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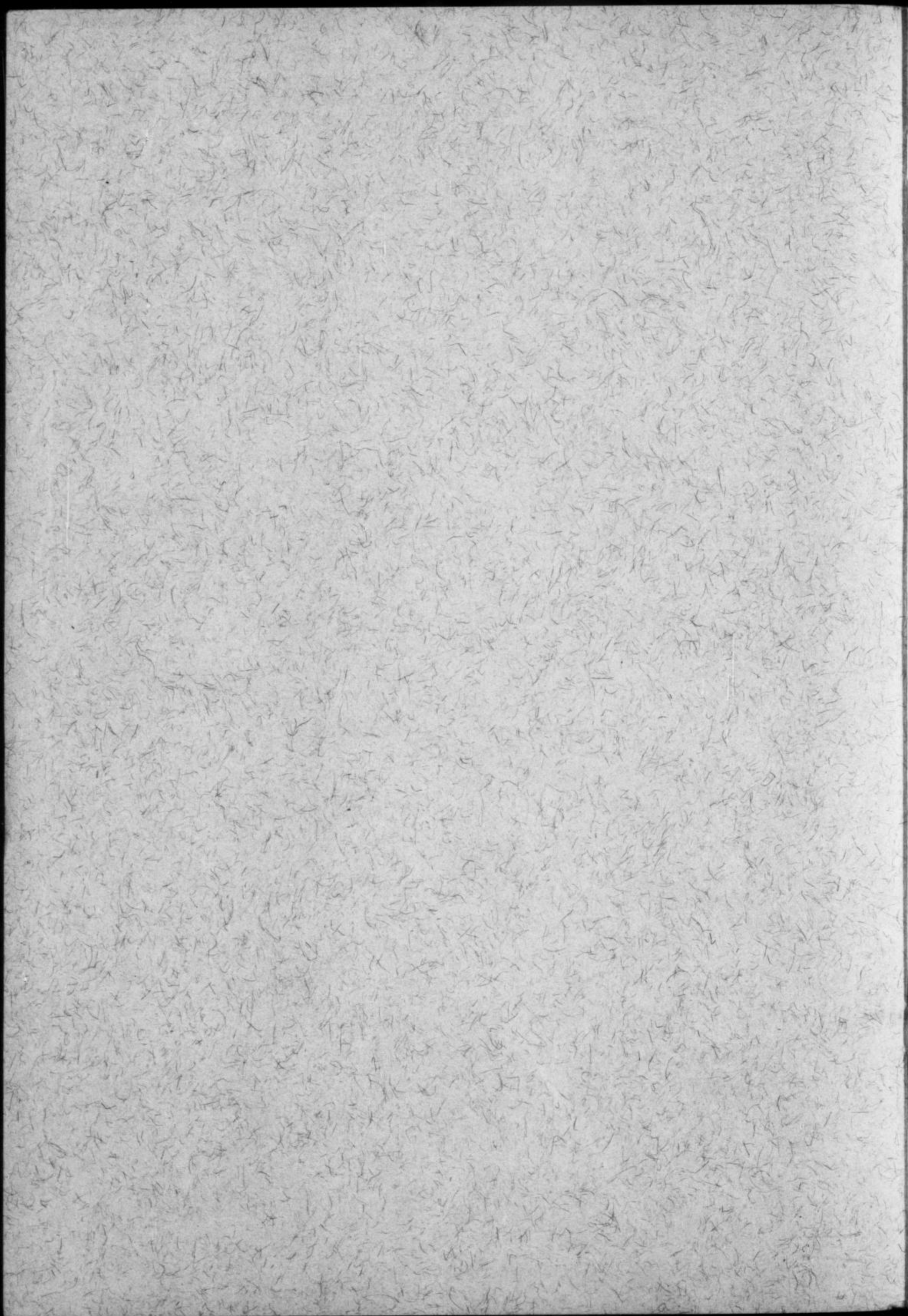
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OF PEACE AND
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CONTENTS

An Historic Congress	3
F. BILLOUX: The German Peace Treaty and De Gaulle's Policy	10
ALI YATA: New Weapon for Embattled Africa	16
A. GRANICK: The Might of Socialism and the Activity of the Masses Are the Guarantee of Peace	23
G. FILIPOV: Socialism and Incentive	30
L. GALLICO: The Gap Between Vatican Ideology and Social Reality	38

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

R. MATHIEUX: France: Party Work in the Factories	46
R. LECLAIR: Party Cadres Are the Decisive Link in Organizational Work	48
The Communist Press in the Struggle to Win the People (Japan, Panama)	50
D. BALALIA: Popularizing the Best Production Experience Is an Important Party Task	54
Developments in Syria	56
SHORT NOTICES	58
Meetings of Central Committees	59

REVIEWS

I. ORLIK: The Working Class Is Becoming Stronger	62
S. SEMYONOV: Latin American Socialists on a New Course	65
G. GREIS: Anti-Communism Boomerangs	68

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

Man and His Future — Contributions by B. PORSHNEV (USSR), R. GA- RAUDY (France), M. CORNFORTH (Britain), Y. FRANTSEV (USSR)	70
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COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

V. KAJE: Communist Gulliver Assailed by Lilliputians	86
K. WERNER: The "Vostok" and the West	87
I. SYOMIN: Soviet Collective Farms Pool Production Efforts	89
H. WINSTON: Heartfelt Thanks	90
Japan: Another Setback for the Reactionaries	92

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS

W. SCHULZ: Free Oskar Neumann!	93
W. WATTSON: And They Call This Democracy!	94
Massacre of Algerians in Paris	95
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Contents for 1961, Nos. 1-12	97

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An Historic Congress

THE full significance of most events becomes apparent only after the passage of time. But there are also events of which it can be said at once: yes, this is a milestone, one that will in large measure determine the march of history. The Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was undoubtedly an event of this order. It will go down in history as the congress which adopted the program of building communism. It inscribed another page in the annals of the international Communist movement. The Program and the Rules adopted by the Congress, the reports delivered by Khrushchov and Kozlov, the speeches by the delegates and the representatives of the fraternal parties developed further the political and theoretical platform set forth in the Declaration and Statement issued by the conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

The new points contained in these international documents concerning the socialist system as the decisive factor of world development, the possibility of averting wars in our time, the paths of the socialist revolution, the prospects of the national liberation movement, etc., — many of them first advanced by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU — were enriched at the Twenty-Second Congress. The new Program of the CPSU, which not only reflects the character of the present era, but also affords a breathtaking glimpse of the future of humanity, can well be regarded as the Communist Manifesto of our time.

The *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels heralded the birth of the Communist theory and the Communist movement. The new Program of the CPSU is the harbinger of their final victory. It belongs to the working class of the world. It is a contribution to the theoretical treasure-house of the international working-class movement, a stimulus to its further advance. Spokesmen of all the Communist and Workers' parties have emphasized the international significance of the ideas contained in the Program and the vanguard role played by the CPSU in the revolutionary working-class movement as a whole.

For the Soviet people the new Program is a plan of action for the next two decades. Soon the USSR will leave the capitalist countries far behind in all spheres of economic life and will gradually go over to the distribution of material and spiritual benefits according to need. The present generation will live to see a society in which all social distinctions will have been abolished, in which the state will be replaced by public self-government, where full freedom and equality will prevail and human relationships will be based on the noble principle: man is friend, comrade and brother to man. People will then enjoy unbounded opportunities for all-round mental and physical development.

HISTORY will record our era as the era of great accomplishment and change. Future generations will look back at the 20th century as the century when man fathomed the secrets of atomic energy, the power of the future; when man broke loose from his terrestrial cradle and began the conquest of outer space; the century of a new technological revolution, of automation, which removed all the technical barriers in the way of achieving abundance.

But above all man will look back at the nineteen-hundreds as the century of the greatest social change in history, change which put an end to all forms of exploitation, oppression and social injustice. Already today the majority of mankind has in one way or another been drawn into this all-embracing revolutionary process. Socialism has become the decisive factor of social development, while imperialism, which only a few decades ago held undivided global sway, is losing ground.

The world revolutionary process, however, is still far from completed. Its consummation, the transition of humanity from capitalism to communism, will be the main content of the coming decades. The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, embodying the revolutionary spirit of our time, will, undoubtedly, exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the struggle of the millions for communism. The CPSU and the Soviet people are, by their everyday work, adding enormously to the impact of that great

revolutionary force — *the force of the example* of the countries and peoples now realizing man's cherished dream — communism.

Already in the early years of Soviet power Lenin foresaw that socialism would, by its example, exert the greatest influence on the march of events, on the development of the world revolution.

The grand achievement of the Soviet people, one which has had a decisive effect on human history, was their building of socialist society. Within a brief space of time they radically transformed all aspects of social life, changing the very face of the country and pointing the way to a bright future for all.

The world can see that the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system, that a people that has taken power into its own hands can organize the life of society far better than the capitalists. The Soviet people have succeeded in solving the most complex social problems which had baffled man for thousands of years; they have achieved signal successes in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, transforming a once backward and illiterate country into a mighty industrial power marching in the vanguard of progress.

The world can see that socialism, based on public ownership, ends the exploitation of man by man, abolishes the anarchy of production, crises, unemployment and social and national oppression. Socialism ensures a steady growth in the material well-being and cultural standards of the people. It brings them democratic freedoms, and, for the first time in history, gives them great social rights — the right to work, to rest and leisure, education, health protection and social security.

The world sees that the socialist society is a society that ensures happiness and fulfillment for all. Hence, in paying tribute to the valiant efforts of the Soviet people, the Communists in all countries, and progressive people everywhere declare: the path blazed by the Soviet Union is the right path for all.

It was thanks to socialism that the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, won their historic victory over the Hitler hordes, thereby saving humanity from the horrors of fascist slavery, and world civilization from destruction. By defeating fascism the Soviet people rendered the greatest service to mankind.

Today the Soviet people are on the highway to communism. The Program adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress outlines detailed plans for the realization of the noblest and boldest visions of the best minds, the age-old aspirations of the masses.

Implementation of the Program will impart an irresistible power of attraction to the ideas of communism. With each step toward communism taken by Soviet society more millions will see that socialism and communism are worth fighting for. Every nation can perform the communist miracle of throwing off the yoke of capitalism, of embarking on the building of a new life. And when a progressive idea grips the minds of the masses, it becomes a powerful force for the revolutionary transformation of society.

THE force of example is a mighty accelerator of the revolutionary process throughout the world. The Twenty-Second Congress dealt yet another blow to the sectarians who deny the significance of example and claim that socialism and communism can be reached only through conflicts, which breed the permanent threat of war. The fallacy of such a position and its dangers for the working-class movement are obvious; it runs counter to the policy of lessening international tension and of peaceful coexistence and, in essence, coincides objectively with the brinkmanship of the late John Foster Dulles. It gives our adversaries in the capitalist countries the opportunity they are continually seeking to split the working-class movement and to isolate the Communists, since this attitude impels them to wait passively for a conflict between the socialist camp and imperialism instead of taking part in the struggle for peace and socialism.

The international Communist movement fully approves the Leninist stand of the CPSU, which holds that the socialist countries influence the development of the world revolutionary process above all by the example of their achievements in building the new society and by their political activity.

The Communists repudiate the imperialist slander that the USSR seeks to "export revolution." The anti-Communists ascribe to the socialist countries all the methods which the monopolists themselves employ in their efforts to export counter-revolution. Yet there is a revolution which the socialist system calls into being by the very fact of its existence, by virtue of its superiority to capital-

ism, namely, a revolution in the minds of men. This revolution is caused by the tangible reality of socialism which demonstrates to every workingman that communism is the realization of his dreams of well-being, freedom, justice and happiness.

The ideas of socialism cannot be imposed upon the working people by force; these ideas are taken up because they correspond to the vital interests of the people and are dictated by historical necessity. Mankind yearns for constructive changes. In a soil fertilized by the decaying antagonistic system, the ideas of socialism are producing strong shoots which not even the most ingenious bourgeois propaganda machine can uproot.

The Twenty-Second Congress showed the affinity between building communism in the Soviet Union and the revolutionary liberation struggle waged by the working people everywhere.

Building communism in the USSR hastens the liberation process in countries whose economic development has been retarded by imperialism. The achievements of the socialist countries not only enable them to increase material and technical aid — with no political strings attached — to the peoples that have thrown off the colonial yoke. The example of the socialist countries also helps the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to choose the right way to national regeneration and social justice so as to rise to the level of the highly-developed countries.

Fulfilment of the Program of the CPSU will open up new horizons to the working people of the leading capitalist countries as well, for the building of communism will bring with it economic, political and cultural conditions unthinkable under capitalism. The ideals of communism will become irresistible to big sections of the population, whose final choice is bound to be in favor of the new social system. The feasibility of the Program is recognized also by many bourgeois leaders, who are obliged to concede that the Soviet people will succeed in solving the tasks placed before them by the Twenty-Second Congress. True, in order to vilify communism, they claim that economic and technological progress in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is achieved at the price of democracy.

But the Twenty-Second Congress convincingly refutes this. The Program was discussed as a blueprint of *their own* society

by millions of Soviet people — both Party members and non-members — for months before the Congress opened. This discussion filled the columns of newspapers and journals. Thousands of suggestions were put forward. And what about the further extension of rights and the transition from the state to public self-government outlined in the Program? Is this not proof that the development of socialism is inseparable from the flowering of democracy which involves the overwhelming majority of the population in the work of running the country and the state?

This is in striking contrast to the capitalist world, where democracy and the rights of the individual and, above all, the right of working people to take part in shaping the destinies of their country, are being curtailed more and more. The attitude of the rulers of the capitalist world to democracy was summed up by Prime Minister Debré of France when he said: "Any country and nation would be faced with disaster if a large number of its citizens were to engage in politics day in and day out . . ."

Socialism — and all the more so communism — signifies something more than material comforts. It implies also the advancement of democracy, culture, social morality and human relations to an infinitely higher level than under capitalism. The Program adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress sheds the utmost clarity also on this aspect of the new society as well.

What can the imperialist bourgeoisie counterpose to the perspectives outlined in the Program? Nothing but lies, vague promises, and feverish efforts to embellish their system. How many new names have the bourgeois and Right-wing Socialist pundits invented for capitalism in order to deceive the people; recall, for example, the talk about the "free world," the "affluent society," the "welfare society," the "open society" and "democratic socialism." But these ideological trappings have failed to hide the ulcers on the body of capitalism.

PEACE and communism are inseparable. This was vividly brought out in the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress.

The program of economic and cultural development adopted by the Congress is incontrovertible proof that the Communists do not need war, that on the contrary, it is lasting peace that creates the ideal conditions for the realization of the tasks they have set themselves and, consequently, for

accelerating human progress. This, then, makes nonsense of the imperialist propaganda to find a contradiction between the Communists' call for peaceful coexistence of the two systems and their declarations that ultimately communism will triumph in all countries without exception. Further, it attests once again to the groundlessness of the doubts expressed by some sectarian-minded Communists concerning the soundness of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Realization of the plans outlined at the Congress will make it possible to exclude world war from the life of mankind even with the continued existence of capitalism on a part of our planet. In drawing this conclusion the Communists are far from succumbing to any pacifist illusions. They know full well that the aggressive nature of imperialism does not change. And precisely because of this it is clear that if peace is to be guaranteed, the forces of the peace-loving camp of socialism must have an overwhelming preponderance over the forces of imperialism. Laying the foundations of communism in the Soviet Union and the achievements of all the socialist countries will create that preponderance, giving the socialist camp and all peace supporters the economic and military strength needed to reach the goal of the overwhelming majority of humanity — elimination of war from the life of society.

It may be objected: is not the communist case that peace can be preserved and consolidated only if their side is stronger very much like saying "if you want peace, prepare for war"?

But the Communists have never subscribed to this principle. They have no intention of putting up forever with the dilemma imposed on the socialist countries by imperialism: either strengthen your defenses or face another war. No! The socialist countries and the international Communist movement are working to rid mankind forever of this dilemma. That is the object of their plan for general and complete disarmament under international control. The Communist view is "if you want peace, work for general disarmament."

No Communist can ever gain from the armament race; on the contrary, the expenditure of funds and energy on armies and armaments only hinders the building of communism, i.e., the achievement of the ultimate goal.

The thing to be borne in mind — and this is being brought home more and more

to the world public — is that the USSR uses its superior strength for one purpose only: to compel the imperialists to respect the idea of peaceful coexistence; the Soviet Union's scientific and technological advantage is causing the imperialists to think twice before plunging into adventures and precipitating a new global conflict. Every sensible person will appreciate that however undesirable such measures as the atomic tests, which the USSR has been forced to take in order to strengthen its defenses, their consequences are as nothing compared with the consequences of the war the imperialists would unleash without a moment's hesitation were they certain that they were the stronger side.

A sober appraisal of the situation and of world public sentiment reveals something else besides, namely, that the salient feature of the past few months is the awakening of millions to the dangers not only of war as such, but also of the armaments drive. The root of the danger, or the motives of the defense measures taken by the socialist countries may not yet be fully understood by everybody. But more and more people are beginning to realize that the present state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue, that the world cannot continue to balance indefinitely on a powder keg. Moreover, they are coming to see that there is a sure way of eliminating the threat of war, the way the Soviet Union has steadfastly insisted upon — general and complete disarmament. This idea, if it is taken up by the masses, will triumph, it will triumph if all the peoples join in resolute struggle for its realization.

THE Twenty-Second Congress was projected wholly towards the future; it was a summit which afforded both the delegates and all humanity a view of the magnificent perspectives. Why, then, it might be asked, did it concern itself so much with the recent past, in particular, with the Stalin cult and the anti-Party group which the CPSU defeated several years ago?

The transition to communism is a vast and complex process involving intensive effort on the part of the working people, releasing initiative, securing an all-round development of democracy and enhancing the leading role and responsibility of the Party. Hence it was inevitable that the question of the methods of Party work and state administration should come to the fore, even if no distortions or blunders had

been committed in this sphere in the preceding stage.

Socialism develops into communism in a situation when classes hostile to the new system have been abolished, when the ideological and political unity of society are assured and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, essential in one or another form wherever socialism is being built, begins to give way to the state of the whole people. In these conditions the methods of Party and state activity undergo big changes, while the initiative and constructive activity of the masses assume greater importance. All countries will, when they begin to build communism, encounter this problem in one or another degree. For the Soviet Union and the CPSU it was rendered particularly acute by the fact that the task of perfecting the methods of work and promoting socialist democracy dictated by the building of communism had to be combined with the task of eradicating the survivals of the Stalin cult.

In any circumstances and at all the stages of building the new society the cult of the individual is no minor error, nor is it excusable even when the individual around whom the cult is built has past services to his credit. No, the cult is fallacious both in theory and in practice, contrary to Marxism-Leninism and deeply injurious to the cause of socialism.

After all, it is not only or not so much a matter of the glorification of one or another leader (although this is bad enough in itself). It is a question of substituting collective leadership of the Party and the state by one-man leadership, of conditions that make possible wrong decisions, arbitrary actions, suppression of criticism and absence of self-criticism, unjustified repressions, abuse of power and other malpractices alien to socialism, of conditions that make possible an unprincipled approach to the choice of cadres. What is in question, therefore, is renunciation of the Leninist standards of internal Party life, and this is fraught with grave danger to the Party and the state, it stifles the creative activity of the masses and freezes their initiative.

It was possible to advance to the full-scale construction of communism only by putting an end to the personality cult, by overcoming its painful consequences, and by breaking the resistance of those who had taken the way of factional, anti-Party struggle and who upheld the old, erroneous political line

condemned by the Twentieth Congress; in an effort to evade personal responsibility for the violations of law committed in the past, these people fought tooth and nail against a complete return to the Leninist general line of the Party and Leninist standards of internal Party life.

The CPSU, while elaborating and discussing the program for building communism, could not ignore these problems. The Twenty-Second Congress could not but continue with what had been begun by the Twentieth Congress; it could not but show the Party and the people that the cult, with all its abominable features, its aftermath and the forces which stubbornly clung to the old, were no more. This "settlement of accounts with the past" was clearly essential before passing on to building communist society.

IN an effort to vilify socialism and the Communist movement as a whole, the bourgeois propagandists are spreading the lie that the cult of the individual was the result of the allegedly non-democratic nature of the socialist state. Although the true essence and breadth of socialist democracy, which ensures genuine government by the people, are widely known in the capitalist countries, bourgeois propaganda has nevertheless succeeded in raising doubts in the minds of many people with regard to socialism. Hence it is a matter of major political importance to explain the circumstances in which the Stalin cult developed in the USSR.

By virtue of its nature the socialist system does not and cannot give rise to any personality cult. The soil out of which the Stalin cult sprang must be sought in the specific and extremely difficult conditions in which socialism had to be built in the Soviet Union. These conditions were subjected to a profound analysis in the June 30, 1956, decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

First of all it should be noted that the Soviet people built socialism while encircled by the capitalist countries, which perpetually threatened the USSR with war, continually sent in their spies and saboteurs, and unleashed two devastating wars; imperialist reaction did everything in its power to overthrow the Soviet system and restore capitalism. The Soviet people lived as in a beleaguered fortress.

When it launched out on the building of socialism — industrialization, collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolu-

tion — the Soviet Union was a relatively backward peasant country where small-scale commodity production prevailed. There was no previous experience of socialist construction to fall back on. The Soviet people had to blaze their own trail. There was no aid forthcoming from without. The difficulties were enormous. In the transitional period the class struggle within the country raged bitterly. At the same time the general line of the Party was fiercely attacked by the factionalists and opportunists who sought to divert it from the correct course.

In these highly specific and complex conditions, iron discipline among the Communists and all other class conscious fighters for the people's cause, utmost vigilance in regard to the external and internal class enemies, and strict centralization of leadership were imperative in order to safeguard the gains of the revolution and to successfully solve the socialist tasks facing the country. This, naturally, affected the development of some aspects of democracy and was accompanied by certain restrictions on democratic procedures both in the Party and in state administration.

But important though these circumstances were, they need not necessarily have led to the cult of the individual, which is utterly alien to the socialist system and the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest expression of government by the people. The cult became possible because Stalin abused the trust which the Party and the people reposed in him, because he ascribed the achievements of the people to himself alone and took advantage of the temporary restrictions of democracy to exalt his own personality and violate the Leninist principles of leadership — all of which led to arbitrary rule.

The cult of one man was, as we have said, alien to the social nature of the Soviet system and, notwithstanding its grave consequences, could not prevent the operation of the objective laws of socialism. Despite the cult, the people built the majestic edifice of socialism and defended it from the fascist invasion. In this edifice the cult was nothing more than the refuse of history, the remnants of which the Party and the people are now sweeping out.

IT would be a grave mistake to assume that the objective difficulties encountered in the building of socialism in other countries — such as economic backwardness, the need for accelerated industrialization, the

presence of numerous petty-bourgeois strata, etc. — make the cult of the individual inevitable. On the contrary, just because of these difficulties it is essential to take greater heed of the experience of the CPSU and to draw the right conclusions from it, above all the conclusion that the Leninist standards of internal Party life and collective leadership be absolutely adhered to and developed in every way. These standards, reaffirmed in the new Rules of the CPSU, are the reliable guarantee against any cult of the individual. It is imperative to study the causes of the cult so as to prevent any possibility of its recurrence.

Unrelenting struggle against any, even the slightest, manifestations of the personality cult does not, of course, imply making concessions to petty-bourgeois liberalism or countenancing any sallies by the revisionists. Any departure from Marxist-Leninist principles and loyalty to the Party would undermine the unity of the Party and detract from its leading role. The Leninist standards of Party life and principles of Party leadership remove all barriers to the activity and initiative of every Communist and ensure the genuine monolithic unity of the Party on the unshakeable foundation of revolutionary theory.

The impermissibility of factions, strict Party discipline, democratic centralism, collective leadership, the method of convincing by argument — these are the Leninist principles of Party life which must be steadfastly observed, as must the Leninist approach in regard to the authority of the leaders. "Marxists," Lenin said, "cannot take the customary standpoint of the radical intellectual with his quasi-revolutionary detachment: 'no authorities'. No. The working class which is waging a difficult and determined struggle all over the world for complete emancipation, needs authorities . . ." But the leader must remember that he is accountable to the Party and the people, that he is under their control, must not become swell-headed or allow any departure from the principle of collective leadership. This was the stand taken by the Twenty-Second Congress, a stand that was wholeheartedly supported by the fraternal parties.

On these questions the Twenty-Second Congress reaffirmed and developed further the decisions of the Twentieth Congress which the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties rightly assessed as being of paramount importance not only to

the CPSU but to all Communist parties. These decisions ushered in a new stage in the development of the international Communist movement.

It was not fortuitous that the international Communist movement appraised the criticism of the cult of the individual by the CPSU and the steps taken to overcome its consequences as being motivated by a lofty sense of international responsibility to the socialist camp, to the entire Communist and workers' movement and to history.

There is still another reason why the fraternal parties support the Leninist leadership of the CPSU in its struggle against the personality cult. The Communists in all countries see that struggle as the guarantee of further big advances by the Soviet Union in all spheres — in economy and culture, in socialist democracy and in moulding the new man. And this, in view of the revolutionary significance of the example offered by the countries where socialism has triumphed, will more than compensate for any temporary confusion that may be sown by bourgeois and Right-wing Socialist propaganda, which once again, as after the Twentieth Congress, is seizing on the criticism of the cult and the exposure of the anti-Party group of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich to whip up anti-communism.

In vain are the capitalists rejoicing over the fact that the Communists are criticizing and rectifying past mistakes! Every thinking person will agree that it is much more useful and praiseworthy to admit and rectify mistakes than to persist in them and, by comparing the respective attitudes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to their mistakes will, undoubtedly, arrive at conclusions by no means favorable to the latter. Lenin taught us to regard the attitude of the Party to its mistakes as a measure of its maturity. This is plain common sense which any workingman will understand.

IT is infinitely worse when in any socialist country or in any Communist Party people cling to mistakes and distortions which have earned the unqualified condemnation of Communist opinion, and all the more so when this practice provides additional opportunities for anti-communist propaganda. Not only does this harm the particular country or Party; it casts a shadow on the movement generally. A feature of the Communist movement, which is international in character and shares common aims and com-

mon ideology, is that just as the successes and achievements of one or another Party help to strengthen all the others, so do the faults and errors of even a single Party affect all the parties, and the whole movement has to pay for them. Hence situations can arise when it is impossible to remain silent, impossible endlessly to continue the debate privately, and the issue has to be brought out into the open, before world public opinion; and this holds true even in cases when the polemic is hailed with glee in the enemy camp.

This is the case with the Albanian Party of Labor owing to the anti-Marxist, disruptive attitude of its leaders who were justly criticized at the Twenty-Second Congress by the CPSU and by representatives of other Communist and Workers' parties.

The entire present political line of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, which has nothing in common with Leninism, shows that in both their internal and foreign policy dogmatism and adventurism have supplanted the Leninist principles underlying the documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist parties to which the representatives of the Albanian Party of Labor also subscribed.

When the numerous attempts to reach agreement through direct negotiations failed, the Communist movement had to speak out. Had it not done so, the stand taken by the Albanian leaders would have gravely injured the common cause. Primarily because they would have been given a free hand to carry on their splitting activities, undermining the unity of the socialist camp and the Communist movement and seeking to discredit the CPSU and its Leninist leadership. Moreover, the regime established in the Party and the country by Enver Hoxha, Mehmed Shehu and their accomplices is a regime of terror which has trampled on the elementary norms of Party life and socialist democracy, a regime which is a crime not only against their own Party and people but against the entire socialist camp and the Communist movement. Silence on this score would have been interpreted as a sign of approval or at least of tolerance toward methods that have been resolutely condemned by the Communist movement.

Clearly, the CPSU and the other Communist parties, conscious of their responsibility to the international working-class movement, to the cause of communism and to history, could not but feel in duty bound to dis-

sociate themselves from the Albanian leaders and criticize them from positions of principle. This is a truly Leninist, internationalist stand and the cause can only gain by it.

Such, then, is our brief survey of the Twenty-Second Congress. The new Program has been adopted, and the Soviet people have applied themselves with enthusiasm to its fulfilment. The international significance of the Congress which adopted the great blueprint of the future will grow as the Program is carried out.

The Program will have a cumulative effect on the development of the socio-political processes taking place in the world. Unlike the ideological ephemerals and the cascades of verbiage, which is all that bourgeois propaganda has to offer, the impact of the Congress and the Program on the minds of men will grow from day to day.

The Twenty-Second Congress has provided all Communist parties with a new and powerful instrument in their struggle for a happy future for their people. But like any instrument, it will not operate by itself. For it to produce the maximum effect it is imperative for the parties to fight with selflessness, skill and initiative in all spheres — political, ideological and economic alike. It is equally imperative creatively to develop — proceeding from concrete conditions and drawing on the political experience of each Party — Marxist-Leninist theory, the common possession of all parties. All this will help to stimulate the activity of the parties and cement their ties with the masses. These are the tasks which the world Communist movement sets itself as it wholeheartedly endorses the decisions of the historic Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

The German Peace Treaty and De Gaulle's Policy

Francois Billoux

THE Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the French Republic examined the possibilities for solving the matters pertaining to Germany, including a peace treaty with Germany and the question of Berlin. . . . N. S. Khrushchov and General de Gaulle recognized that a step-by-step settlement of these questions on an agreed basis through negotiations would be of vital importance for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world."

This is an excerpt from the joint French-Soviet Communique signed in April 1960 during Khrushchov's visit to France. Yet a month later, in May 1960, de Gaulle was one of those chiefly responsible for torpedoing the summit meeting. The German question, he now says, is a "ludicrous and artificial pretext" which the Soviet Union has "all of a sudden" invoked. France has no designs in West Berlin, de Gaulle affirms. He threatens war if a peace treaty is signed with the

German Democratic Republic and that too is his reaction to the proposal to transform West Berlin into a demilitarized, free city. This attitude has exacerbated the situation in Europe and the world generally. It runs counter to the interests and aspirations of the people of France.

* * *

Frenchmen are giving much thought to how to bring about a real improvement in Franco-German relations and what can be done to prevent Germany ever again disturbing European and world peace. That is understandable. For France has been invaded by German armies three times in less than a century.

An explicit reply to this question was given during the war and immediately after the victory over fascist Germany by the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Popular pressure forced the imperialist governments of the countries in the anti-Hitler coalition to sign these agreements. Had they been observed to the letter, there would not now be any German problem,

and we would have a united peace-loving democratic Germany.

Instead, however, imperialism has again been revived in West Germany. The notorious Marshall plan enabled the imperialist monopolies, the former backers of Hitler, not only to regain their influence, but to become more powerful than ever. The armed forces of the Federal Republic are a threat to European peace as was Hitler's Wehrmacht before the last war. This army is now the strongest army in continental Western Europe. The Luftwaffe has been restored to its former strength. The restrictions on building big warships have been lifted.

Contrary to what the French government says, the Federal Republic is asking for nuclear weapons. It is constantly bringing up this subject at meetings of diplomats and in the speeches of statesmen. Not only are the West German militarists demanding that their army be equipped with nuclear weapons immediately, but they want the right to use these weapons at their own discretion.

Thus, 16 years after the defeat of Hitler there is a flash point in the heart of Europe which constitutes a grave and ever-growing danger. Revived German militarism is at the service of the German imperialists who, prompted by strategic revanchist plans, are out to re-establish the so-called Greater Reich. They want to swallow up the German Democratic Republic, and they are making territorial claims on the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Nor are they confining their claims to the socialist countries. They want to annex Austria and are encroaching on the territories of their NATO allies. West German intrigues in South Tyrol have left no doubts on that score in Italy. The West Germans are claiming parts of Belgium and Denmark; and a West German newspaper referred on July 1 to the French territories of Alsace and Lorraine as the "second Ruhr."

The Western governments would like their people to believe that Bonn's military establishment is of a purely defensive character. The Gaullist government is saying the same thing. In a Note addressed to the Soviet Union on July 17, 1961, it stated that the Federal Republic had "renounced all idea of recourse to force." Nothing could be more untrue. No one in the world is threatening Federal Germany; on the contrary, that country is the only one advancing territorial claims and bringing its bellicose propaganda up to white heat.

While the spirit of revenge is carefully fostered among the West German population, any manifestation of democracy is at once suppressed. Instead of relying from the outset on the democratic forces in West Germany, weak though they were, as Maurice Thorez proposed in April 1946, the Western governments have done their best to confuse and isolate them. We could cite a long list of decisions adopted by the U.S., French and British occupation authorities which vetoed the democratic measures taken at the end of the war by local and regional bodies.

The same forces and, not infrequently, the same men who backed Hitler, are now back in the saddle in the Federal Republic and at the head of the West German army. Basically their aims are the aims of Hitler. Some of the means employed are different, that is all. In view of the steadily growing might of the socialist countries, the West German militarists hope to carry out their strategic plans with the help of the imperialist countries. They are using NATO in their own interests.

The German militarists' plans, spearheaded against the socialist countries, coincide in the main with those of the imperialist leaders of the West who, on U.S. orders, have for 15 years now been working to build up an anti-Soviet coalition. The imperialist governments are fanning war hysteria and stepping up military preparations.

The Western governments and especially de Gaulle actively support and encourage the West German revanchists. In the summer of 1958, shortly after he came to power, de Gaulle had a meeting with Adenauer. There have since been several meetings, each of which marked a step forward towards the creation of the Bonn-Paris axis. More vigorous measures to push the Common Market and Euratom plans, to involve more countries in the Atlantic pact under the aegis of the USA, granting military bases and munition depots on French soil to the Bundeswehr, de Gaulle's support for Adenauer who says "no" to a peace treaty with the two Germanys and is opposed to normalizing the situation in West Berlin—these in the main are the things that have emerged from the de Gaulle-Adenauer meetings.

De Gaulle's policy may at first glance surprise those who have not followed it very closely. For did he not in the past act as the exponent of the French bourgeoisie in its conflict with the German bourgeoisie? (In the Resistance, for example, beginning with 1940, or his attitude vis-à-vis the European

Defense Community). To comprehend de Gaulle's policy one should take his class position into account and it will then become clear that fundamentally his policy has not changed at all—only the conditions in which he is trying to realize it have altered.

De Gaulle speaks for French finance capital. Between the two world wars he belonged to the extreme right, and, as an officer, he sided with the Polish reactionaries and Weygand against the Soviet Union. He was an ardent supporter of Mussolini. De Gaulle was associated with Pétain, who was godfather to his son and who wrote the preface to de Gaulle's book on military subjects, in which the latter set forth his political credo.

