-fascist national-liberation struggle.

We have, then, reached a point when the overcoming of the feudal survivals can no longer be regarded as a condition for capitalist development in agriculture; we should pose the question of struggle for the implementation of the "land to the tiller" slogan as a condition for an anti-monopoly way of development. This will not as yet be socialist development, but it will be a step in that direction. From this flows the revolutionary content of these structural reforms which are not an end in themselves, as the reformists consider them to be, but one of the basic factors in the struggle waged by the working class and its allies for the conquest of power.

The following factors are of significance for the Italian countryside:

a) the fight for the vital demands of the various categories of working people in the countryside such as: bread and work, agricultural agreements, vocational training, social aid, and reduction of the taxes which are ruining the peasants. The working people regard these demands as being urgent, and the struggle for them is helping to develop the political consciousness of the masses;

b) the efforts for the application of the laws which were adopted as a result of the struggle inspired numerous actions;

c) the class solidarity of the working people in the countryside, the alliance between the rural proletariat and the working peasants is the base upon which the struggle in the countryside can develop;

d) the formation of a trade union for the agricultural proletariat which, with the sharecroppers' trade union, embraces one million members, was accompanied by establishing specific democratic associations of the working peasants. The National Union of Peasants was set up and signed a friendly agreement with agricultural unions of the General Confederation of Labor;

e) peasant co-operatives of various types are playing an increasingly important part. The peasants are manifesting a desire—often spontaneously—to establish co-operative organizations on democratic principles for the sale, purchase and pro-

cessing of farm products, and for the joint purchase of agricultural machinery.

It can be affirmed that the Italian countryside today is no longer a brake on the working-class movement. That has been proved by the participation of millions of peasants in the struggle for freedom and peace, and for the consolidation of the new regrouping of democratic forces in par-

liament and the country at large, for the formation of a government which would express the interests of these forces. It was reaffirmed by the active participation of the peasants in the victorious struggle of July 1960 which foiled the attempt of the fascist-backed clerical government to push the country towards authoritarian forms of rule by the monopoly groups.

G. VIEIRA (Colombia)

OF the 114 million hectares of land available in Colombia only 33 million are farm land, of which 30 million are being used for ranching. Seventy per cent of this is natural pasture in which no investments have ever been made. Although some of the herdsmen receive wages in one form or another, this type of extensive animal husbandry is of a semi-feudal character.

Animal husbandry is practised in the fertile valleys and plains, while crop raising is pursued on the hillsides where it is difficult to use machines. According to the figures at our disposal, in 16 departments (the most populated part of the country) over half a million peasants families, or 61 per cent of all peasant households, with plots of less than five hectares, own a total of 900,000 hectares, i.e., less than three per cent of the land in use in these departments. At the same time 8,000 landlords, each with farms upwards of 500 hectares, who make up 0.9 per cent of all proprietors, own 40 per cent of the cultivated land. The 637 big latifundists, with ranches of over 5,300 hectares, own more land than 750,000 proprietors with holdings of up to 20 hectares, although the latter comprise over 82 per cent of all proprietors.

The backwardness of Colombia's agriculture is seen, above all, in the primitive ways in which most of the land is used and in the prevalence of sharecropping, payment of rent in kind, etc. The arbitrary actions of the reactionaries in the countryside, particularly between 1947-57, have further increased the concentration of the land in the hands of the latifundists, thereby adding to the number of landless peasants.

Capitalism is developing unevenly and very slowly in the countryside. Being interwoven with semi-feudal survivals, it leads neither to the abolition of the latifundia nor to the large-scale mechanization of agriculture. This aggravates still further the position of the rural working people—victims of capitalist exploitation and of the old, semi-feudal relations. Although there are no up-to-date statistics on the social differentiation in the countryside, it can be supposed that all in all there are some 500,000 poor tenants, or 20 per cent of

the rural labor force. The rural proletariat forms a force of 1,200,000 peons. The steady decline of agriculture and the growing poverty in the countryside are retarding the development of the national industry.

U.S. imperialism does not directly exploit Colombia's agriculture. An exception is the United Fruit Co., owner of banana plantations in the Magdalena Department, which it is selling to national capitalists. This company continues to have a monopoly of export operations and lays out new plantations in Uraba, near the Panama border. The oil companies have obtained a concession for vast tracts of land from which they are trying to evict the peasants, thereby compelling them to fight directly against the imperialists.

It is common knowledge that veritable peasant wars against the dictatorial regimes imposed on our country by U.S. imperialism have been fought in Colombia. These wars were a means of self-defense of the masses against the terror of the dictatorships and, in many cases, were not linked directly with the agrarian problem. Nevertheless, it was this problem that in most cases underlay the armed struggle even though it was covered up with traditional political slogans. In a number of districts there still exists a strong peasant movement but it is not organized on a nationwide scale. The National Peasants' Federation, formed at the end of 1959, encounters the hostility of the government and suffers from organizational weaknesses. The peasant movement is characterized by relatively high revolutionary consciousness and regards its fight for the land as being one with the struggle for national independence.

The need for an agrarian reform is now on the lips of all. Representatives of the ruling classes have repeatedly said that unless the reform is carried out from above, by the government, the people will implement it from below, by their own efforts. But the latifundists are clinging desperately to their privileges, and when they agree to the parcelling out of their estates they do so in an extortionist way. They readily attach the label "communist" to any reform. But of late President

Lleras Camargo has been calling for a "decent" land reform, contrasting it to the revolutionary reform in Cuba.

But agrarian reform as conceived by the government does not go beyond plans to settle some areas, plans financed by the American imperialists. Colombia's experience shows that the bourgeoisie as a whole is incapable of carrying out an effective agrarian reform. This is true for both the big conciliatory bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, although their spokesmen now urge the need for reform and are prepared to make it a point in their programs.

In its policy statement the Communist Party of Colombia has called for "a democratic agrarian reform" which means that the big latifundia should be confiscated and the land, machines, implements and draught animals transferred gratis to the landless peasants and those with small plots to whom the government should present title-deeds; the land granted as a concession to the North American imperialists should likewise be confiscated. The Party has helped to draft an agrarian reform bill which was submitted to Congress by the peasant leader Varela and members of Parliament belonging to the Liberal Revolutionary Movement. The draft stipulates that the maximum holding

should be 400 hectares and that everything in excess of this figure should be expropriated. In keeping with Article 30 of the Constitution, the draft suggests that no compensation be paid if the holdings in question are not used in conformity with public interests. In order to implement the measures envisaged in the draft it has been suggested that a National Council for Agrarian Reform should be established as an autonomous body accountable only to Congress. Peasants and workers should have direct representation on this council.

Although the draft has been worked out within the framework of the operative constitutional standards, it has become the banner of the agrarian movement. Consequently, there is not the slightest chance that it will be endorsed by the present Parliament.

The democratic agrarian reform in Cuba is an inspiring example to the agrarian movement and to the revolutionary forces in Colombia from which they draw both experience and weighty arguments. A genuine agrarian reform in our country will come about only as a result of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants in alliance with the working class and the advanced forces of the petty bourgeoisie; a part of the national bourgeoisie can also be enlisted for this struggle.

Communications and Comment

Co-operation in Science and Engineering Among the Socialist Countries

CO-OPERATION in science and engineering is a major facet of the economic relations among the socialist countries. It was a cardinal factor in the postwar rehabilitation in the People's Democracies, and its importance to socialist economic development has been growing ever since. Indeed, it is a striking manifestation of the spirit of the disinterested mutual assistance characteristic of the relationships in the socialist camp. True, in the capitalist world, too, firms and plants often place at the disposal of their counterparts in other countries patents or other scientific and technological information, but in doing so they bow to the inherent laws of capitalist society and are prompted only by the profit motive.

The principles underlying the co-operation in the socialist camp are totally different. Here the recipients of scientific, technological and other information necessary for making new machines or creating new branches of industry, including complete sets of blueprints and specifications, pay only the actual costs involved.

The profit motive is alien to socialist co-operation, for here the aim is to accelerate the introduction of the latest achievements in science and engineering and the most advanced production methods of each country in *all the countries of the socialist camp*, to help the technically and economically less developed to reach the level of the foremost without going through the stages the latter have already passed.

The biggest help to others, naturally, is rendered by the socialist countries with the most advanced industry and the highest technological level, but as progress goes on they all contribute a growing share to the common effort. An idea of the scope of co-operation in this field may be gained from the fact that in the period from 1948 to 1960 the Soviet Union placed at the disposal of the People's Democracies some 29,000 sets of blueprints and specifications and received more than 7,000 in return. These included blueprints for capital construction developments, sets of blueprints for machines and other industrial equipment, descriptions of technological processes, etc. In the same period, 19,106 specialists from the People's Democracies visited the Soviet Union, and 11,601 from the Soviet Union went to the People's Democracies.

Besides, the People's Democracies exchanged in this period tens of thousands of technical standards and patents, experts findings, training programs, samples of products, etc.

The use of technical specifications provided by the Soviet Union and of its production experience has substantially accelerated the designing and construction of plants, factory departments, mines, power stations, cultural and public utility establishments, as well as the creation of new machines and other equipment in the People's Democracies. The solutions to many cardinal problems of a technological and economic nature have been found thanks to pooling scientific and engineering know-how.

The Chinese People's Republic has received considerable aid from the Soviet Union in this respect. Suffice it to say that of the nearly 1,300 blueprints for major projects provided by Soviet organizations, more than 400 have already been used in China. This has greatly reduced the time needed for designing and building industrial enterprises. Soviet specifications were used, for instance, in designing the Paotow and Wuhan iron and steel works, in reconstructing the blast furnaces, agglomeration mill, coke batteries and the coke by-products plant of the Anshan iron and steel works, and the sheet mills at Taiyuan and Tai.

Soviet specifications are also used at the new copper mines at Shouwanfeng and Peihsiang, in the construction of the Tungkwanghsien iron and steel works, and at many non-ferrous metals developments in Chungtiaoshang and elsewhere.

The Chinese engineering industry has drawn on Soviet technological specifications of a great many types of machines and other equipment, including coal-mining machines of the Donbas type, coal cutters and loaders, more than 100 types of machine tools, turbo-generators, transformers, oil circuit-breakers and other electrical equipment. China now manufactures motor cars, bicycles, cameras, wrist watches, radios and many other items that used to be imported. Moreover, she has become an exporter of complete plant for light and food industries, hoisting equipment, machine tools, diesel engines, medical equipment, etc.

The Soviet Union on its part makes use of Chinese achievements. For instance, the use in bridge-

building of thin-walled reinforced concrete sections according to Chinese specifications has reduced the cost of pier foundations by 40 per cent while speeding up the work.

Soviet organizations have also received from China engineering data reflecting her rich experience in the construction of multi-arch dams, water conservation, prefabrication of reinforced concrete structural sections and supports, manufacture of silk fabrics, etc. The Soviet medical services are making use of the centuries-old experience of Chinese folk medicine in treating certain nervous ailments as well as in cultivating and processing medicinal plants.

The *Czechoslovak Socialist Republic* has set up with the help of Soviet projects and specifications such new branches as the aluminum, ferro-alloys, and ball and roller bearing industries, and is launching the production of synthetic rubber, etc. The use of a Soviet project in building a concrete works in Usti saved nearly 21 million crowns for the country. And a saving of about 10 million crowns accrued from the use of Soviet specifications for bearings manufacture.

On its part, Czechoslovakia has supplied details on improvements in the automobile and building industries, and has shared its experience in the manufacture of textile equipment and cathode-ray tubes. The Gorky Motor Works in the USSR is now using Czechoslovak synthetic enamel dyes which have greatly simplified the painting of motor cars while cutting costs and improving quality. Czechoslovak experience in the manufacture of air-cooled engines has been applied in a number of Soviet factories.

The *German Democratic Republic* has adopted Soviet methods of working open-cut coal mines and mechanizing anthracite and brown coal extraction and concentration, non-ferrous ores prospecting, mining and dressing, production and operation of electrolytic baths, etc. Soviet projects have also been used in reconstructing a number of departments at GDR metallurgical works.

Soviet specialists have made a study of the chemical industry in the GDR and drawn on its experience in starting new lines of chemical production in the Soviet Union, and also in projecting reconstruction or construction of chemical works or their departments. The example of the GDR has been instrumental in introducing production units with a capacity of 20 tons of synthetic staple per day in place of 10-ton units. GDR experience in ore dressing too has been found useful, and the introduction of the new method throughout the Zyryan, Krivoi Rog, Nizhnyaya Angara and Nikopol mining areas is estimated to yield an annual saving of 230 million rubles.

The *Polish People's Republic*, thanks to scientific and technological co-operation, has been able to begin production of electric locomotives, high-pressure boilers, turbines, turbo-generators, press and forge shop and foundry equipment, various agricultural machines, including grain and vegetable harvesters, cultivators, etc. Poland in turn has supplied the Soviet Union with hundreds of sets of blueprints for capital construction projects, specifications for machines and other equipment, descriptions of technological processes, etc.

In the *Hungarian People's Republic* the ship-building industry has drawn on Soviet experience to produce new designs for river and seagoing vessels of 1,300 and 1,500 ton cargo capacity, a 1,000-ton barge, and a river tanker with an all-welded hull. At the Kobanya ceramics factory, Soviet know-how yields an annual economy of one million forints. A Soviet method for processing flax is used in light industry.

The Soviet Union has made use of a Hungarian method of extracting coal from pithead dump. Initial results indicate that the cost of the dressed coal thus obtained is 32 per cent less than that of mining the same quantity. Apart from adding to the available coal supply, the method also makes it possible to convert coal slack into building materials.

Details supplied by Hungary have also been useful in the Soviet engineering industry. For example, it has begun producing a simplified but more efficient type of slime pump on the basis of blueprints from Hungary, while those of a coal cutting and loading machine went into the design of the PK-3 combined cutter and loader. A device for spinning machines made after Hungarian specifications is widely used in the Soviet textile industry. This device, incidentally, increases productivity by an average of 10 per cent.

Co-operation in science and engineering has played an especially important part in speeding up industrialization in countries which only recently had no highly developed industry of their own. In *Bulgaria*, for instance, a number of completely new branches, such as the iron and steel, engineering, power, chemical and food industries have been built on the basis of Soviet projects, specifications and production experience. In *Albania*, the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been instrumental in setting up a power industry, as well as textile, wood-working and sugar industries. In the *Korean People's Democratic Republic*, a Soviet method of hydraulic mining in collieries with inclined seams has been employed, as have a standard project for a ceramics sewer pipe factory, blueprints and technological specifications for motor-car parts, and specifications for the production of hot-rolled transformer sheet steel, filter

paper, etc. The Soviet Union has provided Mongolia with technological data for mechanized processing of hides and production of building materials, as well as designs for factories, dwelling houses and buildings for cultural and public service establishments.

Co-operation has played a big part in the development of various branches of industry and in the production of new kinds of output in the Rumanian People's Republic. The engineering industry, which was practically non-existent in old Rumania, has been developed extensively. Drawing on Soviet production experience and technology, Rumania is now turning out machines and other equipment for the oil industry, tractors and other farm machines, machine tools, various kinds of electric motors, excavators and tower cranes. Today Rumania has a first-class machine-building industry which turns out most of the machines and industrial equipment she needs. Soviet specifications were used in Rumania in introducing deep turbo-drilling, and in building river and seagoing vessels. On its part, the Rumanian People's Republic shared with the Soviet Union its experience in the timber, chemical and building industries, in the production of reinforced concrete poles for power lines by a centrifugal method, etc.

Among the many forms of co-operation, particularly noteworthy are the direct contacts established in recent years between research institutes and designing organizations.

At present 330 research institutes in the Soviet Union are co-operating with 405 similar organizations in the People's Democracies on 3,500 themes of mutual interest. For instance, the USSR Academy of Building and Architecture co-operates with twelve academies and institutes in six countries; the Steel Industry Designing Institute, with five organizations in Czechoslovakia; the Non-Ferrous Metals Institute, with four institutes in as many countries; the Bashkirian Oil Institute, with six organizations in two countries; the Machine-Building Institute, with eight organizations in four countries; the USSR Lenin Electro-Technical Institute, with six organizations in five countries; the Chemical Industry Institute, with six organizations in four countries; the Plastics Research Institute, with six organizations in four countries, and so on.

Division of labor among research institutes greatly cuts the time required for completing research projects, saves materials and makes for the most rational use of experimental facilities.

One of the salient problems on which the scientists, engineers and designers of the socialist countries are engaged jointly is experimental work in the sphere of dies, undertaken by the Czechoslovak Chemical Research Institute with the participation of experts from the USSR Chemical Industry Institute. As a result of this work the designing of the shop-making dies for acetate silk at the Rubezhansk Chemical Works was completed considerably ahead of schedule. The Soviet and Czechoslovak chemical institutes are working jointly on a number of other problems.

Soviet and Hungarian institutes are engaged in interesting research in the production of textiles from mixtures of synthetic and artificial fiber and natural wool. Joint investigations by Soviet and Rumanian scientists in the matter of producing chemicals from oil have been highly successful. With the assistance of Rumanian research institutes, the Soviet Chemical Industry Institute has already worked out the technology of acetylene production at Soviet plants. Soviet and Rumanian designers are also working on a reed cutter.