De Gaulle's appeal of June 18, 1940, was typical in this respect. It reflected the French big bourgeoisie's doubts whether Germany would win the war. The bourgeoisie was in no hurry, therefore, to "put all its eggs in one basket." The appeal was addressed not to all the French people, but to a group of military experts. Its recommendations aimed at restraining the Resistance Movement, and advocated a wait-and-see attitude.

Between 1942-1945 de Gaulle had to reckon with the realities of the situation: the victories of the Soviet Army and popular pressure. Even then, however, he advanced three tasks:

a) to utilize the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition to obtain more advantageous positions for the French bourgeoisie;

b) to establish a Western bloc against the Soviet Union in which, he calculated, a leading part would be played by France, with her most powerful partner, American imperialism, playing the dominant role; this idea was first advanced by de Gaulle in Algiers in 1944;

c) to "resuscitate Germany" in order to increase the bloc's strength, an idea de Gaulle expressed in a speech in Germany in 1945.

France was not officially represented at the Potsdam Conference in July and August 1945. Although the French people's heroic struggle against the fascist invaders contributed to the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition, the contribution could have been much bigger had de Gaulle not pursued a policy of systematically restraining the popular struggle.

France, however, was invited to subscribe to the Potsdam Agreement and to help carry it through. The Provisional Government of the French Republic, which then included Communist ministers, authorized its Foreign

Minister to sign the Potsdam Agreement, and a letter to this effect was sent on August 7, 1945, to the Ambassadors of the USA, the USSR and Great Britain. It read as follows: "The government approves the main tasks of the occupation, namely: *completely and finally to disarm and demilitarize Germany, extirpate militarism, destroy the war industry and war potential of Germany, wipe out Nazism, its laws, organizations and institutions, adopt all measures necessary to prevent a resurgence of militarism and Nazism, swiftly to punish all war criminals, control public education, etc.*"

It was precisely because France subscribed to the decisions of the Potsdam Conference that it was agreed to give her a zone of occupation in Germany and, in pursuance of a decision of the Allied Control Council—of which France was a member—concerning the capital of Germany, to grant her an occupation sector in Berlin.

Unfortunately, the French rulers did absolutely nothing to implement the Potsdam decisions and shortly after simply buried them in oblivion. The French government was not last among those who worked to rearm West Germany. We could cite a long list of measures from 1947 on aimed at re-establishing the economic and political might of the German monopolies. The Western allies' unilateral decision to establish the Federal Republic was but one stage in this policy. The second was the revival of militarism, when the Atlantic Council decided on October 26, 1950, that Germany should make a contribution to the "European" armed forces.

By the early 1950's West Germany had become a dangerous competitor of French capital; de Gaulle, who continued to advocate rearmament of Germany, was nevertheless none too keen to see rearmament place her in so advantageous a position.

The signing in May 1952 of an agreement to set up a European Defense Community which would sanction the rearming of the Federal Republic, evoked a wave of popular protest in Western Europe, including France, against its ratification. The opposition in France, headed by the Communist Party, was so widespread that the National Assembly was compelled in August 1954 to reject the agreement. Unfortunately, the Mendès-France government succeeded in forcing through the so-called Paris Agreements which assured the rearmament of West Germany within the framework of the Atlantic pact. These agreements are now being implemented.

In 1958 de Gaulle came to power. It was his job to strengthen monopoly domination. The French monopolies believed at that time that they could compete successfully with the German monopolies (aided by the oil and gas of the Sahara and the high degree of capital concentration in industry, agriculture and trade). They thought, too, that placing de Gaulle in the saddle would solve the country's internal difficulties.

De Gaulle favored the idea of the Common Market as a way to increase capital concentration. He is an active supporter of the Bonn-Paris axis and secretly hopes to change it into a Paris-Bonn axis.

De Gaulle's policy has now taken an even sharper turn. He has adopted an ultra-Right attitude in the militarist camp and, with U.S. encouragement, is aligning himself more and more with Bonn.

This attitude is dictated mainly by the difficulties with which French imperialism is beset. As far back as 1958 our Party characterized the de Gaullist regime as a sign of the growing monopoly domination, and showed that the establishment of a personal dictatorship was a sign of imperialism's weakness. Since then the weakness has become more pronounced. The Gaullist government has demonstrated its inability to solve the problems confronting France. Hence the growing trend towards fascist methods of rule, and militarization. Indeed, with the shameful colonial war against the Algerian people, Gaullism is the soil breeding fascism.

Aggravation of international tension is just what de Gaulle needs to divert the attention of the people among whom dissatisfaction is mounting. For the same reason he has entered, under the aegis of the USA, into a closer alliance with West German imperialism—an alliance directed against the socialist countries, against the peoples fighting for national independence and against his own people. That is the substance of the Gaullist policy. Government propaganda is plugging the line that there is no danger from West Germany, that she is our ally. These assertions are designed to calm the fears of the people and to capitalize on their profound desire for a Franco-German reconciliation. At the same time de Gaulle is strongly opposed to signing a peace treaty with both German states.

But if the government cared at all about the interests of France and of peace, it would have done everything in its power to prevent the resurgence of German militarism, and

would have considered a peace treaty with the two Germanys an imperative necessity.

As the resolution adopted by the September meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party pointed out, the treaty proposed by the Soviet Union fully accords with the interests of France.

"The proposal to conclude a peace treaty with the two German states," it says, "is in conformity with the interests of peace and of France. The peace treaty would signify recognition by Germany of the consequences of her defeat. The present borders would be finally fixed. The existence of the German Democratic Republic would be recognized as a fact. A treaty would be a victory for peaceful coexistence, a big contribution to the cause of peace and a crushing blow to German militarism."

The Gaullist government persists in opposing the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two Germanys; instead of agreeing to West Berlin being given the status of a free and demilitarized city, it is fanning up the nest of provocation and war there in every possible way. De Gaulle is silent about the Oder-Neisse line of which he was formerly an advocate. He favors the granting of nuclear weapons to the Bundeswehr and its using these weapons either under NATO cover or in some other form. Training facilities in Mourmelon, Sisonne and Bitche have been made available to West German troops, and bases, to the West German air force. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 6 quoted Messmer, Minister of the Armed Forces in the Gaullist government, who wants closer Franco-German military cooperation, of which the "fusion" of the French training ground in Bitche with the German ground in Ludwigswinkel could, he said, be a symbol.

Only the Federal Republic exists as far as the Gaullist government is concerned. It does not recognize the German Democratic Republic. Yet Walter Ulbricht only recently reaffirmed Wilhelm Pieck's declaration of November 12, 1952: "The German Democratic Republic will never permit Germans to start a war against the French people." But Bonn officials are saying outright: "We shall wait until we are strong and then we shall speak to France in a different language." It should be borne in mind that a rearmed West Germany can turn her guns against France, whose position will be weakened by the lack of allies in the East.

Nor should it be forgotten that confronting the world with a fait accompli is an old

ruse of German militarism. The West German *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* wrote on September 15 last: "The army of Federal Germany should be prepared to start war even without the agreement of her allies." The ominous import of these words stands out clearly side by side with Strauss' recent statement in the USA: "The Second World War has not yet ended."

Let us take for example the case of the two West German Luftwaffe aircraft which took off from the French base of Chalons-sur-Marne and, having made a training flight with the objective of "bombing a French town," and after penetrating into GDR air space landed at the French-controlled airfield in Tegel, West Berlin. The French command found itself involved in a matter which could have had grave consequences and, in the event of a recurrence, may lead to serious repercussions.

The Political Bureau's report to the C.C. meeting on September 27-28 pointed out that:

"In Europe the Bonn state is now enemy No. 1 of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tensions. The question of war or peace is one of paramount importance for humanity and it will in large measure be resolved on German soil."

A third world war would be more terrible than any previous war, because thermonuclear weapons would be used. On the success of the struggle against German militarism, therefore, depends the destiny of world peace, the future and even the existence of France and her people.

* * *

The task of the day is to step up the fight for peace in Europe.

"In order that the French people can direct all their forces to combating the war threat and the menace of German militarism," states the French Communist Party, "we must cease underrating the danger and overcome the complacency still to be observed among the people and some members of the Party."

We appreciate the importance of the passage in the Soviet government's Statement of August 31 on the resumption of nuclear tests (rendered necessary partly because of de Gaulle's atomic tests in the Sahara, in which France's Atlantic allies are keenly interested) about the responsibility of the peoples in the West. It is a fact that up till now the majority of the people have approved de Gaulle's policy, a policy of betrayal of France's interests.

Our Party has been tireless in its efforts to establish good-neighborly relations between France and Germany. The opposition to the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, Thaelmann's visit to Paris in 1932, and Maurice Thorez's to Berlin in January 1933 are milestones along this road. Can we forget Jean-Pierre Timbaud's resounding words to the Nazis who led him out to be shot in October 1941: "Long live the Communist Party of Germany!"

No one who is really anxious to improve French-German relations will permit German imperialism and militarism, now ensconced in the Federal Republic, to perpetrate their vile deeds again.

The Communist Party explains tirelessly to the people that the interests of France call for a peace treaty with the two German states which would finally determine the frontiers of Germany, put an end to the machinations of the Bonn revenge-seekers, normalize the situation in West Berlin which would be a free, neutral and demilitarized city under United Nations control.

The Soviet Union has decided to sign a peace treaty under any circumstances. This, unquestionably, is a correct decision. To make concessions on this matter would mean to encourage the German militarists still more and could be fraught with consequences similar to those which followed the French and British rulers' capitulation to Hitler in Munich in 1938. The decision taken on August 13 by the GDR government in the interests of peace was a grave warning to the revenge-mongers.

The best thing would be for the 51 countries, including France, which fought against Germany, to sign a peace treaty. Our Party, pursuing truly national interests, appeals to all Frenchmen to demand, while there is still time, that the government take steps to initiate negotiations on a peace treaty with the two Germanys, to prevent the possession and manufacture of nuclear weapons by West Germany, to stop stationing West German troops and providing munition depots on French territory, to recognize the German Democratic Republic, by establishing relations with both German states. Needless to say it is not a matter of talk about negotiations, but of insisting on real negotiations.

The question of disarmament cannot be separated artificially from the German problem. The demilitarization and neutralization of Germany will contribute largely to advancing the cause of general and controlled disarmament.

We have already done a great deal of explanatory work. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the Political Bureau's statement on Germany were distributed last July. Millions of leaflets were printed explaining the various aspects of this problem. The Soviet government's statement of August 31 on the renewal of nuclear tests was published in an edition of 200,000 copies. The first edition of Florimond Bonte's book *German Militarism and France* has been sold out, and a second edition is in the course of preparation. The newspapers *l'Humanité*, *l'Humanité-Dimanche*, *France Nouvelle* and the journal *Cahiers du Communisme* launched an ideological campaign which was taken up by the whole Party press, including branch bulletins. The scope of this work is increasing.

There were large-scale actions last summer, timed to take place on the anniversary of the Liberation, in which many patriots and Resistance fighters participated. The annual *l'Humanité* festival, which this year was held under the slogan of struggle against German militarism, was most successful. Numerous meetings are held daily, and every Sunday tens of thousands of patriots march in demonstrations calling for a peace treaty. Commemoration days were held in October in honor, among others, of those who fell in the Auboué slaughter and of the martyrs of Chateaubriant.

The decisions of the International Trade Union Conference, held in Berlin, were explained at meetings called by the CGT. Strikes and other actions have commenced in the factories. A strike was called at the big Fives-Lille works by 66 workers—CGT members, Communists, Socialists, participants in the Resistance Movement, the youth, former internees, and children of patriots shot by the Nazis — demanding a peace treaty with Germany.

In Hagondange (Moselle) 2,000 workers marched with the slogans "Down with German militarism," "A peace treaty with the two Germanys," "Universal disarmament."

On the initiative of the Communist Youth League an anti-war day was held on October 19. The Union of French Women has also stepped up activities.

The Central Committee has set the Communists the task of improving Party work, particularly in the factories, and has pointed to the need to multiply joint actions with all peace fighters so that "activity should be developed now and initiative encouraged in the local committees of the Peace Movement." Action for peace days and weeks will be held at the factories and in the towns.

The Communists have always held that the Peace Movement is a powerful popular force, and that it is a primary duty of Communists to take an active part in the fight for peace.

More and more voices are being raised in France for negotiations and a peaceful settlement of the German problem and of West Berlin. These are but the first steps towards mass actions, but they show our possibilities, which must be utilized immediately in order that these actions should gain in scope. The Central Committee calls on all Communists, in the present tense international situation, to heighten their responsibility for the destiny of peace. The Central Committee resolution reads in part:

"The Central Committee appeals to all Communists, to all working people and democrats to whom peace, the destiny of their children and the future of France are dear, because the question of the day is peace or war."

New Weapon for Embattled Africa

(Notes on the establishment of the All-African Trade Union Federation)

Ali Yata

TWICE this year Casablanca has been the meeting place of conferences convened for the purpose of uniting the efforts of the African peoples in the struggle against imperialism. The first conference was held in January when the heads of the African states met and resolved, as their communique stated, "to achieve the triumph of freedom throughout Africa and to work for African unity." The second, which took place in May, was attended by delegates of more than 40 trade union organizations from 38 African countries. Among them were representatives of independent states such as Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic; of countries which are waging an armed struggle for their liberation, such as Algeria, Angola and the Cameroons, and lastly, envoys from countries where imperialism continues to rule either directly or through its agents. In a word, the trade union conference reflected the multiformity of states and national formations in Africa today.

Decisive Changes

For the first time representatives of the working people of the African continent met on African soil.

This was an event of the greatest importance.

How things have changed since the days of the Berlin Conference of 1885 when the Western powers carved up the territory of Africa with impunity! At that time a proletariat was just beginning to emerge and consisted of only a few small groups in isolated areas of the vast continent.

Much has changed too since the Second World War. When the war began, most African countries had no trade unions and those that did manage to exist were persecuted.

Morocco alone has made astonishing progress. Only nine years ago, in December 1952, the foreign oppressors caused the streets of Casablanca to flow with the blood of two thousand Moroccan workers who had taken part in a strike in protest against the murder

of the Tunisian trade union leader Ferhad Hached. This was followed by a reshuffling in the trade unions and the arrest and torture of their leaders. The Moroccan Communist Party was banned.

Today Africa is smashing her chains and freeing herself from the age-old bondage. She is ceasing to be a paradise for the imperialist monopolies. The African working class is becoming, and will in the near future inevitably become, the decisive political force on the continent. As industry develops from the primitive stage into a large-scale machine industry the African proletariat will grow in numbers. Today Africa has 12 million wage-workers, two million of whom are organized. And at the gathering in Casablanca those who nine years ago were languishing in prison welcomed their class brothers from the other African countries.

These changes, brought about by the awakening of the African people and by their valiant struggle, are closely associated with the October Socialist Revolution, with the defeat of fascism mainly by the Soviet Union, and with the consolidation of the socialist world system. Had it not been for these decisive factors the efforts and sacrifices of the African working people could not have had the remarkable results we see today. These results are all the more significant for having been achieved in spite of the imperialists.

The Movement for Unity and Splitting Maneuvers

When in 1957 the workers of French Black Africa set up the first trade union center on the continent—the General Union of Workers of Black Africa—it became the object of attack by the colonialists. The French imperialists resorted to intrigue, bribery and repression to prevent the African workers from uniting. The reaction to this policy was swift and telling: within one year 90 per cent of all wage-workers in the countries of French Black Africa had joined the Union.

The liberation movement has made remarkable progress since 1957. Many African coun-

tries, the former French colonies in particular, have freed themselves from the political domination of the imperialists. In some of these countries the working class has succeeded in advancing trade union leaders to the highest positions in the government.

But the U.S., French and British imperialists have not abandoned their attempts to split the African trade union movement. In this they have the support of the leadership of the British Trades Union Congress, the Federation of German Trade Unions and particularly the leaders of the AFL-CIO, not to speak of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). For two years now they have been vying with one another in their efforts to retain control over the African labor movement and to place it in the service of the international monopolies. This is an open secret, especially after the news got out about the report prepared for Macmillan by the British Secret Service on the eve of his visit to the African countries. The report stated that the gradual renunciation of Great Britain and other European countries of power in Africa in favor of local independence made it increasingly necessary to develop non-political means of maintaining contacts. In these circumstances, it said, the role of the trade union movement, and hence the significance of the ICFTU, became considerably greater. Recent events had still further enhanced the importance of the trade unions as a potentially new instrument of Western influence, and particularly as a possible obstacle to the political and national movement. The help of the trade unions, the report continued, would be needed to restrain irresponsible nationalization and to maintain control over the key branches of economy in the young African states. The report urged the need to prevent the establishment of an independent all-African center.

What have the Western rulers achieved? At best they have managed to bring a few African trade unions into line, bribe their leaders and persuade them to oppose unification of the labor movement. But these are temporary successes. One can hack off the branches of a tree but new and strong branches will grow in their place. The African workers are solidly behind those who are hammering out trade union unity.

A brief review of the progress of the struggle for trade union unity will show what has been accomplished in this respect.

In December 1958, at the First Conference of African Peoples in Accra, representatives

of the trade unions adopted a joint declaration on the need to establish an All-African Trade Union Federation.

In January 1959 the constituent congress of the General Union of Working People of Black Africa in Conakry urged the working people to unite.

In April 1959 the Second Congress of the Moroccan Union of Labor adopted an analogous decision.

In 1959 the trade union congresses of Ghana and Nigeria published a joint statement in Lagos stressing the urgent need to convene an all-African trade union conference.

In October 1959 the general secretariat of the Accra conference was instructed to take steps to set up a trade union center.

In November 1959 the organizational committee set up at that time adopted a decision to convene the constituent congress in May 1960 in Casablanca.

The growth of the unity movement caused consternation among the Western powers and they stepped up their pressure. The ICFTU hastily called a regional African conference in Tunis and at the last moment managed to prevent the constituent congress from being held in Casablanca as planned. But the congress was merely postponed. In less than a year, workers in Casablanca were welcoming the champions of African trade union unity in the Moroccan economic capital.

Even while the Casablanca conference was in session the imperialists did not lose hope of achieving their ends. Their agents did their utmost to disrupt the conference, not hesitating to resort to the most despicable methods.

Firstly, corruption. Cases of whiskey and wads of dollar bills were handed out right and left. Cocktail parties were arranged for the delegates in luxury restaurants. Irving Brown, the European representative of AFL-CIO, who, according to the *Washington Post*, cooperated with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, spent dollars galore.

Then came the political maneuvering. Tlili, leader of the Tunisian trade union center, notorious for his devotion to the ICFTU, moved that five regional organizations be set up in Africa, which in practice would have meant not unity, but disunity. Sawyer of Liberia proposed that the conference confine itself to adopting a general declaration on the African trade union movement that would give the ICFTU the whiphand over a number of African trade unions.

Since these moves failed to produce the desired result, resource was had to boycott. Just before the final session, Tlili, Sawyer, Tom Mboya and their colleagues held a faction meeting in a Casablanca hotel under the leadership of Irving Brown, and then walked out of the Conference. This action by the splitters was an open admission of defeat.

African T.U. Center Recognizes Its Enemies . . .

The birth of the All-African Federation of Trade Unions demonstrated the maturity of the young African proletariat, its striving for freedom, progress, unity and democracy.

Above all, the Casablanca conference showed the African workers who their real enemies are.

Their enemy is imperialism, which still holds many African countries in political subjection, massacres the people of Algeria, Angola and the Cameroons and resists the genuine liberation of the African continent.

Their enemy is colonialism, which shamelessly exploits the African masses and deprives them of the possibility of living like human beings; which has reduced the average life span of Africans to 38 years, doomed them to a semi-starvation existence and left 90 per cent of the population illiterate.

Their enemy is neo-colonialism, which behind a smokescreen of fine words about freedom and friendship is seeking to replace exploitation based on direct political domination with exploitation based on the ownership of industry and finance, with control, camouflaged to a greater or lesser degree, over the activities of the local governments.

Their enemy is feudalism, which is yet another reason for the backwardness of the African continent, the poverty and ignorance of the people. The foreign monopolies rely on feudalism in implementing their policy.

The enemy is the reactionary bourgeoisie who resist progress and democracy, who consciously serve the interests of the foreign exploiters or unwittingly play into their hands.

It is noteworthy that the African trade union leaders have not committed sectarian mistakes or adopted pseudo-proletarian positions, as was the case with those who regarded the national bourgeoisie as the root of all evil and thereby diverted the attention of working people from their real enemies. In those African countries where the national bourgeoisie exists and where it has not yet exhausted its anti-imperialist potentialities, it is the duty

of the proletariat to form an alliance with it in the struggle against the common enemy, for complete national liberation. This is an essential condition for success on the road of progress and socialism.

. . . Forges Its Unity . . .

The All-African Trade Union Federation has given the working people a powerful weapon in the struggle against their enemies—the weapon of unity. *"The working people can fulfil their vanguard mission only as an active, united, indivisible force,"* states the Charter of the Federation.

The majority of the delegates realized that to split up the trade union movement into several organizations would lead to internal strife and weaken the revolutionary potential of the African proletariat. That is why the delegates resolved to build trade union unity on the basis of defense of the interests common to all African workers irrespective of political affiliation, race, color of skin, nationality or religion.

But it would be wrong to conclude from this that unity has been achieved once and for all. It must be constantly reinforced. For the enemies are not sleeping. At the opportune moment they will try to undermine the All-African Trade Union Federation. And if they cannot paralyze it, they will not hesitate to set up another federation for the sole purpose of hamstringing the African proletariat. Only recently Tlili and the Senegal trade union leader Cissé Alioune, with the blessing of the ICFTU leadership, attempted to hold a conference of several African trade unions in Dakar to offset the Casablanca meeting, but the Bizerte events frustrated this move.

To achieve and preserve unity requires determination, vigilance, farsightedness and struggle. And the slogans of this struggle must be: one trade union organization at every enterprise, one federation in every branch of industry, one trade union center in every country, one trade union organization for the whole of Africa.

Experience shows that success cannot be achieved by pressure or coercion, but only by heightening the social consciousness of the working people. Given this, unity will be an impregnable fortress capable of withstanding all onslaughts.

. . . Proclaims Her Independence . . .

The All-African Federation has forged another effective weapon for the working people: organizational independence. It is found-

ed, according to the Charter, on the following principles: *"Non-intervention by rulers and political parties in the affairs of the African trade unions; freedom to choose the methods of trade union struggle and primarily the right to strike; non-interference by foreign organizations in defining the policy, leadership and character of the trade union struggle in Africa."*

It is obvious that to be independent of the government is one of the essential conditions for the fulfilment by the trade unions of their tasks and duties to the working people. In some African countries (for example in Tunisia and the United Arab Republic) this independence is so far deceptive. The trade unions in these countries must still wage a determined struggle for independence with the help of the All-African Federation. This is the only way the class independence of the proletariat can be won.

To be independent of the imperialist powers and the trade union centers sponsored by them is as essential as to be independent of the government within each country. Without this there can be no talk of genuine national liberation, of abolishing the survivals of colonialism and feudalism, and building a new society, a society in which freedom and justice shall prevail.

The ICFTU agents tried to get the Casablanca conference to adopt a statute of "dual membership," in other words, to permit the national African trade union centers affiliated to the ICFTU to belong simultaneously to the ICFTU and to the All-African Trade Union Federation (T.U. centers affiliated to the WFTU withdrew from the latter with its consent in order to further the cause of African proletarian solidarity). The All-African Federation rejected this proposal. Those of its members who are affiliated to other international trade union centers were given ten months to withdraw from them.

But, as Mahjoub ben Seddik, Secretary General of the Moroccan Union of Labor, pointed out, independence does not mean "chauvinist Africanism, which would doom us to isolation and distort the truth and the meaning of our own problems. Any idea of isolationism in terms of the struggle now being waged in Africa on the different sectors, inevitably arises from a reactionary and false spirit. . . . Despite the complexity of the problem and the vicissitudes of the international situation, the solidarity of the African working people with the working people of the rest of the world accords with the objective reality."

It is to this principle of proletarian internationalism that the World Federation of Trade Unions, whose independence is indisputable, adheres. The WFTU is the only international trade union center which has never intervened in the affairs of the African proletariat, but on the contrary, has helped it actively and in a friendly spirit to win political and organizational independence. The WFTU would find a place in its ranks for the All-African Federation, but we are realists and we know that the moment for this is not yet ripe, that diverse obstacles, such as the split in the proletarian forces on an international level, stand in the way.

. . . Defines Its Objectives

The aims and objectives of the All-African Federation of Trade Unions reflect the aspirations of all African working people.

They are:

In the political sphere:

- independence for all African countries;
- the fight to consolidate the independence of the countries which have won their freedom;
- against the infiltration of neo-colonialism into Africa;
- against racial discrimination;
- for democratic and trade union liberties;
- against the joining by the African states of non-African blocs, against military bases and curtailment of the freedom of African states.

In the economic sphere:

- for an African common market and to co-ordinate the economic policy of the African states;
- against the European Common Market which divides the African economy and robs it of its independence.

In the sphere of culture:

- defense of African culture against colonialism. The working class must support those members of the African intelligentsia who advance culture and work for the revival of African civilization.

In the social sphere:

- for a United States of Africa with a democratic economic, political and social structure, the national resources to be used in the interests of all sections of society.

Moreover, the All-African Trade Union Federation resolved to publish its own printed organ, and to open a workers' university to train and educate its own functionaries. A proposal was adopted to hold an African conference on the question of the struggle against

neo-colonialism and its consequences, and a conference in defense of trade union and democratic liberties.

The city of Casablanca was chosen as the headquarters of the Federation. The leading body will consist of Mahjoub ben Seddik, President, and seven secretaries (one each from Algeria, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Ghana, Kenya and the United Arab Republic).

These decisions give every ground for saying that the Casablanca conference was highly fruitful.

It would, however, be naive to assume that the new weapon is faultless. It is by no means perfect nor can it be, but it can and must be improved. Everything, in the final analysis, depends on the role which the more socially conscious members of the African labor movement are destined to play.

Shortcomings: Objectives Not Clearly Defined . . .

The main weakness of the conference was that it failed to touch upon such a universal trade union problem as the day-to-day organized struggle for a steady improvement of working conditions, for raising the material and cultural level of the workers by increasing wages, reducing and stabilizing prices, introducing progressive labor legislation and social insurance, etc.

Closely linked with this basic task is the obligation to win, preserve, defend and expand trade union rights and democratic liberties, without which trade union activity can have little effect. The trade unions cannot allow these freedoms to be stifled as is being done in Algeria or Angola, or virtually reduced to nought as in the UAR or the Sudan, or curtailed, as in Morocco. It is necessary to begin at once to prepare for a conference in defense of trade union rights and democratic liberties, and to ensure its success. Moreover, those who took part in the Casablanca conference should have indicated the concrete means by which these democratic liberties can be won; through exposures in the press, petitions, meetings, strikes, manifestations, economic boycotts, etc. Of course, in applying these methods, the national elements, the specific features of African life, the level of consciousness of the masses and other conditions must be taken into account to prevent anarchism and adventurism.

The activity of the trade unions cannot be of a limited, "corporate" nature. Their task is to fight for national liberation in every possible way. In the countries that have won

political freedom a simultaneous struggle for the consolidation of independence and for the building of a national democracy must be waged.

It must be said that the Casablanca conference did not lose sight of the political role of the trade unions. But to prevent confusion, it should have defined the attitude of the trade unions to their respective governments. As far as the attitude toward colonialist stooges is concerned the line is clear: steadfast opposition and persistent struggle to oust them. But such a position is inapplicable to national governments which have been established in the course of the struggle for independence. In this case the attitude of the trade unions will be determined mainly by achievements, it will depend on how the government fulfils the tasks of the national democratic revolution.

If, for example, one or another government pursues an independent policy, stands for decolonization, for ridding the economy of dependence on foreign monopolies, for social and cultural progress, the trade unions should support it. If, however, the government's policy is one of subordination to the foreign monopolies, if it takes an anti-democratic line, the unions must oppose it and compel it to change its course.

It sometimes happens that government policy contains both positive and negative aspects, in which case the unions must be able both to support it and at the same time to oppose the anti-democratic elements of its policy.

. . . The Chief Economic Task Is Overlooked . . .

The second weakness was that when the All-African Federation defined its economic role it did not lay emphasis on the need to end the domination of the foreign monopolies through nationalization of the key branches of industry, nor did it pay sufficient attention to studying the new methods of imperialist expansion. The delegate from Zanzibar was quite right when he said: "We must heighten the social consciousness of the working people in our struggle against the survivals of colonialism. We must not curry favor with our enemies. We must treat them as they deserve to be treated. Let us not be deceived by the talk about anti-colonialism in which the neo-colonialist powers like the United States of America and West Germany are now indulging. . . . These states are resorting to anti-colonialist slogans in order to perpetuate co-

lonialism." No mention was made at Casablanca of the fact that for some African countries, Morocco for instance, one of the primary economic tasks is to carry out a radical agrarian reform that would force the big landowners to give up the land seized from the people down through the centuries.

The conference devoted too much attention to the African common market and planning. It should be borne in mind that the international monopolies favor the idea of an African common market that would enable them to obtain a firm foothold on the continent. This slogan can be effective only if it is regarded as a factor of economic liberation, as a means of protecting the African economy from the importation of unwanted goods from the West, as a factor of expanding cooperation between the African countries with a view to developing their industry and modernizing their agriculture.

Planning, of course, is important. But to speak of planning before the economy is freed from imperialist bondage is to put the cart before the horse. Besides, neo-colonialism has no objections to the sort of planning that ensures it a substantial share of the profits. The All-African Trade Union Federation would gain far more if it were to advise the workers to nationalize the country's resources or to place them under state control.

. . . At Times False Neutralism . . .

Lastly, the conference should have condemned the faulty reasoning or lack of understanding on the part of some trade union leaders who, on the pretext of fighting for independence and neutralism, indiscriminately place the socialist and the imperialist countries in the same category.

Tlili, for example, made a point at the Conference of stressing that the African trade unions "must stand aloof from the two blocs which are competing for world domination . . . and whose interests in no way coincide with the interests of the working class."

Incidentally, Tlili contradicted himself. In the same speech he declared: "The General Union of Tunisian Workers adheres unreservedly to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and will not swerve from this path." But the ICFTU openly supports the policy of the North Atlantic bloc and the imperialist states!

Tlili pretends not to know that there is a vast difference between the imperialist powers—the powers which oppress the peoples

of many countries, resist the genuine liberation movement, as the solidarity of the U.S. government with the French aggressors in Bizerte has demonstrated—and the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the other countries of the socialist camp, where power is in the hands of the working people who have uprooted evil, who by their very nature cannot oppress and exploit other nations and who extend the hand of friendship to all suffering and fighting peoples.

The African working people are right in insisting that their trade unions must be independent and neutral. But independence and neutrality do not preclude fraternal ties (based on equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs) with the international working-class movement, and specifically with such trade union centers as the WFTU, the French General Confederation of Labor, the Italian General Confederation of Labor and the Central Trade Union Organization of Indonesia (SOBSI).

If independence and neutralism are to be correctly understood and implemented, the All-African Trade Union Federation will have to fight for the withdrawal of the African countries from all neo-colonialist "communities," for rejection of so-called "aid" which is tied up with political and military conditions, and for the removal of foreign bases and nuclear testing grounds from African soil. Then and only then will independence and neutralism become factors of peace and progress.

The Motive Force in Africa

Another danger to be avoided—one which is already becoming tangible and which can harm the trade union movement and the cause of African liberation — is that of overestimating the role of the trade unions.

The trade unions are mass organizations founded on the community of interests of the working people. But they alone cannot lead the struggle for national and social liberation, for the socialist society to which the working people aspire and the inevitability of which is determined by the laws of social development. The leading role can only be played by an organized, disciplined vanguard of the working class, thoroughly versed in the laws of social development and class struggle revealed by Marxist-Leninist science. The Communist parties are that vanguard.

Hence to strengthen the Communist parties in those African countries where they already exist and to form such parties where none

existed before is a perfectly natural and logical process. It is the duty of the Communist Party always and everywhere to be inseparably linked with the masses, and especially with the workers united in the All-African Trade Union Federation.

In helping the Federation to avoid over-estimating its own role, the Communists will prevent it from falling into the error of reformism and adventurism.

Reformism leads to the bureaucratic emasculation of the trade unions. To hope that the bourgeois state, as a result of a few reforms without any fundamental changes can be transformed overnight into a protector of the workers' interests is to foster a dangerous illusion. If such hopes are encouraged the workers will begin to regard the trade unions as a sort of insurance society and will gradually entrust the defense of their interests to hidebound bureaucrats, the habits of the ministerial anterooms. Were this to happen the trade unions would become instruments of class collaboration serving the interests of a privileged minority, and inevitably, they would fail in their purpose.

Adventurism, which is another form of leftism, limits the activity of the trade unions to advancing anarchist slogans, loud but empty, and bearing no relation to reality. The class struggle degenerates into a war of words. Proletarian actions which are not backed up by a thorough study of the situation and a careful appraisal of the correlation of forces inevitably end in defeat. As a result, the workers leave the trade unions which cease to be a mass movement and become a sect.

But possible deviations from the correct path should not cause us to forget the realis-

tic and highly promising perspectives that open up before the All-African Trade Union Federation.

It is not fortuitous that the conference in Casablanca attracted worldwide attention. The World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the French General Confederation of Labor and other trade union centers sent observers to the conference. Soviet, Chinese, Indonesian, Italian, Cuban and British trade unionists addressed messages of greetings. Newspaper, radio and news agency correspondents from many countries followed the work of the conference on the spot.

The All-African Federation of Trade Unions and the unions affiliated to it have been invited to attend the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions which will be held in Moscow on December 4-16. And there can be no doubt that the representatives of the African workers will not only learn a good deal from their fellow-fighters, but will be able to contribute their share to the international solidarity of the working people.

The Communists will do everything in their power to help the All-African Trade Union Federation to preserve its independence and to strengthen its unity. In the conditions of Africa the Federation is the embodiment of the appeal first sounded by the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

It can be regarded as one of the decisive factors in expanding and accelerating the African national-liberation movement. It is an instrument of African unity, one of the most powerful motive forces in present-day Africa.

Among Our Contributors

FRANCOIS BILLOUX: Member, Political Bureau, French Communist Party;
Political Director of the weekly FRANCE NOUVELLE.

ALI YATA: General Secretary, Communist Party of Morocco.

GRISHA FILIPOV: Bulgarian journalist and Party worker.

LORIS GALLICO: Italian journalist.

HENRY WINSTON: Vice-Chairman, National Committee, Communist Party of USA.

The Might of Socialism and the Activity of the Masses Are the Guarantee of Peace

Alexandre Granick

NINETEEN sixty-one is running out against a background of heightened world tension. Time and again in recent months the aggressive elements have sought to plant mines at one or another point under the edifice of world peace. There has been so much waving of war torches and so many threats to trigger off the charges that at times it seemed that peace might be shattered at any moment and millions buried under the ruins.

Yet this did not happen. The warmakers were halted in their tracks by the forces of peace. The Soviet government took a series of measures to strengthen its defenses. The powerful forces of the entire socialist camp were alerted.

The importance of the steps taken by the socialist camp, and in particular by the Soviet Union, can hardly be overestimated. They unquestionably had a sobering effect on those who have made the armaments drive a veritable *danse macabre* and who seize on every opportunity to threaten the socialist countries with nuclear war.

To these measures, the enemies of peace retaliated with a slander campaign designed to discredit the policy of the socialist camp and to confuse world public opinion. The monopoly-controlled propaganda machine was thrown into high gear in order to distort the true meaning of developments and heat up the political atmosphere.

In this tense situation the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sounded a reassuring note, giving the world a sober scientific analysis of the international situation and revealing in true perspective the shape of things to come.

The Congress carried forward the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, "*the sole sound principle of maintaining relations between countries at a time when the world is divided into two systems*," as is stated in the new Party Program.

The Congress reaffirmed that the principle of coexistence is the only correct criterion from which to approach the complex problems of present-day international relations. It enables one to see the link between the facts and events, to ascertain the overall trends and to define the principal tasks and methods of the struggle for peace.

Using this criterion, the Twenty-Second Congress arrived at the conclusion that the *feature of the contemporary world political scene is the struggle waged by the socialist countries and all other peace forces against the preparation of new aggression and war.*

Let us examine, on the basis of the conclusions of the Congress, the inner logic and motive forces of the complex international developments of the past autumn.

I.

The heart of the matter in the tangle of international political contradictions in recent months is the German question. For it is here, in the center of Europe, that world imperialism has in the West-German militarists the most zealous proponents of brinkmanship. It has seized on the absence of a German peace settlement to launch a drive against the socialist countries in order to "take revenge"—in the broadest sense of the word—for the political defeats of recent years. The political residue of the Second World War is being used as kindling material for a third.

Displaying the utmost patience, the Soviet Union has again and again urged its wartime allies to conclude a German peace treaty and thus halt the dangerous drift towards another world conflagration. But the imperialists have refused to entertain the idea of negotiations; they, apparently, are perfectly satisfied with a state of affairs in which they can gradually and systematically go ahead with reviving West-German militarism and steadily building up its armed strength so as to face the socialist camp with a *fait accompli*.

The result is a situation fraught with grave danger to all mankind. Revived German imperialism has overtaken, both economically and militarily, its European imperialist rivals. Federal Germany is now the strongest NATO power in Europe, and its leaders are openly presenting aggressive, revanchist demands to all its neighbors. "The West-German militarists," Khrushchov said at the Twenty-Second Congress, "dream of taking advantage of the instability in Europe in order to bring about a collision between their former adversaries—the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. They have visions of swallowing the German Democratic Republic, enslaving other neighboring countries and taking revenge for their defeat in the Second World War."

In a word, a seed-bed of war has been re-stored in Europe. And it has become all the more dangerous as a result of the situation in West Berlin, which has been turned into a veritable "powder keg," a convenient spring-board for provocations by the West German and other "Atlantic" warmongers.*

It became obvious to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that a peace settlement with Germany could no longer be put off. Any further delay would only encourage the revenge-seekers to go ahead with their aggressive designs.

For this reason the Soviet Union announced last summer that it would sign in the near future, either together with the Western powers or without them, a German peace treaty, the draft of which it had submitted to the West as far back as 1958, in order to clear away the political remnants of the Second World War.

This proposal is in full accord with the principles of peaceful coexistence. It does not infringe on the vital interests of any country, nor does it give a unilateral advantage to any of the countries concerned. It conforms to the situation which arose after the defeat of Hitler Germany and reflects the political changes brought about by the war. Its purpose is to strengthen security in Europe and consolidate universal peace.

But the cold-war strategists took another view of the Soviet proposals, interpreting them as an "encroachment on Western interests"—not, of course, the national interests of the Western countries, but rather the

interests of these aggressive forces which want to preserve intact the militarist "Fourth Reich" and the NATO espionage and sabotage base in West Berlin.

A situation unprecedented in the history of diplomacy arose: the reply to the proposal to sign a *peace treaty* was *war preparations and threats!* Imperialist propaganda, now geared to the war machine, coined the false slogan "Defend the freedom of West Berlin to the end!"

To anyone not acquainted with the political background to this hysterical war cry it might seem that those responsible for it are stone deaf. For it was *precisely the Soviet Union, with the agreement of the GDR government*, that proposed that the people of West Berlin be guaranteed the opportunity to choose the social and political set-up they want. It was *the Soviet Union, with the agreement of the GDR government*, that proposed reliable guarantees of West Berlin's communications with the outside world.

Thus West Berlin was made a *casus belli atomici*. In conformity with the "domino theory" of Dulles it was declared that the "loss" of West Berlin would lead to the loss of other Western positions. From this "theory," based on the false premise of an endangered Berlin, it was deduced that the city was worth a war.

The absurdity of this reasoning does not, however, detract from the seriousness of the Western threat to go to war over Berlin. This is seen when we examine the "Atlantic" policy in its broader aspects.

II.

Let us look back at the past year. In January the new incumbent in the White House embarked on a "long-term build-up" of strength.

On March 28 Kennedy asked Congress for an additional appropriation of \$650 million for military purposes. The money was used to double the number of nuclear Polaris submarines and strategic Minuteman missiles, to speed up work on the Skybolt air-to-ground missile. A particularly ominous move was the decision to keep one-eighth of all heavy bombers on round-the-clock patrol.

On May 25 the President requested millions more for reorganizing the Army, increasing the strength of the Marine Corps, for task forces which would be ready for action at any moment in any part of the globe, and for putting half the bomber force in combat readiness.

*The question of Germany is discussed in other articles printed in our journal this year: "Stop West German militarism," by Peter Florin (issue No. 9); "Efforts of the GDR for a Peace Treaty," by Otto Winzer (No. 10); "Never Again!" by V. M. Vandenhove (No. 11); and "A German Peace Treaty and de Gaulle's Policy," by F. Billoux, (No. 12)

On July 26 he again asked for additional military appropriations. This time he was given \$4,500 million, enough to enable the Pentagon to increase the strength of the Army from 875,000 to one million, and to strengthen the Navy and the Air Force.

War preparations gained speed and, as the practical measures proceeded, work went on to lay a "theoretical groundwork" for them.

Robert Strausz-Hupé, an American military expert, strikes this sinister note in his *A Forward Strategy for America* which came out early in the year: "Our lot is conflict. History brings us 'not peace but a sword'. . . . The ultimate objective of the strategy for freedom, therefore, must be the devolution of Communist totalitarian governments. . . . The United States cannot renounce the first use of atomic weapons."

This incendiary strategy is elaborated in detail in Herman Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War*.

Kahn holds that thermonuclear warfare is only slightly more terrible than conventional war, and the latter only slightly more terrible than peace. "War is a terrible thing; but so is peace," he says. "The difference seems in some respect to be a quantitative one of degree and standards." Then come the recommendations. According to Kahn, the United States must be able "to threaten to initiate a war" itself, "unpleasant though this sounds and is."

These are not only the personal views of Mr. Strausz-Hupé or Mr. Kahn. They are the credo of the American military, many of whom make no secret of their eagerness to unleash the dogs of war. Moreover, as the foregoing shows, neither the ideas nor the "total" war preparations of the U.S. government can be traced to the so-called "Berlin crisis." It is also amply clear that this "crisis" has nothing to do with such instances of open U.S. aggression against peace and progress as the intervention in Laos or the invasion of Cuba.

The true socio-political meaning of U.S. aggressive strategy was stated last September at the Philadelphia convention of the U.S. Air Force Association which represents both aircraft and missile interests and air force circles. The meeting adopted a political declaration stating that the extirpation of the Soviet system should be the national goal of the USA. And this, we can take it, is the program of monopoly capital!

"The successes of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries exert a powerful magnetic pull," Khrushchov has said. "Like

the sunrise, they illumine for other peoples the path which will lead them within a historically brief span of time to the victory of the most just of all social systems. Conscious of this, the imperialists would like to halt our rapid forward movement. It is this that explains the aggressive nature of the policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and other imperialist powers."

Towards the end of August the war hysteria in the West reached a peak. Things had gone so far that NATO top leaders openly threatened the USSR and the other socialist countries with war. Large-scale military maneuvers were staged on the Soviet frontiers, and U.S. and British divisions were rushed to central Europe. The press, especially the American, whipped up an anti-socialist war psychosis. The *Saturday Evening Post* drummed it into its readers that the USA should "attack first." And *U.S. News & World Report*, mulling over the details, described how this attack would be launched.

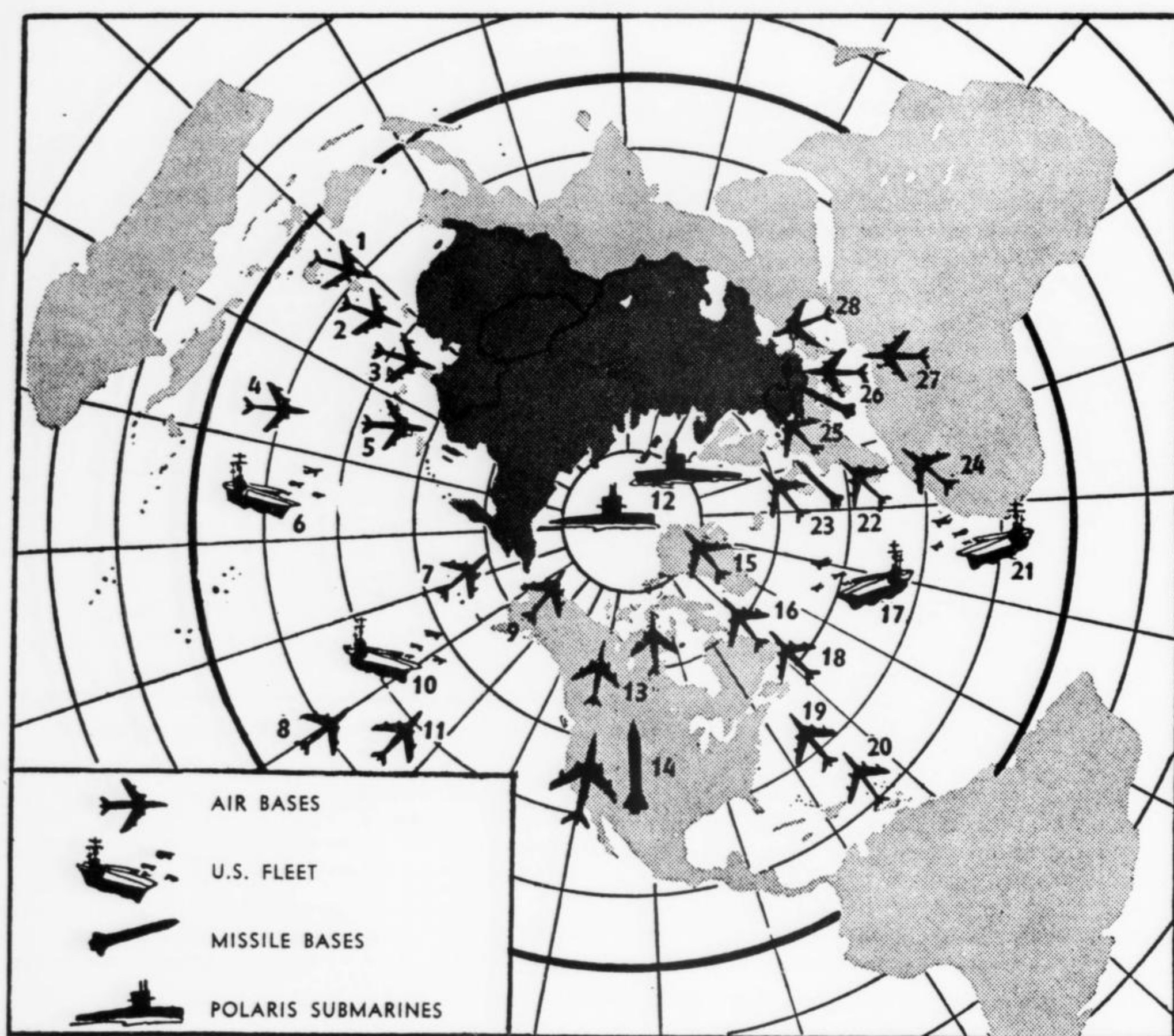
Faced with this tangible threat to its security, the USSR had to take measures to strengthen its defenses and the defenses of the community of socialist nations. In particular, the Soviet government decided to test new types of nuclear weapons.

"The Soviet government," said the statement on the resumption of nuclear tests issued on August 31, "would have failed in its sacred duty to the peoples of its own country, to the peoples of all other socialist countries and to all other peoples longing for a peaceful life if, when faced with threats and with the war preparations under way in the USA and some other NATO countries, it did not make use of the opportunities it has for perfecting the most effective types of weapons capable of cooling the hotheads in the capitals of some NATO powers."

The Soviet Union was thus *compelled* to resume nuclear tests in reply to the aggressive actions of the NATO powers.

III.

When this decision was made public, all the floodgates of political hypocrisy were opened. The gentlemen who only yesterday regarded millions of lives as "expandable," a mere statistical entry in estimates of the "inevitable" cost of thermonuclear war, suddenly woke up to such concepts as moral rights and wrongs and the interests of man—concepts which had long been absent from their thoughts and statements.



Above is an exercise in the cartography of aggression reproduced from **U.S. News & World Report**. The text accompanying this map of "the ring around Russia," as the magazine calls it, reads as follows:

"In the 'first wave' against Russia, formidable U.S. forces would strike from every corner of the globe—from 80 bases in the U.S. and overseas: More than half of SAC's 1,700 bombers, firing H-bombs and Hound Dog missiles. From dozens of bases at Russia's borders: More than one-third of the Air Force's 2,000 fighter bombers, with nuclear payloads. From England and Italy: 90 Thor and Jupiter missiles, each able to destroy a city. From Navy carriers at sea: Half of the fleet's 1,500 attack planes, including heavy attack bombers with atomic bombs. . . ."

The most painstaking research in libraries and study of the Soviet press would fail to bring to light a single example of a call to destroy the United States.

1. Philippines. 2. Okinawa. 3. South Korea. 4. Guam. 5. Japan. 6. Seventh Fleet (Western Pacific). 7. Aleutians. 8. Johnston Island. 9. Alaska. 10. First Fleet (Eastern Pacific). 11. Hawaii. 12. Five Polaris submarines (Arctic). 13. Canada. 14. United States. 15. Greenland. 16. Labrador. 17. Second Fleet (Atlantic). 18. Newfoundland. 19. Bermuda. 20. Puerto Rico. 21. Sixth Fleet (Mediterranean). 22. Spain. 23. England. 24. Morocco. 25. West Germany. 26. Italy. 27. Libya. 28. Turkey.

The Communists give high priority to moral principles in all spheres, the international political sphere included. And precisely because of this, because they seek to safeguard these principles, they cannot connive at concealing the baseness of the morals of the Western Pharisees.

Recall for a moment *the political history* of atomic weapons. Throughout it one can trace an incessant struggle between two diametrically opposed lines.

The proponent of one line is the United States. To it belongs the dubious honor of having pioneered the atomic bomb.

It initiated use of the atom bomb against the civil population. Subjecting the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to atomic bombing—with hardly any military justification—it tested the first bombs on human beings.

This action ushered in the era of atomic diplomacy and cold war, and signaled a sharp intensification of the U.S. plutocrats' drive for world domination.

The other line emerged at the same time, advocated by the Soviet Union which proposed banning nuclear weapons, destroying all stockpiles of these weapons and using atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes. Although this is the most reasonable and most humane solution, the U.S. government, certain that its atom-bomb monopoly would last indefinitely, haughtily rejected the Soviet proposals and launched mass production of nuclear weapons, threatening to use them to crush democracy, freedom and the national sovereignty of peoples.

It therefore became the paramount task of the time to put an end to the U.S. atomic monopoly and to provide the forces of democracy and progress with nuclear weapons for the defense of freedom and the independence of peoples. This the Soviet Union did. In 1949 it tested its first atom bomb. The event was of immense significance, ensuring as it did more favorable international conditions for the development of the liberation movement.

Thereafter, the Soviet government, far from slackening, intensified its efforts for disarmament, insistently demanding a ban on nuclear weapons. With steadfast persistence it has offered the West general and complete disarmament under strict international control, which would also include the abolition of all nuclear weapons. The Soviet government declared in advance that it was ready

to accept *any* proposals the Western powers may have regarding international control, provided they agreed to the Soviet proposals for general disarmament and submitted their suggestions on controls.

It would seem that in these circumstances there is nothing to prevent an agreed solution of this most humane of tasks. But no. When it comes to taking steps corresponding to the interests of man, the pseudo-moralists at once fall back on chicanery, drawing on every trick in the bag to evade the simplest question. The reason is clear: they do not want control over disarmament because they do not want disarmament at all; they are for control of armaments because their aim is to legalize the armaments drive. United Nations disarmament committees have sat for more than 1,400 hours, but not for a single second have they halted the piling up of armaments. *U.S. News & World Report* has estimated that in the course of these sessions 15 million words were uttered. But not a single bomb was destroyed.

In 1958, when the Soviet Union unilaterally discontinued nuclear weapons tests, the imperialist powers replied with an unprecedented series of nuclear experiments.

Then, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, nuclear test ban talks opened between the USSR, USA and Britain. The delegates met 339 times. But systematic obstruction by the Western powers rendered the negotiations fruitless.

Moreover, France continued nuclear tests in the Sahara behind the backs of the participants in the Geneva talks. It is no secret that the French tests were made with the knowledge and with the aid of the USA and, what is more, the scientific and technological findings of the tests went into the NATO pool.

The overall score by September 1961, according to *Business Week*, was 169 nuclear tests conducted by the United States, 21 by Britain and 4 by France, a total of 194. According to the same journal, this was nearly four times the number conducted in the same period in the Soviet Union. During a House of Commons debate in Britain it was stated that by last autumn the United States had released into the atmosphere seven times more radioactive products than the Soviet Union.

But this evidently was not enough, for during the summer the USA decided in principle to resume nuclear tests and was ready to begin them, as the US news agencies and press reported on repeated occasions.

On September 15, the U.S. military resumed the underground experiments. And now they are talking about coming tests in the atmosphere.

Such are the facts. They reveal the true worth of the imperialist moralizers' lamentations over the fully justified defense measures taken by the Soviet government. Clearly, *the full historical and political responsibility for nuclear testing, for the threat of nuclear war, rests wholly on the imperialists, and primarily on the U.S. imperialists.*

IV.

Let us turn to some of the other factors which made it imperative for the Soviet Union to carry out its nuclear tests.

First, it should be borne in mind that the stronger the socialist camp, the safer the cause of peace. But this is not the only factor essential to safeguard peace. Of the utmost importance is active struggle for peace on the part of the people in the capitalist countries. *The impact of these combined forces can be decisive for the trend of international relations.*

The mere fact of the existence of the socialist world system does not automatically curb the aggressors and ensure the triumph of peaceful coexistence.

The trend in international relations will depend largely on the degree to which the people in the capitalist countries use the opportunities *they have* for fighting for peace. Where the pressure is weighty enough, the capitalist governments can be compelled to pursue a realistic policy tending to lessen international tension. But should the pressure slacken and the supporters of military adventures gain the upper hand, the result would be a deterioration of the international situation. This is what happened in 1961, due to insufficiently active defense of the principles of peaceful coexistence by the people in some of the imperialist countries. The incendiaries of a new war did not miss their opportunity.

If one factor of peace is temporarily weakened, the others must necessarily play a bigger role. An understanding of this is vital to any examination of the problem.

The possibility of excluding war from the life of society, pointed out by the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU and reaffirmed by the Twenty-Second Congress, is not the result of any change in the aggressive intentions of the imperialists. Today, as always,

imperialism contains within it the danger of war, just as the menace of an eruption is ever present in a volcano. The possibility of averting war is the logical result primarily of the rapid growth of *the political, economic and military strength of the socialist countries* and their greatly increased influence on international relations generally. The sphere of imperialist domination is shrinking, more and more countries are winning political independence and breaking away from imperialist rule. The laws of imperialism which lead to wars are influencing the march of events less and less, yielding the arena to the laws of socialism which bring the people peace unmarred by the danger of war.

But the march of history does not proceed in a straight line. Its path least of all bears a resemblance to the smooth surface of the Champs Elysées. History is full of turns and zigzags, and swings that may bring the world to the brink of a military cataclysm cannot be ruled out.

The change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and the declining influence of imperialism on social development often act as a spur to the more reckless elements in the capitalist countries to resort to military means in order to halt progress.

At times the adventurist policy of the USA and other imperialist powers creates situations when titanic efforts are needed to save humanity from drifting into another world war. Such a situation arose on the eve of the Soviet government's decision to resume nuclear tests. The intensive war preparations of the USA, West Germany and other NATO countries presented a *real and sinister* threat to the peace. Rejecting all the peace proposals of the Soviet Union aimed at a détente and taking them to be signs of weakness, the rulers of the USA threw everything they had into whipping up war psychosis.

In this situation the Soviet Union took the only step that could sober up the aggressors. They were left in no doubt that any armed attack on the socialist countries would end in the utter defeat of the attacker.

The resumption of the tests was as much a measure in defense of peace, fully in accord with the interests of all, as were the stern warnings the Soviet Union issued to the imperialist aggressors during the events in Egypt, Iraq, Cuba and Laos. These warnings, it will be remembered, helped to stamp out dangerous seats of war.

Far from contradicting the Soviet Union's general foreign policy line of peaceful coexistence and the exclusion of war from the life of society, its resolute defense measures are *one of the methods of struggle for peace and the security of the peoples in an extraordinary, specific situation marked by a sharp aggravation of the war danger.*

V.

Peace supporters generally appreciated the motives of the Soviet government. But some found it difficult to grasp the reasons for the resumption of the tests.

The explanation is twofold: on the one hand the pressure exerted by the bourgeois propaganda and political machine and, on the other, the variety of the organizations and trends championing peace.

The reactionaries hastened, naturally, to make political capital out of the Soviet tests. They sought to shift the responsibility on to the USSR, in order to justify their own nuclear testing and to make their anti-Soviet propaganda more plausible. And so the capitalist press waxed eloquent on the harmful effects of the Soviet tests, trying to stampede the man in the street. In some capitalist countries government committees adopted scare decisions to establish emergency reserves of uncontaminated food. Every effort was made to capitalize on emotion. And not everybody was immediately able to distinguish falsehood from truth — the scare propaganda was not without its effect.

The explanation here is that the peace movement is made up of people of different classes and sections of society adhering to different political opinions, from the Communist worker to the Protestant or Catholic clergyman. They have their own views on society and its future, advocate various methods of struggle for peace, and not all of them are always able to grasp all the implications of circumstances on which the fate of peace may depend. Some were moved primarily by the emotional impact of the resumed Soviet testing, and not by an objective analysis of the reasons that made the tests inevitable and necessary. And emotion rarely provides the right solution to complex social problems.

Those members of the peace movement who questioned the need for the tests failed to see to the heart of the matter. They did not see that in a world divided into two systems the prime guarantee of peace is the preponderance of the forces of socialism over

the combined strength of the imperialist powers.

The Communists highly esteem all who sincerely oppose war and the armaments drive. They regard sincere pacifists as allies in the fight for peace and disarmament, even though they do not share many of their views. But when the world is teetering on the brink of war, when imperialism, like a reckless gambler who stakes everything on one card, throws all its armed might onto the scales of international relations, to condemn nuclear weapons from an abstract moral standpoint and to equate those responsible for the armaments drive with the socialist countries which are compelled to take counter-measures can only harm the cause. It is not by pleading with the aggressors and appeasing them that the idea of settling outstanding international problems by way of negotiation can be made to prevail. Patience in politics is permissible as long as there is hope that time will help to solve the conflicts. But patience is not justified when it becomes clear that procrastination is fraught with defeat in so vital a matter as the preservation of peace.

The forthright stand taken by the socialist countries which have done everything in their power to alert public opinion to the danger of war has dispelled the complacency that could be observed among some peace supporters. More people now realize that we must have international conditions that will preclude the need and the possibility of nuclear tests; they realize that any let-up in the struggle for peaceful coexistence can lead to thermonuclear war, and that the only way out is negotiations on a reasonable basis. Paradoxically enough, by their hysterical propaganda, the imperialists are, all unconsciously, bringing home to people the need for more active struggle for peace. Many peace supporters who at first were deceived by this propaganda discovered to their surprise that by condemning the steps taken by the Soviet Union they joined forces with the supporters of NATO and the armaments drive. They are coming to realize that the way out lies through a broad constructive movement for universal and complete disarmament. This opens new opportunities for rallying public opinion against the arms policy.

Addressing the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchov noted that "in the face of the threat of thermonuclear war there is taking shape an unprecedented coalition of the most diverse mass movements united

by a desire to free mankind once and for all of the disasters of war. The international working class, which is increasingly awakening to its historical responsibility for the future of mankind, has become the great organizing force of this coalition. The banner of peace is in the reliable hands of the million-strong army of Communists in all countries."

The fight for a nuclear weapons ban and for general and complete disarmament has a direct bearing on the vital interests of every people, every community and every individual. Modern armaments have erased the dividing line between front and rear; in the event of war cities will be just as much exposed to missile attacks as the trenches. For all practical purposes the distinction between belligerents and non-belligerents has disappeared; the winds that will carry the clouds of deadly fall-out will take no note of the stand taken by one or another country!

During the First World War it was mainly young men of military age who had to risk their lives. In the Second World War the

entire populations of the belligerent countries suffered. Today war would threaten the life of every man, woman and child in the world. Nobody can afford to remain indifferent. It is imperative to exert every effort to *compel* the imperialist governments to agree to general and complete disarmament and to renounce the cold war.

In our time the influence exerted by the masses on the development of international relations, their role in deciding questions of war and peace, is immeasurably greater. The general thesis of the world Communist movement concerning the exclusion of war from the life of society is based on a profound, objective appraisal of the growing role of the masses in the political life of the world; it is permeated with faith in their determination to safeguard peace against the imperialist adventurers. In the success of the peoples' struggle for peace the Communists see the guarantee against the world being plunged into a nuclear holocaust.

Socialism and Incentive

Grisha Filipov

THE experience gained in building socialism and communism, experience which is clearly expressed in the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, shows that a vital condition for the complete victory of socialism and the gradual transition to communism is "strict adherence to the principles of material incentive and the all-round promotion of moral stimuli to work for the benefit of society; control over the measure of labor and the rate of consumption."

Our experience in Bulgaria bears out Lenin's words that there can be no talk of building socialism or bringing the people to communism unless the members of society are materially interested in the results of their labor and in raising its productivity.

The principle of personal material interest stems from the very essence of socialism as the lower phase of communist society. Marx, writing about socialism, showed that while its first step was to abolish only the "injustice" caused by the means of production

having been seized by private persons, it could not immediately abolish another "injustice" — distribution not according to needs but according to work. This "injustice" will not disappear until society has provided an abundance of material things and until such time as labor changes from a means of earning a livelihood into the prime necessity of life.

From the very beginning of building socialism labor acquires features unknown to capitalist society — it becomes a matter of honor, valor and heroism. There appear moral incentives whose nature is determined, in Lenin's words, by the fact that for the first time man, instead of working for others, for an exploiter, *works for himself*.

The character of the incentives depends directly on the character of distribution. Distribution according to work, being the basic and guiding principle, an economic law of socialist society, is, increasingly, supplemented by *satisfying some of the basic needs of people gratis, through public funds, regard-*

less of the quantity of work performed. Growth of material incentives is accompanied by development of the moral incentives. And harmonious combination of the two kinds of incentives, *with strict observance of the material interest of the worker in the results of his labor*, is the shortest way to communism.

This, as Khrushchov said at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, is "the road which without a shadow of a doubt will take us to a life of plenty and distribution according to needs, the road to the triumph of communist labor."

Socialism Gives Full Play to Material Incentives

Material incentives are not unknown to capitalist society. Critics of Marxism use this to prove that socialism has not essentially changed the nature of the material interest of the worker in the results of his labor. Socialization of the means of production which for the first time made the workers masters of the economy and combined the economic interests of the state and the people, is depicted by them as a step in the interests of the "bureaucratic élite." Herbert Marcuse, the American bourgeois philosopher, claims, for instance, that in the socialist countries "the general interest is hypostatized in the state — an entity separate from the individual interests."

But let us see how matters really stand.

The aim of capitalist production is profit, the enrichment of a handful of capitalists who appropriate the growing share of the wealth produced by millions of people. Therefore, far from rising, the share of the working people in the material wealth produced by them is shrinking, though social production is expanding. The capitalist principle of distribution kills the interest of the worker in increasing production, restricts the material interest, because wages, no matter how labor productivity rises, usually fluctuate below the value of labor power.

In socialist society the material well-being of the workingman directly depends on the growth of social production; the higher the level of social production the more each member of society receives in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor expended. This makes people interested in increasing social production and in raising the productivity of labor.

Despite the claims of capitalist scholars and revisionists the interests of the indi-

vidual under socialism are not divorced from the interests of society, they are not divided by contradictions as is the case under capitalism. In socialist society the material interests of its members coincide with the interests of society as a whole. *The socialist principle of distribution according to work ensures the proper combination of the personal and public interests of the working people.*

In capitalist society with its antagonistic classes the material incentives are not the same for all its members. Moreover, the incentives of the capitalist, who strives to make the maximum profit, conflict with those of the worker; their material interests are in irreconcilable conflict.

Public ownership of the means of production signifies that the material incentives in socialist society are the same for all its members. Far from dividing, they consolidate society for they have one goal. The material interest of the worker in the results of his labor, which directly determines the amount of his remuneration, conforms with the interests of all members of society and of society as a whole.

Socialism has smashed the fetters of capitalist distribution and material incentives have become a powerful and permanently operating condition for the advance of the productive forces.

Our experience in Bulgaria confirms the role of material incentives in building socialism, and above all in raising the productivity of labor. Consistent application of Lenin's principle of material interest has played a big role in transforming Bulgaria in a short period of time from a backward agrarian country into a socialist industrial-agrarian state.

A Correct Wage System Is Basic to the Growth of Labor Productivity

The bourgeoisie regard private enterprise as a decisive factor of economic progress. The apologists for capitalism found among the Right-wing Socialist reformists, help the capitalists in inculcating the idea among the workers that they are drawing level with the employers. Recall, for example, the talk about "people's shares," "social partnership," etc. The authors of these fashionable theories claim that the workers share in the profits of enterprises almost equally with the capitalists.

The absurdity of this claim is evident from the facts. In the United States a bare 1.4 per cent of the workers own shares. And

income derived from these is so infinitesimal that there can be no question of another source of subsistence apart from the sale of their labor power.

Under socialism it is society, not private owners of means of production, which disposes of the products and distributes the national income. Wages in socialist society are, to use Marx's words, "an individual share" of the worker in that portion of the social product which goes for individual consumption and is distributed according to the quantity and quality of work done by each member of society. Wages correctly combine the personal material interests of the working people with the interests of society as a whole.

From this standpoint the Communist Party sees to it that wages reflect the requirements of the law of distribution according to work and ensure on this basis the maximum interest of all workers in raising productivity. Wages in socialist society are in direct relation to the national income: the higher the social productivity of labor the higher the wages. This, however, does not mean that the worker gets all that he produces. Under socialism, said Marx, the workers, as good masters, should take care not only of their immediate needs but also of the needs of society as a whole and of their future. That is why the national income in socialist society is always divided into two parts: one part is used for payment according to work, and the other for the needs of society — for building enterprises, extending the technical base, advancing culture and science, and enlarging the public consumption funds.

Economic progress made in 1959 and 1960 added to the personal consumption fund and, on this basis, led to a rise in wages and salaries. The 20 per cent growth of the national income in 1959 enabled us to increase the total wages by 800 million leva in 1960 and to earmark more than 1,700 million leva for this purpose in 1961. The workers saw for themselves that their efforts to accelerate national development were rewarded with a higher standard of living.

Our guide is the Marxist thesis that the proper combination of personal and public interests signifies that growth of labor productivity keeps ahead of the growth of wages. The ratio is 1 : 2 in favor of labor productivity, with deviations to one or another side depending on technological progress in the different branches of industry and in the enterprises. The faster growth of labor productivity as compared with

wages makes it possible to expand production, to ensure growth of the national income in the future and, consequently, of personal consumption. Hence, the more rapid growth of labor productivity in socialist society fully accords with the interests of the working people.

The best use of incentives in building socialism depends not only on correct proportions between the consumption and the accumulation funds at the particular stage but also on the relationship between the wages of different categories of workers. This correlation envisages improving skills and a rational distribution of manpower in the interests of the state. Clearly, the accelerated building of the material and technical base of socialism in Bulgaria by way of priority development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical, engineering, power and other industries, and the character of the labor in these branches of industry, necessitate higher payment of labor. Only in this way can a normal influx of manpower be ensured and higher labor productivity stimulated. In Bulgaria the wages in Department I are 30 per cent higher than in Department II. But the difference varies, being conditioned by the tasks of the present stage and the growth of the productive forces.

The Evening-Up of Wages Is a Law

Alongside wage differentiation depending on the quality and significance of the particular kind of work, the interests of society call for narrowing the gap between the wages of low and highly-paid workers by way of raising more rapidly the minimum wage. Until 1957 the minimum monthly wage was 300 leva. The fulfilment of the second five-year plan (1953-57) and the reconstruction of the national economy enabled us to raise the figure to 400 leva. As a result, the gap between minimum and maximum wages narrowed considerably. The accelerated development of the economy in 1960 made possible another increase in the monthly minimum, this time to 500 leva.

This trend in no way contradicts the law of distribution according to work performed and does not lead to wage-levelling. On the contrary, this is a *new law* conditioned chiefly by the fact that production increases as skills improve. The qualitative distinctions between the various kinds of work are diminishing, and physical labor is increasingly fusing with mental labor. On the other hand, society is paying more and more of the cost of training skilled workers reducing

thereby the personal expenditure of the worker on education and consequently the compensation for this expenditure in the shape of higher wages for specialists.