At the Bodnarka Factory in Cracow, Poland, Polish and Soviet specialists devised a method of producing phosphoric fertilizers without the use of salts, which are in short supply. The research institutes of the two countries are conducting other important investigations in the field of chemistry (manufacture of high-grade viscose, polyacrylonitrile and polyether fibers), in the coal industry (automation of mines, hydraulic extraction of coal in inclined seams), in machine-tool building, etc.

The scientists and engineers of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries are continuing their joint work on a number of important problems. For example, research institutes in the USSR and Bulgaria are engaged in the cultivation of highly promising new varieties of vegetables and grain crops. Of especial importance is co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and joint research in nuclear physics.

Co-operation of this kind is of exceptional value in accelerating economic development and technological progress in the socialist countries. It does away with duplication and concentrates all efforts on the problems that must be solved in order to win first place in the world in economy and technology.

V. SKRYPNIK.

Socialism Is Remaking Dobrogea's Farming

THE socialist reconstruction of the Rumanian countryside and the eradication of the backwardness inherited from the past are among the major accomplishments of our people under the leadership of the Workers' Party. More than 83 per cent of the cultivated area in Rumania now belongs to the socialist sector, which by the end of last year gained preponderance as regards both area and volume of marketable produce.

What prospects this opens for the growth of farm production and improvement of peasant living standards can be seen from the example of the Rumanian part of Dobrogea, now the Constanta Region, where farming was reorganized along socialist lines at the end of 1957.

Under bourgeois-landlord rule, the Constanta Region was one of the most backward in Rumania. Fifty-one per cent of the cultivated land was in the hands of 900 landlords and some 4,800 rich peasants, while 79,000 poor and middle peasants had holdings ranging from one-half to three hectares.

The Dobrogea peasant lacked both land and the means to till it. According to bourgeois statistics, roughly one-quarter of all the farms had no agricultural implements of their own. In 1938 there were in what is now Constanta Region 119 tractors and 124 trashers, all of them the property of the landlords and rich peasants. Consequently the yields were scanty. In the best years the wheat yield did not exceed 850 kilograms, and maize 600 kilograms per hectare. Livestock raising, too, was on a low level. In 1935, 43 per cent of the peasant households had no sheep, and 45 per cent, no pigs. There were no pedigree cattle and the productivity of animal husbandry was low. For instance, the average annual milk yield did not exceed 300-400 litres per cow, wool averaged a mere 1.4 kilos per sheep.

This general picture of agriculture in the Constanta Region under the bourgeois-landlord rule differed little from the situation in Rumanian agriculture as a whole.

The socialist reconstruction has literally transformed the Constanta Region, introducing radical changes in the life of both urban and rural working people. In keeping with the country's industrialization program, big developments have taken place here, and the region's industry output now exceeds the prewar level more than fourfold. A large-scale mechanized agriculture has been built up. The area's 347 co-operative farms and 61 state farms are steadily increasing agricultural production and bettering the life of the peasantry.

Our Party's consistent policy of socialist industrialization has made it possible to create a technological basis for equipping the farms with tractors and other machines. Thirty-six machine and tractor stations, which, together with the state farms, operate a large number of modern machines and implements, have been organized in the region. Their equipment includes 6,138 tractors, or 1,280 more than there were in all Rumania before the war, 3,273 grain harvesters and a great many other machines that considerably lighten the labor of the peasants and farm workers, thereby transforming the very nature of agricultural labor. On the state farms, ploughing and sowing are completely mechanized, and weeding and harvesting of grain crops, by 75 per cent. On the co-operative farms, tractors and other machines took care last year of more than 91 per cent of the ploughing, 80 per cent of the sowing, and half of the work in weeding and harvesting.

Numerous operators of agricultural machines, some 8,000 in all, have been trained. Most of these are sons of the local peasants. Before the liberation, Dobrogea had only one agronomist for every 40,000 hectares of cultivated land, and not a single certified mechanical engineer. Today more than 2,250 specialists with a higher or secondary education—engineers, agronomists, animal husbandry experts and mechanics — are working on the region's farms.

This progress fully confirms the correctness of our Party's policy of promoting co-operative farming. While strictly adhering to the Leninist principle of voluntary membership and steadfastly combating all attempts to employ administrative compulsion, the Party has emphasized that the socialist reconstruction of the countryside cannot proceed spontaneously, it must be guided by the Party organizations.

The example set by the leading co-operative farms has played a big role. The Party organizations and local people's councils have organized visits to these farms for working peasants. Regional and district farm exhibitions have also been used to popularize the advantages of collective farming.

Finding the forms of producer co-operative most acceptable to the peasants has been of cardinal importance. The Party has attached much significance to promoting co-operatives whose members, while pooling their land in order to till it jointly with the aid of the machine and tractor stations, remain the owners of their respective holdings. This form has made it simpler for the working peasants, especially the middle peasants, to go

over to collective farming. The economic and organizational consolidation of farming on a joint-ownership basis, has helped to educate their members in the spirit of collectivism. Indeed the number of producer associations that after a year or two of operation reorganized themselves into co-operative farms increased steadily.

The substitution in December 1956 of a system of contract purchase and free sale for obligatory deliveries of farm produce for the state played a major role in strengthening and promoting producer co-operation. This measure gave the working peasants an added incentive to grow more, enhanced their initiative and cemented the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry.

Socialist public ownership of the means of production has triumphed in our villages and every possibility of any individual exploiting another has been completely abolished. Already as a result of the Party's policy of restricting and squeezing out the rich peasants who exploited the labor of others, the number of such farmers dropped considerably and their economic strength declined. But for all that, they still made up as recently as 1958 about one per cent of the total in our region.

The mass co-operative movement provided the basis for going over from the policy of restricting and squeezing out the rich exploiter-peasants to their abolition as a class. That part of their holdings which they could not till without outside help passed to the state and co-operative farms. In deciding what to do with the former capitalist farmers our basic premise was that the socialist system and collective labor could re-educate most of them and make them useful members of the socialist society on an equal footing with everybody else. These former rural exploiters are admitted as members of co-operative farms, although in the initial period they are not given leading posts.

In our region, therefore, as elsewhere in the Republic, the rich peasant proprietors who constituted the most numerous class of exploiters have been abolished and, together with this, the last form of capitalist property has ceased to exist.

The socialist reconstruction of the countryside has created the prerequisites for a sharp increase in agricultural productivity.

In line with the Party's orientation on intensive and diversified agriculture, we pay particular attention to wheat and maize growing and livestock raising. In recent years the average yield of wheat has nearly trebled, while that of maize has almost doubled compared with the prewar figures. Moreover, the socialist farms are obtaining considerably higher yields than the average for the region.

Vineyards and cultivation of sunflower and other crops suited to our soil and climatic conditions are being extended. Formerly large tracts of land were unused, because they were not suitable for grain growing and the individual peasants lacked the means to convert them into vineyards. But now co-operative farms are going in for grape growing on these lands.

The area under maize for silage is being extended and a solid foundation laid for further development of livestock raising. In 1958 the number of head of beef and dairy cattle per hundred hectares of farm land in our region was 50 per cent higher than in 1938; in the same period the number of pigs increased two and a half times and sheep roughly doubled. Output of animal-husbandry products is steadily rising.

An important indication of the growing strength of the co-operative farms is the increase in their publicly-owned property. According to statistics, in 1959 the co-operative farms' non-distributable funds per hundred hectares of farm land were more than double the 1953 figure.

Of great importance for the economic and organizational strengthening of the co-operative farms is perfecting the forms of payment for labor with a view to giving the farm members added incentives. Formerly the only measure was the work-day units the farm member had to his credit. In recent years, however, many co-operative farms in the Constanta Region, as elsewhere in Rumania, have introduced payment on the basis not only of the work done, but also the quantity of produce obtained. The new form has yielded excellent results.

Economic consolidation of the co-operative farms has resulted in a substantial increase in earnings. The income of many farms runs into millions of lei and they are able to pay out to their members large sums in cash in addition to substantial quantities of farm products. Besides, farm members derive income also from their personal plots and livestock.

The Dobrogea villages have acquired an entirely new look. Suffice it to mention that more than 33,000 farm families have built modern homes for themselves. The peasants' purchasing power has increased. In 1959 they bought roughly 57 per cent more goods through the co-operative stores than in 1955. Indicative is the fact that our peasants now buy manufactured goods they formerly could not even dream of. Fifteen years ago one might have found by combing the villages a few dozen radio sets, and those in rich peasant homes. Now more than 25,000 families have radios. Retail sales of furniture, sewing machines, bicycles and motorcycles are increasing.

Cultural progress is astonishing. According to the old bourgeois statistics, 37 per cent of the population over seven years of age in the Constanta area were illiterate, in Tulcea some 46 per cent. Especially high was the percentage of illiterates among women. During the years of people's democratic government, illiteracy has been wiped out in our region. The number of schools has increased by half, and the number of teachers is two and a half times as great. Hundreds of rural clubs and libraries and dozens of houses of culture have been set up. Today there are 360 libraries with 700,000 books in the region, or forty times as many as in 1938.

In the old Dobrogea diseases like malaria, pellagra and tuberculosis carried away thousands every year. Today the people's democratic system has radically improved the public health service. As a result of the higher living standard and medical aid, the general death rate has declined from 20.8 per thousand in 1938 to 8.1 in 1958, while child mortality has dropped from 20 to 8 per cent.

The new conditions of life and work and the political work conducted by the Party organizations are gradually reshaping the mentality of the farm-

ers, bringing out in them the new traits characteristic of the builders of socialism. These new traits are manifested primarily in active participation in social production and in conscious efforts to strengthen and develop public property. The collective farms help one another by pooling their experience in organizing work, in building and in using modern methods. Members of leading farms often visit backward ones to render practical assistance in eliminating shortcomings.

A regional seed fund, from which loans are made to co-operative farms that have suffered from natural calamities, has been established on the initiative of the farmers themselves.

Our peasants are increasingly coming to see for themselves that collectivization enables the rural working folk, with the fraternal assistance of the working class and under the leadership of the Party, to win from nature everything they need to satisfy their requirements, and makes for a steady improvement in the well-being of the nation as a whole.

Vasile VILCU,
First Secretary,
Constanta Regional Committee,
Rumanian Workers' Party

Uranium 235 and Bonn's "Loyalty" to Its Treaties

(Letter from a Reader)

IN October the shares of Degussa, the German gold and silver refining concern, soared on the Frankfurt stock exchange by more than 300 points inside of 24 hours.

This extraordinary rise was due neither to any increase in demand for the precious metals nor the discovery of some new, magic properties in gold, but rather to expectations of huge U.S. orders for a commodity of a completely different kind. What set it off was the news reaching the United States that Degussa was patenting a gas centrifuge for obtaining Uranium 235 with 90 per cent less expenditure of electric power than hitherto. The West-German electrical concern AEG was also interested in the device and wanted a hand in the affairs of Degussa.

How specialists in gold came to turn out a device like this is, of course, a closely guarded secret. It is known, however (and even Degussa does not conceal this) that work in this direction was begun six years ago when the ink had not yet dried on Adenauer's signature to a document in which he pledged himself not to permit anything of the kind.

It will be remembered that in October 1954 Adenauer signed an undertaking in Paris that Federal Germany would not produce atomic, chemical or biological weapons, means for their delivery, or fissile materials, of which Uranium 235 is one. These were the so-called guarantees the advocates of the Paris Agreements cited in the West European parliaments and before world public opinion to "prove" that the danger of a militarist and revanchist revival in Germany which the Communists and other peace supporters warned against, was nothing but a "figment of the imagination" and a "malicious fabrication."

But perhaps the agreements were violated against the wishes of the Adenauer government? Certainly not. On the contrary, there was an outburst of glee in Bonn when the possibility of producing "cheap" atom bombs first appeared. Only after critical voices were heard in the West did Bonn try to minimize the significance of the development, declaring that the gas centrifuge was not being manufactured, and that Degussa in general does not make machines.

Yet one cannot help but ask: why was this allegedly unimportant matter declared a Federal German "state secret"? And if Degussa does not manufacture machines, why did the chairman of its board declare in his report for February 1960 that the construction of atomic reactors and manufacture of "corresponding equipment" "offers grounds for optimism and hope"? The answer is simple: the work was done at a subsidiary plant built specially for the purpose and camouflaged behind a signboard of a precious metals refining firm.

How did it happen that for so many years these unquestionably extensive operations remained unnoticed by the Western European Union control bodies for which provision was made in the Paris Agreements? Here again the answer is easy. There are no control bodies. Although the Western European Union agreement was ratified by its member-states, the Federal German government has not enacted the legislation on control envisaged in the treaty. No such bill has ever been before the Bundestag. When it wants to, the Adenauer government is able to rush legislation through the Bundestag in a matter of days — as in the case of remilitarization and nuclear armament — but for six years now it has been unable to find the time to debate a law on control. Incidentally, this did not prevent it from rejecting, in its Note of October 19, 1960, the charges of militarism and revanchism made against it at the United Nations, or from declaring that in conformity with the Paris Agreements the Federal Republic had "restricted armament production in far greater measure than any other European country; it announced its readiness to allow Western European Union control bodies systematically to verify fulfilment of this point. . ."

Whom, indeed, do the Bonn swindlers hope to fool? It is clear to all that for the German imperialists a treaty is simply a scrap of paper, or a "dud," as a spokesman of the Adenauer government qualified the Potsdam Agreement during

the legal proceedings to ban the Communist Party of Germany. The Degussa business has proved this once again. And there is other proof as well.

The inventors of the deadly Zyklon-B gas who were convicted in Nuremberg as war criminals are now working for I.G. Farbenindustrie making "improved" nerve gases. In violation of the Paris Agreements the MAK Works in Bremen, a subsidiary of the Stinnes concern, is putting out an experimental series of a new, 35-ton variant of the Tiger tank. The new tank has been developed by a group of designers headed by Dr. Porsche who "distinguished" themselves by helping Hitler prolong the last war. At the same time the Federal German naval chiefs, ignoring the military restrictions, are placing orders for 6,000-ton warships and working on designs for atom-powered marine engines for the navy.

Those who are acquainted with the history of German militarism and its war preparations will find nothing new or surprising in the latest developments. Yet there is a new element. It is that, as a result of the experience of two world wars and the impression made by the growing strength of the socialist camp, there are forces in West Germany today who are watching German militarism more vigilantly than any commissions of the Western European Union. The workers, technicians and engineers who do not want their labor and the fruit of their researches harnessed to German revanchism are helping us to rip the veil of secrecy from the war preparations. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us for disarmament and relaxation of international tension, to frustrate the sinister designs of German militarism. For all of us the guarantee of peace and security in Europe is not in treaties like the Paris Agreements with the German imperialists, but in combating German militarism, in curbing it by concluding a peace treaty.

O. BARTKE

Frankfurt-am-Main

Against the Persecution of Democrats

SAVE THE LIVES OF PORTUGUESE PATRIOTS

THE Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal has issued an appeal to the people of the country and to all democrats in defense of Francisco Miguel, a member of the Central Committee and Portuguese national hero, and his comrades.

For more than twenty years Francisco Miguel has been in prison for upholding his ideas and loving his country and his people. An ordinary worker, Miguel joined the Party nearly thirty years ago. Arrested time and again by the Salazar authorities, he has experienced the horrors of the Tarrafal concentration camp and been tortured in the fascist dungeons in Peniche and Caxias.

Manuel Rodrigues da Silva, also a member of the Central Committee and a prominent trade union leader, is another political prisoner. For ten years, from 1936 to 1946, he was held without trial in the Tarrafal concentration camp. In 1950 he was re-arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment. His term expired long ago but still he has not been released.

Manuel Guedes fought against fascism in Spain. Caught by Franco, he was turned over to Salazar and spent five years in prison. In 1952 he, too, was re-arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. This is already his eighth year in the Peniche fortress.

In 1957 Jose Magro, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, was released after six years in prison, but last year he was re-arrested and sentenced to another ten years. Afonso Gregorio, Sofia Ferreira and Carlos Aboim Ingles, all members of the Central Committee, have also been thrown in prison.

Some months ago the political police arrested Julio Fogaca, a member of the Central Committee,

and Candida Ventura, an active Communist who from early youth has dedicated herself to the fight against the fascist dictatorship. Julio Fogaca, an indefatigable freedom fighter, has twice been sentenced to imprisonment in Tarrafal. Of his 53 years he has spent ten in the dungeons of the political police and for eighteen years he worked in the difficult conditions of the underground. His health has been undermined and, in the hands of the Salazar butchers, his life is in danger.

Fifteen women patriots arrested for political reasons are being held in the Caxias fortress. Several of them are Communists. Deprived of medical aid, they too are in grave danger.

The people of Portugal are more and more vigorously demanding an amnesty for the political prisoners. The movement has acquired such a scale, and the discontent over the growing repressions is so widespread that even some bourgeois papers have called for an amnesty. For instance, the *Diario Popular*, which usually supports the Salazar government, wrote in its September 13 issue: "An amnesty putting an end to the alarm and anxiety that grip many families would be a high-minded and noble act, a truly Christian step, which would find a deep response in the hearts of all Portuguese."

The Communist Party calls on all democrats to protest against the brutal treatment and to demand an immediate amnesty for all political prisoners and emigres. It urges all supporters of peace and democracy to rise to their defence and to send protests to the President of the Republic, members of the government, Portuguese embassies, and the Red Cross.