As society advances along the path of socialism, the growth of the minimum wage acquires an ever greater significance, being a means of raising the general cultural level of the people and of a fuller satisfaction of their needs. In order to maintain growth of production, the process of narrowing the difference in the level of wages and raising the minimum wage should rest on large-scale mechanization and automation and on gradual elimination of low-skilled labor.

Strict observance of the Leninist principle of material incentive calls for systematic control over the measure of labor and rate of consumption. Production quotas are not only an instrument of planning production, they are also a powerful means of distribution according to work. They promote growth of production provided they conform to the technological level, that is, if they are neither too low nor too high. Otherwise, they will retard technological progress and labor productivity. Production quotas should, therefore, always conform to the level of production attained and the immediate prospects of its development.

The salaries paid to engineers and technicians occupy a special place in the system of incentives. This is so because the effectiveness of the workers' labor depends in no small measure on the participation of the engineers and technicians in organizing production. It is not fortuitous that labor productivity in Bulgaria is calculated not per worker but per member of the production personnel, in which we include engineers and technicians. Quite recently there was a disproportion between the salaries of engineers and technicians and the wages of workers; in some industries engineers and foremen received less than skilled workers. This was a grave violation of the principle of material interest. In 1960 the salaries of engineers and technicians were raised by 17-18 per cent with an average increase of workers' wages by nine per cent. It was stipulated that the wages of the engineers or foremen should be some 15 per cent higher than the wages of their workers.

To enhance the interest of engineers and technicians in tapping new reserves, both in the course of drawing up the plan and in carrying it out, we deemed it necessary to ensure that the basic wage of the leading engineers and executives should rise in pro-

portion to the contribution made by their enterprises to the national income. In building, for example, the wages and bonuses paid to workers, engineers and technicians depend on the commissioning date for the basic production units (until recently the work of builders was judged only on the basis of the investment, irrespective of whether new production capacities were put into operation or not).

Evaluating Labor in Terms of Money and Payment of Labor in the Agricultural Cooperatives

Material incentive plays a big role in the agricultural cooperatives and in raising the living standards of their members. Here, too, considerable changes have taken place in recent years.

The yardstick of labor and distribution in the cooperatives is the work-day unit. Until now any other form of distribution according to work was not possible. The inadequate development of production and the small quantity of marketable products prevented us from measuring labor in other terms, say, in terms of money.

The forms of distribution according to work typical of the first years of the cooperative movement played a great role in ensuring the victory of the cooperative system, in advancing agriculture and raising the living standards of the peasants. Between 1950-59 the peasant income rose by 60 per cent.

The victory of socialism in the countryside, the production of big surpluses for the market and the amalgamation of the cooperatives urgently pose the question of going over to higher forms of distribution according to work. Taking into account this fact and the wishes of the peasants, the Communist Party approved at its Central Committee meeting in January 1959 more objective measures of labor and the going over to more progressive forms of its evaluation. Some cooperatives are now paying for labor on the basis of the net product.* The annual plan estimates the net product for the cooperative as a whole and for each work-team or group. The experience of the past two years shows that this system stimulates growth of production, results in better quality of products and lowers production costs.

Abolition of obligatory state deliveries, higher prices paid for farm produce by the state and a considerable growth of co-op-

*The product of the cooperative with deductions for expenditure.

erative incomes have resulted in the further extension of commodity-money relations both between the cooperatives, and also between cooperatives and the state. This has increased the cash portion in the total value of the work-day unit. Some cooperatives have already replaced the work-day unit by a monetary equivalent. Last year nearly 300 cooperatives switched to cash payment. This, naturally, does not mean that money alone is used to pay for the work done. As in the past, payment is made both in cash and in kind. The new element is that on these farms labor is no longer paid for in work-day units, but in definite sums of money.

This has a twofold significance. First, the evaluation of labor is fairer. Cash assessment results in a more rational use of labor and in stricter control over expenditure of social labor as well as of means and materials. Members of the cooperatives can now learn in advance what their incomes will be — monthly and annual. Second, conditions are being created for passing over gradually to new and better forms of remuneration.

Experience has shown that before introducing money as the measure of labor certain preliminary conditions are needed: steady and high incomes, sound bookkeeping and management. Where these conditions are wanting, the evaluation of labor in terms of money is not expedient.

An important step towards heightening the material stimulus was the introduction of monthly advance payments to cooperators to the amount of 60 percent of the cash remuneration per workday unit. Should any cooperative be short of money, this shortage is covered by the credits granted by the National Bank. This enables all the cooperatives to make regular advance payments. The advances make the farmers confident that their incomes are stable, and this adds in large measure to labor discipline.

The switch-over to assessing labor in terms of money and the monthly advances are steps on the way to *guaranteed payment for labor in the cooperatives*. But there should be no haste in introducing this system. We can switch over to it only after the socialized farming of the cooperatives reaches a high level. Before this can be done, a number of problems will have to be solved. A reserve fund will be needed to ensure guaranteed payments, a stock of products will be required for sale to the cooperative members, and it will be necessary to elaborate a scientific wage scale.

It should be borne in mind that not only basic earnings but also the various forms of *extra payments and bonuses* are of very great significance in providing a stimulus to the farmers. Until recently this circumstance had not been given proper attention. Whereas in 1957 some 2.5 per cent of the incomes earmarked for distribution were paid in the shape of extra payments, in 1959 the figure was only 0.4 per cent. A meeting of the Central Committee held last April, expressed the view of the cooperative farmers, when it emphatically rejected the practice of reducing the extra payments. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Party, said at the meeting: "It is necessary to find the forms and ways of extra payment and bonuses which in all circumstances will ensure higher incomes to those cooperators who work better and obtain better results."

The new stage in rural development imperatively calls for narrowing the differences between income levels in the cooperatives, and between the incomes earned by cooperative members and those working on state farms. The solution of this problem is highly important for the country as a whole, since on it depends the correct allocation of man-power between town and countryside and between the different parts of the country.

The starting point for solving this problem is a sharp rise in labor productivity in the cooperatives through all-round mechanization, a general improvement in the farming methods.

Growing Role of Collective Incentives

Incentives are not limited to proper remuneration for the work done by factory and office workers or cooperative members. Our experience has demonstrated the importance of providing material stimuli both to individual workers and to *production groups*. Now that the task is quickly to complete the building of socialism in our country, greater incentive for bodies of workers in fulfilling and overfulfilling plans, in tapping and utilizing production reserves are of vital significance.

The *factory fund* is a useful means of providing added incentives for the entire personnel of the enterprise. The size of the fund depends directly on increased output and lower costs. As a rule the bulk of these funds is used to pay bonuses to the best workers, and also for housing and recreation purposes. *Technological progress funds* are

now being established in our enterprises and these should help to create added interest in introducing the latest technological achievements.

With the spread of overall mechanization and automation which make labor still more collective in character, the present system of individual wages may not always be an effective expression of the principle of distribution according to labor. If a certain production process is automated it will be difficult to establish the degree of participation in it of the worker, his "personal share" in the operations inasmuch as the production process itself cannot always be subdivided.

The task of raising labor productivity through maximum use of automation and rational organization of labor requires that, instead of being paid for performing different operations, the worker should be paid for the results achieved on the particular sector. This system of remuneration will encourage workers to unite in teams based chiefly on an all-embracing principle. This form of remuneration *does not contradict* the principle of the personal interest of the worker in the result of his labor, because in this case, too, his wages will be determined by dividing the total earned among the team members depending on the contribution made to the common labor pool by the individual worker, but the measure will now be different — finished output. This simultaneously strengthens the bond between personal and public interests, makes for greater mutual aid, and imparts to each a feeling of responsibility for the results of the work done by all.

We are now thinking in terms of a system of incentives which will embrace all stages of the production process — from the research institute and designing bureau down to the worker at the bench and the factory manager.

Another way to heighten the group incentive is overall application and perfecting of *cost accounting*.

While cost accounting is widely applied in our state-owned enterprises its role has been underrated in the cooperative sector of agriculture. But this does not contradict the character of our cooperatives which function chiefly with their own financial, material and labor resources. The cooperatives cannot as a rule count on subsidies or other forms of redistributing the net income as is the case between, or in, the various

branches of the economy. In other words, a cooperative is, by its very nature, a cost-accounting enterprise.

Now that it is essential rapidly to increase production for the market by raising labor productivity and lowering production costs, cost accounting in the cooperative acquires a still greater significance, a significance far beyond the boundaries of a purely cooperative problem. On cost accounting depends the rate of accumulation both in the cooperatives and throughout the economy. Hence our regional councils fix the targets for each cooperative in the matter of reducing the cost of farm production. To encourage the farmers in their drive for lower costs we have established bonuses to the extent of 30-40 per cent of the planned saving obtained by cutting costs.

Steady Growth of Well-Being Is a Law of Socialism

The principle of material incentives in Bulgaria as in any other socialist country, is strengthened not only by a steady rise in cash incomes but also by other measures which result in higher living standards.

Real wages and salaries almost doubled in our country between 1952-59. In the same period the real incomes in the cooperatives increased by more than 48 per cent. This year the real incomes of the working people are expected to rise by approximately nine per cent compared with 1960.

So that more interest may be displayed in increasing output and labor productivity, it is essential at each stage in building socialism to choose the appropriate forms of distributing that portion of the national income known as the consumption fund. In Bulgaria some 92 per cent of this fund is spent on personal consumption (wage fund) and roughly eight per cent on public consumption. That is to say, the predominant share of the consumption fund is spent on personal consumption which corresponds to the socialist principle of distribution according to work done.

Of late, however, another trend has set in — accelerated growth of the public consumption fund. This, clearly, is a stepping stone in the direction of the gradual growth of communist distribution.

What Should We Do: Reduce Prices or Raise Incomes?

Of late our researchers have been examining the question of the most effective way

of raising the standard of living — through lowering retail prices or raising the income of all sections of the population? Experience has shown that the systematic reduction of consumer-goods prices and of charges for services are important means of raising the standard of living. Between 1952-58 food prices fell by 23 per cent and manufactured goods by 33 per cent as a result of six successive price cuts. On the whole the working people gained about 6,000 million leva from these price reductions. Purchasing power of the leva has risen by 42 per cent.

There are, however, negative sides to improving conditions through price reductions alone. When prices are lowered for a wide range of goods it is the highly-paid workers and cooperators who gain most and this cannot but widen the gap between the real incomes of low-paid and highly-paid categories. Hence it follows that in order quickly to raise the standard of living, above all of low-paid workers, it will be more expedient to spend a substantial part of the money earmarked for improving conditions to raising the wages, particularly of low- and medium-paid categories, and to increase the low pensions. And this is what we are doing. In 1959-61 wages and pensions were raised instead of lowering prices on a mass scale, and a number of other important socio-cultural measures were carried out involving the sum of over 2,500 million leva.

This does not mean, of course, that conditions no longer allow for the lowering of prices, or that we reject this measure altogether. On the contrary, the present drive for higher labor productivity will lower costs, and hence the possibility of cutting prices. But in the near future these cuts are not likely to take place on the same scale as hitherto.

The increased role played by the wages and the money incomes of the cooperative farmers poses in a different light the question of the correlation between growth of consumption and the production of consumer goods. For labor to provide the worker, cooperative farmer and the office employee with the maximum benefits, for it to encourage them to work for the public good, they should be able to realize their cash earnings, to buy all the things they need. The more quickly the productive forces grow and the more consumer goods we produce, the better will the growing requirements of the working people be satisfied. Of great significance in this connection is *the more rapid growth of consumer-goods production*

compared with the growth of incomes of the working people.

Sprouts of Communism and Labor Stimuli

Incentives under socialism foster labor initiative and enthusiasm, make for better labor discipline, impel people to improve their skills and enrich their know-how. The sprouts of a communist attitude towards labor emerge and develop already under socialism.

With the advent of the third five-year plan (1958-62) a nationwide movement for fulfilling the targets ahead of schedule began in our country. As a result the plan has been fulfilled, in the main, in three years. The communist labor team movement has spread throughout industry. At the beginning of 1961 there were over 7,000 teams uniting 150,000 people competing for the title of communist labor team.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism, advancing the concept of distribution according to work, stressed the temporary, transient character of the principle of incentives, Lenin wrote: "As soon as equality is achieved for all members of society *in relation to ownership of the means of production*, that is, equality of labor and equality of wages, humanity will inevitably be confronted with the question of advancing farther, from formal equality to actual equality, i.e., to the operation of the rule, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'."*

The question arises, how will the transition from the socialist to the communist principle of distribution be effected and in what objective conditions will the principle of personal incentive lose its significance as a propellant of progress and give way to other factors?

A feature of the transition is that it is not a single action, nor is it effected in a sporadic way; it is a gradual process which begins with the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. This signifies that under socialism there emerge embryonic forms of communist distribution and that from the very beginning distribution according to work fuses, to a certain extent, with distribution according to needs. This is a general law of socialist society.

Already in the early days of building socialism in our country society undertook to satisfy certain vital needs of the citizens either free of charge or for a minimal charge.

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

These include above all the health service which is guaranteed not according to work done or income earned but according to needs, and also education, including higher education. Kindergartens and nursery schools are also maintained mainly at the expense of the state, the parents paying only a nominal charge. Socialist society spends vast sums on building houses for working people at a minimum rent—as a rule not exceeding 8-10 per cent of the basic wage.

The accelerated building of socialism will enable us in the near future to provide free meals in kindergartens and schools, and to extend the network of workers' canteens in which food will be sold at lower prices, etc.

The fact, however, that there are these new elements in distribution and in the attitude to labor does not signify that both the objective and subjective conditions are ripe in Bulgaria for replacing the socialist principle of distribution by any other forms—the communist principle of distribution according to needs or anything approaching it. The experience of building communism in the Soviet Union and our own experience indicate that this will be possible only when abundance is created, and when labor becomes the prime necessity of every member of society. Premature abolition of the socialist form of distribution would only discredit communism.

And so the character of the incentives is changing according as we advance along the road to socialism and communism. While continuing to exert a very great influence on the development of social production, the incentives in their present form will gradually give way to the moral urge to work.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which made another valuable contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, substantiated the need for consistent application of the principle of material incentives also during the stage of the all-out building of communism. Like our Soviet friends, our Party holds that "until we have an abundance of material goods, until labor has become a prime necessity for the individual, there are no grounds for discarding the socialist principle of distribution, for easing public and state supervision over the amount of work done and the quantity of goods consumed."

That is why in the immediate future we should strictly adhere to the Leninist concept of the material interest of the working people in the fruits of their labor. Socialist society in its advance towards communism should not weaken but, on the contrary, should perfect and strengthen the role and significance of material incentives.

The Gap Between Vatican Ideology and Social Reality

Apropos of the Encyclical "Mater et Magistra"

Loris Gallico

ON July 14, 1961, two months later than the date originally announced, the Vatican made public an encyclical entitled "Mater et Magistra" (Mother and Teacher) on "recent developments of the social question."*

The delay is explained by the fact that the authors of the encyclical—mainly Jesuits, but also secular economists, Catholic trade union leaders, etc.—had to compile a text which, while not defending capitalism too obviously, would contain no anti-capitalist or anti-colonialist pronouncements, or openly contradict previous documents issued by the Church.

The Catholic Church is indefatigable in its efforts to project itself as an auto-dynamic "perfect society" which by its very nature stands above external phenomena and events. In reality, however, the encyclical's extensive analysis of previous Vatican theses and positions is both inexact historically, inconsistent politically, and, in the long run, does little to enhance the prestige which the Church hoped thereby to maintain or regain.

Always a Whole Historical Epoch Behind the Times

"Rerum Novarum" (1891) was the first encyclical in which the Church in its 1,800-year history raised the "social question." Some people in the 19th century, on seeing the incipient working-class movement, realized that a Church clinging to conservative and reactionary attitudes, and always a whole epoch behind the society in which it lived and functioned, risked becoming irrevocably separated from the poorest and most numerous sections of the Catholic population.

But the people who held these views were remote from the central political authority of the Church (the Curia Romana) living as they did in the industrially more advanced

Catholic countries, primarily France and the Rhineland.

When, after the revolutionary events of 1948 and particularly in 1864, after the foundation of the First International, Bishop Ketteler of Mainz propounded in Germany the idea of a social policy based, needless to say, on a mediaeval conception of corporations, Pius IX confirmed in the most reactionary document of the century that the Papacy would adhere to principles of the absolute authority typical of feudalism, and rejected any conciliation or even contact not only with the working-class movement but "with progress, with liberalism and with modern civilization" generally (*Syllabus of Errors*, 1864).

Under Pressure of the Working-class Movement

Up to 1891 the Vatican, if it ever mentioned socialism or the working-class movement, did so only to denounce "the nefarious doctrine known as communism" (Pius IX, encyclical "Quam Pluribus," 1846) or to qualify as a "ruinous plague" the "sect of those who appear under the diverse barbarous names of Socialists, Communists, Nihilists" (Leo XIII, encyclical "Quad Apostolici Muneris," 1878), or to counsel artisans and workers to learn "to be content with their lot and to bear the hardships of life with dignity" (*ibid.*).

It was only in 1891, that is, 43 years after the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, and 20 years after the Paris Commune that the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" made its appearance. It was a reply the Catholic Church was forced to make in view of the growth of Socialist parties, the founding of the Second International in 1889, and the proclamation of May 1 as the holiday and symbol of the unity of the working people of all countries.

*An encyclical is a papal letter addressed to the bishops of the world.

The Church, as the French Socialist Jaurès put it, began to occupy herself with the weak when they had become strong.

The underlying purpose of "Rerum Novarum" was, as Leo XIII said ten years later, to hold back the working-class movement by "regulating, restraining and resisting it."

Ecclesiastical writers have often counterposed "Rerum Novarum" to the *Communist Manifesto*. But, apart from the difference between their scientific and literary values, the *Manifesto* is addressed to all working people, while the encyclical, through the bishops, is addressed to rulers and employers. The *Manifesto* is still one of the most widely read books in the world, whereas "Rerum Novarum" has long been forgotten, and no attempt is made to circulate it among the masses. And for good reasons. What could they learn from it?

—That the division of mankind into classes, wage-labor and the system of wage labor are just and eternal phenomena.

—That the working people should confine themselves to demanding a fair wage which "ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage earner." Thus the proletariat is deprived not only of the prospect of emancipation from wage slavery, but also of the prospect of any appreciable improvement in living standards.

—That "capital cannot do without labor nor labor without capital." As if the constituents of capital, i.e., the basic means of production, which down the centuries have many times passed from hand to hand—from primitive communes to slave-owners and, finally, to capitalists — cannot become the property of the whole people and be used to build a classless, truly *human socialist society*! History, however, has furnished the answer.

—That Leo XIII never attempted even to distinguish between ownership of articles of consumption and ownership of the means of production; that many years after publication of the *Manifesto*, which explains this clearly, Leo XIII again charged the Communists and Socialists with wanting "to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community at large."

—That Leo XIII, although he eulogized poverty and sermonized on the uselessness of wealth, inasmuch as it does not assure one eternal happiness, did not, nevertheless, recommend that the employers should renounce their riches; observing, moreover, that the "ordinary people must do their duty," he

enjoined the authority of the state to "safeguard . . . the lawful possessor from danger of plunder."

—That Leo XIII was opposed to strikes: "The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures." But in vain. For Catholic and non-Catholic working people have always acted jointly in defense of their right to work.

It was no accident that in 1947 the French "Catholic" trade unions had to expunge all reference to "Rerum Novarum" from their statutes.

It was precisely because Leo XIII's ideas were a whole epoch behind the times that they make no impact. Condemnation of the emancipation of women and of their participation in industry, echoed by the entire reactionary movement, failed to prevent women from engaging in public, political and educational work, just as all the "veneration of the majesty of kings" and the appeal to obey them failed to prevent the collapse of the monarchies or break the people's will for liberation and a better life.

What consolation therefore could the working people find in "Rerum Novarum"? Possibly the "brilliant" discovery that "he who owns no property makes up for this by his labor" offers some consolation? Or that labor is not to be regarded as a commodity, although right on top of this wages are said to be immutable; yet wages in a capitalist society represent the price paid for labor power as a commodity.

"Rerum Novarum" says nothing about either the agrarian question or the question of independence for oppressed peoples, who in 1891 made up over two-thirds of the world population.

The need for a new and more "presentable" encyclical was, therefore, acute. Announcing, on December 29, 1960, his intention to promulgate an encyclical, Pope John XXIII stated that it would "confirm the constant solicitude of the Church, aimed not only at *this or that point in the kind of social order* to be achieved, but at the entire social order which seems needed in these times." That is why the new encyclical is addressed not only to the bishops, but to *the faithful*. Pius XI had denounced communism and even "moderate socialism," it says, but we are not told that he did so in 1931, when the Communist parties, and in large measure the Socialist parties, acted as the sole force cap-

able of combating and destroying fascism, which had already come to power in a number of countries and was threatening Germany and the whole of Europe. It was at this time that Pius XI chose to declare: "No one can be a good Catholic and at the same time a convinced Socialist"! An attempt was made (and the Resistance in Europe subsequently demonstrated its utter futility) to prevent any contact between the genuinely anti-fascist and anti-war movement and the broad Catholic masses.

The new encyclical obviously wishes to create the image of an "anti-capitalist" Pius XI, and with this in view quotes excerpts from his "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931) which are aimed against *the power of the banks and international finance imperialism*. The sentences are replicas of the "anti-plutocratic" demagoguery with which Mussolini, Salazar, de Rivera and later Hitler and Goebbels screened the dictatorship of the most reactionary monopolies, and under the cover of which they took mass reprisals against the workers, and prepared for war.

In reality "Quadragesimo Anno" is permeated through and through with the spirit of fascism; its author even lauds fascist corporativism, the principles of which he set forth in the concluding words: "Little reflection is required to perceive the advantages of the institution thus summarily described: peaceful collaboration of various classes; repression of Socialist organization and efforts; the moderating influence of a special magistracy"!

The ideological influence of fascism is even more pronounced in the 1941 Pentecostal message broadcast by Pius XII. Extracts from it are reproduced in the new encyclical. The hope — not without foundation — that the Hitler barbarians would hurl themselves against the USSR, gave Pius XII reason to affirm the "unquestionable need that the goods, which were created by God for all men, should flow equally to all, according to the principles of justice and charity." This was obviously an echo of the notorious polemic in which the German fascists justified the war against France and Britain—"perfidious Albion, which has seized the wealth of the world"—a war to recarve the colonies and redistribute wealth, a war for *Lebensraum*.

The new encyclical quotes from this message another passage on the so-called family *living space*, but conveniently forgets that Pius XII wrote at the beginning of this ex-

cerpt: "Today the concept and creation of living space are in the center of social and political strivings. . . ." It is quite clear that the social and political strivings for "living space," so dear to the hearts of Hitler and Goebbels, imply fascist strivings.

And a few sentences above: "Such, beloved children, are the principles, conceptions and norms with which we should like to cooperate in the future organization of *the new order* which the world awaits and desires in the ferment of the present struggle, an order which will tranquilize the peoples in peace and justice." As is known, at that time the "new order" implied the system installed by Hitler.

One is struck by the imprudence with which passages and judgments are reproduced from former encyclicals, for they show that the Church ideology is not so independent of the social system under which the Church functions or of the dominant ideology of that system, as the Church's top hierarchy would have us believe. On the contrary the Church is profoundly and directly affected by this system and particularly by the most reactionary ideologies in the service of the influential and reactionary circles of imperialism.

The "New" in "Mater et Magistra"

One of the tasks of the new encyclical, its authors say, is to provide "a solution to the social problems more adapted to our times." To justify the statement they list a series of the changes and developments of the past few years, with which, by the way, the Vatican has had nothing to do and to which it has always been hostile. Scientific discoveries and the liberation of colonial peoples, the national and political awakening of the masses, which can no longer be ignored, and the conquest of outer space are among the events enumerated. Two, however, are not mentioned: *the defeat of fascism* by the united democratic forces, and *the rise of the socialist camp*, i.e., the two most important developments which, together with the liberation of the colonial peoples, have created the present situation. The classical and enduring illusion characteristic of clerical thinking, as indeed of all outmoded ideologies, is the belief that all that is needed to halt the processes of history is to ignore them. The preamble is followed by the "new" section of the encyclical prefaced by a series of pronouncements reiterating the position of the monopolists of all countries on the necessity of "free initiative."

The encyclical agrees to the principle of nationalization (or "public property" as it is called in the text). There is a great deal of confusion here, because it also talks about "socialization," the title of one of the sections in the official Italian translation. It is obvious, however, that in this context *socialization* merely implies "extension of associative forms to the various manifestations of life," as the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit organ, puts it (one can hardly expect authors of an encyclical to use scientific terminology).

The principle of nationalization was recognized by Pius XI in "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931), when the economic crisis of 1929-1932 compelled many capitalist countries, and particularly Italian fascism, to nationalize enterprises on the verge of bankruptcy in order to salvage them and re-establish the profits of private capital. If then it was a question of "socializing the losses" and now of creating — without risk to private property and at the expense of the people — the material conditions for the development of private capital, there are today grave limitations to the absolute right to private property, which Leo XIII regarded as "sanctioned by Natural Law" ("Quod Apostolici Muneris," 1878) and which John XXIII wishes to retain under all circumstances. The limits set by the encyclical to "public property" are those needed by the capitalists; and to justify them theoretically the authors of the encyclical talk of the "permanent validity" of the right to ownership of the means of production, a right stemming from lofty philosophical considerations, from the consideration of "freedom," in particular of the "freedom" which, when means of production come into the picture, makes it possible to force others to work for the owners, that is, freedom to exploit, freedom for *the master*, but not for *the man*.

As concerns property in land, the authors justify this in a less metaphysical fashion, stating that the right to landed property is the fruit of the labor of the holder. In that event there can be no justification for landed property that is not the fruit of labor. The encyclical, needless to say, maintains silence on this point.

Other innovations: the new encyclical agrees, although grudgingly, to workers being given shares.*

In this encyclical, too, there is a woolly recognition of the possibility "of the employees to participate in the activity of the enterprise to which they belong as workers." Apparently what is implied here are internal-factory commissions, but some are inclined to read into this the possibility of working people participating in the management of enterprises. Were this really the case, one could talk of a step forward compared with the stand taken by Pius XII, who on June 3, 1950, argued that, by virtue of principles and the facts, the demand (by the working people) for the right to participate in economic management continues to be unrealizable.

No Agrarian Reform, and No National Independence

A considerable section of the new encyclical is devoted to agriculture; this is something new, for "Rerum Novarum" does not even hint at anything of the kind. Nothing it says on this subject, however, differs in any way from the pronouncements of the leaders of the bourgeois parties in Western Europe. The encyclical speaks of an agricultural crisis, of the need to take measures against it, of the imbalance between markets and prices, of a more equitable taxation; and it does so in great detail, as if to make up for the lack of new and progressive ideas.

"Family-size farms," the authors believe, are the ideal thing and should be encouraged. But they do not themselves appear to be any too keen on the idea, for they make no mention of agrarian reform. On the other hand, no attempt is made to ascertain whether, at the present stage of development of our agricultural techniques, the tendency is for "family farms" to grow, or whether the tendency is towards the creation of bigger farms—farms which in socialist countries presuppose the voluntary union of peasants in large-scale enterprises using the latest techniques, and in capitalist countries the development either of capitalist farms or free associations of peasants *after the land has been given to those who till it*. It is noteworthy that the expression "toilers of the soil" used in the encyclical includes both farm laborers and big farmers, that is, those who have little or no land, as well as those who have enough or too much. It is for the express purpose of side-stepping the demand for agrarian reform in the West European countries and of not formulating the demand "*Land to the tillers!*" which to this very day

*Regarding "workers' shares" see "Who Benefits from 'People's Shares'?" by I. Macek, *World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1959.

is the basic one of most people throughout the world, that this term has been used.

The encyclical cannot pass over in silence the victory of the national revolutions of oppressed peoples and the rapid collapse (in the postwar) of colonial regimes in most of Asia and a considerable part of Africa. Compared with "*Rerum Novarum*" and subsequent papal documents this is something new. But the question is presented, somewhat strangely, as a purely economic problem, a problem of differences in levels of economic development. For instance, not a word is said about the need for *national independence*. As if "emergency assistance" can suffice to solve all the problems! This is an interesting example of reducing a vital problem of our time to that of "material" values and negation of moral values. But this will not surprise those who elevate private ownership of the means of production, i.e., the possibility to exploit others, to a *condition of the personality*! Those who call themselves men of the "spirit" or idealists, usually display an extraordinary attachment to material benefits, leaving it to the "materialists" to uphold scientific and moral advancement, political freedoms and national independence, and the nobility to forswear their personal interests.

A Social Doctrine Is Defined in Practice

The Catholic Church, the new papal encyclical states, has always had a clear-cut social doctrine. Yet John XXIII had to admit in his first encyclical that a number of Catholics "often lament that the principles of the Christian social doctrine have not as yet found practical application." It is a fact, however, that there has never been a society, legislation, social position or doctrine of a strictly "Christian" character.

Emmanuel Mounier, one of the most candid and sincere Christians of our time, and founder of the journal *Esprit*, observed that Constantine raised Christianity to the level of supreme power. But was this, he asked, followed at the time by Christian legislation? No. Not even for the Christians.

The society of those times was a slave-owning society, the legislation permitted slavery and St. Augustine bestowed his blessing on it. St. Thomas legitimized feudal society. And although "*Rerum Novarum*" bewailed feudalism, it nevertheless approved and legitimized the capitalist system and capitalist exploitation. Three different positions and three different doctrines, agreeing on one point only: in proclaiming as eternal

and as conforming to God's will the system glorified.

That is why there is no such thing as a *Christian* social doctrine proper. The solution of social problems calls, irrespective of religious beliefs, for a study of the problems; and they should be solved on the basis of modern social positions, the correlation of forces and scientific socialism.

On the other hand it is not only general, abstract, empty pronouncements that define a social doctrine, but the real relationships, the alignment of the forces taking part in the struggle and, to put it more explicitly, the manner in which the doctrine is translated into reality when its supporters win power.

The Christian Social leaders, armed with their "doctrine," are usually known in the working-class movement for their splitting activities; and it is the masses, those who do not read encyclicals, that try always and everywhere, despite the attitude of the Church hierarchy, to preserve the unity of the working people.

Directives sent out in 1948 not only from Washington but also from the Vatican, for example, split the trade union movement throughout Western Europe.

Last year when the Belgian working people rose in action against the law which meant "austerity" for the people and bigger profits for the monopolies, against squandering thousands of millions to maintain domination in the Congo and to pay for the pomp and ceremony in Europe on the occasion of King Baudouin's wedding, Cardinal Van Roey, Archbishop of Malines, preached on December 23, 1960, a sermon against the strike.

The character of the social doctrine which the Church is trying to formulate—not an abstract-Christian, but a concrete-bourgeois imperialist doctrine — is obvious from the nature of the regimes to which it lends support. Last century the Church lauded as models the empires of Napoleon III and the Hapsburgs. This doctrine was also realized in our century with tragic consequences when dedicated Vatican people became heads of states: Dollfuss in Austria, Franco in Spain, Salazar in Portugal, Pétain in France, Hlinka and Monsignor Tiso in Slovakia.

Like people, doctrines and movements are judged by deeds, not words. What exactly is the stand of the Church authorities? They are for the working people? Then why do they not uphold their demands, as we Communists do? They are for freedom? Then why

did they support fascist regimes and, in fact, still do? Why do they not call for independence for the colonial peoples; speak in defense of Algeria and against de Gaulle; in defense of Angola and against Salazar? They are for peace? Then why do they not speak out in favor of the inviolability of the frontiers in Europe; against the militarism and *revanchism* of Federal Germany; for prohibition of nuclear weapons and general disarmament?

The Fundamental Contradiction of the Catholic Church

It would be wrong to think that the Catholic hierarchy can adhere to reactionary positions for as long as it likes. It is precisely here that the profound, fundamental contradiction rending the vast "organism" of the Catholic Church becomes apparent. The Church is not only the Curia Romana and the clergy (over one million in all), it is also those who, so to say, were born into it. And of these there are more than 400 million.

On the one hand there is the general policy of the Church, its ties with existing reactionary political regimes, its lagging behind the times and inability to adapt its policy to the changing social reality. The Catholic Church was the handmaid of the slave-owning Roman empire during its disintegration; it acted as the bulwark of feudalism when the bourgeoisie was already establishing itself; and now, in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Church is the stand-by of the monopolies and the imperialists. Because of its structure and superstructure, of its ideological and political considerations, the Church is always an entire epoch behind the times.

On the other hand mass pressure is increasing, and the Church cannot lose the masses without losing its historical role — as has already happened, and is now happening in a number of countries.

Even some of the clergy and the numerous Church cadres in contact with the masses, often have to voice, or at least to reckon with, the demands of the people in order not to lose this contact with them. Recall, for example, the opposition of the rank-and-file Basque clergy to the Franco dictatorship and the higher Church hierarchy supporting it. Another example. When some 200 French priests—so-called worker-priests—responded to a call by the bishops, in particular Cardinal Suhard, "to win back" the working class, which in France was considered as "lost"

to the Church (the number of church-goers in many working-class areas in France does not exceed three per cent of the population) and went to work in the factories, most of them, upon coming into direct contact with exploitation, sided with the working class.

When the Vatican ordered the worker-priests to leave the trade unions and refuse to do any social work assigned to them by the workers, and Pius XII declared that it would have been better had this apostolate not been formed, 78 worker-priests replied (Februray 2, 1954) that priests cannot be forbidden, in the name of the Gospel, to share the conditions of life and work of millions of oppressed. Many of them were unfrocked for their opposition.

The nature and policy of the Vatican cannot be understood if it is simply reduced, as many people do reduce it, to a structural element of the capitalist world with the dual character of the world's biggest landed proprietor and of an equally large-scale finance association, no matter how important these aspects may be.

Actually both the Vatican and the Church under its administration and direction are a complex formation, whose influence down the centuries was founded not only upon the material means at its disposal, but on the ideological influence it exerted on the masses, on the biggest and most widely ramified organization in the world; and this still makes the Catholic Church an important factor in civic and political life in many countries. It is precisely due to this ideological influence and this vast organization that the Catholic Church and the clerical parties continue to be the main stand-by of capitalism and reaction.