Manuel ALVES

MEXICO: ANTICOMMUNISM IS THE WAY TO FASCISM

DURING his visit to South America President Lopez Mateos of Mexico gave official assurances that no one was in prison for political reasons in his country. Yet at that very time there were 60 political prisoners in Mexican prisons, among them Graciano Benitez and Ignacio Guzman, who are serving a five-year sentence for "demoralizing society." The National Congress for Freedom for Political Prisoners and Defence of Constitutional Guarantees which brought more than 150 delegates together in Mexico confirmed that

trampling on constitutional rights is typical of present-day political life in Mexico. For instance, during a teachers' demonstration in the capital on August 4, the police resorted to firearms. Nearly 500 people were wounded and over 250 arrested.

In an attempt to suppress democracy, the government is whipping up anti-communist hysteria and preparing to frame the Mexican Communist Party. It obediently follows the directives of U.S. Ambassador Hill, who has conducted negotiations with the scum of Mexican society concerning the

financing of an anti-communist congress and who has had a hand in organizing these into an "anti-communist party."

The arrest of D. A. Siqueiros, the famous artist and member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, is part of the anti-democratic campaign. Siqueiros, whose work is the pride of all Mexicans, has been committed to trial on the ridiculous charges of "demoralizing society," illegal possession of arms, and insulting and resisting the authorities. Siqueiros' work has been barred from the inter-American exhibition and government stooges have demanded that it be destroyed and banned from reproduction in the press.

Unable to refute the charge that it has become a satellite of the North American imperialists, the government decided to silence Siqueiros by throwing him in prison.

President J. M. Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador, the Chilean public leader Salvador Allende, the Italian script writer Cesare Zavattini, Pablo Picasso, the Berlin Academy of Arts, the University of Brazil, the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, the All-China Artists' Union, the poets Pablo Neruda and Rafael Alberti, the U.S. writer Waldo Frank and hundreds of other organizations and prominent personalities have demanded the immediate release of Siqueiros. The veteran Mexican journalist, Filomeno Mata Alatorre, is among those who were arrested together with Siqueiros. Some months ago the Communist V. Campa was thrown into prison.*

*The democrats of whom we wrote in No. 3, 1960, of our journal are still in prison. In protest against arbitrary actions of the authorities those still in prison have gone on hunger strikes.

The Mexican rulers are engineering an anti-communist trial with a view to silencing the opposition. Senator M. Moreno Sanchez has announced that the Senate will soon begin investigating "Red" activities in government and semi-official institutions. "McCarthyism," he said, "is feared only by those with a guilty conscience. Only witches are afraid of witch-hunts." This Mexican McCarthy invoked, for demagogic purposes, "the Mexican mode of thinking and living, which is the freest, most dignified, most profound and, finally, most humanely revolutionary of all at the present time." Current developments in Mexico show best of all what this "love of freedom" and "revolutionary spirit" of the government are worth. The way of life which it seeks to impose on the country is the regime that the North American monopolies forced on the people of the USA during the cold war. It is not fortuitous that this coincides with plans to revise labor legislation with a view to curtailing still more the right to strike, after the pattern of the Taft-Harley Act.

All Mexican democrats, all those who cherish the national dignity and honor of their country, should heed these words of the Communist Party:

"The danger of a regime of police terror, lawlessness and despotism hangs over the country. . . . The new repressions primarily accord with the policy and interests of North American imperialism and the spokesmen of black reaction at home."

H. LARA

REIGN OF TERROR IN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

THE reactionaries have launched a violent offensive against democratic freedoms and civil rights in the United Arab Republic and especially in its Syrian region. Anyone voicing dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs is declared an enemy of Arab nationalism and branded either as an "agent of imperialism" or as an "agent of communism." Dissenters are deprived of citizenship rights and thrown out of jobs.

Police dragnets have become common, often with the appearance of political leaflets as the pretext. There have been instances when the police have raided religious services and searched everybody present. In the last two years thousands in Egypt and Syria have been arrested without warrants and thrown into prison for months and even years without trial.

The reactionaries are saying that only the Communists are subjected to repressions. Actually, however, the police persecute workers, peasants,

students, trade unionists, writers and journalists who are remote from communism. Many political leaders occupying prominent posts in Syria are under constant surveillance. Ba'athists are being discharged from the civil service. Zehni Housseini, secretary of the Chamber of Agriculture in Homs, who criticized some aspects of the official agricultural policy in a public lecture, was arrested and thrown into prison in Mezze. In September 1960, scores of Damascus University students were arrested and subjected to torture merely because they expressed disagreement with the latest government decrees. Several leaders of the Kurd Democratic Party were arrested at the end of October.

Police brutality towards prisoners surpasses the horrors of the Inquisition. According to Abdel Karim al-Mouhallamé, who managed to regain his freedom, prisoners are beaten mercilessly. Moslems, he said, were flogged even during the Ramadan celebration, and Christians at Easter. The

methods used defy the imagination. The jailors are utterly brutalized types. Prisoners are usually interrogated at night, and are beaten to a bloody pulp with iron rods and with leather whips soaked in water. Those who do not break down are bastinadoed, doused alternately with cold and hot water, and forced to kneel or walk barefoot on sharp stones. The favorite pastime of the interrogators is to make prisoners run the gauntlet of a shower of blows. Jailors amuse themselves by crushing lighted cigarettes against the victim's face or sex organs, setting fire to mustaches, hanging people by their feet, and pulling out fingernails. "Every day a new torture is introduced," we read in the newspaper *Al-Akhbar* of January 31 about the methods used in a UAR prison. "Once they used a sharp-pointed stick which they jabbed into the stomach of the prisoner until it was red with blood."

The secret police have added to the old methods of torture new ones taken over from the Nazis. Prisoners are put under a shower with electric current passed through the water. Often the torture takes place in front of relatives. Parents have been forced to listen to tape recordings of their children's cries for help and the sound of blows falling on naked flesh.

A worker named Rateb Joubna, from Homs, describes a night of horror he spent in the hands of the secret police: "The torturers brought me into the room at six o'clock. There were a number of them, headed by Sami Joumaa and his aide Abou Abhmed el Jahch. They stripped me naked and forced me to drink a glass of bitterly salty water and swallow a reddish pill, after which I had violent pains in the stomach. Then, until eleven o'clock at night, with only three breaks in between, I was caned on the soles of my feet, and from time to time I was forced to get up and run around the room." Rateb Joubna was subjected to a "combined" torture consisting of flogging on the back, legs, feet and fingers at once. "After this 'combined' torture," he goes on, "I was thrown down on an iron bench with sharp stones imbedded in it. Each time I tried to shift my position to ease the pain, the stones cut into the flesh and blows laid me out again on the bench. . . Then they beat me on the soles of my feet, pressed lighted cigarettes against my body, tore at me with pincers, and drove needles under my fingernails. . . ."

If the reactionaries believe that such savagery will force the people to submit, their hopes are in vain. Many patriots have sacrificed their lives, demonstrating the resolve of the people and their vanguard to carry the fight on to victory. The first on this list of martyrs was 24-year-old Said Drouby.

Said Drouby was a school teacher in Homs. During the independent Syrian Republic he was a member of the Popular Resistance Movement. He was arrested early in February 1959 in front of his class and died after five days of torture. His body was thrown outside his parents' home. Popular indignation ran high and a protest demonstration of 25,000 people took place. To conceal their crime, the authorities claimed Drouby had committed suicide, but the doctors they called in to substantiate this version confirmed that death had been due to torture. For this one of the doctors was thrown into prison.

A student named Georges Adass, who had never taken part in political activity or belonged to any party, was buried to his neck in sand and rocks. With his chest crushed in, he was taken to his parents' home, where he died. Mouhiddine Falioune, teacher of Arab literature in a secondary school in Damascus who headed a tenants' committee in the suburb of Mezze was shot dead in his home by the political police, because of his public activities. Another victim was Dr. Farid Haddad, in connection with whose death the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Akhbar* published the following letter on January 3, 1960: "Dr. Farid Haddad died on the morning of November 29 in the Al-Kharija prison, two days after being tortured by the political police of the Ministry of Home Affairs. . . . He could only be charged with having a practice in the Cairo working-class district of Chebra where he gave medical help to workers, trade unionists and 'subversive and suspicious elements' . . . The police demanded a complete list of the names and addresses of his patients, but he refused. . . . His jailors beat him with canes and bludgeons, pulled out his fingernails, hung him by his feet and kicked him in this position. As a result Haddad died of haemorrhage of the brain."

The police outdid themselves in brutality when Farajallah Hélou, the Lebanese patriot and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party who is held in high esteem in Syria as well, fell into their hands. He was arrested in a Damascus street on June 25, 1959, and thrown into prison despite his age, ill health, and the fact that he is a citizen of another country. The full story of his ordeal is still not known, because he is isolated from the outside world and the news that seeps through is contradictory. In February 1960 a Lebanese newspaper published the story of a man who had been in the dungeons of the secret police and had witnessed the shocking circumstances of Comrade Hélou's interrogation. "The group that questioned Hélou," the paper reports, "consisted of thirty men devoid of conscience and experienced in the 'art' of interrogation. Hélou was stripped naked and flogged until his body turned into bleeding pulp, then cold water

was thrown over him and the beating resumed. . . . In spite of the inhuman suffering he replied to his torturers with scorn and hatred. Becoming even more savage, they passed a 120-volt current through his body time after time (it is said that he was once tortured with electric current for three hours on end), then the beating started again. Unable to force a word from him, the police pumped air into his stomach and kicked him, causing internal injuries. Only the fear that he might die on their hands made them discontinue the torture." Many sources indicate that Farajallah Hélou is being tortured continually.

Despite the terror the militant spirit of the working people of the UAR remains undimmed. They

are stepping up the resistance and defending their rights with growing determination. This is evident from the action taken by Haleb textile workers last August against unlawful dismissals, the signatures collected by machine-shop workers in El Djezirah to a petition demanding work and continuation of wages, and the fight waged by dockers in Latakia and building workers in Hama against police interference in trade union affairs. The popular movement in defense of the democrats and patriots who represent the vanguard of our people and voice their desire for independence, freedom and progress, is steadily growing.

Said MAHMOUD

McCARTHYISM IN THE ARGENTINE

PRESIDENT Frondizi's repudiation of his pledge to implement a democratic program has helped to lay the country open to military coups and recurrent government "crises," and has strengthened the hand of the ultra-reactionary sections of the military, who have become the actual government of the country. This, together with the growing economic, diplomatic and military subordination of the government to the U.S. imperialist diktat, has led to a new reactionary offensive and a wave of terror. In the recent period a number of draconic laws have been passed against democrats and patriots fighting for national independence, progress and peace.

The activities of the Communist Party were banned early in 1959 and later legal proceedings were instituted to "dissolve" it. Inasmuch as some of the judges ruled against dissolution, the government issued a special decree on the eve of the March 27, 1960, elections barring the Communist and Peronist parties from the polls. At the same time, the President invoked the so-called KON-INTES Plan (a program to be implemented in the event of a state of emergency). The civil authorities were subordinated to the military, courts martial instituted, and censorship and even the death penalty introduced.

An idea of the scale of the police terror may be gained from the fact that on March 16 some 1,200 steel-helmeted police supported by tanks and machine guns surrounded the Los Perales and General Belgrano districts in Buenos Aires and raided more than 1,600 homes.

In June the government enacted an extraordinary law for the "suppression of terrorism," and the authorities are using it widely to suppress the growing democratic and anti-imperialist movement. Hundreds have been convicted by the military courts on the basis of this law.

In recent times, the government has taken reprisals against the movement for solidarity with the Cuban revolution, arresting and throwing into prison many of its leaders and active members, among them Fernando Nadra. Despite this the movement is growing steadily.

To leave no doubt as to its reactionary aims, the government appointed in October, in connection with the latest military coup, a "commission to investigate Communist activity" consisting of officials of the Ministry of Defense and the police. This was followed by the closure for several days of the bourgeois newspaper *La Razón* and the arrest of its director. The police made numerous raids and arrested hundreds of Communists and other progressives, among them the trade union leaders Pedro Chiaranti and Jose Brandeburgo, and the former Buenos Aires councillor Luis Fiori. A drive was started against Marxist, progressive and anti-imperialist literature, which was confiscated from both private libraries and bookshops. That this offensive is inspired by U.S. imperialism is shown by the recent exposure in Parliament of the fact that the country's security organs are controlled by a U.S. Colonel Swenson, an FBI man.

The majority of the people are opposed to the anti-national and anti-popular police of the government. This is evident from the considerable growth of the influence of the Public Councils in Defense of Democracy functioning throughout the country. These councils, whose aim is to defend political sovereignty and democracy, include representatives of the various democratic parties, trade unions and organizations of students and professional workers. On October 28, in defiance of the police terror, a mass meeting in defense of political prisoners was held at a Buenos Aires stadium under the auspices of a number of trade unions. Promi-

nent actors and entertainers appeared before the audience of thousands and the proceeds from the sale of tickets went for aid to political prisoners and their families. Consolidation and broadening of united action of the working class and the entire

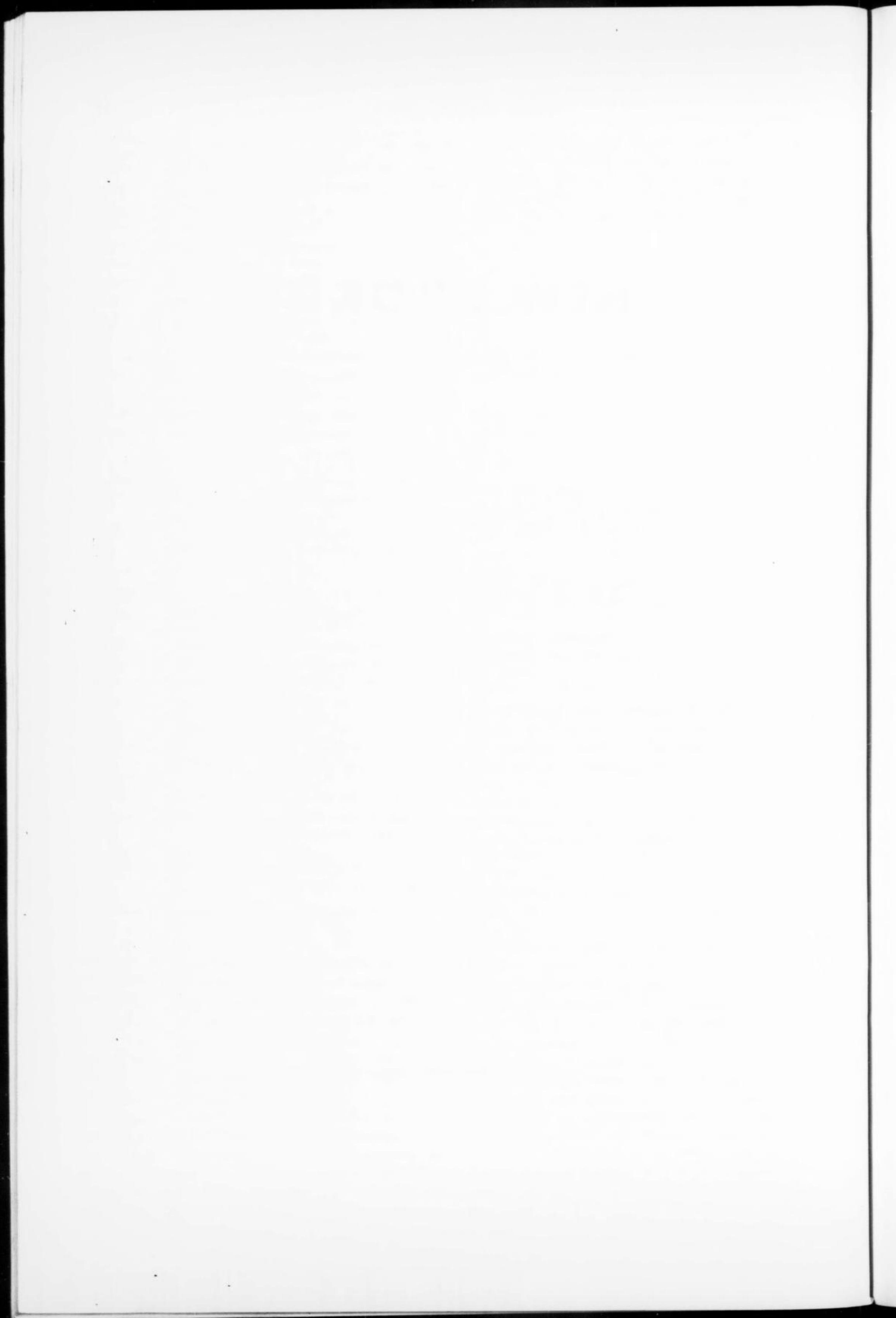
people can halt the government offensive and ensure the triumph of the ideas of national independence, democracy and peace.

J. CASTRO

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SUPPLEMENT

to World Marxist Review,
Problems of Peace and Socialism
January, 1961

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

(Statistical Data)

- GENERAL
- INDUSTRY
- AGRICULTURE
- RISE IN LIVING AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

From the Editors

THE main content of our times is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Over one-third of mankind has taken the socialist road. The new, socialist world system is growing and gaining in strength.

Utilizing the advantages of the socialist mode of production and engaging in close co-operation, mutual aid and support, the people of the socialist countries have in a brief space of time made remarkable headway in all spheres of economic, cultural and political life. They have carried through far-reaching socio-economic reforms. Signal progress has been made in industry and agriculture. A cultural and technological revolution, the greatest in the history of these countries, is underway. The rapid expansion of social production provides a sound basis for the steady rise in living standards.

This progress is proof of the resilience of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. As N. S. Khrushchov said in his report to the USSR Supreme Soviet session on May 5, 1960, "the strength and vitality of every social system

are determined in the first place by its ability to advance social production, science and technology, raise labor productivity and in this way ensure satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of society as a whole and of each of its members."

The socialist countries are working in friendship and close co-operation to overcome the discrepancies in the levels of economy and culture, and the conditions are being created for their more or less simultaneous transition from socialism to communism.

The progress recorded in all spheres is illustrated by the data compiled from official statistics by the *Institute of Economics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (People's Democracies Department)*.

The data were compiled by I. P. Oleinik, G. B. Gertsovich, Y. A. Konovalov, Y. N. Belyayev, I. A. Sotnikova, E. D. Matviyevskaya, M. Y. Volchenko, A. Y. Skvortsova, E. S. Rayevskaya, N. V. Sokolova, V. I. Shabunina, Y. V. Firsova, V. D. Vasiltsov, M. N. Yumin, Y. I. Zharkov and V. S. Tandit. The research was carried out under the supervision of I. P. Oleinik and G. B. Gertsovich.

I. GENERAL DATA

Area and Population*

Country	Area (thousand sq. km.)	Population (millions) At End of 1959	Country	Area (thousand sq. km.)	Population (millions) at end of 1959
Total	34,834.0	993.7¹	Rumanian		
Including:			People's Republic	237.5	18.4
Union of Soviet Socialist			People's Republic		
Republics	22,402.2	212.3	of Bulgaria	110.9	7.8
Chinese			People's Republic		
People's Republic	9,597.0	656.6²	of Albania	28.7	1.6
Polish People's			Korean People's		about
Republic	311.7	29.5	Democratic Republic	127.1	10.0
Czechoslovak Socialist			Democratic Republic		
Republic	127.9	13.6	of Vietnam	159.0	15.9
German Democratic			Mongolian		
Republic	107.8	17.3	People's		about
Hungarian People's			Republic	1,531.5	1.0
Republic	93.0	10.0			

1. End of 1957. 2. End of 1957; excluding emigrants and Chinese nationals residing in Hongkong and Macao.

*Countries are listed according to their share in the output of basic items. Elsewhere names of the socialist countries will not be given in full. The Korean People's Republic will be designated as North Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as Vietnam.

In 1959 the socialist countries embraced 26 per cent of the territory of the world and nearly one-third of its population and accounted for more than one-third of the world industrial output and about half the world output of grain.

By 1965, with the completion of the Soviet Union's Seven-Year Plan, and because of the rapid rate of

economic expansion obtaining in the People's Democracies, the socialist countries will be producing more than half of the world industrial output. This will ensure the superiority of socialism over capitalism in material production — the decisive sphere of human endeavor.

**Share of the Socialist Countries in World Output
of Basic Industrial Items (per cent)**

Items	1929	1937	1950	1955	1956	1957	1959
Coal (in terms of hard coal)							
All socialist countries	2.7	8.6	28.2	36.8	37.6	39.5	49.8
USSR	2.7	8.6	14.2	18.7	19.4	20.2	20.3
Oil							
All socialist countries	6.7	10.2	8.4	11.0	11.7	12.8	15.0
USSR	6.7	10.2	7.2	9.2	10.0	11.1	13.2
Electric power							
All socialist countries	2.1	7.8	14.9	16.6	17.2	17.7	19.9
USSR	2.1	7.8	9.2	10.7	11.0	11.3	12.3
Pig iron							
All socialist countries	4.1	14.0	18.5	24.6	25.8	26.0	35.5
USSR	4.1	14.0	14.6	17.5	18.0	17.7	19.6
Steel							
All socialist countries	4.0	13.1	19.2	23.3	24.5	25.2	30.9
USSR	4.0	13.1	14.4	16.8	17.2	17.5	19.7
Tractors (in 15 h.p. units)							
All socialist countries	1.6	16.8	27.2	23.1	27.9	28.6	29.9 ¹
USSR	1.6	16.8	23.2	19.6	26.7	24.6	25.7 ¹
Cement							
All socialist countries	3.1	6.8	15.7	19.7	20.7	22.9	25.8
USSR	3.1	6.8	7.7	10.4	10.7	12.1	13.3
Cotton fabrics							
All socialist countries	—	8.8	21.3	28.1	29.9	28.4	35.0
USSR	—	8.8	10.6	12.7	11.6	11.8	12.8
Granulated sugar							
All socialist countries	3.2	8.6	16.3	17.7	17.9	19.2	22.7
USSR	3.2	8.6	7.7	8.9	10.2	9.9	13.1

1. 1958.

The share of the socialist countries in world agricultural output has likewise risen. In 1959 they accounted for 47 per cent of the world output of grain (10.6 per cent in 1929),

40 per cent of cotton fiber (4.2 per cent in 1928), nearly 20 per cent of the world beef and dairy cattle and 55 per cent of the hogs.

Share of the Socialist Sector in the Economy in 1959-60
(per cent)

Country	In Industry	In Agriculture (arable land)	In Trade Wholesale	Retail	In National Income
USSR	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.99
China ¹	100.0	99.1 ²	100.0	98.3 ³	99.0
Poland	99.1	13.2	100.0	96.5	71.5
Czechoslovakia	100.0	85.2	100.0	99.9	93.0
German Democratic Republic	88.9	96.0 ⁴	100.0	75.3	76.3
Hungary	93.6	71.3 ⁴	100.0	98.9	82.0
Rumania	98.0	81.3 ⁴	100.0	99.6	83.5
Bulgaria	98.9	97.4	100.0	99.9	97.2
Albania	98.3	86.0	100.0	87.5	—
North Korea	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9
North Vietnam	80.5 ⁵	72.7 ⁴	89.0	91.5 ³	—
Mongolia	100.0	99.7 ⁶	100.00	100.0	—

1. Data for 1958. 2. Number of peasant households. 3. Including state-capitalist sector. 4. In June 1960; North Vietnam—in October 1960. 5. Excluding handicraft industry. 6. According to the number of arat households.

II. INDUSTRY

Volume of Industrial Output in 1959

Country	Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
Overall	603	317
Including		
USSR	4.8-fold	275
China	1285	949
Poland	680	303
Czechoslovakia	362	252
German Democratic Republic	299	271
Hungary	377	239
Rumania	434	294
Bulgaria	1083	350
Albania	2248	542
North Korea	552	860 ¹
North Vietnam (1956 — 100)	21	—
Mongolia	584	—

Dynamics of Industrial Production

(per cent)

Year	Socialist countries (within present boundaries)	Capitalist countries (within present boundaries)
1937	100	100
1950	190	147
1951	224	160
1952	256	163
1953	291	175
1954	325	176
1955	361	197
1965	403	206
1957	444	214
1958	520	208
1959	603	225

1. By 1953.

NOTE: In this and the following tables the data in the column "Prewar," unless otherwise stated, relate for the USSR to 1940; China and Korean People's Democratic Republic to 1949; Poland and Czechoslovakia to 1937; the German Democratic Republic to 1936; Hungary, Rumania and Albania to 1938; Bulgaria to 1939; Democratic Republic of Vietnam to 1939, and Mongolian People's Republic to 1940.

**Envisaged Growth
of Industrial Output**

Country	Year	Growth
USSR	1959-1965	80 per cent
Poland	1959-1965	80 per cent
Czechoslovakia	1961-1965	56.4 percent
German Democratic Republic	1959-1965	88 per cent
Hungary	1959-1965	65-70 percent
Rumania	1960-1965	2.1-fold
North Korea	1961-1967	2.5-fold
North Vietnam	1961-1965	148 per cent
Mongolia	1960-1965	twofold

**Average Annual Rates of Growth
of Industrial Output in Socialist
and Capitalist Countries in 1951-59**

(per cent)			
Socialist Countries	Rates	Capitalist Countries	Rates
All countries	13.7	All countries	4.8
Including:		Including:	
USSR	11.9	USA	3.9
China	28.4	Britain	2.7
Poland	13.1	France	6.3
Czechoslovakia	10.8	Federal Germany	9.4
German Democratic Republic	11.6	Italy	8.3
Hungary	10.2	Belgium	2.8
Rumania	12.8	Greece	8.8
Bulgaria	14.4	Sweden	2.5
Albania	20.6	Netherlands	5.3
North Korea	22.7	India	5.0

**Gross Output of Basic Items of Heavy Industry
in the Socialist Countries**
(million tons)

Item	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959 Per cent of Prewar
Electric power (1,000 million kwh.)	84.7	144.6	363.1	418.2	493
Coal (in terms of hard coal)	332.1	447.1	957.3	1052.5	317
Oil	38.7	44.0	128.5	146.7	385
Pig-iron	20.3	24.9	60.8	76.9	379
Steel	25.4	36.2	80.2	92.7	365
Cement	14.5	20.3	61.7	73.3	506

Electric Power Output
(1,000 million kwh.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	1950	Share of countries in socialist world output in 1959
Overall	84.7	144.6	365.1	418.2	492	288	100.0
Including:							
USSR	48.3	91.2	235.4	265.1	549	290	63.3
China	5.96 ¹	4.55	27.5	41.5	696	912	10.0
Poland	3.6	9.4	24.0	26.4	727	280	6.3
Czechoslovakia	4.1	9.3	19.6	21.9	532	236	5.3
German Democratic Republic	14.0	19.5	34.9	37.2	266	191	8.9
Hungary	1.4	3.0	6.5	7.1	507	236	1.7
Rumania	1.1	2.1	6.2	6.8	604	323	1.6
Bulgaria	0.27	0.8	3.0	3.9	1455	485	0.9
North Korea	5.9	1.0 ²	7.6	7.8	132	768 ²	1.9
Albania North Vietnam Mongolia	0.1	0.14	0.4	0.5	424	321	0.1

1. 1941. 2. By 1953.

Per Capita Output of Electric Power (kwh)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	1950
USSR	255	507	1138	1260	494	248
China	8.0 ¹	—	42	—	—	525 ²
Poland	106	380	833	902	851	237
Czechoslovakia	285	749	1457	1614	566	201
German Democratic Republic	866	1059	2009	2153	249	204
Hungary	152	320	655	715	470	223
Rumania	72.4	129.5	342.4	373.8	516	289
Bulgaria	42	110	391	497	1183	452
Albania	9	18	99	109	1225	619
North Korea	631	132 ³	820	812	129	—
North Vietnam	10.7	—	10.7	13.4	125	—

1. 1949. 2. 1958 per cent of 1949. 3. 1953.

Coal Output
(in terms of hard coal, million tons)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950	Share of separate countries in socialist world output in 1959
Overall	332.1	447.1	957.3	1052.5	317	235	100.0
Including:							
USSR	153.8	224.5	425.0	435.0	365	194	41.4
China	61.9 ¹	42.9	270.0	347.8	562	810	33.0
Poland	36.2	80.4	98.7	103.6	286	129	9.8
Czechoslovakia	27.5	35.0	60.0	58.7	214	168	5.6
German Democratic Republic	37.2	48.5	74.6	74.4	200	154	7.1
Hungary	5.3	7.3	11.6	11.8	223	162	1.1
Rumania ²	1.5	2.0	3.3	3.5	241	176	0.3
Bulgaria	1.2	3.0	6.6	7.9	6.4-fold	261	0.8
North Korea	4.0	0.7 ³	6.9	8.9	222	13-fold	0.7
Albania North Vietnam Mongolia	2.7	0.3	1.7	2.4	87	8-fold	0.2

1. 1942. 2. In terms of heat units (one unit = 7,000 calories). 3. 1953.

Per Capita Output of Coal
(in terms of hard coal, kg.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, per cent of prewar	per cent of 1950
USSR	787	1247	2055	2071	263	166
China	—	60.0 ¹	413	—	—	661 ²
Poland	1095	3238	3430	3542	323	109
Czechoslovakia	1904	2822	4447	4331	227	153
German Democratic Republic	2302	2637	4296	4303	187	163
Hungary	493	780	1174	1188	241	152
Rumania ³	94	123	183	194	206	158
Bulgaria	130	285	574	688	529	241
Albania	3.5	34	170	183	5229	545
North Korea	434	92 ⁴	739	921	212	—

1. 1949. 2. 1958, per cent of 1949. 3. In terms of heat units (one unit = 7,000 calories). 4. 1953.

Oil Output (million tons)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, per cent of Prewar	1959, per cent of 1950	Share of separate countries in socialist world output in 1959
Overall	38.7	44.0	128.5	146.7	385	333	100.0
Including:							
USSR	31.1	37.9	113.2	129.6	454	342	88.4
China	0.3 ¹	0.2	2.3	3.7	1153	1850	2.5
Poland	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	35	108	0.1
Czechoslovakia	0.02	0.1	0.1	0.1	683	195	0.1
Rumania	6.6	5.0	11.3	11.4	173	227	7.8
Hungary	0.04	0.5	0.8	1.1	2407	202	0.7
Bulgaria	—	—	0.2	0.2	—	—	0.1
Albania	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.5	444	363	0.3

1. 1943.

Per Capita Oil Output (kg.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, per cent of Prewar	1959, per cent of 1950
USSR	159	210	547	616	387	293
China	0.2 ¹	—	3.5	—	—	1750 ²
Rumania	422.7	309.4	627.7	626.5	148	202
Hungary	4.7	55	84	104	221	191
Albania	104	108	268	305	294	281

1. 1949. 2. 1958, per cent of 1949.

Steel Output (million tons)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, per cent of Prewar	1959, per cent of 1950	Share of separate countries in socialist world output in 1959
Overall	25.4	36.2	80.2	92.7	365	255	100.0
Including:							
USSR	18.3	27.3	54.9	60.0	338	219	64.7
China	0.9 ¹	0.6	8.0	13.4	1446	2203	14.4
Poland	1.5	2.5	5.7	6.2	420	245	6.7
Czechoslovakia	2.3	3.1	5.5	6.1	265	197	6.6
German Democratic Republic	1.2	1.0	3.0	3.2	267	320	3.5
Hungary	0.65	1.0	1.6	1.8	272	168	1.9
Rumania	0.3	0.6	0.9	1.4	499	256	1.5
Bulgaria	—	—	0.21	0.23	—	—	0.2
North Korea	0.14	0.004 ²	0.37	0.45	312	125-fold	0.5

1. 1943. 2. 1953

Per Capita Steel Output (kg.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	94	152	266	285	303	188
China	0.3 ¹	—	12.2	—	—	4067 ²
Poland	42.7	101.3	197	211	494	208
Czechoslovakia	159	250	409	453	285	181
German Democratic Republic	74	54	175	185	251	344
Hungary	70.4	171.8	164.5	177.1	252	158.4
Rumania	18.2	34.0	51.7	77.7	427	229
Bulgaria	—	—	27.2	29.5	—	—
North Korea	15	0.5 ³	39.0	47.0	313	—

1. 1949. 2. 1958, per cent of 1949. 3. 1953.

Pig Iron Output (million tons)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950	Share of separate countries in socialist world output in 1959
Overall Including:	20.3	24.9	60.8	76.9	379	309	100.0
USSR	14.9	19.2	39.6	43.0	289	224	55.9
China	1.8 ¹	1.0	9.5	20.5	1138	2096	26.7
Poland	0.8	1.5	3.9	4.4	553	285	5.7
Czechoslovakia	1.7	1.9	3.8	4.2	253	218	5.5
German Democratic Republic	0.2	0.3	1.8	1.9	9.4-fold	563	2.5
Hungary	0.3	0.5	1.1	1.1	329	299	1.4
Rumania	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.9	638	264	1.2
Bulgaria	—	—	0.1	0.2 ²	—	—	0.2
North Korea	0.2	—	0.4	0.7	350	—	0.9

1. 1943. 2. Including blast-furnace ferroalloys.

Per Capita Output of Pig Iron (kg.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	76	106	191	204	268	192
China	0.5 ¹	—	14.6	—	—	2920 ²
Czechoslovakia	116	157	280	313	269.8	199.4
German Democratic Republic	12	18	102	110	916	611
Hungary	36.4	49.2	109.4	111.1	305.2	225.8
Rumania	8.5	19.6	40.8	46.4	546	237
Bulgaria	—	—	11.8	22.7	—	—
North Korea	18	—	42	72	400	—
Poland	23	62	134	150	652	242

1. 1949. 2. 1958, per cent of 1949.

Cement Output (million tons)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950	Share of separate countries in socialist world output in 1959
Overall	14.5	20.3	61.7	73.3	506	361	100.0
Including:							
USSR	5.7	10.2	33.3	38.8	705	380	52.9
China	2.3 ¹	1.4	9.3	12.3	536	870	16.8
Poland	1.3	2.5	5.1	5.3	412	211	7.2
Czechoslovakia	1.3	2.0	4.1	4.7	373	237	6.5
German Democratic Republic	1.7	1.4	3.6	4.2	249	298	5.7
Hungary	0.3	0.8	1.3	1.4	444	178	1.9
Rumania	0.5	1.0	2.6	2.9	559	277	4.0
Bulgaria	0.2	0.6	0.9	1.4	637	238	1.9
North Korea	0.5	0.027 ²	1.2	1.9	357	72-fold	2.6
Albania	0.3	—	0.4	0.4	133	—	0.5
North Vietnam							

1. 1942. 2. 1953.