The foregoing helps to explain why the new encyclical was needed, and clarifies some of its features. It becomes clear that its compilers had to exercise the utmost caution to conceal the contradiction between the policy of the Church and the demands of the masses. This contradiction is, nevertheless, most palpable on the question of peace and peaceful coexistence. The encyclical does not mention these, and thus makes a step backward in this all-important sphere compared with the former statements of the Pope who, on September 16, 1959, said, in expressing his satisfaction at the Khrushchov-Eisenhower meeting, that "although its aims were not of a divine character, it could, nevertheless, be regarded as serving a useful purpose for the human, earthly and social order."

For several years now the Vatican has been unable to avoid speaking on the question of peace. Proof of this are John XXIII's words on September 10 last, when he, appealing to believers, "and also to non-believers," admitted that "in two words, in the word 'war' and the word 'peace', are locked the sorrows and hopes of the world, the care and the joys of personal and public life," and affirmed that the world "has no need of victorious wars and defeated peoples; but of the renewed strength of salvation and of the fruitfulness and calm of peace." Khrushchov immediately noted that the speech showed "concern for universal peace" and, "evidently, reckons with the sentiments of the millions of Catholics in all parts of the world who are troubled by the war preparations of the imperialists."

Today the millions of Catholics, even in Italy, where the Pope resides, are all for peace. Catholics were among the sponsors of the peace march in Central Italy (Perugia, Assisi) last September. One can but ask: why is the "social" encyclical silent on this crucial problem? But this is easily explained: for even when the Vatican, in the wake of the Catholic masses, admits that peace must be preserved, it nevertheless talks in general phrases and, despite the obvious facts, persistently denies the objective connection between the fight for peace and the fight for democracy and socialism (precisely for this reason it has rejected the formula of "peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems").

The Gap Between a Backward Ideology and Social Reality

A feature of the new encyclical is that it reveals the gap between Church ideology and the social reality of our epoch. On the other hand, the Church clings to the social reality now slipping from its grasp, and to this end seeks contacts of a less traditional character than faith and ceremonial rites.

But can ties really be re-established with the masses for the sole purpose of utilizing them for particular ends? Borrowing formulations from trade union programs or even from Left parties will not help very much, just as fixing St. Joseph's day for the first of May will hardly change the latter into a religious feast day. Nor is there much point in toning down the expressions used by Leo XIII and cited in John XXIII's first encyclical, "Ad Petri Cathedram" (June 29, 1959): "Labor cannot exist without capital"; "God

himself wills that class differences shall exist in the community," or the conclusion arrived at by John XXIII: "Those denying class differences . . . 'are opposing the laws of Nature itself'."

There is something spurious about this, and it is far from convincing. All the more so because the Church persists in its discrimination, which it endeavors to justify by purely ideological considerations. In reality, however, it is guided by social, economic and political criteria conforming to the interests of monopoly rule.

The Washington Post put the thing in a nutshell when it said that "Mater et Magistra" is likely to occupy an outstanding place among religious teachings aiming to make capitalism acceptable to the human mind.

The encyclical carried forward in this absolutely "earthly" direction, adapting it to the exigencies of the times, the already doomed policy enunciated in "Rerum Novarum." For this reason "Mater et Magistra" cannot be regarded as a turn in Church history. And this alone is proof that the document, despite its length ("Mater et Magistra" is the longest encyclical in Church history) and its attempt to furnish an answer to the burning questions of the day, is of far less significance than "Rerum Novarum," which, with all its limitations, was in its day hailed in clerical circles, according to the Catholic writer Bernanos, as a veritable "earthquake," if only because it posed the "social question"; and because it tried—true, by invoking mediaeval concepts — to insulate the Church against things for which capitalism was responsible.

That the new encyclical is of less importance is due, mainly, to the fact that in all countries today, even in those where Catholic groups are most powerful, society is *developing independently of the Church and outside the Church*, with less and less participation by the Church.

. . . Meanwhile Socialism Is Advancing

Noteworthy is the relatively moderate tone of the encyclical, even when it touches on the working-class movement and the socialist countries—although the authors prefer not to enlarge on this subject. Even the refusal to cooperate with the progressive forces and the socialist countries is worded cautiously, and, perhaps, without conviction:

"Unfortunately, in some of these concepts, the existence of the moral order is not recognized: an order which is transcendent, univer-

WMR

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sal, absolute, equal and binding on all. Thus, they fail to meet and understand each other fully and openly. . . ." This is not the tone of the "anathemas" of 1949 which, by the way, yielded no practical results and are taken out of moth-balls (especially in Italy) only at election time. Softened, too, is the tone in expressing the wish that Catholics participating in socio-economic activities and finding themselves in contact with "others who do not share their view of life" should "show themselves animated by a spirit of understanding and disinterestedness, ready to cooperate loyally in achieving objects that of their nature are good or at least reducible to good."

This moderate tone, something quite new, reflects the objective demand for peaceful coexistence and in a way even seems to foresee its triumph. It is a reflection of the more or less conscious rapprochement of all the forces linked with the people around the slogans of the fight for peace and socialism; forces which outwardly exert their influence on the crisis rocking the bigoted and conservative positions of the Curia Romana.

Our possibilities for united action are immense; it is not at all a question of inducing Catholics to renounce their faith, but of fighting, jointly with all people of good will, to preserve peace and for a socialist society. And the Catholic masses are showing a growing desire to participate in the struggle.

A feature of the Catholic movements of the past, however, as Comrade Togliatti observed in 1955, was that, "when the pressure from below seemed on the verge of achieving success . . . other factors intervened to divert it and blunt it, and the initial healthy impulse vanished, as if drawn into the mud of the quagmire. . . ." The new encyclical tends to do the same. It continues the old policy suppressing all progressive movements of the Catholic masses, movements which, in the bosom of the Church, tried to effect a breakthrough to enlightenment. This reaffirms that only socio-political independence from the reactionary directives issued by the Vatican will enable the Catholic movements to keep in touch with scientific, technical and socio-economic progress and with the growing consciousness of people throughout the world.

It is a fact, however, that the encyclicals of the seven Popes, all of them motivated by the desire to win the workers over for capital, to compel them to repudiate Marxism, have not stopped people who for ages have been tied to the Catholic ideology and the Catholic organizations from joining us. And the influx of Catholics into our ranks is growing. Growing too is the pressure exerted by the Catholic masses, as is their will to change the political course of their organizations, and to achieve unity which, in many capitalist countries of Europe and America, where the Catholic Church is still influential, is a feature of the national paths to socialism.

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

France: Party Work in the Factories

IN ADOPTING the program for restoring and regenerating democracy the Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party stressed that the program could be carried out provided the people are brought into action. Hence the need to strengthen the Party and to improve its organizational work. In this connection criticism was made of the tendency to concentrate on only one aspect of Party activity, namely, work in the mass organizations, and to underestimate the independent vanguard role of the Party in the matter of guiding, educating and organizing the people. Stress was laid on the importance of vigorous internal life in the Party branches.

Work in the factories is a vital part of the organizational efforts of the Party. "The factory branch," the Congress stated, "should not confine itself to supporting the demands advanced by the trade union nor should it concentrate solely on economic matters. Its job is to carry out the Party's policy, popularize our ideas and suggest our solution for every issue, combating through its bulletin the ideological attack of the employers and rousing the workers to action for peace, democratic liberties and unity which is essential for victory."

Proceeding from this the Party has worked out and implemented a series of measures aimed at improving ideological, political and organizational work, at securing joint action by the workers and encouraging its members to work more actively in the trade unions, in the peace movement, women's, youth and other mass organizations. The Party federations are now devoting more attention to the factory branches. The work plans of 22 federations show that they aim at forming branches in several hundred enterprises.

Preparations are underway to form 14 factory branches in the Oise Department, 20 in Alpes Maritimes, seven in Gard, 11 in Ain, 13 in Seine-et-Marne, 12 in Drome, etc. The local territorial Party organizations have been instructed to assist in this matter by contacting members working in factories where there are no Party branches.

In keeping with a Central Committee decision a national seminar on Party work in the factories was held in November. In preparation for this seminar the Seine-Sud federation sponsored a discussion on the problems facing ten factory sections.

Similar measures were carried out in the Lot-et-Garonne, Ardennes, Gard, Drôme and other federations. The federations are stepping up Party work in the key industries, devoting special attention to the work among women and young people. Functionaries of the federation committees have been allocated to help the factory branches and see to it that the best and most active members are elected to the committees.

Useful experience has been accumulated in the Renault works in which there are 53 branches. These branches arrange regular meetings of workers and office staff. The paper put out by the Party section circulates in 20,000 copies.

The Communists encourage the activity of the workers. In the past 18 months big actions were organized in the Renault works for peace in Algeria, against the fascist danger, for democratic liberties and for economic demands. In January and February, 1960, the Renault workers took a resolute stand against the fascist putsch in Algeria. In the autumn they fought against lay-offs and for a shorter working day without any cut in pay. The workers found an effective form of struggle: a strike accompanied by a street demonstration. In April 1961 they struck in protest against the new fascist putsch in Algeria, and on April 25 held an anti-fascist meeting.

When in June the Renault administration annulled some of the bonuses, a series of consecutive strikes began in the shops. For the first time after a long interval the strikes were held under the slogan of unity. The consecutive strikes have a number of advantages: they hit hard at the class enemy; they take cognizance of the specific conditions in each sector of production, bring the guidance of struggle nearer to the workers and make things difficult for the splitters.

The search for new organizational forms of struggle was accompanied by active propaganda efforts of the branches, with the emphasis on the struggle for a peaceful settlement of the German problem. This explanatory work preceded a public meeting at the Renault works to mark the anniversary of the Liberation. Before the meeting 60 workers—members of different political organizations and trade unions—issued a joint appeal denouncing the Bonn revenge-seekers.

Communist activity in the Renault works has helped to strengthen international solidarity. In October when the government began repressions against Algerians residing in France, the General Confederation of Labor, the Confederation of Christian Workers and Force Ouvrière sent a deputation to the Mayor's office and the police commissariat. Several hundred workers attended a public meeting in the town. After the meeting a deputation of trade unionists visited the administration and secured assurances that no action would be taken against the Algerian workers who had been arrested and that they would be paid their wages, including bonuses. The Renault workers also campaigned for the release of the arrested Algerians.

Still, Party work in the Renault plant encounters certain difficulties. The degree of organization of the workers lags behind the requirements of their struggle. Some of them do not feel the need for a Party organization as a guiding center. There are also organizational difficulties: 53 branches are not enough for the 32,000 workers in the plant, especially when we bear in mind that the factories are dispersed. In some of the shops and departments there are no Party branches at all. Some branches embrace too many shops and, therefore, cannot work effectively. That is why the stress is put now on forming branches that will cover fewer shops and be closer to the workers. There are also other obstacles: workers are often transferred from shop to shop, from department to department; some of them live a considerable distance from the plant, and they start and finish work at different times. In view of this the Party section has decided to break up the factory branches into smaller units. Such units, known as "sectors," have been formed in a number of departments; they are independent and elect their own committees.

Similar measures have been taken in other large enterprises.

Many difficulties were encountered in organizing Party work in the Paris subway which employs 12,000, with women making up 60 per cent of the station personnel. The subway employees work in shifts, they are scattered about Paris and its suburbs and divided into 19 trade unions.

The Party organization there was formed in June 1958—during the struggle against the establishment of one-man rule. First of all the Communists decided to start a bulletin to expose the Gaullist Constitution, acquaint the workers with the Party's proposals for improving their conditions, and which would be a reliable means of contact with the workers and help their political education. This was essential because the subway employees are strongly influenced by capitalist propaganda: many of them confine their news-

paper reading to papers and magazines left by passengers or circulated among them by the Hachette bourgeois publishing house. And this, as a rule, is reactionary stuff.

The subway Communist section began to publish the paper *Depart* which conducted a vigorous campaign for working-class unity. At present it circulates in 3,000 copies. Its explanatory work helped the Communists to organize big actions for peace in Algeria, for negotiations on Germany and against the splitters. This enhanced the prestige of the Party: by the end of September 36 applications for membership had been received. The militancy of the workers has risen, as is evidenced from their active participation in the October 26 strike which paralyzed the subway traffic.

The Party insists that its organizations should not rest content with the results achieved and should step up their ideological work in the factories. In an article published in *France nouvelle* Jacques Duclos pointed out that this work was particularly essential now that a big battle is developing, a battle of decisive significance for the country's future in view of the fact that the people of France are among those who "have not yet awakened to their responsibility for safeguarding peace." "Popularizing the Party's standpoint on the issues of peace, bread, democracy and unity," he went on, "presupposes much propaganda effort by all Party organizations. Oral and printed propaganda should be conducted everywhere—in towns and villages, where we can appeal to the people whom we want to keep informed, acquaint with our policy and win over."

The factory branches make good use of the press in their work. For instance, the Communists in the Renault factories in Boulogne-Billancourt sell 280 copies of *l'Humanité* every day; in the Berliet-Vénissieux plants, Rhône, 200 copies; 100 copies are sold in the Hispano plants, Bois-Colombes, etc.

The branches also put out their own bulletins. For example, the Party organization in the SNECMA-Kellermann plant publishes *l'Envol*. Each issue of this paper is devoted, as a rule, to some topical problem. Besides, four out of seven branches regularly print their own bulletins. In the Renault works the Party section publishes the fortnightly *l'Echo des Metallos*, not counting the bulletins put out by shop branches.

Since November 1957 the Party section in the Berliet plant has been publishing the quarterly *Plein Phare* with a circulation of 7,000 copies. The funds for this paper come from donations collected at the factory gates and through advertisements. The Party section in the Rateau plant, Courneuve, in which 2,400 workers are employed,

put out last year ten issues of its paper *La Voix de Metallos* in an edition of 2,000 copies. Fund raising at factory gates brought in 244,000 old francs. Besides, the branches publish monthly bulletins in a total edition of 1,500 copies.

Talks to workers are another important form of Party work at the factories. At the Berliet

plants the Communists often install a microphone near the canteen and address the workers for a few minutes during the lunch break. Of course, one and the same methods cannot be used everywhere, but it is possible and necessary to address the workers in order to bring to them the voice of the Party.

Roald MATHIEUX

Party Cadres Are the Decisive Link in Organizational Work

MANY splendid mass leaders have emerged from the class battles waged by the French Communist Party. Included in their number are the leaders of the 16,000 Party branches, its 2,370 sections and 92 federations. In the federations there are 3,900 committee members, 1,250 bureau members and 350 committee secretaries. There are also hundreds of young comrades occupying leading positions in the Communist Youth Movement. There are in the Party 1,400 mayors, 21,000 municipal councillors and 160 general councillors. Many Communists hold leading posts in the General Confederation of Labor, the French Women's Union, and in the Peace Movement. All in all, over 100,000 Communists fill responsible positions, 15,000 of which are on a national or departmental scale.

The social composition of these cadres reflects the character of the Communist Party as the Party of the working class. Thus, 47 per cent of the members of the federation committees, 53 per cent of the members of federation bureaus and 60 per cent of federation secretaries are working class men and women. There are 49 workers on the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. In no other political party in France are there so many workers in the leading bodies. For instance, in the 45-member Executive of the Socialist Party only two are workers; only one of its M.P.s is a worker. There is not a single worker among the 50 Socialist senators and deputies on the Paris municipality. Of the 55 members of the National Political Committee of the United Socialist Party only two are workers.

Peasants, too, are numerous in the leading bodies of the Communist Party. In the federation committees there are 325 peasants (eight per cent) and 45 agricultural laborers. But in 10 federation committees there are no peasant members. Generally speaking, workers and peasants make up between them 55 per cent of the members of federation committees, 58 per cent of the federa-

tion bureaus and 65 per cent of the federation secretaries. But in 13 federation committees they are still a minority. There are 530 women members, 13.5 per cent, in these committees.

Selecting, training and promoting proletarian cadres was the subject of the Central Committee meeting held in June. The meeting stated that the Party had coped with the many difficulties of the recent period. Class enemies had shouted from the house-tops about the "weakening," "disintegration" and even "liquidation" of the Party. But the results of the cantonal elections, the reaction to the April putsch in Algeria and our Sixteenth Congress supplied further proof of the strength and growing prestige of the Party.

The meeting noted that most of the worker members of the section committees were skilled craftsmen. And this was highly important because the skilled workers are not so dependent on the employer and are excellent cadres for the Party. It is a matter of regret, however, that the Party has too few leading cadres among the semi-skilled and skilled who comprise the bulk of the labor force in the big and medium-sized enterprises.

The semi-skilled workers are ruthlessly exploited. Most of them find it extremely difficult to conduct any social work after the trying working day. Many of them spend hours travelling to and from work. This should not be overlooked if the Party is to improve its work of training and promoting cadres from among this category. More attention should be paid to their economic demands, they should be recruited to the Party and cadres promoted from their midst.

Special attention was paid to assigning the best cadres to the branches, especially to the factory branches—the focal point of the Party's work among the masses.

The best comrades should be allocated to the most responsible sectors in the Party organizations. Moreover, experience has shown that wherever there is a good branch or section the mass organ-

izations do better work. The meeting noted that the habit of electing to the post of branch and section secretaries not the best comrades but those who were left with nothing to do after the distribution of Party assignments, was a hangover of the Servin concept which disparaged the role of the Party organizations.

It is clear, however, that what is needed is not an accumulation of the best people in the leading committees. Each branch or committee distributes its assignments in a way that best suits the interests of the working class and the democratic movement as a whole. It takes cognizance of the capabilities of each functionary, of the prestige he has won in one or other sphere of activity and the nature of the mass organization to which the comrade is assigned.

The meeting urged the members working in the mass organizations to keep in touch with their respective Party branches, sections or federations and wherever possible to be active in them. Participation in Party work is essential if a purely practical and narrow approach is to be avoided. As was stressed at the Fifteenth Congress, the branches are "not only executive bodies, they are also the living centers of ideological education, political initiative and organization of mass action, in which every member should do his bit."

Party work is the best way to train cadres. At first the activist does not differ very much from many other members. It is precisely in the Party that his abilities and qualities are developed and come to the fore. But this is not an automatic process. The qualities of the activist are moulded in the atmosphere of inner Party democracy, where there is adherence to the collective leadership principle, where assignments are properly distributed, where fulfilment of decisions is checked, both at top and down, and where there is criticism and self-criticism. But to criticize correctly, i.e., to help the comrade who is being criticized, is not an easy matter. While one must be firm, one must never be rude to the comrade who has made a blunder. This comrade should be given fraternal help.

A grave danger lies in underestimating democratic centralism as the basic principle of a Marxist party. Hence the need to combat the methods of issuing commands (which are sometimes substituted for explanation and persuasion), to combat carelessness and the sporadic way of working which ignore the need to verify the way in which assignments are fulfilled, to combat the family spirit and group tendencies which sometimes disrupt the indispensable unity of Party ranks.

The meeting of the Central Committee stressed the importance of study. To ensure the ideological grounding indispensable for active Communists,

it pointed out, the experience of Party work alone is far from being enough. Members should engage in personal study, regularly read our newspapers and literature. They should study the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, the experience accumulated by our Party during its 40 years (this refers specifically to those comrades now in their thirties who have not had the practical experience of the times of the Popular Front or the Liberation); they should study the history of our country, the revolutionary traditions of the working class and the people, traditions to which the Communists are the real heirs, study the contribution made by France to world history as well as the vital events of the day.

"We recommend to all Party functionaries and all members," said Leon Feix in his report to the meeting, "to make a more rational use of their time and thus make possible a better distribution of assignments, a more thorough preparation of the Party meetings so that they should not last as long as they do now. The time saved—several hours a week—could be devoted to study. Moreover, strict time control and a time-table for each comrade will make it possible . . . to find time for rest and recreation which are essential to an activist. . . ."

An important part in training the cadres is played by the Party education network. Between October 1958 and May 1961, 452 members attended the national schools (in which the courses range from one to four months). Of this number 237 (or 52 per cent) are under 30. During the same period two national seminars for peasants were held (with 37 attending) and two for teachers (71 participants); 2,300 members attended the 134 federation schools, and 7,700—the 900 elementary classes. About 25 per cent of the federation committee members, 40 per cent of the federation bureau members and 65 per cent of the federation secretaries have undergone training at the national schools. In the main federations all the secretaries and most of the bureau members have either completed or will, shortly, complete the courses in the national schools.

If we group the members who attend our schools according to the work they do, we get the following picture: 30 per cent are leaders of the Party organizations, 30 per cent are active in the General Confederation of Labor, 13 per cent are active in the Communist Youth Movement, 11 per cent are members of elected bodies at varying levels, eight per cent are activists of the Women's Union, and eight per cent in other organizations.

The Party attaches particular importance to training instructors for the Party education system and also to political education in its factory branches, for the activists of which the federation

committees plan to build up an extensive network of schools and classes. For example, in the federation of Aisne 11 schools are being started in the sections and a seminar for Party education workers is being organized. Thirteen section schools are planned in the Drôme federation. Similar schools are to be established in the Western Seine federation, ten of them at the Renault works. Nearly 150 Party activists at the Renault plant have finished branch, federation or central schools in the past two years.

The Central Committee meeting stressed the need to increase the numbers attending the Party schools at all levels, to find new ways of studying (seminars, evening classes, etc.) for those comrades who cannot attend the school, peasants and women in particular. With due regard to past experience, the question was raised of resuming the popular courses and conducting them so that they should not be a substitute for the schools but should keep our large body of activists posted on current political and ideological issues.

The meeting stressed the importance of a correct distribution of Party assignments. It was pointed out that in many federations organizing secretaries had too much to do, while other bureau members could be doing more.

The federation secretary should organize not only his own work but also that of his comrades, and ensure collective leadership. He should know personally all section secretaries, closely follow their development, and be aware of their problems and possibilities. This will enable him to see ahead with regard to the growth of cadres, and how to set about improving the federation leadership.

The policy of promoting cadres should be all-embracing, bold, flexible and linked inseparably with the entire activity of the Party. The cadres should be helped to emerge beyond the framework of the daily routine, their outlook should be broadened, and they should be acquainted with new methods of work.

At present the Party, fighting against a regime which is powerless to solve any of the problems facing the country, is confronted with tasks whose solution depends on the existence of well-trained cadres, men and women activists. Thanks to the elimination of shortcomings at some levels of the Party leadership new people will be trained. And today, even though they are facing grave difficulties, many workers, peasants, women and young people are ready to respond to the call of the Party. The 23,000 applications for membership in the Party made in the first 10 months of 1961 are proof of this.

Roger LECLAIR

The Communist Press in the Struggle to Win the People

The press of the Communist and Workers' parties brings the truth to the people, champions their interests and fights for the triumph of socialist ideas. In the capitalist countries it has to overcome numerous obstacles: censorship, boycott by distributive agencies and the slander of the bourgeois press. The underground Communist parties publish their papers and journals in the most difficult conditions. Still, these publications find their way to the people and rouse them to action for peace, democracy and socialism. Below we print two of the letters showing how the communist press finds its way to the people and what the parties are doing to improve their publications and build circulation.

JAPAN: HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY CIRCULATES "AKAHATA"

AKAHATA (Red Banner), the central organ of the Communist Party of Japan, has a glorious record of struggle. Before the war, when the Party was illegal, the newspaper could not appear regularly and often had to change its name. But no matter what it was called, whether *Class Struggle*, *Marxism*, *The Workers' Paper* or *Red Banner*, it helped the Party, despite the cruel repressions, to bring the truth to the people and

rouse them to action. At different times it was edited by such prominent Party leaders as Shyoichi Ichikawa, Masanosuke Watanabe, Kyuichi Tokuda, Sanzo Nosaka, Kenji Miyamoto, Yoshio Siga and Satomi Hakamada.

After the heavy defeat suffered in 1935 the Communist Party paper was unable to resume publication until 1945. But throughout this period of ruthless repression the Communists, far from

being despondent, were planning to re-issue their paper.

In 1945 the Party gained legal status and publication of *Akahata* was resumed. But in 1950, when the U.S. imperialists were plotting the war in Korea, a wave of reaction swept Japan. The U.S. occupation authorities barred the Central Committee members, the Communist parliamentary deputies and the *Akahata* staff from engaging in political activity. And again the newspaper had to be published illegally, under different names. It was only in May 1952 that the Party was able to resume legal publication.

At present, in addition to the daily and Sunday editions of *Akahata* the Party puts out the theoretical journal *Zenei* (Vanguard), the bulletin *Sekai seiji shiryō* (World Political Materials), *Gikai-to Kyosanto* (Parliament and the Communist Party), *Gakusei shimbun* (Student Newspaper), *Bunka hyoron* (Cultural Review), and *Gekkan gakushū* (Monthly Studies). In addition it publishes local newspapers and a large number of books and pamphlets on current issues.

Bringing "Akahata" to the People

The Communist Party has to compete with the vast propaganda machine of the monopolies. The Big Business papers—*Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Yomiuri*—appear in millions of copies. Capitalist propaganda is also conducted through radio, television and cinema. The press lords do not wait for the reader to come: a legion of newsagents deliver newspapers to the doors. In these circumstances the Party is making sustained efforts to secure a bigger circulation for its publications and to make *Akahata* a really popular political newspaper, the main daily paper of the working people, at least in the industrial centers.

In recent years all efforts have been concentrated on building a mass vanguard party. A prominent place in this is held by the *Akahata* publicity campaigns. In March 1959 the Sunday *Akahata* was launched in an edition of 30,000 copies. Today the Sunday edition has established itself and is steadily winning more readers in all walks of life.

Building the Party and increasing circulation are linked with mass action. It is not surprising then that the biggest sales of *Akahata* were recorded in 1960 during the struggle against "the new security treaty," a big strike at the Miike mines and in the election campaign. Particularly noteworthy is the increase in circulation registered in 1961, during the "spring offensive" of the working class and the struggle against the "prevention of political violence law." The Party members take *Akahata* to people's homes and to factories, explain the political issues of the day and the attitude of the Party, expose the manuev-

ers of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the tie-up between Japanese monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism. Working in this way they build up contacts with the working people, especially with housewives and young people.

At the call of the Central Committee a one-day *Akahata* sales campaign was held on April 8 this year. Party Chairman Sanzo Nosaka and General Secretary Kenji Miyamoto, district functionaries and rank-and-file members turned out for the drive which resulted in selling an extra 14,000 copies of the Sunday edition. These sales days, known as "days of united action," are held regularly every second and fourth Saturday. The Party journals and pamphlets are sold too. In addition to the "days of united action" on a nationwide scale, the branches have their own press days.

Gains, Shortcomings and Tasks

By April 1961 the daily and Sunday sales of *Akahata* had reached 80,000 and 150,000 copies respectively. The Central Committee called for a still bigger circulation.

The National Conference of Party Activists, held over May 9-11, summed up the results of the "April drive" for the daily sale of 100,000 copies and 200,000 copies on Sundays. The conference showed that while the Party organizations in Kyoto, Osaka, Nagano, Iwate and Tokyo had made good progress, the same could not be said about other areas. S. Hakamada, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, pointed to the shortcomings and outlined the aims of the circulation drive. Every member of the Party, he stressed, should be a reader of *Akahata*. True, there was room for improvement; sometimes there are articles which are either dull or written in a language unclear even to Party members. It must be made brighter and better, and contact with local correspondents should be closer. New readers should be won in the trade unions and in the other mass organizations.

The conference supported the Central Committee's call for daily and Sunday sales of 150,000 and 300,000 copies respectively. For this purpose use should be made of all publicity media—*Akahata* vans, newsreels made by members of the *Akahata* staff, pamphlets, leaflets, posters and newsstands. Some activists spoke about encouraging local initiative and of helping *Akahata* sellers in the more remote parts of the country.

After this conference *Akahata* began to appear with six pages on weekdays and 12 on Sundays. This made it possible to carry articles with an appeal to particular groups of the population. At the same time the question was raised of improving the content and ensuring regular reporting from the localities. The Party organizations now

arrange conferences with the *Akahata* correspondents and the paper periodically reports how many items it has received from different parts of the country.

The Eighth Party Congress held at the end of July urged all Party organizations to work out two-year plans for building the Party and *Akahata* circulation, the purpose being to raise the membership to 300,000 and to make an appreciable advance in *Akahata* circulation.

On September 4 the Presidium of the Central Committee adopted a special decision on this two-year plan. It was noted that many Party organizations had already drawn up and launched their own local two-year plans in line with the decision of the Congress. In the Mie prefecture, for instance, the Party organization has doubled its membership as compared with October 1960 and has substantially raised the sales of *Akahata*. At its conference the Mie organization set itself the goal of raising its membership sevenfold and *Akahata* sales 15-fold during the two-year period.

Since the Eighth Congress which adopted the new Party Program, some of the prefectural and

district organizations have been holding weekly and monthly recruitment drives and *Akahata* sales campaigns.

Akahata puts out special issues dealing with topical problems from time to time. For example, the issues for September 6, 9 and 16 were devoted to the Berlin question and the Soviet government's statement on the resumption of nuclear tests. On the "day of united action" the Party members turned out to sell these issues which exposed the distortions of bourgeois propaganda.

In recent years the Communist Party has sponsored annual *Akahata* festivals which invariably are very well attended. More than 40,000 took part in this year's festival in Tokyo on November 5. Speaking on the occasion, Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Party, announced that by November 3 the daily circulation had exceeded 136,000 while the week-end edition sold nearly 314,000 copies.

And so, step by step, overcoming difficulties, the Japanese Communists are working to extend the circulation of their press.

A. F.

THE NEWSPAPER OF THE PANAMANIAN COMMUNISTS

"**R**EAD *El Mazo*—the people's paper!" says the sign chalked on a wall in the working-class district. *El Mazo* (The Hammer) is not sold on the newsstands; no journal in Panama will advertise it for it is the paper of the People's Party of Panama. This Party of Panamanian Communists is an underground Party and its members are subjected to persecution by the United States FBI and the local military clique. Its newspaper, the successor to the banned weekly *El Patriota*, which appeared in 1951-53, is also published illegally.

The Communists have to fight not only their political opponents but also pessimism—lack of faith in victory and liquidationist trends. In April this year the paper carried a letter signed by A. Sumallacta in which the author opposed the view that illegality and police persecution make it impossible to be a member of the Party. "In Panama and elsewhere where the Party has been banned," he writes, "it carries on its work through the various mass organizations—youth, trade union, etc. — and in this way calls on the people to fight for their interests."

Following this line, *El Mazo* regularly features in its "Trade Union" column the workers' demands and trade union struggles. It publishes the main decisions of the Trade Union Federation, advocates trade union unity and exposes the maneuvers of

the Christian Democrats who have formed their own trade unions.

Panama is an agrarian country. Its future depends on the alliance of the workers and peasants, and *El Mazo* supports every initiative in this direction. The paper bears the Party emblem—the hammer and machete surmounted by a five-point star as a symbol of the worker-peasant alliance. Last spring the Trade Union Federation held the Seventh Worker-Peasant Congress attended by 150 delegates from 30 organizations and representatives of students' associations.

El Mazo campaigns against the latifundists, the biggest of whom are North American companies. It upholds the rights of the Indians. "The duty of all Panamanians," the newspaper writes, "is to have clarity on this question, to denounce the attacks on the Indians . . . advance measures to ensure respect for Indian culture, the economic development of their communities and the promotion of education."

In his study "The Agrarian Reform in Panama" Vicente Tello dwells on the peculiarities of the agrarian problem in the country and shows that U.S. imperialism, relying on its occupation of the Canal Zone (1,432 sq. km.), is supporting the trading bourgeoisie, the landlords and the economic system which makes for the latifundist nature of Panama.

"Unlike the reformists," he writes, "we say that imperialist domination over the Canal should no longer be tolerated, the imperialists must be driven out of the zone, and the profits derived from it should be invested in our industry and agriculture. Agrarian reform is an anti-imperialist measure, and its realization would break the chains of the imperialist exploitation and enable Panama to develop from the quagmire of latifundism into a free country with an independent economy, into a supporter of peace and brotherhood between peoples. . . .

"The People's Party—the Party of Panamanian Communists—is a political force embodying the principles of agrarian reform and the fight to secure its implementation. It stands for the unity of the workers, peasants, middle strata and the progressive elements of the bourgeoisie so that they form a united front with a program dedicated to agrarian reform."

Having considered this question the 9th enlarged meeting of the Central Committee held in August pointed out that Panama faced now the tasks of an agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution.

El Mazo shows the illusory nature of Panama's autonomy behind which the U.S. imperialists seek to conceal their domination.

U.S. imperialism relies on the militarist clique headed by Bolivar Vallarino, chief of the National Guard (the gendarmerie). This clique is guilty of the massacre which took place in May 1958. In the 1960 general election the people overwhelmingly voted for the anti-militarist platform known as "Pacto de la Colina." The platform called among other things for the dismissal of three National Guard commanders guilty of the massacre, for limiting the powers of the National Guard to strictly police functions. But upon coming to power President Chiari reneged on his pre-election promises. "Abolition of this militarist apparatus," writes *El Mazo*, "is on the order of the day as the most important issue of democratic development in Panama. This apparatus—an instrument of the oligarchy and imperialism—is a big obstacle in the way of the people."

In the guise of combating the "Communist danger" the government has attacked the trade unions and declared a state of siege on the banana plantations. The police have raided the offices of the democratic organizations and many trade union and student leaders have been thrown into prison. The student leader Polidoro Pinzon was assassin-

ated. In this connection *El Mazo* published a statement of the Party's National Executive Committee, which said: "By killing Polidoro Pinzon the oligarchy and imperialists hope to quell the struggle waged by the trade unions, peasants, and young people, including students, by all the people of Panama. But their weapon will recoil on them. The blood of the martyrs will cement the democratic, anti-imperialist movement of the people."

Step by step, the newspaper brings its readers to the conclusion that a solution to the vital problems facing the people is linked with the abolition of U.S. imperialist domination and, above all, the restoration of Panama's sovereign rights over the Canal Zone. "Solidarity with the peoples of the American continent and friendship with all nations," the Communists declare, "call for vigorous efforts on this front of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Canal Zone should not become a springboard for an attack on Cuba or aggression against any country of Europe or Asia. Above all this is Panama's territory which the people will soon regain."

The patriotic forces are uniting and striking hard blows at the U.S. imperialists and their stooges in Panama. They thwarted an attempt by Cuban counter-revolutionaries to stage an anti-Cuban strike and provoke a rupture of relations between these countries. The hoax about a "Communist plot" — a hoax thought up by the Ministry of the Interior—was a flop. The arrested democrats had to be released.