Per Capita Cement Output (kg.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	30	57	161	184	613	323
China	1.2 ¹	—	14.2	—	—	1183 ²
Poland	37.5	101	176	182	485	180
Czechoslovakia	88	161	305	350	397.7	217.4
German Democratic Republic	104	77	205	243	233.6	315.5
Hungary	35.1	85.0	131.7	144.2	410.8	169.6
Rumania	32.7	63.0	142.4	156.4	478	248.3
Bulgaria	36	83	121	184	511	221.7
Albania	8.7	13.1	51.5	48.0	551.7	366.4
North Korea	57	3	134	199	349	—

1. 1949. 2. 1958, per cent of 1949.

Output of Metal-Cutting Machine Tools (thousands)

Country	1950	1952	1953	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
USSR	70.6	74.6	91.8	117.1	124.0	131.0	138.3	147.1
China ¹	3.3	13.7	20.5	13.7	25.9	28.0	50.0	70.0
Poland	3.8	10.5	8.7	12.7	15.1	17.4	19.1	20.5
Czechoslovakia	12.9	11.1	14.6	18.5	19.0	22.7	22.1	22.2
Bulgaria	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	1.0	1.3
Rumania ²	0.2	0.7	0.8	2.0	2.4	2.6	2.9	3.1
North Korea	—	—	—	0.3	1.0	1.0	1.5	3.6

1. Excluding machine tools of simple designs. 2. Pre-1954 data refer to lathes only.

Considerable headway has been made also in other branches of heavy industry. By 1959 gross output of the machine-building industry rose as follows: USSR, 276-fold (compared with 1913); China, nearly 40-fold (in 1949-1958); Poland, more than 20-fold; German Democratic Republic, 4.2-fold; Czechoslovakia, nearly sixfold; Hungary, more than ninefold, and Rumania approximately ninefold (compared with prewar); Bulgaria, 12-fold (from 1949 to 1958), and the Korean People's Democratic Republic 83-fold (in the period from 1946 to 1959). Machine-building output is expected to grow at a rapid rate in the current seven-year period. For instance, in the USSR it is scheduled to rise twofold; in the German Democratic Republic, 2.3-fold; Poland, 2.2-fold; Hungary, 82-86 per cent; Czechoslovakia, 83 per cent (by 1965 compared with 1960); Bulgaria, fivefold (compared with 1957), and in Rumania, 2.2-fold (compared with 1959).

The chemical industry is playing a steadily growing role in the economy of the socialist countries. In 1959 the output of the chemical and rubber-asbestos industries in the USSR had increased 140-fold (compared with 1913); in China 25.8-fold by 1957 (compared with 1949) and in 1958 was more than double the 1957 figure; in Poland it increased 12-fold; Hungary, sevenfold, and the German Democratic Republic, 4.6-fold (compared with prewar); in Rumania the 1959 output was 9.5 times the 1938 level, and in the Korean People's Democratic Republic it rose 11-fold compared with 1946.

A number of socialist countries, notably the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, have developed on a wide scale new branches of chemical production, such as plastics, artificial and synthetic fibers and leather substitutes.

The rapid expansion of heavy industry is accompanied by a growth of light industry and the food industry.

Output of Cotton Fabrics (million square meters)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR ¹	3004	2991	4651	4978	166	166
China ²	2.79 ³	2.52	5.7	7.5	2.69	298
Poland	325 ⁴	402	550	594	—	148
Czechoslovakia	353	333	409	429	122	129
German Democratic Republic ⁵	—	154	308	340	—	221
Hungary	146	177	218	227	149	123
Rumania	104	148	207	218	210	148
Bulgaria	28	67	145	178	6.4-fold	266
Albania	0.3	1.0	18.0	19	60-fold	23-fold
North Korea ⁴	9.4	20.8 ⁶	91	125	13-fold	600
North Vietnam	—	—	26	30	—	—

1. Unbleached cotton fabrics. 2. In 1,000 million meters. 3. 1936. 4. In millions of meters. 5. Excluding upholstery and decorative fabrics. 6. 1953.

Per Capita Output of Cotton Fabrics (square meters)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	15.8	16.6	22.5	23.7	150	143
China ¹	3.5 ²	—	8.7	—	—	249 ³
Poland ¹	9.5 ⁴	16.2	19.1	20.3	—	125
Czechoslovakia	24.5 ⁴	26.9	30.4	31.6	129	117
German Democratic Republic	—	8.4	17.8	19.7	—	234
Hungary	15.9	18.8	22.1	22.8	143	121
Rumania	6.7	9.1	11.5	12.0	179	132
Bulgaria	4.4	9.2	18.8	22.8	518	248
Albania	0.2	0.7	12.0	12.1	60-fold	17-fold
North Korea ¹	1.4	2.8 ⁵	12.0	16.4	11.7-fold	5.9-fold

1. Meters. 2. 1949. 3. 1958, per cent of 1949. 4. Excluding upholstery and decorative fabrics. 5. 1953.

Output of Footwear (million pairs)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	211.0	203.0	356.4	389.5	184	192
Poland	—	28.6	74.9	77.2	—	269.3
Czechoslovakia	55.0	64.0	80.2	87.3	159	136.4
German Democratic Republic	15.3	8.0	19.8	22.9	150	286
Hungary	2.4	6.8	16.0	17.7	749	260
Rumania	—	11.2	24.2	28.2	—	252
Bulgaria	—	3.2	6.8	7.8	—	244
North Korea	5.8 ¹	7.1 ²	21.4	—	296	—
Albania	0.2	0.5 ³	2.4 ⁴	—	12-fold	4.8-fold
North Vietnam						
Mongolia						

1. 1944. 2. 1953. 3. 1952. 4. 1957.

Per Capita Output of Footwear (pairs)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	1.1	1.1	1.7	1.9	164	164
Poland	—	1.1	2.6	2.6	—	236
Czechoslovakia	3.8	5.2	6.0	6.4	168	123
German Democratic Republic	0.9	0.4	1.1	1.3	144	325
Hungary	0.26	0.72	1.6	1.8	692	250
Rumania	—	0.7	1.3	1.5	—	214
Bulgaria	—	0.4	0.9	1.0	—	250
North Korea	0.6	1.0 ¹	2.3	—	300 ²	—
North Vietnam	—	—	0.16	0.14	—	—

1. 1953. 2. 1958, per cent of prewar.

Sugar Output (million tons)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, Per cent of Prewar	Per cent of 1950
USSR	2.2	2.5	5.4	6.0	277	237
China	0.4 ¹	0.2	0.9	1.1	273	467
Poland	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.9	177	94
Czechoslovakia	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.7	115	103
German Democratic Republic	—	0.6	0.8	0.7	—	120
Hungary	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	316	179
Rumania	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.24	255	278
Bulgaria	0.025	0.037	0.15	0.13	514	350

1. 1936.

Per Capita Output of Sugar (kg.)

Country	Prewar	1950	1958	1959	1959, per cent of Prewar	per cent of 1950
USSR	11.1	14.0	26.3	28.6	257.7	204.3
China	0.4 ¹	—	1.4	—	—	350.0 ²
Poland	14.7	38.5	38.1	30.6	208.2	79.5
Czechoslovakia	43.7	56.6	63.5	53.3	122.0	94.1
German Democratic Republic	—	32.9	45.3	42.2	—	127
Hungary	10.9	19.1	27.3	32.3	296.3	169.1
Rumania	6.1	5.3	10.4	13.3	218.0	251.0
Bulgaria	4.0	5.1	19.3	16.6	415	325
Albania	—	0.5	6.8	7.6	—	15.2-fold

1. 1949. 2. 1958, per cent of 1949.

The rapid rates of industrial growth and the developing international socialist division of labor, especially in its higher forms — specialization and co-ordination of production — lead to changes in the economic structure of the socialist countries.

In all of them, and especially in the less developed, the proportion of industry in social production is rapidly increasing, a sign of their steadily rising level of development.

**Share of Industry and Agriculture in the Overall
Product of These Branches (per cent)***

Country	Share of Industry 1937-1939	Share of Industry 1958-1959	Share of Agriculture 1937-1939	Share of Agriculture 1958-1959
China	30.1 ¹	67.6	69.9 ¹	32.4
Czechoslovakia	57.0	85.9	43.0	14.1
German Democratic Republic	80.9 ²	86.8	19.1 ²	13.2
Hungary	42.0	71.0	58.0	29.0
Rumania ³	40.5	66.6	59.5 ⁴	33.4
Bulgaria	24.8	70.6	75.2	29.4
Albania	9.8	55.7	90.2	44.3
North Korea	28.0 ⁴	71.0	72.0 ⁴	29.0
North Vietnam	10.0	37.1	90.0	62.9
Mongolia	—	42.5	—	57.5

1. 1959. 2. 1950. 3. In 1955 prices. The figure for agriculture include forestry. 4. 1946.

*Because of differences in the structure of wholesale prices and the method of calculating the share of industry and agriculture in the overall product, the data cited in this table are not fully comparable. They indicate mainly the structural changes in the national economy of the given country.

**Share of the Various Branches of Economy
in the National Income (per cent)**

Country	Year	Industry	Agriculture	Transport and communications	Building industry	Other branches of of economy
USSR	1959	52.7	20.9	4.8	10.2	11.4
Poland	1958	48.5 ¹	24.7	2.7	8.6	15.5
Czechoslovakia	1958	67.0	10.0	3.0	11.0	9.0
German Democratic Republic	1958	60.0	12.9	5.2	5.8	16.1
Hungary	1958	54.6	32.1	3.5	7.3	2.5
Rumania ²	1959	57.6	19.1 ³	4.8	9.5	9.0
Bulgaria	1958	41.1	32.6	3.7	6.6	16.0
Albania	1958	38.0	43.1	2.3	8.2	8.4
North Korea	1958	37.6	39.4	1.8	4.9	16.2
Mongolia	1957	16.8	31.5	11.0	4.2	36.5

1. Industry and handicrafts. 2. In 1950 prices. 3. Including forestry.

The structure of industry is changing too. The socialist countries unswervingly adhere to the Leninist policy of priority development for heavy industry — the base of the socialist economy. By 1959, compared with 1913, overall industrial output in the USSR had risen more than 40-fold, and that of heavy industry 93-fold. Between 1949 and 1959 industrial output in China increased 13-fold, with output of the means of production rising 29.6-fold. In Poland the 1959 industrial output had risen by nearly four times the 1949 figure, with output in group "A" (means of production) increasing 4.3-fold, in group "B" (articles of consumption) 3.4-fold. The 1959 industrial output in Czechoslovakia was 3.3 times the 1948 figure, with output in group "A" rising 3.8-fold and in group "B" 2.8-fold. Bulgaria's 1958 industrial output was nine times the 1939 figure, with the increases in the groups 18- and 6.3-fold respectively. Industrial output in Rumania had risen 4.3-fold by 1959, compared with 1938, with output of means of production rising 5.7-fold and consumer goods 3.1-fold. Between 1946 and 1959 industrial production in the Korean People's Democratic Re-

public rose 19-fold, with output of the means of production rising 20-fold.

The long-term plans also provide for priority expansion of the production of means of production, chiefly of heavy industry. For instance, in the USSR the output of the means of production is scheduled to rise by 85-88 per cent in 1965 as against 1958, and output of consumer goods by 62-65 per cent. In the 1961-65 period the output of means of production in Poland is scheduled to go up 58.7 per cent, and output of consumer goods 44.2 per cent. In Czechoslovakia during the third five-year plan (1961-65) output in group "A" is expected to rise by 70 per cent, in group "B" by 34 per cent; the corresponding figures for the German Democratic Republic (1959-1965) are 95 and 77 per cent, in Hungary, 70-75 and 45-50 per cent. By 1965, compared with 1959, output of the means of production in Rumania will have risen 2.2-fold, while consumer goods output will have doubled.

Priority growth of means of production signifies that their proportion in the industrial output of the socialist countries is increasing.

**Share of Output in Groups "A" and "B" in Gross
Industrial Output* (per cent)**

Country	Share of Group "A" 1937-1939	Share of Group "A" 1958-1959	Share of Group "B" 1937-1939	Share of Group "B" 1958-1959
USSR	33.3 ¹	71.8	66.7 ¹	28.2
China	26.6 ²	58.9	73.4 ²	41.1
Poland	47.0	52.5	53.0	47.5
Czechoslovakia	49.3	58.5	50.7	41.5
Hungary ³	44.8	64.0	55.2	36.0
Rumania	45.5	58.9	54.5	40.2
Bulgaria	22.6	45.5	77.4	54.5
Albania	43.8	42.6	56.2	57.4
North Korea	58.6 ²	55.2	41.4 ²	44.8
North Vietnam	—	29.5	—	70.5
Mongolia	—	51.9	—	48.1

1. 1913. 2. 1949. 3. Share of heavy and light industry.

*Because of differences in the structure of wholesale prices and the method of calculating the share of each of the two groups in the overall industrial production, the data cited in this table are not fully comparable. They indicate mainly the structural changes in the industry of the given country.

A feature of socialist industrialization is the expansion of the machine-building industry. This ensures the technical re-equipment of the national economy and increased labor productivity.

Share of Machine-Building Output (per cent)

Country	In Gross Industrial Output 1937-1939	In Gross Industrial Output 1958-1959	1950	In Export 1958-1959
China	2.7 ¹	9.5 ²	—	—
Poland	7.0	20.6	7.8	26.3
Czechoslovakia	24.0	32.7	26.4	44.1
German Democratic Republic	22.3	31.7	28.0	43.8
Hungary	17.0	20.6	23.0	34.6
Rumania	10.2	23.0	—	—
Bulgaria	4.5	14.6	2.2 ³	10.5

1. 1949. 2. 1957. 3. 1952.

Useful indication of the rapid economic progress in the socialist countries is the high rate of growth of labor productivity. The higher labor productiv-

ity now accounts for approximately three-fourths of the increase in industrial output.

Growth of Labor Productivity in Industry

Country	Year	Growth
USSR	1928-1959	8.8-fold
China	1952-1959	90.4 per cent
Poland	1948-1958	134.4 per cent
Czechoslovakia	1949-1958	132 per cent
German Democratic Republic	1950-1958	88 per cent
Hungary ¹	1949-1959	78 per cent
Rumania	1950-1959	98 per cent
Bulgaria	1949-1958	101 per cent
Albania	1951-1958	72.3 per cent
North Korea	1953-1959	159 per cent
North Vietnam	1958-1959	14.8 per cent
Mongolia	1952-1957	41.1 per cent

1. In state-owned industry.

III. AGRICULTURE

THE socialist countries have made good progress in reconstructing their agriculture along socialist lines on the basis of Lenin's plan for co-operation. At present the public sector throughout the

socialist countries — collective farms, state farms, producer co-operatives, etc. — accounts for over 90 per cent of the total agricultural land.

Producer Co-operation of Agriculture

Country	Co-operative membership (thousand)		Socialist sector as per cent of total agricultural land	
	1950	1959	1950	1959
China	0.2	123,250 ¹	—	99.1 ²
Poland	16.9 ¹	20.3 ¹	10.4	13.2
Czechoslovakia	180.4 ³	970.1	22.1	84.4
German Democratic Republic	196.9 ⁴	461.8 ⁵	19.7 ⁴	96.0 ⁶
Hungary	119.5	564.6	6.6 ⁷	71.3 ⁶
Rumania	67.7	2,618.3	23.6	81.3 ⁶
Bulgaria	—	—	51.1	98.0
Albania	11.0	236 ⁸	5.6 ⁹	83.2 ⁹
North Korea	18.6 ¹⁰	1,914.4	5.2 ¹⁰	100.0
Mongolia	7.8	184.9	0.5 ¹¹	99.7 ¹¹
North Vietnam	—	2,000	—	72.7 ¹²

1. Number of peasant households. 2. According to the number of peasant households. 3. 1951. 4. 1955. 5. By February 1, 1960. 6. June 1960. 7. Arable land. 8. 1958. 9. Producer co-operatives only. 10. 1953. 11. Number of arat live-stock farms. 12. October 1960.

Dynamics of Gross Output of Agriculture (per cent)

Country	Index	—Gross Output—		—Plant-Growing—		—Cattle-Breeding—	
		1950	1959	1950	1959	1950	1959
USSR	1913=100	146 ¹	218	148 ¹	217	141 ¹	218
China	1949=100	117.7	269.9	115 ²	250 ²	—	—
Poland	1949=100	107.5	128.4	101.2	113.4	119.8	157.5
Czechoslovakia	1936=100	87.3	99.4 ³	82.2	93.4 ³	94.3	107.7 ³
German Democratic Republic	1955=100	—	121.4 ³	—	134 ³	—	115 ³
Hungary	1949=100	106	134 ³	106	136 ³	106	132 ³
Rumania	1938=100	69	117	61	111	85	128
Bulgaria	1932-39=100	116 ⁴	140 ³	123 ⁴	147 ³	106 ⁴	130 ³
Albania	1938=100	119 ⁵	205	136 ⁵	195 ⁶	99.6 ⁵	124 ⁶
North Korea	1949=100	76 ⁷	167 ³	77 ⁷	144 ³	71 ⁷	277 ³
North Vietnam	1955=100	—	152.4	—	—	—	—

1. 1953. 2. Gross output of food crops. 3. 1958. 4. 1948. 5. 1949-50. 6. 1957-58. 7. 1953.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the growing mechanization and modern methods of farming have raised crop yields per hectare as well as the output of plant-growing; head of cattle, productivity of animal husbandry and overall output of agriculture have likewise grown.

In the Soviet Union the average per-hectare yields of the following crops in 1954-58 were greater than in 1934-38, and were (in tons): winter wheat — 1.31,

raw cotton — 1.97, sugar-beet — 17.4, potatoes — nine. In Rumania between 1955-59 the per hectare yield of maize rose by 38.5 per cent, potatoes — 36.9 per cent. In Bulgaria per-hectare yields in 1953-57 surpassed the 1934-39 level as follows: wheat — by 14.6 per cent, maize — 35.7 per cent, potatoes — 38 per cent. Higher yields are true also for the other socialist countries.

Gross Output of Cereals (million tons)

Country	Prewar Year	1950	1955	1957	1958	1959
USSR	95.5	80.9 ¹	113.2 ²	105.0	141.2	125.9
China ³	138.7 ⁴	124.7	174.8	185.0	250.0	270.0
Poland	13.3	11.6	12.7	13.5	13.5	14.1
Czechoslovakia	5.6	4.7	5.1	5.2	4.8	5.54
German Democratic Republic	6.5	—	6.2	5.8	6.3	5.9
Hungary	4.0	5.5	6.6	7.0	5.7	7.3
Rumania	8.0 ⁵	5.15	9.95	11.0	7.3	10.63
Bulgaria ⁶	4.1	3.2	4.4	4.9	4.0	5.0
Albania	0.2	0.23	0.33	0.37	0.28	0.38
North Korea	2.4 ⁷	2.33 ⁸	2.34	3.2	3.7	3.4
North Vietnam	2.5	—	3.8	4.1	4.8	5.4
Mongolia	0.01	—	—	—	0.137	—

1. 1949-53 (average annual figure). 2. 1954-58 (average annual figure). 3. Food crops (including potatoes and batatas in terms of grain at a ratio of 4:1). 4. 1936. 5. 1934-38 (average annual figure). 6. Including beans. 7. 1944. 8. 1953.

The socialist countries are now growing nearly half the world's grain crop. In 1959, despite the unfavorable weather in the USSR, 122,912,000 tons of grain were harvested, i.e., 12,320,000 tons more than the 1954-58 average. In China in 1959, which was also a bad year for agriculture, farm output increased 45.8 per cent compared with 1957. China is now producing more grain than any other country in the world.

Grain output in the socialist countries is increasing at a much faster rate than in the capitalist countries. Taking 1950 as 100, the respective figures for grain production in the socialist and the capi-

talist countries were: in 1956 — 154.1 and 116.6, in 1957 — 152.2 and 114.2, in 1958 — 183.8 and 114.4.

The socialist countries are growing more industrial crops; both their per-hectare yields and overall output have risen. In per-hectare yields of cotton, for example, the Soviet Union in 1959 emerged to the first place in the world, surpassing the United States level by one and a half times. The USSR and China are now, together with the USA, the biggest cotton producers in the world. Overall output of sugar-beet, potatoes and other crops is also increasing.

Gross Output of Cotton (thousand tons)

Country	Prewar Year	1950	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
USSR (mln. tons)	2.24	3.5	3.9	4.2	3.9	4.3	4.2	4.4	4.7
China (cotton fibre)	849 ¹	693	1175	1065	1519	1445	1640	2100	2410
Bulgaria	20.7	31.7	37.8	86.3	61.4	39.6	48.8	46.6	51.7
Albania	0.1	6.9	12.0	7.9	12.3	9.0	16.0	17.3	18.0
North Vietnam	1.0	—	—	—	2.61	5.7	5.7	5.7	6.15

1. 1936.

Gross Output of Sugar-beet (thousand tons)

Country	1934-38 Average	1950	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
USSR (mln. tons)	18.0 ¹	20.8	31.0	32.5	39.7	54.4	43.9
China*	190.5 ²	478.5 ³	—	—	1501	2900	3694
Poland	5959	6377	7286	6428	7621	8427	5975
Czechoslovakia	4664	6296	6152	4585	6775	6946	5106
German Democratic Republic	5412	5460	5712	4324	6465	6976	4659
Hungary	964.9 ⁴	1639	2240.8	1948.2	1878.1	2070.4	2679
Rumania	392.5	632.8	2000.0	1518.9	2043.3	1732.0	3446
Bulgaria	234.4 ⁵	331.5	595.8	942.7	1433.9	882.4	1450.3
Albania	—	6.2	110	63.7	98.4	70.4	127.4

1. 1940. 2. 1949. 3. 1952. 4. 1931-40. 5. 1939.

*In addition to these figures, production of cane sugar was: China in 1949—2,642,000 tons; in 1952—7,116,000; in 1958—13,525,000; and in 1959—13,890,000 tons; in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the 1939 figure was 109,000 tons; in 1955—100,000; in 1956—202,000; in 1957—330,000; and in 1958—486,000 tons.

Gross Output of Potatoes (thousand tons)

Country	1934-38 Average	1950	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
USSR	75900 ¹	88600	75000	71800	96000	87800	86500	86600
Poland	38036	36130	35662	27021	38052	35104	34800	35698
Czechoslovakia	9635	8156	—	7905	9635	8756	6589	6458
German Democratic Republic	13567	13711	15520	11194	13565	14529	11498	12436
Hungary	1993.1 ⁷	1350.1	—	2467.0	2055.0	2707.1	2599.5	2366
Rumania	1317.8	1601.3	2396.5	2607.8	2675.4	3058.1	2776.8	2896.5
Bulgaria	135.9 ³	150.2	266.8	364.2	212.3	313.2	250.9	420.8
Albania	3.6 ⁴	26.5	24.5	30.2	19.2	25.8	15.6	—
North Korea ⁵ (mln. tons)	0.77 ⁶	0.41 ⁷	0.65	0.62	0.95	1.19	1.36	—
North Vietnam ⁵	156	—	—	535	1062	540	424	718

1. 1940. 2. 1931-40. 3. 1939. 4. 1938. 5. Potatoes and batatas. 6. 1944. 7. 1953.

Head of Cattle (thousand)

Country	Year calculated	BEEF AND DAIRY CATTLE						PIGS					
		Prewar Year	1950	1955	1957	1958	1959	Prewar Year	1950	1955	1957	1958	1959
USSR	end of year	54517	57089	67100	66766	70842	74233	27517	24372	52200	44336	48680	53443
China	" "	60020 ¹	76460.2 ⁷	—	83820	85060	85380	57750 ¹	89770 ²	—	145900	160000	180000
Poland	June	9923.9	7200.0	7912.2	8264.8	8209.7	8352.8	9684	9350	10888	12325	11959	11209
Czechoslovakia	end of year	4376 ³	4303	4107	4091	4183	4303	3160 ³	3802	5285	5435	5283	5687
German Democratic Republic	3/XII	3653	3615	3759	3744	4145	4465	5707	5705	9029	8255	7504	8283
Hungary	March	1882	2222	2128	1973	1937	2004	5344	5542	5818	4996	5338	6225
Rumania	end of year	3747	4502	4800	4470	4394	4450	2520	2197	4950	3249	4008	4300
Bulgaria	31/XII	1822 ⁴	1947	1856	1674	1572	1458	743 ⁴	818	1413	1993	2052	2266
Albania	end of year	391.2	419.2	421.8	405.4	422.5	—	15.3	46.7	85.9	96.2	108.5	124
North Korea	" "	788	505 ⁵	485 ⁶	569.0	667	717	660	543 ⁶	710.0 ⁴	1339	1442	1613
North Vietnam	" "	1351	—	1839	2135	2378	2348	2255	—	2137	2950	3973	3613
Mongolia	I/IX	9000	—	24000	22300	23400	23900	—	—	—	—	—	—

1. 1949. 2. 1952. 3. 1936. 4. 1939. 5. 1953. 6. 1956.

Note: in China—beef and dairy cattle, horses, donkeys and mules; in Mongolia—a¹/₂ livestock.

Simultaneously with the growth in the number of livestock the productivity of animal husbandry is also growing and with it the output of meat, animal fats, milk, eggs and other products. Figures showing the output of the main products of animal husbandry obtained in the USSR in 1959 and 1913 respectively are: meat (live weight) — 15.8 million tons and 7.9 million; milk — 62 million tons and 29.4 million; eggs 24,800 million and 10,200 million; wool — 350,000 and 180,000 tons.

In 1959 the Soviet Union outstripped the U.S. for output of animal fats per head of the population; in 1961 it will catch up with the U.S.

1. These figures indicate only production by the state, they do not include personal

for output of milk and dairy produce. In 1955 the German Democratic Republic surpassed West Germany for per-capita output of butter. Hungary's 1959 output was 1.5 in excess of the prewar figure¹, in Poland it rose more than fivefold compared with 1947¹. Meat procurements increased in the German Democratic Republic (1953-59) by 15 per cent, in Hungary (1950-59) by 58 per cent.

The increasing supplies of machinery are an important lever for advancing agricultural production.

pleasant production and, where meat is concerned, do not include co-operative production.

Tractors (thousands, in terms of 15 h.p.)

| Country | Prewar Year | 1950 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
|---|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| USSR | 684 | 933 | 1142 | 1239 | 1338 | 1449 | 1542 | 1635 | 1750 | 1899 |
| China | 0.4 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.7 | 5 | 8.1 | 19.4 | 24.6 | 45.3 | 59.0 |
| Poland | 0.5-1.5 | 25.5 | 40.4 | 46.2 | 51.9 | 59.1 | 64.4 | 69.4 | 72.7 | 77.2 |
| Czechoslovakia | 8.1 | 26 | 28.6 | 32.2 | 36.3 | 40.8 | 46.6 | 52.7 | 61.9 | — |
| German Democratic Republic ¹ | — | 36.4 | — | — | — | 35.7 | 38.1 | 39.0 | 42.3 | 47.6 |
| Hungary | 7 | 13.4 | 13.4 | 14.1 | 17.7 | 23.6 | 25.5 | 26.2 | 26.4 | 31 |
| Rumania | 4.9 | 16.7 | — | 23.3 | 27.1 | 30.5 | 32.3 | 37.9 | 45.1 | 51.7 |
| Bulgaria | — | 8.7 | 12.3 | 13.5 | 16.3 | 19.4 | 24.3 | 27.2 | 27.8 | 34.4 |
| Albania ² | 0.03 | 0.4 | — | — | — | 1.6 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.9 | 3.8 |
| North Korea | — | 0.76 | — | 0.8 | 0.8 | — | 2.6 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 8.1 |

1. The number of tractors in physical units. 2. State sector.

Grain Harvester Combines (in physical units)

| Country | Prewar Year | 1950 | 1953 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| USSR (thous.) | 182 | 211 | 318 | 375 | 483 | 502 | 492 |
| Czechoslovakia ¹ (units) | — | — | 1113 | 4304 | 4260 | 5027 | 6000 |
| German Democratic Republic " | — | — | 475 | 3296 | 3702 | 4078 | — |
| Hungary " | — | 25 | 1657 | 2269 | 2346 | 2324 | — |
| Rumania " | — | 74 | 80 | 206 | 1642 | 7461 | 10801 |
| Bulgaria " | — | 13 | 1563 | 3517 | 3624 | 4566 | 5624 |
| Albania ² " | — | — | — | 114 | 141 | 216 | 256 |
| Poland " | — | 84 | 466 | 3128 | 3353 | 3770 | 3700 |

1. Machine and tractor stations only. 2. State sector.

Nearly all farm work in pre-revolutionary Russia was done either by hand or by draught animals. In 1959 in the USSR 98 per cent of the spring ploughing and 97 per cent of the spring sowing was done by machines. Combines harvested 92 per cent of the summer crops, including corn (93 per cent, excluding corn). In 1959 in Rumania 89 per cent of the ploughing was mechanized as

against 71 per cent in 1950, 68 per cent of the sowing as against 54 per cent, and 65 per cent of the harvesting as against 52 per cent in 1951. The percentages of mechanized work on Bulgarian co-operative farms in 1959 and 1952 were respectively: ploughing — 88.5 and 64.5; sowing — 81.2 and 34.5; harvesting — 50.1 and 42.3. Growing mechanization is the rule in the other socialist countries.

IV. THE RISE IN LIVING STANDARDS

THE steady growth of industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy is accompanied by rising living standards. This is reflected above all in the growth of the national income.

In 1959 the USSR national income was 1.8 times as great as in 1953, and nearly 25 times as great

as in 1913. Calculated per head of the population the increase was 1.6 compared with 1953 and 16-fold compared with 1913. In 1960 Soviet national income is expected to be nine per cent higher than in 1959 and will amount to 1,450,000 million rubles.

Growth of the National Income
(1950 = 100)

| Country | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
|----------------------------|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| USSR | 100 | 112 | 125 | 136 | 153 | 171 | 191 | 205 | 225 | 245 |
| China ¹ | 100 ³ | 139 | 170 | 193 | 204 | 218 | 248 | 260 | 348 | 423 |
| Poland | 100 | 108 | 114 | 126 | 139 | 151 | 162 | 177 | 186 | 196 |
| Czechoslovakia | 100 | 110 | 121 | 128 | 133 | 147 | 156 | 166 | 180 | 189 |
| German Democratic Republic | 100 | 122 | 139 | 146 | 159 | 173 | 180 | 193 | 214 | 232 |
| Hungary | 100 | 117 | 115 | 130 | 125 | 136 | 121 | 149 | 159 | 175 |
| Rumania ¹ | 100 | 131 | 137 | 158 | 157 | 193 | 178 | 207 | 214 | 242 |
| Bulgaria ² | 100 | 141 | 140 | 170 | 169 | 178 | 180 | 203 | 217 | 265 |
| Albania | 100 | — | — | — | — | 170 | 173 | 198 | 211 | 251 |
| North Korea | 100 ³ | — | — | 70 | 94 | 116 | 146 | 200 | 285 | 342 |
| North Vietnam | — | — | — | — | — | 100 | — | — | — | 190 |

1. 1950 prices. 2. 1957 prices. 3. 1949.

The national income in the socialist countries, wholly at the disposal of the working people, is distributed in keeping with their interests. In the capitalist countries over half of the national income is appropriated by the capitalist class whereas in the socialist countries about seventy-five per cent of the income is allocated to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the population, the remainder is set aside for expanding socialist industry and for other public purposes.

The ending of the export of a sizeable portion of the national income by way of tribute to foreign capital, as was the case before the socialist revolution, and the abolition of the exploiting classes and their parasitic consumption have enabled the socialist countries steadily to increase capital in-

vestments in the economy and simultaneously to ensure systematic growth of the absolute volume of the consumption fund earmarked for social and personal consumption.

In the socialist countries a large part of the national income allocated for the planned development of industry, agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy and also for raising living standards and for other needs of the state, is concentrated in the state budgets.

The expansion of all branches of the economy ensures the steady growth of the state budgets of the socialist countries, and provides the backing for their finance-credit systems and currency circulation.

State Budget Income and Expenditure

| Country | | 1950 | 1959 | 1959 in per cent of 1950 |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| USSR | income | 423.0 | 672.0 ¹ | 159 |
| (bill. rubles) | expenditure | 413.0 | 643.0 ¹ | 156 |
| China | income | 6.5 | 54.2 | 831 |
| (bill. yuans) | expenditure | 6.8 | 52.8 | 775 |
| Poland | income | 102.9 ² | 186.5 | 181 |
| (bill. zloty) | expenditure | 96.3 ² | 182.4 | 189 |
| Czechoslovakia | income | 43.8 ³ | 96.2 | 220 |
| (bill. crowns) | expenditure | 40.9 ³ | 95.9 | 234 |
| German Democratic Republic | income | 34.8 ² | 47.4 | 121 |
| (bill. marks) | expenditure | 34.8 ² | 46.9 | 120 |
| Hungary | income | 24.0 | 52.9 | 220 |
| (bill. forints) | expenditure | 23.9 | 52.1 | 218 |
| Rumania | income | 20.0 | 51.1 | 256 |
| (bill. lei) | expenditure | 19.1 | 48.3 | 253 |
| Bulgaria | income | 8.4 | 27.0 | 321 |
| (bill. leva) | expenditure | 7.2 | 26.3 | 365 |
| Albania | income | 8.5 | 25.6 | 302 |
| (bill. leks) | expenditure | 6.5 | 24.6 | 379 |
| North Korea | income | 0.22 | 1.7 | 780 |
| (bill. hwan) | expenditure | 0.20 | 1.6 | 825 |
| Mongolia | income | 0.38 | 0.8 ¹ | 210 |
| (bill. tughriks) | expenditure | 0.36 | 0.7 ¹ | 194 |

1. 1958 figure. 2. 1953 figures. 3. 1951 figures.