El Mazo systematically features the struggle waged by the fraternal parties and gives much space to international matters. Under the headline "A Splendid Program" *El Mazo* summarized in its August issues the draft Program of the CPSU. The paper hailed the Gagarin-Titov cosmic flights. It explained the steps taken by the Soviet Union to strengthen its defenses and tells its readers the truth about the Cuban revolution. It reported the proceedings and results of the Latin American Conference in Defense of National Sovereignty, for Independent Economic Development and Peace.

Despite the persecution, the Party put out in September the 24th issue of *El Mazo*. The Communists of Panama are fully resolved to continue their newspaper in all circumstances, to circulate it among the people and summon them to struggle for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism.

S. LOCHO

Popularizing the Best Production Experience Is an Important Party Task

THE Ploesti regional committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party pays close attention to popularizing the best experience gained in the sphere of production. Oil extraction is the principal occupation in our region. And for this reason our Party organization is concentrating on making the greatest possible use of every valuable initiative in this industry.

Wide use of turbo-drills, more effective organization of work in the oilfields, maximum use of every ton of oil and the reduction of waste in the refineries—this should have been done throughout the industry. But some measures successfully applied at a number of wells and refineries were not practised on a large scale. Some drill crew chiefs claimed that turbo-drilling was a fantasy, that it necessitated special installations and did not suit the soil structure in the region, etc.

The regional committee of the Party decided to acquaint all enterprises with the experience gained at Liliesti where turbo-drills made it possible to nearly double the speed of boring. This was because the Party branch had succeeded in introducing the proposals made by the best workers. Last year 37 per cent of all boring was done with turbo-drills; in the first six months of this year the figure had risen to 47 per cent.

Branch secretaries, trade union organizers, engineers and drillers were made familiar with the experience of the Liliesti workers. After this the branches began to popularize their methods. Production conferences were held, members of the Scientific Society of Engineers and Technicians delivered lectures on this subject, and other measures were taken. The best workers and engineers demonstrated that turbo-drilling could be introduced on a large scale. As a result, in the first half of 1961 one-quarter of the work was done with turbo-drills, as against five to 10 per cent in 1959. According to the directives of the Third Party Congress, by 1962, 70 per cent of all boring will be done in this way.

The regional committee sent to the lagging enterprises teams of Party and trade union functionaries, as well as skilled workers, engineers and technicians, including many non-Party people from foremost enterprises. This proved very effective.

For instance, for several years the Baicoi oil field had not fulfilled the annual plans. The team sent there helped the Party organization to examine the state of affairs at every section, in every team and at every well. Untapped reserves for increas-

ing output and cutting costs were brought to light. With the aid of this team the Party committee and the administration worked out a series of organizational and political measures. Members of the Party committee were attached to the branches in order to help the production sections fulfil their plans. The best specialists and workers were sent to the lagging sectors. Before their departure they were briefed by the Party committee. Special attention was devoted to the meeting of the non-Party activists at which valuable proposals were made. The trade union committee arranged conferences in the sections to examine matters at each well and to work out measures to lower costs. The local committee of the Youth League enlivened the work of the youth teams—numbering over 500 young workers in all—who became more active in tapping the internal reserves. The propagandists, who had been given the necessary briefing, also joined in the work. Thanks to these measures the Baicoi field began to fulfil its plan.

Ploesti is one of the biggest oil-processing regions in the country, and it was therefore highly essential to eliminate losses in oil and oil products by introducing more efficient methods of processing.

For several weeks a regional committee group composed of Party workers, engineers, technicians and foremost workers, studied the causes of losses in the No. 1 Refinery in Ploesti. The work of each installation was studied.

The group, aided by the comrades working in the plant, reached the conclusion that waste could be reduced and economy effected. The refinery workers were acquainted with these conclusions. *Flamura Prahovei*, the regional newspaper, welcomed the proposed measures and described the experience of the best teams. The drive started by the workers, engineers and technicians resulted, in 1960, in a 32.6 per cent cut in waste compared with 1959.

The regional committee decided to spread the experience of No. 1 Refinery to other enterprises. The work done by the group jointly with the Party committee in the plant, the measures taken and their economical effect were reported to the conference of executives, engineers, technicians and foremost workers of the region. The latter in turn submitted their own proposals. The secretaries of the Ploesti regional and city committees spent much time in the refineries, helping the branches there.

Groups of workers, engineers, technicians and economists, both Party and non-Party, have been formed in each plant with a view to disclosing untapped reserves. As a result of the proposals made by these groups in the past two years an economy of nearly 450 million lei accrued from lowering production costs alone.

The innovation and rationalization movement is a useful way of developing initiative. The Ploesti city committee regularly convenes meetings of innovators and rationalizers, arranges lectures and exhibitions on production themes, holds meetings of innovators and exchanges of experience between workers and engineers and technicians.

Constant encouragement for innovators and rationalizers, improving their technical knowledge and carrying out their suggestions—these are the things on which the regional committee focuses the attention of the branches. The more than 2,600 suggestions introduced in our region in 1960 resulted in the saving of 40 million lei for the year.

The annual investment in our region is in excess of 2,000 million lei. To use this sum effectively we must reorganize the work of the building enterprises and introduce the best industrial methods of building.

The regional committee has instructed the economic commission to form a special group consisting of members of the Party, administrative and industrial bodies to study how progressive methods and new techniques are being introduced on the building sites. Simultaneously, the Party branches together with the foremost workers are drawing up their own measures. For example, at the construction site of No. 7 Refinery in Brazil all the workers were drawn into the rationalization movement by way of production conferences, discussion of plans, and so on. As a result about 150 proposals were made during five months; 45 of these saved a total of 184,000 lei.

The introduction of advanced experience requires everyday political work among the people. The regional committee studies all the undertakings of the Party branches in the matter of improving political work and verifies their effectiveness; the best of these are then passed on to the other branches. This, in particular, is the aim of the production conferences organized jointly with the propagandists in the big plants. Such conferences have been held recently in Ploesti; one of these was attended by the propagandists working in the refineries and discussed ways and means of reducing waste of oil products and of ensuring high-quality refining; another was attended by propagandists from the building enterprises to discuss the ways of improving the quality of construction work.

The local press is a great help to the Party organizations in transmitting the best experience. In addition to reporting the achievements of the best workers *Flamura Prahovei* tells how their experience is disseminated. It popularizes the best experience in a concrete way and criticizes those who are slow in introducing it. It reported, for instance, the measures taken to improve the quality of the oil delivered to the refineries, and to organize work at the various sections of oilfields more efficiently, and also wrote about such things as extending the method of turbo-drilling, making better use of equipment, etc.

The regional committee will continue to improve its work in disseminating the best experience. In this it will be aided by the new emulation drive to fulfil the magnificent tasks of completing the building of socialism.

D. BALALIA,

*First Secretary of the
Ploesti Regional Committee,
Rumanian Workers' Party*

Developments in Syria

A PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRATIC REGENERATION

THE Communist Party of Syria has issued a statement in connection with the popular victory in reaffirming state independence.

"The Communist Party stood in the vanguard of those who, at the price of great sacrifice, fought the Nasser dictatorship from the beginning," the statement reads.

"The long-suffering people who won their victory in the struggle against the dictatorship, believe that the best way to preserve this victory is through establishing a national, democratic and anti-imperialist regime based on free and democratic elections which will enable the people to elect a Parliament and government of the Syrian Arab Republic. This regime should rest on the support of the people and on their national progressive forces; it should restore democratic freedom (freedom of speech, the press, parties, and trade unions); annul all authoritarian and anti-democratic measures and laws which operated during the old regime; cleanse the state and administrative apparatus of all Nasser agents; severely punish the assassins and criminals who terrorized the people and murdered their best sons in the prisons and police dungeons; release the political prisoners; reinstate the patriotic officers expelled from the army by Nasser."

Syria, the statement continues, needs a regime which would carry out a national policy directed against the imperialist pacts, would further the cause of Arab solidarity against imperialism and for peace, and support all national-liberation movements. This regime should concentrate on rehabilitating and developing the national economy, on preparing the ground for industrialization, for strengthening and consolidating political independence.

It should be a regime which would consolidate the gains of the workers and peasants and return to them the rights and liberties of which they were robbed; it should raise the material and cultural standards of the people and lead the country towards the flowering of science and education. It should be a genuine people's government.

The Communist Party which has always fought for a government of this kind, the statement stresses, maintains that it can be formed only on the basis of a front uniting all the national forces and movements regardless of party affiliation.

"The imperialists and their agents in neighboring countries are bringing increasing pressure to bear on Syria in the hope of being able to impel her onto the path of compromise with imperialism and the anti-democratic camp," Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, told a *Unita* correspondent in a recent interview. "But this is easier said than done. The mass of the people, the soldiers and honest, patriotic-minded officers cannot accept such a path—a path of adventurism, instability, economic decline and lower living standards, a path that in the long run would jeopardize the very independence of Syria."

"Many patriots, even those who stand far from our Party, are outraged by the fact that a large number of political prisoners—trade union functionaries, peace supporters, Communists and other democrats who have already languished in prison three years without trial or investigation and without having even been formally charged—are now to go on trial, although the most elementary justice demands that they be released and honored as heroes who refused to bow to the dictatorship and remained loyal to their people, democracy and the principles of genuine Arab unity."

Concerning future relations between Syria and Egypt, Bagdash said: "The Syrians know full well that the people of Egypt are not responsible for the ordeals that befell Syria during her union with Egypt. The Egyptian people are still undergoing the same severe trials and are fighting for democracy and freedom. . . . The people of Egypt and Syria are equally anxious to see the relations between their countries once again founded on friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity. The Arab national-liberation movement as a whole wants this."

THE LESSON OF THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

IN A STATEMENT issued in connection with the events in Syria, the Algerian Communist Party comments: "Irrespective of the class interests and motives that guided the bourgeoisie when it came to power in Syria, and irrespective of any subsequent developments in that country, two lessons can be drawn from the disintegration of the United Arab Republic:

"1. The revolt in Syria was the outcome of profound discontent among all classes and the entire people with the policy of subjugation to the *dictatorial and police regime of one party* covered up by the phrase of 'Arab unity' and so-called 'revolutionary socialism'. That regime was characterized by the abolition of democratic liberties, wholesale arrests, economic stagnation, worsening of the conditions of the people—all in the interests of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie.

"2. The experiment of forming the UAR was a failure because it was an artificial creation based on compulsion, because both the historical peculiarities and the origins of the Syrian people and their democratic traditions, forged in the course of long struggle first against Turkish and then against French invaders, had been ignored.

"President Nasser would have acted much more wisely had he taken the *sole correct, democratic way of unification*, not the way of a dictatorial regime, the way of persecuting not only Communists but all democrats, trade unionists and all sincere advocates of true Arab unity, of persecuting the best sons of Syria and Egypt now languishing in jail and tortured by the methods of the Massu paratroopers. . . ."

The Algerian Communist Party, the statement continues, is confident that sooner or later the Arab peoples headed by their revolutionary and Communist parties will compel their rulers to pursue a democratic policy and take the way of social progress in the conditions of a growing movement for the voluntary unity of the Arab peoples and respect for the specific features and interests of each Arab country. As for our people, the Algerian Communist Party suggests two conclusions from the events.

First, all the moves of the colonialists to use the events that took place in the UAR to discourage and confuse Algerian patriots and to make them relinquish the liberation struggle must be tirelessly exposed. It is imperative, relying on the support of the Arab countries and especially the socialist countries, to intensify the struggle and rally closer around the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

Second, the struggle for a democratic republic in which the *rights* the Algerian people are now denied—i.e., freedom of speech, press, opinion, assembly, religion, etc. — will *really* be guaranteed, must be intensified.

Only in this way will Algeria be able to make its contribution in the matter of strengthening the progressive and democratic forces in the Arab countries and help their real unification, achievement of which is impossible without anti-imperialist solidarity.

Short Notices

STATEMENT BY COMMUNIST PARTIES OF FRANCE, GUADELOUPE, MARTINIQUE AND REUNION

SPONSORED by the Communist Party of Réunion, a meeting of representatives of the Communist parties of France, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion took place in Paris in mid-September. The spokesmen of the four parties "declare that despite the attempts of the imperialists to embellish the colonial reality in Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion and despite the intensified repressions, the anti-colonial struggle in these countries is spreading." That the people of these countries are taking a more active part in the general liberation struggle is due to the victory of the revolution in Cuba, the granting of autonomy to the Antilles, the success of the democratic forces in British Guiana and throughout the Caribbean basin, and the gaining of independence by the French colonies in Africa and by Madagascar.

The meeting reaffirmed the inalienable and sacred right of the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion to self-determination. "At present," emphasizes the statement, "the people are demanding autonomy for their countries. This demand signifies their inalienable right to manage their own affairs through an executive body and legislative assembly and also to alliance with France on the basis of the renunciation of a relationship deriving from colonial subjugation, and respect for the right and dignity of each nation."

The task is to establish a democratic political system capable of abolishing the colonial economic structure.

"With the exception of an insignificant minority who profit from the colonial regime," the statement goes on, "all other sections of the population are directly interested in these profound changes (industrialization, agrarian reform, abolition of the colonial pact, colonial monopolies, etc.). That is why they can and must unite in the struggle against colonialism."

"Plantation workers, sharecroppers and agricultural laborers who are affected by the agrarian crisis which is likely to be most acute, and who are exploited by the sugar companies and trading firms, have a stake in abolishing the monoculture system of economy, the land monopoly and the colonial pact. An alliance with the working class

is the only way in which the genuine emancipation of the peasants in these countries can be achieved.

"Only by waging political struggle can the masses put an end to the repressions and win autonomy. The French Communist Party reaffirms its solidarity with peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion and will continue to oppose de Gaulle's repressions and the colonial policy which glaringly contradict the interests of France. It will continue to support the just demands of these people for the right to conduct their own affairs, as well as for peace and social progress."

The meeting was further proof of the fraternal ties linking the four parties in the common struggle.

Cuba

PEOPLE DISCUSS ECONOMIC PLAN

THE Havana newspaper *Notisiaz de Hoi* has published an appeal by the leadership of the United Revolutionary Organizations to all members and organizations for a nationwide discussion of the 1962 economic plan.

The appeal, signed by Fidel Castro, says that "responsibility for the discussion, for explaining the plan to the working class and people as a whole—for it is they who in the final analysis will carry out the plan—devolves above all on the vanguard of the nation, the United Revolutionary Organizations, their provincial, municipal and sectional committees and the Active Revolutionary Branches which, in addition to discussing the plan themselves, should foster discussion in all enterprises, state farms, cooperatives, trading establishments, transport, government offices and trade unions—wherever the opportunity exists to rally the people for the plan, to find out their views and suggestions in order to work out a still better formulation of the aims and tasks of the national-economic development for 1962."

The appeal emphasizes that the endorsement of the plan will mark another extremely important advance of the revolution; it is now firmly taking the path of organizing and planning the economy, measures which are indispensable for building the socialist society which will end forever the country's economic backwardness, unemployment and poverty.

Czechoslovakia

PAPERS RUN BY THE PEOPLE

DISTRICT papers—vigorous and reliable aids to the district committees of the Party—occupy an important place among the periodicals published in Czechoslovakia. Weeklies or biweeklies, these local papers have an overall circulation of almost 750,000. By 1965 it is anticipated they will have a circulation of 1.5 million.

In recent years the local papers feature more stories about the best production experience in industry and agriculture. In the East Czechia Region, for example, they have taken up the initiative of those agricultural cooperatives which, suggesting that state deliveries be completed as quickly as possible, advanced the slogan: "Who will put the most into the national granary?" *Nove Hradecko*, the Hradec Kralove local paper, reporting the experience of the leading cooperatives, commented on the advantages of corn-growing. The fact that corn is now cultivated in a big way

in this district is a reflection of the good work done by the paper.

The editorial board of *Hals Vychodu*, the local paper in the Praha-Vychod district, consists of 14 voluntary, mostly worker-peasant correspondents. At their meetings they assess the quality of the articles, suggest topics for further articles and study the effect of the paper. The correspondents come to the office straight from the factory or cooperative and work on the current issue.

Many of the local papers have departments staffed with voluntary workers handling propaganda, Party life, culture and recreation, letters to the editor, etc. Their staff workers put in several hours a week in the office as equal members of the editorial staff.

The district committees of the Party help these volunteers to improve their knowledge and raise their skills. The Kladno Party committee, for example, held a series of lectures for the correspondents devoted to the economic, political and cultural problems of the district.

Meetings of Central Committees

VIETNAM

CONSIDERABLE progress has been made in agricultural development in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during the past three years. A series of measures have been carried out which have changed the appearance of the countryside. Cooperation has been almost completed: Eighty-eight per cent of the peasant households have joined the cooperatives which now account for about 76 per cent of the cultivated area. State farms, too, have made good progress.

Cooperation has been accompanied by a growth of output. Despite the highly unfavorable weather conditions in 1957-60, annual production increased on the average by 5.6 per cent.

Pointing to these achievements the 5th meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held recently noted that:

"The almost complete reconstruction of the production relations in the countryside brought about by uniting the peasants in cooperatives during the past two years, is a big victory for our revolution. Exploitation of man by man has been almost completely abolished in the countryside; collective labor has supplanted individual labor; agriculture is run along planned lines; the material and cultural standards of the peasants have improved. These great changes have transformed the econ-

omy of North Vietnam into a homogeneous economy with two basic kinds of property: state and cooperative. As a result we now have everything needed for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry as well as between the peasants in the cooperatives and the state."

Nevertheless, the meeting pointed out, agriculture still fails to meet all the requirements of the population.

In conformity with the general line laid down by the Third Congress of the Party, the meeting drew up a program for agricultural development during the first five-year plan (1961-65).

To meet the growing food requirements about 9.5 million tons of agricultural products, including seven millions tons of rice, will be grown in 1965. Output of industrial crops — fiber and oil-bearing plants, sugar-cane, coffee, rubber and tobacco — will likewise increase. Much will be done to extend the crop area and to raise yields. Over 500 thousand hectares of virgin land will be brought under the plough. Special attention is paid to developing the hill districts. The resolution pointed out that:

"We must build irrigation installations to bring water to our fields and to ensure their drainage. This is necessary so that several harvests can

be gathered during the year on all our cultivated land."

The meeting stressed the need strictly to observe in the cooperatives the principle of distribution according to work, and to combine the principle of material incentives with political and ideological education of the peasants.

WEST GERMANY

AT the 19th meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany held recently, Max Reimann, First Secretary, reported on the tasks of the West German working class and the peace forces in the struggle for a peace treaty with the two German states. The meeting approved a letter to the membership and an appeal to the working class and all working people of West Germany. The appeal points out that only the working class, rallying around itself the peace-loving people from all walks of life, will be able to frustrate the Adenauer-Strauss-Brandt policy of strength which is fraught with catastrophe. "The struggle for the immediate signing of a peace treaty with the two German states is a pressing national task. All who want peace must work for the peace treaty!"

The appeal stressed the responsibility of the West German working people for the destiny of Germany. By their action on August 13 of cutting off West Berlin from the democratic part of the city, the armed workers of the Democratic Republic frustrated the evil designs of the militarists. "Today," it goes on, "it is the turn of the West German workers to curb the warmongers and compel them to negotiate a peace treaty. We must demonstrate our will for a new policy by holding rallies and meetings, by lobbying the members of the Bundestag and the Party leaders."

IRAN

THE 9th meeting of the Central Committee of the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran held in mid-September examined problems bearing on the national democratic state and neo-colonialism, the peaceful and non-peaceful paths of development of the revolution, and the prospects of non-capitalist development in Iran. In a resolution on the internal situation, the meeting pointed out that the antagonism between the people and the reactionary regime of the Shah had sharpened. Taxation had increased of late. Because of foreign competition, rising prices and shortage of raw materials, many factories have had to close. Artisans and handicraftsmen were being ruined, adding still more to the army of unemployed. Tens of thousands of impoverished peasants were leaving the villages.

In the past 12 months the people had dealt telling blows to the despotic regime. The parliament imposed on the people by the Shah had twice been dissolved. This represented a victory for the democratic movement and a defeat for Iranian reaction and for the U.S. and British imperialists, who in view of the situation are urging the nationalists to embark on superficial reforms and to enter into a compromise with the extreme reactionaries.

The meeting declared that in recent years the Party had registered definite success in the matter of propagating the idea of uniting the patriotic groups of the country and rallying all the forces fighting for independence, freedom and against the reactionary regime. It is combating the disunity among the patriotic forces, which is encouraged by the imperialists and the Iranian reactionaries. At the same time the Party is explaining the wrong stand taken by those leaders and groups of the National Front who say that "the difficulties cannot be overcome unless we isolate the Tudeh Party and keep as far away as possible from it." The Party has denounced the treacherous Khalil Malaki group which is trying to make a breach in the united anti-imperialist front.

The main tasks of the national-liberation struggle, the meeting pointed out, are to fight for "the overthrow of the anti-national despotic regime of Mohammed Reza Shah, for a national government and for democratic rights." The fight for a democratic parliament, for free elections without government interference, may become the slogan of the entire people.

The meeting called on all Iranians to protest against the imperialist plans to turn vast areas in the Middle East into a zone of death in the event of war, called for protest meetings and demonstrations against the reactionary policy of the government in both town and countryside.

It urged the people to exert every effort to secure the overthrow of the present reactionary regime, for a national democratic government and for a foreign policy of neutrality.

CANADA

MEETING in Toronto, the National Committee of the Communist Party of Canada discussed the political tasks facing the Party, the working class and all democratic and peace-loving people in the country. The meeting issued a statement on the grave international situation appealing "especially to the many peace movements, trade unions, the New Democratic Party, farm bodies and all organizations to quickly act to compel the Diefenbaker government to take a public stand for the peaceful solution of this

menacing war crisis" — no war over Berlin; negotiate and conclude a peace treaty based upon the reality of two German states; an end to the arms race, and complete world disarmament.

The meeting issued a Call to the Seventeenth National Convention which is scheduled to open on January 19, 1962, and which will coincide with the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Party.

The main documents for the Convention — draft policy resolution, amendments to the Party program and the constitution — were discussed and approved. It was decided to print these documents in a special pre-Convention bulletin which should serve as a public platform for debate and comment by the membership during the pre-Convention discussion. A letter issued to the membership asked for volunteers for a special effort to win recruits for the Party and the Young Communist League and to secure a bigger circulation for the Party press.

The meeting affirmed the correctness of the policy of the Communists in respect to the New Democratic Party, considering its formation as a most important development towards people's unity. Members and friends of the Communist Party are urged to work in friendship with the members and supporters of the NDP to develop united action for peace, independence, a foreign policy of neutrality, democracy and people's needs. By working in this way it will be possible to break through the Right-wing control of the NDP.

The draft policy resolution proposes that in the coming federal elections the Party will nominate its candidates in a number of selected constituencies. In the other constituencies it will support candidates of the NDP, with the exception of candidates whose policy is such that it cannot be endorsed by progressive voters. Many proposals are contained in the resolution for improving the work of the Party and its leadership.

NORWAY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway was held at the end of September at which Reidar Larsen, member of the Political Bureau, reported on the outcome of the general election and the tasks of the Communist Party. The organizational aspect of the election campaign was the subject of an address by Political Bureau member Henry Hoff, while Jorgen Vogt, also a member of the Political Bureau, spoke about the Berlin question.

The meeting affirmed that the situation in the country favors a working class political offensive.

The Party will continue to work for unity of the Left forces, to combine them into a single mass movement which corresponds to the interests of peace and the working people of Norway.

A statement on the German question was issued which stressed the need to conclude a peace treaty with the two German states. The people of Norway, it emphasized, should say their word in order to solve this dangerous international problem.

Stressing that Norway is a NATO ally of West Germany, the Central Committee declared that a "peaceful settlement in the matter of Berlin and Germany is also a matter of peace for Norway."

The meeting decided to organize a winter campaign to improve work among the youth, build the Communist Youth League and enlist more members into the Party.

PERU

AT the 13th meeting of the Central Committee of the underground Communist Party of Peru, held at the end of August, reports were delivered on the political situation in the country and on the Party's line in the forthcoming general election; on Party work in the trade unions, among the peasants and youth; on the united front; the campaign for funds and on organization. Another item was the question of the forthcoming Fourth Congress.

The meeting stressed the need to normalize inner-Party life in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism, and endorsed the draft policy theses entitled "Along the Path of Mariategui."

During the more than 12 years since the Third Congress, the theses point out, big changes have taken place both internationally and at home. Changes have also occurred in the internal life of the Party. At the two national conferences the composition of the Central Committee and its executive bodies was changed. Some of the tactical concepts no longer correspond to the new situation. It is necessary to draw up a new program which would reflect these changes.

At its present stage the Peruvian revolution is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, national-liberation and democratic revolution. Its principal objectives are: economic and political emancipation from imperialism; reconstruction of the agrarian structure by abolishing the latifundia; independent and progressive development of the national economy by building a diversified industry and engaging in trade with all countries; effective democratization of political life; immediate satisfaction of the demands of the working people.

An alliance of all anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist forces, including the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national patriotic bourgeoisie, would create a national-liberation front capable of effecting a patriotic popular revolution. The hegemony of the proletariat is needed in order to ensure the steady development of the revolution and the transition to socialism upon completion of the first stage.

Without losing sight of the more likely perspective (armed struggle) it is essential to make full use of every opportunity for non-violent, constitutional action in order to build a united front and to create the conditions for winning power.

The Party advanced a comprehensive program of the basic revolutionary changes, which can either be modified or extended in agreement with the forces participating in the patriotic, democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist front.

URUGUAY

AT the enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, held on October 6-8, Jose Luiz Massera, member of the Executive, speaking on the new Pro-

gram of the CPSU, emphasized that it opened up boundless prospects for all people; for this reason it was thoroughly studied by the membership and widely distributed among the masses.

In a report on the political situation in the country Alberto Suarez, Secretary of the Central Committee, summed up the gains of the popular struggles against the reactionary designs of the government. The speaker stressed the need to unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces around the slogan of changing the Constitution, including the annulment of the law on party blocs during elections, agrarian reform and other changes and rights demanded by the people.

Jaime Perez, Secretary of the Central Committee, noted the rapid growth of the Party and dealt with the significance of the card-exchange campaign in 1962, which will help to recruit new thousands of workers to the Party. It was reported that over a million pesos had been raised during the campaign for Party funds.

In keeping with the rules the Central Committee decided to convene the Party's Eighteenth Congress on February 23, 1962.

Reviews

The Working Class Is Becoming Stronger

A LONG-FELT need for a fundamental work that would scientifically generalize the data on the international communist and working-class movement has been filled by *Working-Class Movement in Capitalist Countries**, a collection of articles published by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Works of this kind will in future appear annually.

The first section of the book (author — B. N. Ponomarev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences) examines the basic problems of the Communist movement and the activity of its principal contingents. The section entitled "The working-class movement in the capitalist world at the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism" (by a group of research workers in the Institute of World Economy and International Relations) gives an exposition of the struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist

countries in recent years. In other sections the reader will find data on the working-class movement in Western Europe and Latin America, South-East Asia and Africa. Some of the articles deal with the valiant struggle of the people of Cuba and the working-class movement in the USA and Japan. Of great interest are the data on the Communist parties, the strike movement in the capitalist countries, international trade union organizations, unemployment, the rights of the working people, etc.

The Vanguard of Progress

Much of the data speaks for itself and really calls for no comment. Here, for example, is a table showing the growth in the number of Communist parties and their membership:

**Working-Class Movement in Capitalist Countries (1959-61)*. Editors: A. A. Arzumanyan (chief editor), V. V. Lyubimova, K. L. Maidanik, V. V. Rymalov, T. T. Timofeyev (deputy chief editor), D. P. Shevlyagin. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1961, 584 pp.

	1928	1935	1957	1961
Number of Communist parties	46	61	75	87
Membership totals	1,680,000	3,141,000	33,000,000	nearly 40,000,000
Including Communists in the capitalist countries	443,000	785,000	approx. 4,600,000	5,300,000

Thus in the space of 30 years Communist membership has grown more than 23-fold! This is a remarkable achievement, and by no means a fortuitous one. For the swift growth of membership is an indication that progressive ideas are spreading rapidly. Equipped as they are with the most advanced theory — Marxism-Leninism — and uniting all that is forward-looking under their banner, the Communists are truly the vanguard of social progress!

The Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries, with some 34.5 million members, are, naturally, the most powerful contingent of the world communist movement.

The newly emergent countries and those still fighting for national independence now have 48 Communist and Workers' parties with a steadily growing membership as the following figures show:

	1939	1957	1960
	over	over	about
Asia*	20,000	1,700,000	2,500,000
			about
Latin America	90,000	200,000	250,000
	about	over	
Africa	5,000	20,000	50,000

*Excluding countries in the socialist system.

Lastly, the third contingent includes the 26 Communist and Workers' parties in the industrially advanced capitalist countries, many of which have recently celebrated their fortieth anniversaries.

Task of Paramount Importance

Each of these three contingents tackles its problems in accordance with the conditions under which it works. But they all have in common the important task of working to avert world war, to ensure the peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems. The Communist parties and the international working class direct their fire against U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of world reaction, international gendarme, and main force of aggression and war.

In their efforts to avert a thermonuclear holocaust, the Communists base themselves on the conclusion reached by the Moscow meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1960:

"The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind already in our time from the nightmare of a new world war. The Communist parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission."

The anti-war struggle of the working class, the authors emphasize, does not mean abstract action for peace in general, but concrete and effective struggle.

The anti-war struggle headed by the working class, as the book shows, opens up new opportunities for the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. In conjunction with other factors, anti-war actions contribute to the maturing of political consciousness among the working people and create the conditions for consolidating the unity of the democratic forces. The fight for peace, the authors state, is, thus, an important factor contributing to the political climate in the capitalist countries.

New Stage in the Working-Class Movement

The book analyzes the part played by the proletariat of the capitalist countries in the international working-class movement, and provides a wealth of facts relating to the working people's struggle in these countries. "In recent years, and especially between 1959 and 1961, the class battles between labor and capital have acquired the sweep, determination and political sharpness typical of turning points in the working-class movement," write the authors.

What is new in the present stage of the class struggle in the capitalist countries?

Firstly, the radical change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism has created new international conditions for the advance of the revolutionary movement;

secondly, the correlation of class forces has changed in the capitalist countries, the contradictions of capitalism are sharpening, and the tide of class struggle is rising;

thirdly, the influence of the Communist parties, which have achieved success in their struggle for joint action by the working people, has grown,

and the ideological and political crisis of social reformism has deepened.

The socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. And the impact of this is felt in the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the international revolutionary and liberation movement. The book shows how the new balance of world forces helps to accelerate the pace of revolutionary change in countries which have taken the revolutionary path.

But the new balance of world forces in favor of socialism and the achievements of the socialist countries alone, cannot — and the book stresses this — automatically bring victory to the working class in the capitalist countries in its struggle for its immediate and ultimate aims. "To achieve these objectives in present-day conditions it is essential to step up in the capitalist countries, and now more so than ever before, active mass struggle under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties" (p. 86).

The new correlation of class forces in the capitalist countries and, in particular, the process of the numerical growth of the working class and its structural changes are analyzed. Numerical growth of the proletariat is an important factor in social development. The numbers of workers grew considerably in the capitalist countries during the first half of the 20th century. In the United States, for example, a 2.3-fold increase took place between 1900 and 1960; in Japan a 6.6-fold increase between 1903 and 1938, and in India a threefold increase between 1914 and 1957.

The trends of the sharpening contradictions between the working people and the monopoly bourgeoisie are shown on the basis of a wealth of factual material. Strikes are a direct outcome of these contradictions; 23 million people participated in strikes in the capitalist countries in 1957 and 22.4 million in 1958. The struggle gained great momentum in 1959-1961: 40.7 million took part in strikes in 1959, and 53.6 million in 1960 — nearly four times as many as in 1956, when the figure was 13.9 million.

In contrast to former years, most of the big working-class actions in 1959-61 took place either around political slogans, or were of considerable political importance. The figures cited in the book show that in 1958 some 10 million people (about 43 per cent of the total number of strikers that year)

took part in political strikes in the capitalist countries; more than 23 million (or 56 per cent) in 1959, and over 41 million in 1960 (approximately 77 per cent).

"The sharp increase in political demands is evidence that the working-class movement has risen to a higher level; shows that the workers have become much more mature politically and realize increasingly that their interests are irreconcilable with those of the handful of monopolists; that they are more and more frequently the exponent of the vital interests of all the people" (p. 108).

The Crisis of Socialism Reformism

The Communists occupy a firm place as the vanguard, leading force in the class struggle. But part of the working class in the capitalist countries is still under Social Democratic influence. There are Social Democratic and Socialist parties with an overall membership of about 13 million in almost 40 countries, and the Social Democratic movement, despite the deepening of the crisis in its ranks, is still a strong force. The book makes a careful study of the processes under way in the Social Democratic parties.

It exposes the ideology and policy of social reformism and "class collaboration," the "third force" theory, etc. The electoral set-back and failures in the West European countries; the split in the Social Democratic parties in France and the Argentine (1958) and Finland, Japan and Italy (1959); the formation of independent Left-wing Socialist organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany (1960) and in Norway (1961) — all bear witness to the bankruptcy of the Social Democrats' policy. Numerous examples lay bare the root causes of the crisis of social reformism, chief among which is the anti-communist policy of the Right-wing leaders.

"The balance of forces in the international working-class movement is tipping steadily in favor of the Communists" the book tells us, and this conclusion is substantiated by the following figures: whereas there were 1.6 million Communists and 6.5 million Socialists in the world in 1928, the figures for 1961 are about 40 million Communists and approximately 13 million Socialists. Thus, while three decades ago there were four times as many Social Democrats as Communists, now there are three times as many Communists as Social Democrats.

I. ORLIK

Latin American Socialists on a New Course

AT the very moment when the Right-wing leaders of the European Social Democrats were concocting another anti-communist brew in preparation for the Congress of the Socialist International in Rome, a book appeared in Uruguay revealing sharp dissatisfaction in the Socialist movement with the policy of the Right-wing leadership. Written by Vivian Trias, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Uruguay, and entitled *The Kennedy Plan and the Latin American Revolution**, the book indicates that not only rank-and-file Socialists but whole parties are searching for a way out of the blind alley known as the "Socialist International."

Strictly speaking, the Socialist Party of Uruguay found a way out in January 1960 when its Thirty-Second Congress decided to withdraw from the Socialist International. The Congress criticized the revisionist Godesberg program of the German Social Democrats and the "complicity of the French Socialist Party in a colonial policy which is also not alien to the majority of the Belgian and Dutch Social Democrats." Shortly before this, the Eighteenth Congress of the Chilean Socialists condemned the leaders of the Socialist International for betraying Marxism, and the Forty-Fifth Congress of the Argentine Socialist Party (December 1960) sharply attacked the "deviations of European Social Democracy."

The sphere of activity of the Socialist International is steadily shrinking. While the Communist movement is spreading to all countries and all continents, the Right-wing Social Democracy is virtually losing its last positions outside Western Europe. This is plain from what is happening in South America. The trade union and Socialist party bureaucracy in these countries represent only a narrow segment and big changes have taken place in the thinking of the working class and part of the petty bourgeoisie, particularly under the impact of the Cuban revolution. A growing role in the leadership of the Socialist parties is played by younger men who reflect these changes, although anti-communism still weighs heavily on many of these parties.

Trias' book gives a brief but clear-cut picture of the changes taking place among the Socialists in the countries where the hand of U.S. imperialism is most strongly felt.

The book covers a wider range of questions than its title suggests (it is only in the last, tenth chapter that Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" plan is examined), although the choice of title is

in itself noteworthy, summing up, as it were, the author's reflections on the future of capitalism, the problem of war and peace, and the paths of revolution in economically backward countries (the "colonial periphery," to use Trias' term).

The reader will find a wealth of material dealing with the various aspects of capitalist economy today, showing the omnipotence of the United States monopolies and their exploitation of the entire capitalist world. With such an abundance of data it is not surprising that a few inaccuracies should creep in. One cannot always agree with the author's conclusions, many of which conflict with his own facts and figures or arguments adduced later (this applies especially to the problem of the basic contradiction of modern capitalist society* and the question of intra-imperialist contradictions). The Communist reader will doubtless take exception to some of the author's terminology. But this is not the main thing. What is important is that living experience, participation in the mass struggle and the active intervention of the masses in the life of the parties made it imperative to revise the dogmas of the Socialist International and to reject a host of the absurd prejudices fostered, out of anything but unselfish motives, by its leaders. And if the theoreticians of the West German and Austrian Social Democrats or the Gaitskells exchange these dogmas and prejudices for outright capitalist concepts, publicly renouncing Marxism, then the parties of struggle and action endeavor to grasp what is happening and to draw lessons therefrom, turning their gaze toward scientific communism, to the experience of the socialist countries.

Trias admits that Lenin was correct in his polemics with the leaders of the West-European Social Democrats, including Karl Kautsky, and he resolutely dissociates himself from them. "The structure of imperialism, its basic laws have not changed," he declares. "Lenin's analysis still retains its indisputable force" (p. 134).

Trias brands as a swindle the propaganda of the ideologists of the "American age" and their Right Socialist admirers who, he said, "want to sell capitalism to us by trying to convince us that it is developing into a 'property-owning democracy' or a 'shareholders democracy'" (p. 42). Trias regards the U.S. ruling clique as a symbiosis of monopolies and militarists.

His analysis of the "Janus-faced capitalist civilization," the civilization of riches and poverty, leads the author to condemn another dogma

*V. Trias. *El Plan Kennedy y la Revolucion Latinoamericana*. Montevideo, Ediciones "El Sol," 1961, 224 pp.

*In Trias' opinion, the conflict between U.S. imperialism and the "colonial periphery."

preached by the Right Socialists, namely, that U.S. capital plays a progressive role in the economically backward countries and colonies: "Contact between 'capitalist civilization' and the backward areas," he writes, "did not stimulate enlightenment, it was shameless plunder . . . The blood-letting experienced by whole continents could not but paralyze their own potential capitalist development. But the worst consequence of imperialist penetration to the peripheral areas is the monstrous deformation imposed upon their socio-economic set-up" (pp. 15-16).

And while the Socialist International in its policy statement, "Socialist Policy for the Underdeveloped Territories," adopted at its Second Congress in 1952, had nothing but praise for the "valuable services" of agencies of imperialist domination like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Trias describes these agencies as a screen behind which the Yankee corporations operate.

Taking Latin America as an example, he shows that "imperialism cannot abandon colonial exploitation" (p. 177). In 1957, 35 per cent of U.S. foreign investments were concentrated in Latin America. According to the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America, the U.S. monopolies in the period 1946-56 got \$3.17 for every dollar invested there, and shipped out of Latin America in the same period profits amounting to \$5,600 million. The total profit and interest on loans taken out of Latin America by the foreign monopolies is equivalent to 20 per cent of the annual national income of these countries. A no lesser, if not bigger, item of plunder is the unequal exchange of U.S. goods for goods produced by the Latin American countries. The operation of these "scissors" robs the latter of some \$2,000 million a year. And last but not least, enormous sums are swallowed up by the arms drive imposed by the U.S. government.

Trias exposes the latest drive against Latin America launched by U.S. imperialism under the flag of the International Monetary Fund after Guatemala was strangled in 1954. In 1956-60 the Latin American countries received a total of 48 loans from the Fund, with the result that the annual increase in the national incomes of these countries dropped from five per cent in 1957 to three per cent in 1958. The loans were made conditional upon devaluation of the local currency and introduction of a unified exchange rate, adoption of the principle of "free enterprise," no subsidies and fewer credits for the national industry, "freedom for imports," no nationalization, reduction of the state sector in economy and the transfer of some of the state-owned enterprises to private capital. The "free-fox-in-a-free-hencoop"

policy, as Trias aptly describes it. "In the same orbit, with the IMF as epicenter, moves the free trade zone and other 'economic integration' projects fostered by Washington. This," the author points out, "is the application to Latin America of the 'European Economic Community' policy, which, as demonstrated, is another instance of international agencies being used to serve imperialist ends" (pp. 205-206). In the socio-political sphere, these projects crop up in the shape of wage freezes, rising unemployment and more repressions.

Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" plan is simply a continuation of the IMF policy. It provides for \$500 million worth of U.S. aid to 20 Latin American countries. Moreover, it is hoped by attracting private capital from the United States, from West Germany and other countries, to bring the total sum of foreign investments in Latin America to over \$1,000 million this year. The alluring but wholly illusory prospect of \$20,000 million of foreign investments in Latin America is forecast for the next ten years. However, according to the most conservative estimates for the period 1957-1975, it would take an investment of \$30,000 million to achieve a two per cent increase in the annual gross product of Latin America. "This gives some idea of the inadequacy of the proffered assistance," says Trias, adding that "its realization is aimed not at overcoming but at intensifying the backwardness" of the countries concerned (p. 213).

Trias maintains that the Kennedy plan is a product of the "new strategy" employing new forms of political domination and containment of the masses: "constitutional dictatorship" with a parliament and verbal recognition of civil liberties as a facade for political repressions, military tribunals in place of civil courts, discrimination against the Lefts, curbing the trade unions, etc. "Peru, Colombia and Argentina," writes Trias, "are glaring examples of the new political strategy in operation" (p. 207). Incidentally, Adlai Stevenson has admitted that the U.S. government intends to continue to encourage military dictators as an important force for maintaining internal peace and protecting constitutional government (p. 178).

A study of the realities enables the Uruguayan Socialist leader clearly to define his attitude to the "Alliance for Progress." "As far as its political content is concerned," he says, "it must be counteracted by resolute defense of the Cuban revolution; to this alliance for aggression we must counterpose our solidarity in order to uphold the vanguard of the Latin American revolution. As regards its economic significance, the 'Alliance for Progress' advances a false alternative, an

inacceptable substitute for the path charted by Fidelism. This, in the final analysis, is a continuation of the IMF offensive, a manifestation of neo-imperialism and, hence, an attempt to perpetuate the colonial status which is ruining us. It has quite rightly been defined by Fidel Castro as the 'alliance for exploitation' (p. 218).

The author sees revolution as the only way to overcome backwardness, to win national sovereignty and social justice. He regards it as the continuation of the first war of independence at the beginning of the 19th century, which freed Latin America from the Spanish yoke, and he believes that it will lead to the establishment of a federation of Latin American republics.

The Latin American revolution, in Trias' opinion, will have two phases: the national and the socialist. The first is seen as the transitional phase, during which the expropriation of imperialist capital and a deep-going agrarian reform will be carried out and which will quickly develop into a socialist revolution. In the political sphere this first phase is embodied in a strong people's state — "a revolutionary dictatorship of the oppressed classes" — capable of solving the tasks of the revolution. All classes and strata oppressed by imperialism and the oligarchy will take part in the revolution: "peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, industrial proletariat, intelligentsia, students, etc." (p. 188). But the proletariat will play the vanguard role in the revolution. "Socialism," the author emphasizes, "does not come of itself. It has to be fought for and built" (p. 197).

Trias is convinced that the national bourgeoisie is incapable of leading the national revolution; he believes that the possibility of independent action by the national bourgeoisie depends on the size of the home market, and is altogether excluded in the case of countries like Uruguay, where the home market is small.

Noteworthy is the author's conclusion — undoubtedly suggested by the Cuban revolution — that the revolutionary process should not be isolated. "Isolation," he writes, "would be political suicide. Any national revolution is part of the world socialist and anti-capitalist movement, and hence international coordination is inevitable. Being independent of the political strategy of the USSR does not imply absence of relations with the USSR. On the contrary. As experience, and especially the revolutionary experience of Cuba, shows, the economic and political support of the USSR can be decisive for the victory of the national revolution, and hence, for its rapid transition to a socialist revolution. It is the duty of revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped countries to do all they can to make it possible for the USSR to render them increasing support

and assistance. This is the duty we owe to ourselves, our own strategic necessity" (p. 192). The author regards the existence of the USSR, the socialist camp and the socialist world market as a factor contributing to the victory of colonial revolutions and their transition from the national stage to the socialist.

"Cuba was a Yankee colony . . . Cuba today is a nation advancing to new goals, a shining example to the whole world."

"The Cuban revolution is not only a Cuban, it is a continental revolution. Cuba's problems are the problems of all the countries of our America, mutilated by imperialist penetration. That is why all our peoples regard that revolution with such deep sympathy. That is why, too, the local oligarchies — the allies, shareholders and attorneys of imperialism — have joined forces to oppose it."

"The attitude taken by the AFL-CIO against the Cuban revolution, unless immediately corrected, signifies connivance with the U.S. State Department in its imperialist policy and a complete break with the ideals and activities of the true popular and working-class movements of Latin America."

"The Latin American peoples are in solidarity with Cuba. Any act of aggression against Cuba, economic, political or military, is an act of aggression against our peoples and will rouse all of them to fight against the aggressor. Let everyone know that in Cuba we are defending our common cause."

(From the resolutions of the Fifth Conference of Socialist and People's parties of Latin America. Montevideo, July 1960.)

As it appears from the book, the Uruguayan Socialists consider it their duty to support the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union. Trias subscribes to the conclusion of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU about the possibility of avoiding a new world war (p. 196). Citing the Statement issued by the Meeting of the 81 parties and articles by N. S. Khrushchov and M. Reimann published in the *World Marxist Review*, he sums up: "From these different texts it is clear that the USSR has no intention of destroying the North American capitalist system, but proposes to coexist with it and to settle mutual contradictions in 'a special form of class struggle,' in peaceful coexistence of the two economic systems, which will demonstrate their achieve-

ments in order that the people might choose which they prefer" (p. 168).

Trias arrived at this conclusion after careful, day-to-day study and comparison of the facts. And the facts show that while the resistance of the U.S. monopolies to the policy of peaceful coexistence is caused by internal factors, including the militarization of the economy, the "policy of peace, the proposals for disarmament reflect the inner need of the USSR, and on the other hand, constitute a clearly positive alternative to nuclear war" (p. 169).

The author is quite right when he says that support for peaceful coexistence does not imply "subordination to the world strategy of the USSR." Lasting peace will enable the USSR to multiply its wealth more quickly, which in turn means higher living standards for its people and "increased opportunities for rendering economic and political assistance to revolutions at the peripheries" (p. 192). Thus, support of the policy of peaceful coexistence helps to create an international situation "most favorable for the revolutionary advance of all peoples" (*ibid.*).

This formulation of the question by the Uruguayan Socialists strikes hard at the Trotskyites

who have penetrated into the ranks of some Latin American Socialist parties and loudly accuse the Communist parties who uphold the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of having become "bourgeois" and having "lost their revolutionary fervor."

It should be noted that it is not only the Uruguayan Socialists who defend the idea of peaceful coexistence. The Brazilian Socialist Domingos Velasco also came out recently in support of this principle.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, against opportunists from right and the left, the Socialist parties of Latin America are finding their way onto the right path, drawing upon Marxism-Leninism to guide them. This theoretical questing is backed up by growing unity of action with the Communists and other patriotic groups. The long years of successful cooperation between the Communists and Socialists of Chile both in the trade unions and in the Popular Action Front are an example of this. The experience gained by the Socialists of Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador and other countries demonstrates the value of cooperation with the Communists.

S. SEMYONOV

Anti-Communism Boomerangs

WHEN William J. Lederer, Far Eastern Editorial Representative of the American journal *Reader's Digest*, told a high official in Washington the substance of a chapter in a book he was writing, the response was: "Yes, there is truth in everything you have told me. But do not write about it. Why wash our dirty linen in public? It hurts our allies and it aids the Communists."

The book, *A Nation of Sheep**, was, nevertheless, published and for six months now has been a best-seller, for it is one of the few books that tell the citizens of the "great trans-Atlantic democracy" how they are fooled by politicians and the "free" capitalist press.

Lederer's indictment against the "open society" of the United States can be summarized as follows: the hard facts of foreign affairs are hidden from its citizens, who, furthermore, are grossly misinformed. This has made of the American people a "nation of sheep" — as the title of the book would indicate.

*William J. Lederer. *A Nation of Sheep*. New York, Norton, 1961, 194 pp.

We do not, of course, agree with this description. But there is no doubt — and the author has driven his point home with numerous illustrations from the recent past and the present — that the U.S. ruling circles would indeed like to make of the American people a nation of sheep which would go docilely to the slaughter in the name of filling the coffers of Mr. Moneybags and his confederates.

The book opens with a chapter on Laos and makes it obvious that the wild talk about the "Communist invasion" of Laos in the summer of 1959 was simply a Big Deception. The truth is, there was not at that time a single American in the so-called combat area either to confirm or refute the alarming press reports. But the American readership had "no doubt that a war embracing thousands of troops, tanks, planes, and mass battles, was raging" (p. 25). And the U.S. government used this false information as a pretext to threaten intervention. A United Nations team surveyed the situation in Laos, with the result that "in the eyes of the world, the United

States looked very foolish, at best, and very dangerous, at worst" (p. 28).

In another chapter Lederer shows that to call Chiang Kai-shek a lover of democracy and freedom, as the U.S. press and politicians do, is simply to make a laughing-stock of oneself in the eyes of the world.

The chapter dealing with Syngman Rhee, another "democrat," divulges the secret of making a career as a puppet. This intriguer, lusting for power, knew all the weaknesses of his paymaster. He got rid of rivals by invoking the bogey of communism. "Rhee strengthened his position by hinting that other Korean leaders had Communist leanings. The Communist scare became his unfailing technique for gaining power — and for holding it, during his entire career" (p. 71). The ordinary Americans, those who fought in the Korean war, were told they were defending democracy. Yet another lie! Syngman Rhee, according to Lederer, ruled the country by "Hitler methods" (p. 78).

As if drawing a conclusion from his chapters on Taiwan and Korea, the author emphasizes that outlived regimes — which continue to exist only because they are backed by foreign arms — have a necrophilous attraction for American imperialism. It is "only the United States," according to Lederer, that "stands between the people and the overthrow of a corrupt, dictatorial regime" on Taiwan, in South Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua and some other countries (p. 94).

The way the American leaders talk about democracy does not square with their support of overtly anti-democratic regimes, and this fact troubles Lederer. He gives two reasons for the contradiction: ignorance of the facts and anti-communism. It seems to us, however, that Washington's enduring love for Chiang Kai-shek can-

not be explained away by lack of knowledge about the object of its love. It does not need a special fact-finding commission to make clear that Chiang Kai-shek's regime is not a "democratic" regime, no matter what meaning is put into this word. It is not a question of ignorance, but of not wanting to reckon with the facts, and this lack of desire is prompted by anti-communism.

The loss of ability for sober political thinking is a consequence of anti-communism. Lederer writes: "Our ignorance of the world outside our borders, and our assumption that an anti-communist stance is all that a chief of state needs to qualify for our support, are errors which compound quickly and work well for our enemies. What has happened already in Cuba, Korea, Turkey, Iraq, and North Vietnam should have taught us bitter lessons. Yet our government — with the tacit approval of the press — seems content to blame all foreign revolutions on Communists; and after one debacle has passed, we proceed as before to help create the climate in which revolution becomes almost inevitable" (p. 93).

The anti-communism of the U.S. ruling circles is fed by capital's class hatred for the proletariat, its gravedigger. There is no reason to believe that this sentiment will change. But it will do American capital much more harm than anything else. As Lederer shows, anti-communism leads to blindness and blindness to blunders, while blunders make the U.S. ruling circles appear fools — or liars or canting hypocrites — in the eyes of the world.

Anti-communism, the principal weapon in the arsenal of reaction, boomerangs painfully on its users.

G. GREIS

Exchange of Views

Man and His Future

Diary of the Royaumont Seminar

Royaumont, May 19

THE social consequences of the 20th-century scientific and technological revolution held the center of attention primarily because science has forcefully entered all spheres of contemporary social life. The practical contribution of science to social progress was discussed in a paper submitted by Academician N. N. Semyonov.

Power — the Key to Abundance

The quantity of electric power available per capita is decisive in producing material wealth and creating a highly organized mode of life, Academician Semyonov pointed out. The world average is about 100 watts per person. This is a starvation ration on which a high level of labor productivity cannot be achieved throughout the world, production increased to meet requirements, or arduous physical labor avoided. To pave the way to a high living standard for all it is essential to increase world electric power production at least 40-fold. Can this be done within a brief space of time? It can. This is evident from the experience of the USSR, where the annual increase in power output amounts to 10 per cent.

There are vast reserves of oil, coal, natural gas, peat, uranium and thorium in Nature — enough to last for a long time. Yet the problem of new power sources is rising before humanity. Firstly, because the sources now used to turn the wheels of industry, though still great, are gradually being depleted. Secondly, the time will come when it will be more expedient to use oil, and to some extent also coal, to obtain polymers, etc. Is man, then, threatened by a shortage of power? We scientists answer no. For the power sources discovered to date are practically inexhaustible.

For instance, deuterium, the heavy isotope of hydrogen, could serve as a nuclear fuel; indeed, methods for obtaining it from ordinary water have been fully worked out. One liter of water contains potential energy equivalent to that released in the combustion of 160 kilograms of coal. In other words, a 230-meter cube of water

is a power source equal to the total annual world output of coal.

Before the controlled thermonuclear process becomes a practical proposition, a great many scientific and technological hurdles will have to be overcome. Additional ideas are still needed. When this problem will be solved — whether tomorrow or 20 years hence — it is still impossible to say, but there is no doubt that the scientists and engineers will have found the solution by the turn of the century.

The thermonuclear process, however, is not the only power source of the future, the speaker pointed out. Vast and practically inexhaustible power resources may be placed at man's disposal through the effective transformation of solar radiation into electricity and the use of the heat contained in the depths of the earth's crust.

The World's Resources Are Inexhaustible

Besides electric power, man needs metals, and building and other materials. To these we should add chemicals, especially fertilizers. The reserves of inorganic raw materials for all these are for all practical purposes unlimited, both in the atmosphere and in the bowels of the earth, especially in view of the development of deep-drilling techniques. Nor will there be any shortage of the organic raw materials needed to meet the growing demand for synthetic fiber, rubber, plastics, etc., if we use a substantial part of the world's oil and to some extent coal for this purpose. It can be safely said that the satisfaction of the people's needs will not be limited by any lack of materials, no matter how great the growth of the world's population.

A very considerable part of mankind is underfed and there are places where hunger is endemic. Yet ample supplies of high-grade food could be provided for five times the present population of the world simply by introducing the most efficient modern methods of cultivating, fertilizing and irrigating the soil throughout the area already under cultivation (not to speak of opening up new farmlands).

Nor is this the ceiling. We know that it takes eight quanta of solar energy to produce a par-

ticle of organic matter from one molecule of carbon dioxide and one molecule of water by photosynthesis. Hence we can estimate the maximum crop that can be obtained per hectare. This maximum will be five or six times the now generally accepted 15 tons per hectare. Moreover, the area under cultivation could be increased by several hundred per cent, not to speak of tapping the reserves of phytoplankton and seaweed in the ocean. In this way it would be possible to feed a population one hundred times as great as the present population of the world.

Modern science and technology open up vast prospects for the full and rational satisfaction of the basic material requirements of all, Academician Semyonov said in conclusion. Realization of this humane undertaking is retarded not by any lack of scientific and technological potential, not by any shortage of labor and raw materials, but only by the defects of social organization. It will be accomplished only after an end has been put to war, colonialism, unemployment, and the anarchy of production which engenders grave economic crises and social convulsions.

The Powers of Science Are Unlimited

Science has put our generation in possession of powerful means of influencing both our national environment and ourselves. Will these means be employed, in the final analysis, in the interests of man or to his detriment?

None of the participants in the discussion had any doubts that the scientific discoveries and technological accomplishments would continue to multiply or that they would inevitably necessitate fundamental social reforms. Differences emerged when it came to the character of these reforms and their likely effect on man's future. Would the scientific and technological revolution lead to abundance, to the triumph of social justice, to freedom, to the equality and fraternity of all men and all nations, as the Marxists say? Or would it be accompanied by the appearance of a new all-powerful oligarchy, as is claimed by some bourgeois sociologists? Would it hasten the transition to communist society throughout the world or would it revitalize the senile organism of capitalism?

This was the great ideological divide at the conference, and it relegated to the background the differences between J. Fourastié, who eulogized technocratic rule, and G. Gurvitch, who was apprehensive of it, for both held that the coming of a technocracy was inevitable.

The technocracy conception, Gilbert Mury, the French Marxist sociologist, observed in refuting Gurvitch, sprang from a lack of faith in social progress and could find a response only among those sections of society which, in apocalyptic

fear, cling to outmoded social relations, to an obsolete way of life. Gurvitch, who is known in France as head of the "micro-sociology" school, has written many books, but not in one of them has he conceded that there can be any progress. Proceeding from the formal, non-essential elements of social phenomena and processes, he limits himself to a static analysis of society, which to him is simply a conglomeration of countless factors. No wonder then that looking at things through his "micro-sociological prism" he saw neither the difference between socialism and capitalism nor the formidable social forces barring the way to power for new oligarchs. The magnitude of this is too much for Gurvitch's field of vision or the framework of his conception.

Having evidently exhausted all his arguments, Gurvitch literally fled from criticism by quietly slipping out of the meeting hall.

Has Capitalism a Future?

Although Fourastié and Gurvitch were the only supporters of technocracy among the participants in the seminar, there is, unfortunately, no shortage of them in the capitalist countries. Some theoreticians interweave this myth with what they call the "second industrial revolution in the West." By giving this designation to the contemporary scientific and technological revolution, bourgeois sociologists suggest that, like the industrial revolution of the end of the 18th century, it need not transcend the framework of the capitalist mode of production and private property. This, naturally, leads to the question: does capitalism have a future? And to this the French economist Henri Claude essayed an answer.

Capitalist society, he said, has long been in the throes of insoluble economic contradictions. And the development of science and technology, instead of reducing, only increases the discrepancy between the possibilities for the growth of production, on the one hand, and private property which retards production, on the other. Citing statistical data on the decline in the rate of production in the United States, the citadel of capitalism, on the growing frequency of crises of overproduction, the steady increase in unemployment from cycle to cycle, increasing underemployment of industrial capacity, etc., Claude concluded:

"Any analysis of the destiny of capitalism remains, however, an abstraction out of time and space if it is limited to the economic sphere alone. Bourgeois economists who engage in such abstractions are following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers, who could to some extent be excused for doing so since they lived at a time when capitalism held undivided sway.

"We, however, cannot ignore the historical experience of the past half-century which shows that capitalism is being succeeded by a new and in every respect more progressive system — socialism. Capitalism is losing ground both economically and politically. What commands attention is that in this brief span of time more than one-third of humanity has taken the road of socialism. *Social progress is irreversible*. It cannot be denied that capitalism, too, is going through an evolutionary process, but it is evolving in the direction of its own destruction."

Technology and Morality

The diversity of bourgeois conceptions which the Marxists encountered in Royaumont bore out the remark made by Roger Garaudy that although there is only one truth, one can err in the most widely different ways. In recent years it has become common for Western writers on philosophy and sociology to see the root of all social evil in the hopeless lag of moral standards behind the technology of Western civilization. Their prescriptions for the ills range from advocacy of moral rearmament and self-perfection to a moratorium on scientific discoveries. Academician C. I. Goulian argued against this view.

The contradiction, he said, exists not between technology and morality, but between outdated social relations which engender individualism and misanthropy, on the one hand, and the productive forces which have outgrown the former and demand social ownership of the means of production and planned economic development. Humanity cannot be fettered forever by the rusty chains of bourgeois morality. Together with socialism, which harmoniously combines the interests of the individual and society, a new, communist morality comes into being.

An analysis of the prospects and social consequences of the 20th-century scientific and technological revolution was the main content of the paper submitted by the Czech scientist Ernest Kolman.

IV. THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The student of modern science and technology cannot but admit that the 20th century is witnessing the greatest scientific and technological developments since the discovery of fire.

Miracles Become Reality

However, three questions naturally suggest themselves: first, have we not become the victims of self-deception, are we not exaggerating the importance of our epoch; second, what criteria

should we use in judging these developments; third, how should we evaluate them?

We know from history that there have always been people who believed that the times in which they lived were the greatest of all, and others who held that they were the worst. Consequently, the significance of an epoch can be correctly appraised only on the basis of an objective criterion. This criterion is provided by the level of the social-economic system, scientific and technological development, and the thinking and behavior of people. This is a complex criterion, one that correctly reflects the complexity of the subject. Moreover, it is not eclectic: it hinges on the development of the mode of production. Any one-sidedness, say, emphasis on the moral factor alone, which is characteristic of certain trends of idealist philosophy, or on the technological alone, as is the case with many bourgeois sociologists, is bound to be misleading.

Everything from the windmills and waterwheels of the slave and feudal societies to the steam engine and electric motor of capitalism was based on utilization of only the motion of molecules and the outer electrons of the atom. Today physics has penetrated into the microworld where dimensions are measured in one-hundred-thousandths of our accustomed spatial concepts, opening for technology a power source a hundred thousand times greater than all previous sources — nuclear fission. And before we know it, it will enable us to harness the energy released in the synthesis of light nuclei — energy millions of times greater than that obtained from the finest conventional fuels. This invasion of the microworld has also made possible higher automation, the creation of cybernetic self-controlling devices utilizing streams of free electrons and capable of substituting for such human faculties as attention, memory, logical reasoning and choice. A short while ago they operated at speeds one hundred thousand times greater than the human brain; today they are already millions of times faster. Released from heavy physical labor by the machine, man is now being freed by cybernetic devices from monotonous, stupefying types of mental labor. Penetration into the sub-atomic world has also paved the way for man to outer space. The sphere of human knowledge and activity is expanding at an incredible rate. Just as man is single-mindedly changing his natural environment, so is he taking the first steps in guiding the development of the human race and the human brain toward a higher degree of perfection with the aid of already investigated biophysicochemical processes underlying heredity and the functions of the mind. As often as not the initial sensation caused by a new scientific or technological "miracle" has hardly died down before it has become part of everyday life.

Bourgeois Pessimism and Marxist Optimism

It would be naive to think that Marxist scholars are championing the idea of social progress because, as Raymond Aron, for instance, put it, "that is their job." Nor would it be just to say that bourgeois sociologists adhere to their pessimistic views simply because they are well paid to do so. The ideology dominant in any society exerts a powerful influence on the scientist, and especially on the sociologist who is linked by a thousand threads with the ruling class. No wonder then that most sociologists in the capitalist countries, despite the demands of objective science, defend capitalism although it is doomed by the march of history. This rejection of progress by the bourgeois ideologists reflects above all the transition of capitalism to its imperialist stage, when the antagonisms of the system assume the most extreme forms. The reaction of these ideologists to the collapse of the liberal illusions of "peaceful" evolution is rather peculiar: once capitalism cannot improve itself through evolution, then progress generally must be non-existent.

It goes without saying that we Marxists are also influenced by the ideas dominant in the socialist world, by the optimistic outlook of working people emancipated from exploitation. Therefore our science too is not impartial; it is a class, partisan science. "But," we may be told, "if that is so, to what degree of objectivity can you lay claim?" "The maximum degree," is our answer, for the difference between bourgeois and Marxist sociology is fundamental.

Marxist sociology expresses the interests of the working people who have nothing to gain from the distortion of fact, from the falsification of history. The working people have no desire to turn back the wheel of history. And precisely because the partisanship of our sociology represents in the given conditions the acme of objectivity, we have no reason to conceal it.

Not Technology But the Social System Is to Blame

The view once held by Bertrand Russell that morally modern man, despite his advance in science and technology, is in no way superior to the cave dweller is well known. So is his dictum that had history followed Archimedes' "technical" instead of Aristotle's "humanitarian" path, humanity would long since have exterminated itself. On the other hand, people like J. Fourastié tend to identify technological and economic progress with social progress and judge the latter by, say, the quantity of soap consumed or the number of refrigerators produced per head of population. In both instances we have to deal with the metaphysical method of reasoning typical

of the idealist outlook. Both arbitrarily take one or another aspect of a phenomenon and apply it to the whole.

Actually, under imperialism the rapid advance of technology is not accompanied by a corresponding harmonious development of social relations; on the contrary, its concomitants are the evils of colonialism, fascism and world war, fantastic profits for a few hundred monopolies and suffering for hundreds of millions of working people, a starvation level of existence for entire nations. Many bourgeois sociologists are alarmed by this. Yet for some unknown reason some of them conclude that things will always be so. Although rising productivity of labor and a higher standard of life are, of course, an essential condition of social progress, the latter cannot by any means be measured merely by the quantity of products consumed, especially if the fearful dehumanization of life is ignored — the corollary of the vaunted American prosperity, which, we are told, is a model of "progress."

The scientific and technological revolution undoubtedly influences social development, but the direction in which this influence is exerted depends entirely on the social system. Experience shows that the achievements of science and technology can be either beneficial or detrimental to man. For instance, the industrial revolution which began at the end of the 18th century signified tremendous progress on the part of capitalism compared with feudalism, the transition from the handicrafts to the modern factory, power loom, steam engine, railways, large cities, mass production and economy of human energy. But it also brought with it impoverishment to the small producers, peasants and handicraftsmen, mass unemployment and inhuman exploitation of the workers, women and children included. Technological progress let loose torrents of sweat, tears and blood. Or take aviation. What has it given to man? It has shortened distances and saved time, but it also caused the loss of countless lives, reduced towns and villages to ruins and destroyed priceless monuments of culture in the Second World War. What will nuclear fission bring us? Atomic power stations, radioactive isotopes, photon rockets opening the way to stellar worlds, or death and the threat of deformity for future generations?

It is this crying contradiction of our time which is seized upon by those who blame technology for all the evils of the world, for war, poverty and moral decline. They cannot or do not wish to understand that these afflictions are not the result of science and technology but the result of their abuse in capitalist society. As Norbert Wiener, the founder of cybernetics, observed, the

latest developments in technology contain a boundless potential for good as well as for evil, but nothing good will come of these new possibilities if they are evaluated from the standpoint of the market and money economy; society must be based on human values, not on the cash nexus.

While one group of willing or unwilling advocates of capitalism assails the modern revolution in science and technology, another sophistically exalts it as the "second industrial revolution," thereby implying that it testifies to the vitality of capitalism which, they claim, is undergoing a metamorphosis into "people's capitalism." Both of these concepts have one thing in common — they are equally false. If science and technology are not to be used to enslave man, capitalism must be replaced by socialism. In a society where there is no exploitation, no cutthroat competition and no wars of conquest, technology does not turn against man.

Technology Must Serve Man

Technology alone does not automatically create a new, higher type of society, even though it is automatic to the highest degree. The society that will ensure the happiness of all working men and women must be fought for; it can be achieved only through the socialist revolution. And this only the working class, which does not seek to oppress others, can bring about in alliance with all other working people. For it is in its interests that the productive forces, and with them morality, science and the arts, be developed to the full.

Yet among those who, after giving long and serious thought to the matter, arrived at the conclusion that the new technology necessitates a new social organization, there are some who committed tragic blunders in their search for paths by which to achieve this. As early as 1902, H. G. Wells suggested in his essay *Anticipations* (in which, incidentally, his powers of foresight failed him) that to put society on a sound footing, its economic and political leadership should be handed over to the technical experts. The same concept was advocated by G. Scott during the severe economic crisis that followed the First World War. Today this idea, refurbished and described as the "managerial," is dished up by the ideologists of state-monopoly capitalism. But there is bitter disappointment in store for those bourgeois intellectuals who turn to it in their search for a way out of the impasse into which capitalism has led mankind. Regardless of the subjective intentions of its adherents, this theory is, objectively, a justification of imperialism.

This and other similar inventions cannot stand up to the facts of life. The contemporary revolu-

tion in science and technology is proceeding in the epoch of a still more far-reaching revolution — the revolutionary transformation of the entire social system. No sociologist can get away from the fact that more than one-third of humanity is already building socialism and communism, or that hundreds of millions have thrown off the yoke of colonialism. All this is a pledge that the age of atomic energy, cybernetics and space exploration will not bring with it the end of the world, but will mark the beginning of genuine human progress.

Creative Labor Is a Human Requirement

As Marx and Lenin pointed out time and again, socialism and all the more so communism presuppose the active participation of every able-bodied member of society in productive labor. Not only to prevent physiological degeneration, atrophy of muscles or transformation into Wellsian Selenite monsters, but also to safeguard against moral decline.

Thanks to labor, man rose above the animals. Without it, he would soon return to the level of the ape. Only by taking part in productive labor from an early age does man learn, not from books, not by hearsay, not in the abstract but concretely, that he owes all the good things of life to labor, to society, to the grand human collective. He will then appreciate with every fiber of his being that the finest achievements of thought, science and the arts are based in the final analysis on the arduous day-to-day labor of countless generations of slaves, serfs, and proletarians. That is why the principle of combining manual work with instruction in the natural and social sciences is applied in the schools of the socialist countries. There is no other way of bringing up harmoniously developed people conscious of their responsibilities to society. For them labor is not an onerous necessity but an inner requirement. Their discipline is a matter not of coercion but of high consciousness. They are capable, when necessary, of sacrificing their personal interests to the interests of the collective, the nation, all humanity. There are many of these splendid people among us, and their numbers are steadily growing.