Structure of the State Budget

| Country | INCOME (PER CENT) | | | EXPENDITURE (PER CENT) | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | From Socialist Sector
1950 | From Socialist Sector
1959 | From Population
(Taxes and Levies)
1959 | National Economy
1950 | Socio-Cultural Measures
1959 | Defence
1950 | Defence
1959 |
| USSR | 83.7 | 90.0 | 16.3 | 38.2 | 28.2 | 20.0 | 13.3 |
| China | — | — | — | 25.5 | 64.1 ¹ | 41.5 | 12.2 ¹ |
| Poland | — | 72.2 ¹ | — | — | 57.8 ¹ | — | 6.6 ¹ |
| Czechoslovakia | 57 | 85.0 | 16.0 | 32.1 | 47.7 | 12.1 ² | 9.2 |
| German Democratic Republic | 18.4 ³ | 60.1 | — | — | — | — | 2.3 |
| Hungary | — | 89.4 | — | 33.6 | 55.5 ⁴ | — | 4.6 ⁴ |
| Rumania | — | 91.6 | — | 52.5 | 60.3 ¹ | 17.0 | 8.0 ¹ |
| Bulgaria | 66.7 | 90.3 ¹ | 13.9 | 45.8 | 64.9 ⁴ | — | 6.3 ⁴ |
| Albania | — | 82.2 ¹ | 11.5 | 34.8 | 49.8 ³ | 21.9 | 8.9 ¹ |
| North Korea | 75.5 ⁵ | 92.9 | 24.5 ⁵ | 42.3 ⁵ | 68.3 | 38.5 ⁵ | 3.7 |
| Mongolia | 51.8 | 93.7 | 22.2 | 13.6 | 45.9 ⁶ | 30.2 | 7.0 ⁶ |
| North Vietnam | — | 75.0 | — | 5 | 57.5 ⁴ | — | 24.0 ⁴ |

1. 1958, 2. 1955, 3. 1951, 4. Envisaged in the plan, 5. 1949, 6. 1960 plan figure.

In 1960 state budget income from the socialist economy in the USSR amounted to 703,000 million rubles or 90.9 per cent of all budgetary resources. Taxes comprise less than one-tenth of the budgetary revenue. Here we have one of the basic differences between the socialist and the capitalist budget.

In the capitalist countries taxes are the main source of budgetary revenue. In the 1958/59 fiscal year taxes (not including corporation income tax) accounted for 70 per cent of all state revenue in the United States. In Britain the figure was 75 per cent; in France — 73 per cent; Italy — 88 per cent; Federal Germany — 77 per cent. In the past 20 years the share of taxes in the U.S. budgetary in-

come has increased eightfold, and in Britain — 5.5-fold.

In contrast, taxes in the socialist countries are being steadily reduced. The USSR Supreme Soviet decided in May 1960 gradually to abolish all taxes on the population.

Military allocations, too, are being systematically curtailed in the socialist countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, the share of these allocations in the state budget expenditure was 12.9 per cent in 1960 against 20 per cent in 1950.

Military expenditure in the capitalist countries is constantly growing. In 1959 its share in the state budget was: in the USA — 51 per cent; Britain — 28.2 per cent; France — 42 per cent.

Capital Investments in the National Economy

| Country | Monetary Unit | 1950 | 1959 | Total for 1950-59 | 1959 in Per cent of 1950 |
|----------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| USSR | bill. rubles | 96.3 | 275.0 | 1695.3 | 286 |
| China | bill. yuans | 1.04 | 26.7 | 104.04 | 25.7-fold |
| Poland | bill. zloty | 28.6 | 68.4 | 471.1 | 239.4 |
| Czechoslovakia | bill. crowns | 14.2 | 37.9 | 239.8 | 267.0 |
| German Democratic Republic | bill. marks | — | 14.0 | — | — |
| Hungary | bill. forints | 9.7 | 13.7 ¹ | 115.02 ² | 141.0 |
| Rumania ³ | bill. lei | 5.7 | 17.4 | 123.5 | 308.0 |
| Bulgaria | bill. leva | 3.0 | 6.2 | 51.6 | 206.7 |
| Albania | bill. leks | 3.3 | 10.8 ¹ | 52.1 ² | 322.0 |
| North Korea | bill. hwan | 39.0 ⁴ | 620 | — | 7-fold |
| North Vietnam | mill. dongs | — | 0.5 | 2.2 | — |
| Mongolia | bill. tughriks | — | — | 1.7 ⁵ | — |

1. 1958. 2. 1950-58. 3. Excluding private investment and investments made by co-operatives from their own funds. 4. 1949. 5. 1948-60.

**Growth of Budgetary Allocations for Social and Cultural Needs
in the Socialist Countries**

| Country | 1950 | 1951 | 1953 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| USSR (bill. rubles) | 117 | — | 129 | 147 | 164 | 201 | 214 | 231 |
| 1950=100 | 100 | — | 110 | 126 | 140 | 172 | 183 | 197 |
| China (bill. yuans) | 0.75 | 1.34 | 3.36 | 3.19 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 4.35 | 5.86 |
| 1950=100 | 100 | 179 | 448 | 425 | 613 | 619 | 580 | 781 |
| Poland (bill. zloty) | — | — | — | 29.0 | 34.5 | 41.8 | 47.6 | 54.8 |
| 1955=100 | — | — | — | 100 | 119 | 144 | 164 | 189 |
| Czechoslovakia (bill. crowns) | — | — | — | 28.3 | 28.8 | 31.9 | 36.9 | 38.4 |
| 1955=100 | — | — | — | 100 | 102 | 113 | 131 | 136 |
| German Democratic Republic (bill. marks) | — | 7.5 | 10.8 | 11.8 | 12.0 | 14.1 | 15.5 | 17.5 |
| 1951=100 | — | 100 | 142 | 157 | 158 | 186 | 205 | 232 |
| Hungary (bill. forints) | 4.0 | 5.0 | 9.5 | 10.4 | 11.5 | 13.2 ¹ | 14.2 ¹ | 16.3 ¹ |
| 1950=100 | 100 | 125 | 238 | 260 | 288 | 330 | 355 | 475 |
| Rumania (bill. lei) | 3.4 | 4.0 | 5.3 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 10.8 | 11.2 | 12.1 |
| 1950=100 | 100 | 115 | 153 | 198 | 232 | 313 | 324 | 352 |
| Bulgaria (bill. leva) | 1.6 | 1.8 | 3.2 | 3.8 | 4.1 | 4.5 | 4.9 | 5.5 |
| 1950=100 | 100 | 111 | 144 | 177 | 185 | 199 | 303 | 341 |
| Albania (bill. leks) | 1.0 | — | — | 2.1 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 5.0 | — |
| 1950=100 | 100 | — | — | 213 | 254 | 313 | 509 | — |
| North Korea (mill. hwan) | — | 29 | 56 | 95 | 121 | 177 | 247 | 392 |
| 1951=100 | — | 100 | 193 | 327 | 417 | 610 | 852 | 1351 |
| Mongolia (mill. tughriks) ² | — | — | — | 330 | — | — | 594 | — |
| 1955=100 | — | — | — | 100 | — | — | 180 | — |

1. Envisaged in the plan. 2. To finance both the national economy and socio-cultural measures.

An important contribution to raising living standards in the socialist countries is made by the growing public funds. These funds are utilized for housing (at low rent), for improving communal services, the health service (free), building educational institutions, recreation halls, sports premises, etc. In 1959 in the Soviet Union, for example, the sum of 230,000 million rubles, provided by the

state budget and funds contributed by the enterprises, was spent on public services, on pensions, grants and other benefits, i.e., nearly 5.5 times the 1940 figure.

Thanks to the abolition of unemployment and the expansion of industry the numbers of factory and office workers are growing in the socialist countries.

Number of Factory and Office Workers (thousands)

| Country
(1) | 1950
(2) | 1953
(3) | 1955
(4) | 1956
(5) | 1957
(6) | 1958
(7) | 1958 in
per cent
of 1950
(8) |
|---|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| USSR. Numbers employed in the national economy | 38895 | 43660 | 48400 | 50537 | 53148 | 54600 | 140 |
| incl. production workers in industry | 14144 | 16261 | 17367 | 18500 | 19144 | 19641 | 139 |
| China. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy (end of year) | 10239 | 18256 | 19076 | 24230 | 24506 | 45323 | 443 |
| incl. production workers | 3004 ¹ | 6188 | 6477 | 8626 | 9008 | 25623 | — |
| Poland. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 5155 | 6272 | 6779 | 7083 | 7279 | 7326 | 142 |
| incl. in (nationalized) industry | 2002 | 2467 | 2691 | 2803 | 2900 | 2929 | 146 |
| Czechoslovakia. Numbers employed in the national economy | 5577 | 5683 | 5956 | 6047 | 6100 | 6105 | 109 |
| of whom in industry | 1674 | 1849 | 1956 | 2010 | 2091 | 2113 | 126 |
| German Democratic Republic. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 5268 | 5995 | 6411 | 6367 | 6493 | 6416 | 122 |
| incl. in industry | 2155 | 2641 | 2770 | 2742 | 2820 | 2871 | 133 |
| Hungary. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 1809 | 2399 | 2398 | 2438 | 2363 | 2427 | 134 |
| incl. in industry | 658 | 915 | 942 | 959 | 952 | 990 | 150 |
| Rumania. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 2123 | 2785 | 2948 | 2991 | 2882 | 3058 ² | 144 ³ |
| incl. in industry | 809 | 1028 | 1079 | 1113 | 1109 | 1191 | 147 |
| Bulgaria. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 806 | 1086 | 1230 | 1262 | 1339 | 1414 | 175 |
| incl. in industry | 355 | 418 | 459 | 483 | 556 | 589 | 166 |
| Albania. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 83 | 139 | 138 | 138 | 151 | 169 | 204 |
| incl. in industry | 22 | 43 | 49 | 50 | 53 | 61 | 277 |
| North Korea. Number of factory and office workers in the national economy | 465 | 575 | 763 | 808 | 844 | 983 | 211 |

1. 1949. 2. 1959. 3. 1959 in per cent of 1950. 4. In the socialist sector.

Conditions of work are steadily improving in the socialist countries, both in industry and in agriculture. Hours of labor are being reduced, the system of labor protection is being perfected, and the network of first aid and prophylactic establishments is growing. By April 1, 1960, some 16 million factory and office workers in the Soviet Union had switched to a seven- and six-hour working day, and by the end of the year all will be working shorter hours. In keeping with the directives of the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU the forty-hour week will be introduced by the end of 1962, and, beginning with 1964, a six- and five-hour day will gradually be introduced. The USSR will then have the shortest working day in the world. Steps to reduce the hours of labor are being contemplated also in the other socialist countries.

Wages, salaries and peasants' incomes are growing annually. In the Soviet Union real wages and salaries (including grants and other state benefits) had doubled by 1959 compared with 1940. Real incomes of the peasants (including grants and other state benefits) showed a 2.2-fold increase for the same period. Between 1953-59 real incomes of Soviet factory and office workers rose 45 per cent, while peasant incomes went up by 64 per cent.

By 1965 real incomes of wage and salaried workers in the USSR (per worker) will have risen on the average by 40 per cent both as a result of increased wages, salaries, pensions and grants and a reduction of prices in public catering establishments. Real incomes of the collective farmers over the same period will rise by at least 40 per cent.

Growth of Wages and Salaries

| Country
(1) | 1950
(2) | 1951
(3) | 1952
(4) | 1953
(5) | 1954
(6) | 1955
(7) | 1956
(8) | 1957
(9) | 1958
(10) | 1959
(11) | 1959 or
1958 in per
cent of 1950
(12) |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--|
| China. Mean annual wage
(yuans) | — | — | 446 | 496 | 519 | 534 | 610 | 637 | 656 | — | 147.1 ¹ |
| Poland. Average monthly wage and salary
throughout the national economy (zloty) | 567 | 625 | 689 | 968 | 1069 | 1069 | 1183 | 1362 | 1446 | 1564 | 276 |
| Czechoslovakia. Average monthly wage and
salary throughout the national economy
(crowns) | 933 | 993 | 1035 | 1081 | 1154 | 1181 | 1227 | 1251 | 1277 | 1305 | 140 |
| Average wage in industry | 912 | 1007 | 1096 | 1160 | 1250 | 1272 | 1311 | 1322 | 1357 | 1380 | 151 |
| German Democratic Republic. Average
monthly wage and salary throughout the
national economy (marks) | 256 | 279 | 300 | 322 | 346 | 354 | 365 | 379 | 392 | — | 151 |
| Average in industry | 265 | 298 | 318 | 344 | 376 | 386 | 398 | 408 | 421 | — | 159 |
| Hungary. ² Average monthly wage and sal-
ary throughout the national economy
(forints) | 685 | 730 | 929 | 988 | 1080 | 1140 | 1235 | 1445 | 1480 | — | 218 |
| Average in industry | 740 | 788 | 1004 | 1062 | 1168 | 1225 | 1308 | 1532 | 1556 | — | 210 |
| Rumania. Growth of mean annual wage
and salary | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 214 ³ |
| Incl. workers | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 228 ³ |
| Bulgaria. Mean annual wage and salary
throughout the national economy (leva) | 5470 | 5917 | 6462 | 6948 | 7347 | 7535 | 7781 | 8151 | 8350 | 8643 | 158 |
| Mean annual wage of workers | 5428 | 1866 | 6544 | 6968 | 7352 | 7577 | 7731 | 8109 | 8383 | 8758 | 161 |
| North Korea. Index of growth of wages
and salaries (hwan) (100=1949) | — | — | — | 106 | 127 | 141 | 165 | 236 | 256 | 365 | — |

1. 1958 in per cent of 1952. 2. State sector. 3. 1959 in per cent of 1950.

Dynamics of Retail Trade Turnover

| Country | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
|---|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| USSR. bill. rubles (prices for corresponding years) | 360 | 380 | 394 | 431 | 482 | 502 | 547 | 625 | 677 | 719 |
| Physical volume (1950=100) | 100 | 115 | 126 | 153 | 181 | 189 | 205 | 234 | 248 | 263 |
| China. bill. yuans | 17 | 23 | 28 | 35 | 38 | 39 | 46 | 47 | 55 | 64 |
| Index (1950=100) | 100 | 137 | 162 | 204 | 223 | 230 | 270 | 278 | 321 | 374 |
| Poland. bill. zloty (current prices) | 56 | 65 | 76 | 112 | 124 | 133 | 151 | 189 | 205 | 227 |
| Index (1950=100) | 100 | 116 | 135 | 199 | 221 | 236 | 269 | 337 | 367 | 405 |
| Czechoslovakia. bill. crowns (current prices) | 41 ¹ | — | — | 66 | 73 | 78 | 84 | 89 | 90 | 95 |
| Physical volume (1949=100) | 114 | — | 122 | — | 137 | — | 165 | 180 | 182 | 191 |
| German Democratic Republic. bill. marks (current prices) | 17 | 21 | 25 | 27 | 30 | 32 | 33 | 35 | 38 | 42 |
| Index (1950=100) | 100 | 124 | 145 | 159 | 172 | 183 | 189 | 202 | 221 | 247 |
| Hungary. bill. forints (current prices) | — | — | 32 | 36 | 42 | 44 | 48 | 53 | 56 | 62 |
| Physical volume (1950=100) | 100 | 100 | 90 | 100 | 120 | 126 | 141 | 150 | 158 | 175 |
| Rumania. bill. lei (current prices)² | 14 | 17 | 16 | 20 | 23 | 29 | 32 | 35.4 | 35.1 | 36 |
| Index (1950=100) | 100 | 126 | 127 | 160 | 182 | 200 | 226 | 238 | 234 | 247 |
| Bulgaria. bill. leva (comparable prices) | 8 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 13 | 15 | 17 | 18 | 22 |
| Physical volume (1950=100) | 100 | 89 | 109 | 124 | 154 | 173 | 200 | 218 | 241 | 247 |
| Albania. bill. leks (prices for corresponding years) | 7 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 18 | 23 | — |
| Index (1950=100) | 100 | 110 | 126 | 151 | 175 | 191 | 211 | 251 | 311 | — |
| North Korea. mill. hwan (prices for corresponding years) | 181 | — | — | 399 | 446 | 503 | 614 | 922 | 1291 | 1706 |
| Index (1949=100) | — | 29 | — | 64 | 94 | 90 | 119 | 187 | 228 | 308 |
| Mongolia. bill. tughriks (prices for corresponding years) | — | — | 0.5 | — | — | — | 0.6 | — | — | 0.8 |
| Index (1952=100) | — | — | 100 | — | — | — | 117 | — | — | 144 |
| North Vietnam. bill. dong (prices for corresponding years) | — | — | — | — | — | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.5 |
| Index (1955=100) | — | — | — | — | — | 100 | 179 | 200 | 253 | 295 |

1. 1949, 2. Socialist sector only.

Together with the rise in the general volume of sales of food and manufactures a change has taken place in the structure of the trade — more manufactures are now being sold. The typical feature here is the growing demand for goods of high quality. In Bulgaria, for example, twice as much meat was sold in 1959 as in 1952, 1.5 times as much butter, 2.2 times as much milk and 1.9 times as much sugar; in Poland 1.7 times as much meat and meat products and approximately 1.3 times as much sugar were sold in 1959 as in 1955. Over the same period the increase in Rumania (socialist trade sector) was: meat — 1.4 times, vegetable oil — 1.4 and sugar 1.3. Durables are in much

greater demand. In Czechoslovakia, for example, 12 times as many TV sets were sold in 1958 as in 1954, and 5.5 times as many refrigerators. In Hungary eight times as many TV sets were sold in 1959 as in 1957, and eight times as many refrigerators and washing machines as in 1956.

Per capita consumption of food and consumer goods is rising year by year. Compared with 1953 per capita consumption in the Soviet Union in 1959 had risen as follows: meat and lard — 27 per cent; milk and dairy products — 40 per cent; eggs — 44 per cent; fish and fish products — 29 per cent, and sugar 37 per cent.

Per Capita Consumption of Food

| Country | MEATS (kg.) | | FATS (kg.) | | SUGAR (kg.) | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|------|
| | Prewar Year | 1958 | Prewar Year | 1958 | Prewar Year | 1958 |
| Czechoslovakia | 34.0 | 53.9 | 15.6 | 19.7 | 23.1 | 35.0 |
| German Democratic Republic | 46.8 ¹ | 56.3 ² | 11.5 ³ | 27.9 ⁴ | 22.9 | 30.1 |
| Poland | 19.6 ⁴ | 47.8 ⁴ | — | — | 9.6 | 28.5 |
| Hungary | 33 | 42 | 16 | 20 | 10.5 | 24.8 |

1. All Germany. 2. 1959. 3. 1950. 4. Including fats.

Housing in the socialist countries receives special attention. Since the October Revolution a total of 714.8 million sq.m. of floor space has been built in the Soviet Union. Another 650-660 million sq.m. in the towns and some seven million houses in the countryside will be built during 1959-65. For rate of house-building per head of the population the USSR holds first place in the world. The number of flats built per each thousand of population in

1958 was: in Britain — 5.5; France — 6.5; the United States — 7.2; Holland — 8.1; Sweden — 8.4; Federal Germany — 9.4; and in the Soviet Union 14. In 1959, 14.5 flats per thousand were built in the USSR. In the near future each Soviet family will have a separate flat.

House-building is making good headway also in the People's Democracies.

Commissioned Floor Space

| Country | Unit of Measurement | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
|----------------------------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Poland | thous. rooms | 179 | 176 | 174 | 209 | 209 | 252 | 264 | 341 | 368 | 387 |
| Czechoslovakia | thous. flats | 38.2 | 30.9 | 39.3 | 39.0 | 38.2 | 50.6 | 63.7 | 64.3 | 53.4 | 67.0 |
| German Democratic Republic | " " | 31.0 | 61.0 | 47.6 | 32.3 | 34.7 | 32.8 | 32.8 | 61.1 | 63.5 | 80.0 |
| Hungary | " " | 24.7 | 17.7 | 16.7 | 16.8 | 27.2 | 31.5 | 25.5 | 51.3 | 41.8 | 46.6 |
| Rumania | mil. sq.m. | — | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 4.4 | — |
| Bulgaria | " " " | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.8 |
| North Korea | " " " | — | — | — | — | 4.3 | 2.9 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 2.3 |

Dwelling houses and public buildings erected in China during the 10 years of people's power totalled 350 million sq. meters.

The health service is improving as can be seen from the growing numbers of doctors, the larger numbers catered for in medical institutions, the declining mortality rate, particularly infantile mortality, and other factors.

Number of People per Doctor*

| Country | Before Second World War | 1949 | 1959 |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| USSR | 1429 | 714 ¹ | 556 |
| Poland | 2703 | 2857 | 1124 |
| Czechoslovakia | — | 1158 ² | 616 ³ |
| Hungary | 862 | 929 | 656 |
| Rumania | 2036 | 1460 ² | 860 ⁴ |
| Bulgaria | 2013 | 1426 | 740 |

1. 1950. 2. 1948. 3. 1958. 4. 1955.

*Excl. dentists.

Medical personnel in China (exclusive of those specializing in Chinese medicine) increased 2.8 times between 1950-58. In the Korean People's Democratic Republic the increase was 4.3 between 1946-59, and in Albania 8.6 between 1938-58.

Number of Hospital Beds (per thous. of population)

| Country | Before Second World War | 1949 | 1959 |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| USSR | 4.0 | 5.6 ¹ | 7.6 |
| Poland | 2.0 | 3.8 | 5.4 |
| Czechoslovakia | 3.3 | 6.1 | 7.3 ² |
| German democratic Republic | — | 10.2 ¹ | 11.8 ² |
| Hungary | 5.1 | 5.4 | 7.1 |
| Rumania | 2.2 | 4.2 ¹ | 7.1 |
| Bulgaria | 2.0 | 3.8 | 7.9 |

1. 1950. 2. 1958.

In China the number of hospital beds per each thousand of population increased more than fourfold between 1949-58, in the Korean People's Democratic Republic 25-fold between 1944-59, in Albania approximately fourfold between 1938-58.

Birth-Rate, Death-Rate and Net Population Increase

(per thousand of population)

| Country | Prewar Year | 1950 | 1958 |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------|
| USSR | | | |
| Births | 31.3 | 26.7 | 25.3 |
| Deaths | 18.1 | 9.7 | 7.2 |
| Natural growth of population | 13.2 | 17.0 | 18.1 |
| Poland | | | |
| Births | 25.3 ¹ | 30.7 | 26.3 |
| Deaths | 14.1 ¹ | 11.6 | 8.4 |
| Natural growth of population | 11.2 ¹ | 19.1 | 17.9 |
| Czechoslovakia | | | |
| Births | 19.7 ² | 22.0 ³ | 17.4 |
| Deaths | 13.7 ² | 10.9 ³ | 9.3 |
| Natural growth of population | 6.0 ² | 11.1 ³ | 8.1 |
| German Democratic Republic | | | |
| Births | 18.0 ⁴ | 16.5 | 15.6 |
| Deaths | 11.9 ⁴ | 11.9 | 12.7 |
| Natural growth of population | 6.1 ⁴ | 4.6 | 2.9 |
| Hungary | | | |
| Births | 19.9 | 21.0 | 16.1 |
| Deaths | 14.3 | 11.5 | 9.9 |
| Natural growth of population | 5.6 | 9.5 | 6.2 |
| Rumania | | | |
| Births | 29.5 | 26.2 | 21.6 |
| Deaths | 19.1 | 12.4 | 8.7 |
| Natural growth of population | 10.4 | 13.8 | 12.9 |
| Bulgaria | | | |
| Births | 21.4 | 25.2 | 17.9 |
| Deaths | 13.4 | 10.2 | 7.9 |
| Natural growth of population | 8.0 | 15.0 | 10.0 |
| Albania | | | |
| Births | 34.7 | 38.5 | 41.0 |
| Deaths | 17.8 | 14.0 | 9.1 |
| Natural growth of population | 16.9 | 24.5 | 31.9 |

| Country | Prewar Year | 1950 | 1958 |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| North Korea | | | |
| Births | 31.3 ⁵ | 41.2 ⁶ | 39.3 ⁷ |
| Deaths | 20.8 ⁵ | 18.7 ⁶ | 12.0 ⁷ |
| Natural growth of population | 10.5 ⁵ | 22.5 ⁶ | 27.3 ⁷ |

1. Average for 1936-38. 2. Average for 1930-34. 3. Average for 1950-54. 4. 1938. 5. 1944. 6. 1949. 7. 1959..

Big advances have been registered in the socialist countries in the spheres of science and culture which are now accessible to all.

All children attend primary school. Enrolment in secondary schools and higher educational establishments has substantially increased. Most of the students are sons and daughters of working people. Each year sees further progress in book-printing, cinema and theatre, accommodation in radio and television.

Number of Pupils and Students in the Various Educational Establishments (thousands)

| Country (1) | Prewar Year (2) | 1949-50 (3) | 1959-60 (4) |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| USSR | | | |
| General schools of all types | 35552 | 34752 ¹ | 33361 |
| Vocational schools and apprentice schools | 717 | 882 ¹ | 996 |
| Technical and other specialized secondary schools (incl. correspondence departments) | 975 | 1298 ¹ | 1908 |
| Higher educational establishments (incl. correspondence departments) | 812 | 1247 ¹ | 2267 |
| China | | | |
| Primary schools | 23682 | 24391 | 90000 |
| Secondary schools | 1496 | 1039 | 8520 ² |
| Specialized secondary schools | 383 | 229 | 1470 ² |
| Higher educational establishments | 155 | 117 | 810 |
| Poland | | | |
| Primary schools | 4865.3 | 3352.9 | 4574.2 |
| Secondary schools | 221.4 | 221.4 | 214.3 |
| Vocational schools | 194.9 | 558.2 | 631.2 |
| Higher educational establishments | 49.5 | 115.5 | 155.0 |

| Country (1) | Prewar Year (2) | 1949-50 (3) | 1959-60 (4) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Czechoslovakia | | | |
| General schools | 2210.2 | 1593.7 ³ | 2054.6 ² |
| Vocational schools | 75.5 | 92.6 ³ | 192.1 ² |
| Higher educational establishments | 27.1 | 64.7 ³ | 74.9 ² |

German Democratic Republic

| | | | |
|--|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| General schools | — | 2514 ⁴ | 1812 ² |
| Vocational schools | — | 915 ⁴ | 508 ² |
| Specialized secondary schools (of the technical school type) | — | 21.8 ⁴ | 127.7 |
| Higher educational establishments | — | 31.5 ⁴ | 90.5 |

Hungary

| | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| General schools | 1096 | 1202 | 1268 |
| Secondary schools and specialized secondary educational establishments | 52.3 | 94.0 | 204 |
| Higher educational establishments | 11.7 | 23.2 | 34.5 |

Rumania

| | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| General schools | 1604 | 1848 | 2339 |
| Secondary technical educational establishments | 14.7 | 79.0 | 46.9 |
| Higher educational establishments | 26.5 | 48.6 | 62.0 |

Bulgaria

| | | | |
|---|------|------|-------------------|
| General schools | 1010 | 1004 | 1175 ² |
| Vocational and specialized secondary educational establishments | 10 | 49 | 65 ² |
| Higher educational establishments | 10 | 38 | 49 |

Albania

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| General schools | 55.4 | 172.3 ⁴ | 232.5 ² |
| Higher educational establishments | — | 0.13 ⁴ | 3.3 ² |

North Korea

| | | | |
|--|-----|------|-------------------|
| Primary schools | 878 | 1391 | 1210 ² |
| Secondary schools | — | 338 | 1017 ² |
| Technical and other specialized educational establishments | — | 37 | 120 ² |
| Higher educational establishments | — | 11 | 37 ² |

1. 1950-51. 2. 1958-59. 3. 1948-49. 4. 1951. 5. 1953-54.

Enrolment has substantially increased in Mongolia and in North Vietnam. In 1958/59 the figures for Mongolia were 100,000 in general schools and 4,000 in higher educational establishments, and in North Vietnam — 985,000 in primary schools, 132,000 in secondary schools and 5,500 in institutes of higher learning.

★ ★ ★

A vital factor in the successful development of the economy and culture of the socialist countries is their close economic co-operation and mutual aid and the growing international socialist division of labor.

The Soviet Union, the strongest of the socialist countries, has granted the People's Democracies over 30,000 million rubles in credits and loans on highly favorable terms.

Within the framework of economic and technical aid the Soviet Union is supplying the People's Democracies with industrial plant and equipment, and is helping them in the construction of over 620 big enterprises and 190 factory shops and installations.

Soviet Aid in Building Enterprises, Factory Shops and Installations in the People's Democracies

| Country | Enterprises | Factory Shops and Installations |
|----------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| China | 291 | 59 |
| Poland | 68 | 8 |
| Czechoslovakia | 8 | 8 |
| Hungary | 27 | 4 |
| Rumania | 60 | 23 |
| Bulgaria | 45 | 25 |
| Albania | 58 | 23 |
| North Korea | 30 | 15 |
| North Vietnam | 16 | 15 |
| Mongolia | 21 | 10 |

These enterprises include: 87 thermal and hydro-electric stations with a total capacity of 15 million kw.; 66 iron and steel and non-ferrous plants with a capacity in excess of 39 million tons of steel; 52 mines with a capacity of 55 million tons of coal;

41 chemical plants with a capacity of about one million tons of nitric fertilizer (in terms of ammonia), 150,000 tons of synthetic rubber; over 100 plants with an annual capacity of 55,000 motor vehicles, 67,000 tractors and large numbers of other machines.

Considerable quantities of plant and equipment are delivered to the fraternal countries by the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the other People's Democracies.

The socialist countries engage in comprehensive scientific-technical co-operation; they exchange on a gratis basis scientific and technological discoveries, designs for capital construction, specifications of latest technological processes, technical standards, norms and instructions, and samples of apparatuses and instruments. The co-operation extends also to research and experimentation, to training and re-training personnel.

Between 1948-60 the Soviet Union supplied the other socialist countries with 28,817 sets of technical specifications for various machines and equipment and for the construction of capital projects.

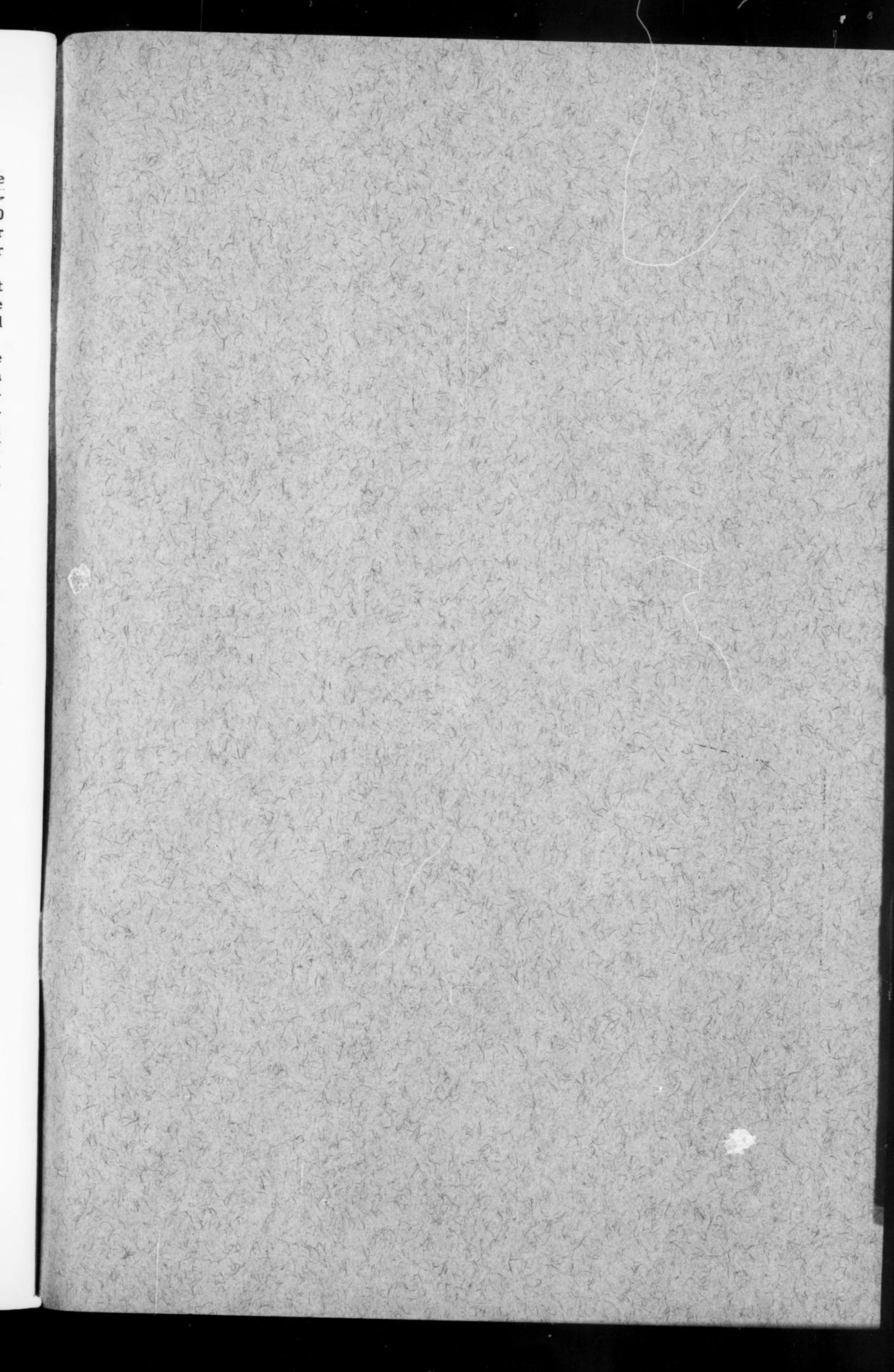
On the other hand, the USSR has received from the People's Democracies 7,048 sets of technical specifications.

The foreign trade of the socialist countries is steadily growing. By 1959 it had grown to 114,800 million rubles compared with 39,000 million in 1950, i.e., a nearly threefold increase; trade between the capitalist countries over the same period increased 1.7-fold. The annual rate of growth of trade on the socialist world market between 1950-59 averaged 12.7 per cent, whereas for the capitalist world market the figure was 6.6 per cent. The structure of the trade between the socialist countries has changed greatly — prominence being given to export of manufactures, including machinery. Trade between the socialist and the capitalist countries is likewise growing.

★ ★ ★

The rapid rates of social production and the accompanying rise in living standards in the socialist countries are clear proof of the superiority of the socialist economic system over capitalism. Concern for man, for the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the people — this is the purpose to which the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries are dedicated.

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