The technological revolution and social progress alike rest on labor, manual labor primarily, for this labor creates all material wealth, and also the labor crystallized in the intellectual endeavors of scientists, technologists and artists. But both manual and mental labor are preyed upon by private enterprise and mercantilism which shamelessly appropriate its fruits. Unless these parasitic growths are eliminated and labor emancipated, humanity cannot ensure that the revolution in

science and technology will be placed in the service of social progress alone.

V. PROGRESS AND HISTORY

The fate of the technocracy myth was shared by another theory now fashionable in the West—the concept of civilizations advanced by the British historian Arnold Toynbee. The last, thirteenth volume of Toynbee's *The Study of History*, which came off the press shortly before the conference, was described in the bourgeois press as the "culmination of 30 years' titanic labor to refute the illusion of progress." This accentuated the timeliness of the paper submitted by E. M. Zhukov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, criticizing from the standpoint of Marxism the views of Toynbee and other bourgeois historians who reject the very idea of progress.

Has History Any Meaning?

Social development, the Soviet historian said, has always been the subject of controversy and polemics between the opponents and supporters of progress. And now, too, an offensive has been mounted against the theory of progress by historians who pose as champions of "Western civilization," the "free world," etc. This crusade takes various forms — from efforts to reduce historical research to mere chronicling of isolated third-rate details, to outright denial of the objectivity of science in general. The theoretical roots of such arbitrary and biased interpretation of historical developments spring from extreme subjectivism. And this, in turn, is dictated by the fear which has gripped the ruling classes of an antagonistic society doomed by history.

As distinct from the technocracy myth, Toynbee's concept found no champions in the conference hall, evidently because, as Cornforth aptly put it, none of the participants but felt it was "too reactionary." Nevertheless there were some unexpected objections to what Zhukov said from Jean Wahl, whose contribution to the exchange in general tended to be couched in interrogative sentences.

Marxism, Wahl said, appears to be at once a statement of fact and counsel of behavior. The Western historian is concerned with the past and with the present; the Marxist extends his analysis also to the future. While this undoubtedly is the Marxist's strong point, it confronts the Western historian with an unsolvable dilemma; can human history at one and the same time be something that "has been made" and something that "is still to be made?" If we have in mind future history, does not this presuppose the possibility of different end results? Is not the recognition by Marxists of an ultimate goal of progress a pec-

uliar kind of teleology, mental projection of the historian into the historical ultimate? In a word, has human history any meaning at all?

Academician Zhukov dealt in detail with one of these questions, assuring Wahl that other Marxists would give answers to the remainder. Marxists, Zhukov said, do not deny that different outcomes are possible in future human history; they merely hold that not all of them are equally justified and necessary. For instance, a third world war can be averted whereas the ultimate worldwide victory of communism is a matter of necessity. Therefore it is quite possible to foresee the future without resorting to teleology, or idealism generally.

That human history does have a very definite meaning was made amply clear by B. F. Porshnev, whose point was that a scientist can objectively judge progress in social life.

Royaumont, May 20

The last day of the exchange was given over almost wholly to the philosophers whose job it was to sum up the previous three days' discussion. This laid its stamp on their deliberations.

VI. SOCIAL PROGRESS IS THE REALIZATION OF HUMAN IDEALS

Every attempt made to ignore what had been said before was at best tantamount to evading the issue, avoiding a discussion of the pressing problems of our time. This was precisely the impression made, for instance, by the speech of Lucien Goldman, who, declaring that it was better to eschew "generalities," plunged into an analysis of how the idea of progress was reflected in the 17th-century novel. The British historian Morton, on the contrary, demonstrated the degeneration of the bourgeois social ideal by citing the example of present-day utopian literature.

Safeguard the Future of Man

As speaker followed speaker it became increasingly clear that the overwhelming majority of the participants were convinced supporters of social progress. True, their convictions rested on a wide variety of foundations ranging from the scientific analysis of the objective criteria of progress given in Maurice Cornforth's paper, to the passionate call for "faith in the future of man" issued by Mme. Mortier, a follower of the contemporary Catholic thinker Teilhard de Chardin. Most important, however, was the fact that they all stressed that it is both necessary and possible in our time to realize man's cherished hopes for peace and social justice.

Roger Garaudy made a special point of precisely this circumstance, which makes it possible to rally under the banner of progress large numbers of people throughout the world. Dwelling on the aims and ideals uniting all champions of progress against the forces of reaction, he emphasized that progress is possible only in struggle against the elementary forces of Nature and the antagonistic social system which fetter man. Regardless of how the Marxists and non-Marxists concretely envisage the future, he said, that future must above all be made possible. Hence we all are equally interested in uniting the champions of progress to prevent a thermonuclear war, which endangers human progress.

Garaudy found a sympathetic response. His arguments dispelled the fears of those who, under the influence of bourgeois propaganda, had expected the Marxists to "monopolize the idea of progress" and lump all non-Marxists with the reactionaries. The change in the sentiment of many of the non-Marxists became manifest in the subsequent speeches of Chauchard, Chombart de Louwe, Wahl, Vercors, Madaule and others who were now more inclined to search for points of contact with the Marxist theory of progress than to refute it.

The Criteria of Progress

Outlining the Marxist view, Maurice Cornforth noted that it applied the dialectical principle of the universality of progress to the sphere of social phenomena and rested on a materialist generalization of all human history. World history, he said, is a process the end results of which are determined not by the subjective likes and dislikes of people but by the objective laws and tendencies of social development. Consequently, we are able to formulate also the scientific criteria of progress. Social ideals are feasible insofar as they coincide with objective necessity, and are doomed to fail if they contradict it.

However abstract the debate on the criteria of progress might have seemed at first glance, it reflected the clash of two world outlooks, the political and ideological struggle between the two systems — socialism and capitalism. This was the underlying idea of the paper presented by Academician Stoll, who gave a cogent, substantiated exposition of the thesis that communism is the humanism of our time.

This forum of sociologists and philosophers, he said, should be regarded as an important step in laying a broader foundation for the peaceful coexistence of the two social and economic systems. Such meetings have long been customary in the spheres of the natural sciences, technology and medicine. No one can have any doubts as to

their value in promoting peaceful coexistence. Nor is there any question that they make for progress in cognizing the laws of Nature and utilizing them. All the more important, then, is it for sociologists and philosophers to get together to examine the perspectives of the two social systems.

The discrepancy between the progress of the productive forces, technology and certain material aspects of civilization, on the one hand, and the retrogression of spiritual culture and morals on the other, so clearly evident in contemporary capitalist society, is due to the fact that the masses, the producers of the material requisites of human existence, have not yet become the conscious builders of their social life, the masters of their own destiny. Only the working class equipped with a scientific theory of social development can lead capitalist society out of this blind alley. The working class, Stoll stressed, is the vehicle of social progress in our times, giving effect to it in the process of building socialism and communism. Social theories that ignore the historical mission of the working class gradually become incapable of perceiving the objective historical process.

Social progress in the final analysis means a radical change for the better in the living conditions of the masses. The future unquestionably belongs to the social and economic system which meets most quickly and most fully this universal demand. And with the march of events it is becoming more and more obvious that this system is socialism. This was the conclusion to be drawn from Stoll's speech.

The Scientist Cannot Be Impartial

Y. P. Frantsev, entering the lists against the bourgeois philosophers and sociologists who wanted to restrict social research to a bare recording of facts, also devoted his contribution to substantiating the Marxist theory of progress. Dwelling on the connection between this theory and the social ideal, he showed that social phenomena and the conflicting social forces cannot be studied unless evaluated as either progressive or conservative and reactionary. Even when a scientist deliberately seeks to avoid such appraisals as "moral tenets," they are bound to be implicit in his research.

Although many criteria were offered and different views on man's future expressed, it was only the Marxists who were able to present a consistent and integral theory of social progress. Nevertheless most of the non-Marxists, too, contributed much that was useful and interesting inasmuch as they dealt with the salient issues of the day and added color and line to our picture of the future.

The Historical Mission of Man

The French writer and artist Vercors, for example, discussed man's historical mission from an original angle. Human history, he said, may be examined from various viewpoints, guided by different criteria and inspired by different ideals. While agreeing with the objective analysis of social development given by Porshnev and Cornforth, Vercors said that for him personally the cognition by man of the world around him is both the criterion and the ideal of progress. Social development, he correctly pointed out, can be regarded as being progressive only if it helps to perfect and bring out the individual creative abilities of all people, if it increases the sum total of human knowledge and man's power over nature. Herein lie both the mission and happiness of man.

We must, Vercors said in conclusion, devote all our energies to combating poverty and hunger not only because these are the main obstacles to enlisting millions of minds in the common struggle against ignorance. Material comfort and economic security are essential, but not for the sake of personal happiness alone — for which, incidentally, they are insufficient — but because insecurity also impairs the functions of the brain, inevitably impelling it to concentrate exclusively on the material worries and thereby preventing it from joining the common endeavor. Clearly a society in which man exploits man cannot stimulate a striving for knowledge; such a society must be changed so that human thought can forge ahead. Nor can one fail to see the dangers that beset a society where each individual is compelled to wage a lone fight for existence and each nation for economic superiority. Instead of bringing minds together in a joint struggle for knowledge, such societies constantly set man against man and seek to divert people from fraternal cooperation to the path of deadly rivalry.

The speech of Jacques Madaule, secretary of the French Writers' Association, was notable primarily because it reflected to a certain extent the sentiment of most of the non-Marxists and threw light on the conclusions they had drawn from the debate which at times had been sharply polemical.

The last speaker always finds himself in a somewhat difficult position, especially when he does not aspire to sum up the discussion, Madaule said. However, our conference, he went on, has been of so unusual a nature and seems to have violated so many traditions as to stand in no need of a traditional summing-up. Would it not therefore be better to regard it as the beginning of a promising dialogue between Marxists and non-Marxists? Such a dialogue would not only be

useful but also essential in our time, when the pre-history of man is coming to an end and his true history is beginning.

"How Can One Not Be a Marxist?"

Madaule continued: There is one lesson that can be drawn from our meeting which should not be overlooked. Our Marxist friends have given us a demonstration of enviable unanimity of views; they confronted their opponents with an ideological united front. On the other hand, the other participants (I would prefer not to call them opponents of the Marxists but simply those who do not fully share their ideology) astounded us by their differences and vacillation. Underlying this superficial dissimilarity is this important distinction: the Marxists possess an instrument for the cognition of the world around us which is as precise as it is effective, whereas the non-Marxists have no such means of systematically deciphering reality. Moreover, unlike the Marxists, who are well versed in the views of the other participants in our meeting, the non-Marxists at times know nothing about Marxism or are only superficially acquainted with it; this indeed is their characteristic failing. That is why while listening to some of the speeches, I could not help asking myself: do some of these speakers really live in worlds so far apart that they cannot even understand or communicate with each other? Non-Marxists of this type remind me of the Parisian described by Montesquieu in his *Persian Letters*, who, on meeting Persians for the first time in his life, asked nonplussed: "How can one be a Persian?" Unfortunately, there still are many intellectuals in the West who ask, equally perplexed: "How can one be a Marxist?" However, I am certain that thanks to this meeting we no longer have such Parisians among us. Our dialogue in Royaumont has brought it home to the non-Marxists that one can be a Marxist, and, vice versa, make possible that mutual understanding without which there can be no cooperation even among people of good will.

Even if we do not fully share each other's ideology, Madaule continued, we should strive for the common goals: peace, progress and social justice. Thanks to our Marxist friends we have learned here that socialism is humanism, for it is a means for fully revealing the abilities inherent in man. This humanistic aspect of Marxism has always been emphasized by its adherents. But I hope that they too have realized that we non-Marxists can also be humanists, that we, like they, are striving to humanize the world. None of the participants of our meeting has sought to proselytize the others. And perhaps precisely because of this we are so certain that a splendid future awaits mankind.

Comparing the development of thought with meridians of longitude, Madaule concluded with these words: "All the way to the Equator the meridians diverge, but beyond it they begin to converge, to come together at the opposite pole. It seems to me that we have crossed this Equator during our meeting in Royaumont." Madaule's speech gave the answer to a question which all the participants of the meeting asked themselves: Had the Marxists, who had come to Royaumont to convince Western intellectuals of the need for joint struggle for progress and against reaction, achieved their object? The answer was: "Yes, they had!"

Sorbonne, May 21

The Royaumont meeting was much more than a scientific exchange of views in a narrow circle of specialists. It evoked a considerable interest among the French intelligentsia and was the subject of comment in the press and radio. The final session, held in the Richelieu amphitheatre in the Sorbonne, was attended by more than 500 people.

Summing up the four-day exchange of views, Professor Laugier stressed that it had done much to throw light on a number of problems and to promote understanding between scholars from both the socialist and the capitalist countries. Pierre Vilar, who traced the highlight of the discussion of the prospects of social progress in our time, spoke for all when he expressed the hope that this dialogue between Marxists and non-Marxists would be continued to their mutual advantage.

Everybody looked forward with keen interest to the speech by Jean Wahl, who has a reputation for original thinking, wit and a predilection for the paradox. This time, too, the patriarch of existentialism was true to himself.

People Shape Their Own Future

For four days now, he began, we have been thinking aloud in Royaumont about man's future. Our future is not something preordained which is concealed around the corner in the guise of either a fair maiden or a hideous monster waiting for mankind to blunder upon it. In the final analysis it will be what the people themselves make of it. In Royaumont, he went on, there was frequent mention of peaceful coexistence, which is something we can congratulate ourselves on, for the choice before humanity is now simple to the extreme — brotherhood or death. Thus it appears that contrary to what Heraclitus and Hegel said about struggle being the beginning of all things, peace is a no less fruitful condition.

Wahl could not refrain from throwing a few stones at the Marxists, but like meteorites that burn up in the atmosphere after a momentary flash they failed to reach their target or even to raise the temperature in the hall. If Plato could be surpassed, he observed in passing, why not Marx? In time this may happen, one wanted to say in reply, but only if we do not regress from Marx to Plato!

We have been told, Wahl said, that progress is satisfaction of man's requirements, but people should not allow their requirements to swell to proportions which cannot be met regardless of how great the progress made. Though perhaps some requirements should always remain unsatisfied in order to impel man to creative endeavor. I hope, he concluded, that in the course of the exchange we have come to know our opponents and ourselves better, and, above all, that we understood one another. This alone is enough to consider our meeting fruitful. I do not know what the future has in store for man, but I do hope that it will bring us more meetings like the one in Royaumont.

If Wahl held his audience by oratorical skill, Academician Semyonov commanded attention by the arguments he presented. Drawing a fascinating picture of the prospects of scientific development, he emphasized that there are no technical obstacles to social progress and that already in the foreseeable future man can be ensured an abundance of all the essentials of life.

Some Conclusions

And so the "ideological summit," as the French press called it, came to an end. The warmth with which its participants, both Marxists and non-Marxists, expressed their satisfaction with the results could not be attributed to mere politeness. The meeting was indeed an important scientific and ideological event.

But its most notable feature was the atmosphere in which it took place. Laying aside their daily researches and occupations, the scholars from 12 countries gathered in Royaumont to elucidate not only for themselves but for the benefit of others the question of what the future holds for man. In the frank discussion of pressing social problems, in the sincere polemics and in the clash of two world outlooks one could feel the growth of a sense of moral responsibility among scientists everywhere for the social consequences of their labors.

From the very beginning the meeting was marked by ideological struggle. But this, strange though it may seem to the objectivist, far from preventing mutual understanding, contributed to

it, helping to clarify views and to ascertain the truth. Thanks to this the exchange achieved the two aims which its participants set out to achieve: it was an important contribution to the study of the problem of social progress, and it helped to cement the ranks of progressive intellectuals in

the name of the future of mankind, peace and social justice. The Royaumont meeting reaffirmed that man's only real promise for the future is communism to which the bourgeois ideologists are unable to counterpose any, in the least, attractive alternative.

BORIS PORSHNEV:

THE QUICKENING PULSE OF HISTORY

AS archaeology, ethnography and history bring to light more and more diverse forms of civilization, many Western historians are tempted to reject any single concept of social progress as applied to human history generally. Has not the idea that historical development tends to carry humanity in a definite direction outlived its time? — they ask. Should it not be discarded in favor of the view that there are no common factors of progress applicable to all times and all peoples?

If we were to take this stand, we would virtually deprive ourselves of the possibility of foreseeing our future. At best we could but assert that it is bound to be as varied as the past.

Fortunately, however, notwithstanding the endless multiformity in world history, historians can see in it universal features that can serve as objective criteria of human progress as a whole.

Obviously, the very idea of such progress is incompatible with the conception of Toynbee, who, approaching the enormous span of time embraced by the biological life of the human race and geological processes from the "philosophical standpoint," speaks of the simultaneity of all human civilizations. According to Toynbee, civilizations rise, so to say, parallel to one another, irrespective of time. This hypothesis, however, could be substantiated only if it were possible to establish that for history as a whole there are no criteria of progress.

I am convinced that it is not this dubious assumption that can be substantiated, but rather the diametrically opposite thesis of the universality, unity and inevitability of the onward march of human history which we define as "progress."

Labor Is the Yardstick of Progress

If we limit ourselves to the chronology of the existence of homo sapiens, the history of the species, embracing as it does a period of a few tens of thousands of years, seems short compared with the evolutionary processes in nature. But what commands attention first of all in looking back on the history of man as a whole is its quickening pace. For example, the Neolithic period was much shorter than the late Paleolithic. The Middle

Ages covered a shorter span of time than Antiquity, and so on. On the basis of this data on the duration of the successive epochs we can see the quickening of the pulse of history, which should be regarded as the most important manifestation of social progress.

One of the indications of social progress is the growing productivity of man's labor. True, this criterion is applicable only to prolonged periods. The productivity of labor in the ancient East and ancient Greece and Rome, for instance, was higher than in the preceding primitive and barbarian societies the material culture of which has been studied in detail by archaeologists. In the Middle Ages, productivity of labor continued to grow compared with that of Antiquity, as it has in modern times compared with the Middle Ages. Moreover, the rate of growth has been increasing throughout history.

What about the rise and decline of ancient civilization, someone may object, does it not contradict this conception? But was the rise due solely to high productivity of labor in Greece or Rome? Certainly not. It was due above all to the concentration of vast quantities of human labor and its products drawn from the surrounding ocean of barbarian tribes and peoples. The great slave-owning civilizations of both West and East must be examined in the light of the history of the tribes and peoples of practically the whole known world of the time. It was not fortuitous that the fall of ancient Rome had its repercussions throughout the "barbarian periphery" and ushered in the great migration of peoples. If we were to examine the economies of the ancient states separate from one another, we would see that the intensity and productivity of labor were less than in agriculture and the handicrafts under feudalism.

Growth of labor productivity has two aspects: perfecting the instruments of labor and the accompanying change in human consciousness and skills in the process of production. Indeed, a higher technology demands in the long run a more conscious attitude to labor on the part of the workman. And this is possible only if the

workman himself takes a greater interest in the results of his labor.

In primitive society man lived in conditions which discouraged initiative, and as a result generation followed generation without any appreciable change in the level of the productive forces. The rise of slavery, despite its negative aspects, ended this established production routine: torn away from their tribes, forcibly "emancipated" from the need to support their non-abled kinsmen, the builders of dolmen and stonehenges became the builders of pyramids and temples, dams and aqueducts, towns and roads. But the slave nevertheless was obviously not interested in improving his instruments of labor. In mediaeval society the peasants and handicraftsmen continued to live in bondage, but since they worked part of the time for themselves, they gave thought to their tools and introduced minor improvements the cumulative effect of which in the course of the centuries was slow but steady technical progress. Under capitalism the striving of wage-workers to secure a better life for themselves and their families spurs them to improve their skills. In the socialist countries of our time the material and moral incentives for the working people to strive for higher productivity are incomparably greater, for here they are rewarded in accordance with the quantity and quality of their labor. This is one of the main reasons why the rate of growth of labor productivity in the USSR is three times that in the USA.

Affirmation of Freedom

Besides rising productivity of labor, there is another sign of progress in world history: the mediaeval serf, though fettered to the land, enjoyed greater juridical and social freedom than did the slave of Antiquity, and the wage-worker of capitalism is, in turn, freer than the mediaeval peasant. Thus, if we take the mass of working people in antagonistic societies, i.e., the oppressed majority and not the privileged strata, it can be said that in the course of history they have acquired a steadily increasing measure of freedom.

In other words we come back to Hegel's well-known formula (though attaching a new meaning to it) that history is progress of freedom. It would of course be a mistake to regard this progress as emancipation decreed "from above," as a simple quantitative increase in the numbers of the free (freedom for one, for several, for many, etc.). Historically speaking, the emancipation of the masses has consisted in the growth of their initiative and activity, in the increasing effectiveness of their actions in relation both to Nature and to the social forces enslaving them.

Thanks to recent research and discovery, we now have a better idea of the history of social movements in the various epochs; we can visualize the growth of the pressure exerted by the masses on the exploiting classes and on the state. Assuming diverse forms, this pressure has been greatest at times of historical upheavals.

Progress has found expression in the numerical growth of mass actions against the oppressors and exploiters, in the interweaving of these actions, in their becoming better organized and increasingly more purposeful. At the same time the working people became increasingly capable of working out forms of ideology and culture opposed to the ideological monopoly of the ruling classes.

The growing effectiveness of the liberation struggle of the working people is the measure of the progress of freedom. In primitive society he who sought to break down the barriers of custom was either banished or put to death. The slaves, too, as a rule were unable to wage an organized struggle against the unrestricted exploitation; yet, as history tells us, the slave-owners trembled before their slaves. The relations between serf and feudal lord were regulated by contract; the feudal bondsmen insisted on their duties being clearly defined in advance, threatened to abandon their seigneurs, entered into alliances with the mediaeval urban communities, and fought peasant wars. The wage-workers are fighting against capitalism still more effectively, by emigration, by means of strikes, and by taking part in revolutionary movements; they organize trade unions and political parties which in their totality constitute a vast social force. The influence of the working masses on political life has grown throughout history. And their emancipation struggle has developed more and more from a struggle against the powers-that-be into a struggle for power.

The colonial system enabled the bourgeoisie partially and temporarily to solve some of the economic and social contradictions of capitalism at the expense of the enslaved peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The 20th century, however, marks the culminating point in the thousand-year emancipation struggle of the working people, a struggle which has already led one-third of humanity onto the highway of socialism, and caused the collapse of the colonial empires.

Progress Must Be Universal!

The countless material and intellectual accomplishments of civilization have become possible only thanks to the gains won by the masses in their fight for freedom. For example, epidemics could be stamped out only through improving the

social status of the mass of the population. The emergence and successful development of science in the strict sense of the word are largely due to the steady rise in the educational level of the population, the spread of knowledge among the masses. Space flights and the transformation of Nature by means of atomic energy are the cumulative result of the scientific, technological and production activity not only of this but of many preceding generations. On the other hand, a high level of scientific and technological accomplishment presupposes a no less high degree of emancipation of the masses. Because of this the achievements of science and technology are most impressive precisely where the social advance is greatest.

Although up to our times progress has been exceedingly uneven in the various countries, nevertheless the history of social development is in the final analysis the history of human progress. A study of the ancient world, the Middle Ages

and modern times makes it amply clear that at no time has there been a completely isolated people or civilization. From olden times the peoples have been linked with one another through trade and cultural interpenetration. World history is a process which embraces, directly or indirectly, humanity as a whole. All the countries in the world constitute at a given moment a definite interconnected and interacting system.

The exploiting classes at the helm of state in the more developed countries, for instance, have been able to maintain their positions at home largely by appropriating material wealth and living labor abroad, by enslaving and plundering other peoples. This has retarded the emancipation of the masses not only in the enslaved countries but also in the enslaving countries. By putting an end to this social injustice of an antagonistic society, human progress in general can be greatly accelerated.

ROGER GARAUDY:

PROGRESS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MAN

SINCE we are approaching the end of our deliberations, allow me to express my views on what seems to me to be the crux of our differences as regards progress and the future of man.

Although there are few among us who completely deny the existence of progress, many have voiced concern over the future. And it is indicative that this happened every time one or another speaker tended to ignore the negative aspects of progress, to bypass its contradictory, dialectical nature. Whether it was a question of the somewhat one-sided optimism of the 18th-century French materialists, the world outlook of Teilhard de Chardin, or certain vulgarizations of Marxism describing the movement towards the future as a matter of mechanical necessity — in a word, every time progress was depicted in idyllic colors and not as a battle that has to be won, the most serious differences came to the fore.

In particular I have in mind the philosophy of Jean Wahl, which, it seems to me, is characteristic of our time. Personally, I am the antipode of Wahl in philosophy; his world outlook is in my opinion the complete antithesis of Marxism. Yet I can learn from him. Indeed, if there were nothing to learn from those whose ideas we challenge, what point would there be in our dialogue? In all his writings Wahl reminds us of the importance of the negative, "tragic" element in the development of life. But although his reaction to the cut-and-dried, vulgar or hypocritical concepts

of progress is justified, he tends at times to over-emphasize the tragic moment, to idealize it and, in the long run, to make it an eternal law. It is in this that I believe the differences consist which were revealed in the course of our discussion and which made it so necessary and so fruitful.

P. Chauchard sees the motive force of progress in biological phenomena. According to him, man has been endowed with all his potentialities from the very beginning of the existence of the human race. This view, in my opinion, suffers from a finalism which transcends the bounds of scientific analysis and approximates to the traditional teleological concept. Briefly, the essence of this concept consists in projecting the result of development to its beginning and exalting it as the "final cause" of the process as such. Thanks to this operation, the idea is proclaimed primary and the origin of the thing, which itself is regarded as secondary. Regardless of any objection that Chauchard himself may make to this charge, his biological interpretation of progress leads to minimizing the social element in man.

At first glance J. Fourastié's basic premise is the very opposite: he claims that the sole motive force of history is technology, not biology. Yet in essence his concept coincides with Chauchard's; they both regard progress mechanically as quantitative growth and not as qualitative development. Only, Fourastié measures progress not by the development of the intellect but by the growth

of labor productivity. No doubt this criterion of progress is highly important and perhaps even satisfactory on the scale of thousands of years, for it enables us to set up milestones along the road travelled. But when applied to the future, it neither reveals the perspective nor helps us to pave the way to its realization. Josué de Castro pointedly observed that Fourastié's speech, though prophetic in tone, was not based on any real foresight. Why was this so? In my opinion, because any extrapolation of the future from the past cannot but be one-sided if account is taken of only one factor (in this case labor productivity), while ignoring the social relations within the framework of which the growth of production takes place. It does not explain how a rising productivity of labor can at once produce both results beneficial to man and fearful consequences such as crises, unemployment and wars.

Common to the biological and technocracy concepts is a lack of understanding of the dialectics of social progress. And this despite the fact that even 200 years ago Jean Jacques Rousseau, discussing the transition from primitive society to civilization in his *The Origin of Inequality*, could say: "All further progress meant so many steps seemingly towards the perfection of the individual man, but in reality towards the decay of the race . . . For the poet it is gold and silver, but for the philosopher iron and corn, which have civilized men and ruined the human race." Although he did not produce a solution to the problem, Rousseau formulated it very well. Division of labor from the very beginning had consequences of two kinds: man acquired greater power over Nature, but at the same time the power of man over man also grew. Not only was there concentration of wealth and power at one pole of society, and of poverty and slavery at the other, but managerial labor, having become a privilege, was divorced from physical labor which is the lot of the overwhelming majority of people. Even the notorious technocracy, which G. Gurvitch is inclined to regard as a universal phenomenon inevitable under any system, is nothing but one of the consequences of the private ownership of the means of production.

In the 19th century, science, technology and productivity of labor achieved a level which made it possible to ensure adequate means for subsistence to all, yet it was precisely at that time that the gulf between those possessing the wealth and the power and those deprived of them widened

as never before, as Ernest Labrousse has demonstrated here. It was then, as Josué de Castro has shown, that poverty and hunger, instead of vanishing, began to spread over the globe as a result of colonialism.

How can this antagonistic character of progress be overcome? In our age of nuclear energy and space rockets social progress cannot remain spontaneous. Planning, which everybody now advocates, is not a panacea for all the ills. Unless private property in the means of production is abolished, planning will only substitute competition between a few score monopolies for competition between tens of thousands of private enterprises. And this struggle of giants holds out a still greater threat to humanity. Now that there are nuclear bombs, and rockets that can deliver them to any point in the world in a matter of minutes, the powers wielded by mankind cannot be allowed to remain, except at the risk of disaster, in the service of private interests having nothing in common with the interests of the masses.

Modern technology, therefore, makes it imperative to organize production and consumption on a scientific footing and a worldwide scale. So long as private property in the means of production exists, all planning, no matter how imaginative, will simply counterpose the achievements of human genius to humanity itself as an external force jeopardizing its very existence. The abolition of private property in the means of production alone makes possible genuine planning, which would regulate production not for the sake of profit for the few but to satisfy the material and spiritual requirements of all. This is socialism. Only when socialism is achieved will the masses cease to be merely the means which enable a few individuals to pursue their selfish ends; only then will private interests cease to contradict the interests of society. Man will then be valued not for his property but for what he is, what he represents as a creative personality.

As I see it, this is not only the prospect for society; it is imperative for humanity. The potentialities of modern science and technology have awakened the masses to both the danger looming ahead and their responsibility on a cosmic scale; it is within the powers of humanity today either to destroy itself or to achieve that harmonious and all-powerful unity of men which the Christians always expected God to bestow but which now has become an historical reality thanks to the advance of socialism.

MAURICE CORNFORTH:

ARE JUDGEMENTS OF PROGRESS OBJECTIVE?

THE conception of "progress" is one we use in evaluating social activities. Depending on whether we call a policy, an institution or a social movement progressive or reactionary, we express our positive or otherwise negative evaluation of it. What I wish to discuss is whether such judgments of progress have got any objective basis. Or are they merely expressions of subjective preferences or group prejudices. Related to the question of the objectivity of progress there is a second question, that of the necessity of progress.

These are by no means merely academic questions. For if progress is a fact, a consequence of definite laws, then there must also be objective criteria for deciding upon goals of social action and we can find the way to achieve those goals.

Progress and Production

Coming to human society, it is one thing to say that within the history of human society there are to be found cases of progress — for instance, in particular countries, progress of public health, or progress of literacy; and another thing to say that the whole development of human society is progressive development. No one, I think, would dispute the first proposition. But many would dispute the second, and it has become an issue of the present-day controversy.

If, however, we take into account the obvious fact that the universal condition for the existence of any form whatever of human society is social production of the means of life, then it becomes difficult to deny that the whole development is in fact a progressive one. The distance traversed from stone tools to the automated factory, the nuclear reactor and the spaceship is the measure of human progress to date. The progressive character of the sequence of social-economic formations through which human history has passed is in the final analysis a consequence of the development of the productive forces.

Progress and Freedom

It is often asserted that a conception of human progress which is at basis economic is of little relevance to the wider issues of human aspirations, and leaves them out of account. As we know, "man does not live by bread alone." But economic development is by no means an end in itself and is not solely concerned with the means of distributing "bread"; it concerns the development of human needs and of the means and methods of satisfying them.

Taking this into account, the progressive history of human society is seen, not simply as a process of improving the productive forces and not simply as progress definable in strictly economic terms, but as progress towards human freedom. Of course, this is true only if we take a long enough time-scale. In the short run, events often occur which set back economic development and destroy freedoms previously won. In the long run, such setbacks prove temporary and local, and the progressive development prevails.

Rousseau began *The Social Contract* with the stirring words: "Man is born free." But although stirring, this sentence appears to be untrue. For man is born in ignorance and helplessness; and in such a condition, whatever transcendental freedom he may be supposed to possess by virtue of his humanity, he possesses little or no freedom. Knowledge and skill are prerequisites of freedom. But people require also the social conditions in which their capacities and abilities can be fully exercised.

But the development of productive forces has been accompanied by subjugation of man to man, with the majority relegated to the status of laborers and an expanding minority constituting a ruling class which alone possessed wealth and leisure and the opportunities which these bring. At the same time, the very existence of class society not only restricts the freedom of the masses, it also imposes its limitations on the exploiting classes themselves and on all their works, for they are themselves in many respects the slaves of their own methods of exploitation. Nevertheless, during the long development of class society there has taken place, stage by stage, an enlargement of human freedom. The crudest forms of personal dependence and oppression of working people, such as slavery and serfdom, have been swept away.

With the advent of socialism, there takes place a decisive advance. With socialism people have at length succeeded in creating social conditions in which, developing their mastery over Nature, they can plan social production so as to satisfy their growing material and spiritual needs. As Engels put it: "the whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man and have hitherto ruled man now comes under the domination and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of Nature because he has now become master of his own social organization."

This is not a matter of everyone becoming then the slave of some production plan. By carrying

on planned production, people free themselves for the exercise and development of all their latent capacities and interests. Advanced techniques would reduce to a minimum the necessary productive labor, which would make it possible for every individual to develop all the creative energies latent in him. And this would signify the triumph for the true realm of freedom.

Progress and People's Activities

It seems pretty obvious that the forces of development in human society consist of people and their activities. This is stated in Marx's well-known proposition: "Men make their own history" — to which he added: "But they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." This is what has happened so far in history and, as Marx demonstrated, it has happened in accordance with a definite law of development consisting of the realization stage by stage of people's social activities. From this follows Marx's prediction that progress will continue, and that its next stage is socialism.

Yet progress, however inevitable in its overall character, is and can only be the outcome of people's individual efforts, of the struggle of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction. There is no contradiction in this. When, for example, industrial capitalism comes into existence

the wage-workers will inevitably band together in trade unions; the employers will try to stop them. Every worker is free to join or not to join a trade union, but it is so highly probable as to be inevitable that, sooner or later, a lot of them will join. Would we therefore say that the efforts of individuals make no difference to the organization of trade unions? On the contrary, unions are only formed and continue to exist and grow as a result of a great deal of individual effort. What is true in this example is true generally. So Marxists cannot be accused of inconsistency if they combine the proposition that socialism will come in accordance with the historical law of social development, with the proposition that it will only come if enough people work hard and intelligently enough for it.

Moreover, the laws of social development are not such as to rule out in particular cases interruptions to progress. It always depends on what people do, on the strength and intelligence of the contending social forces. This is what Marx and Engels had in mind when they wrote in *The Communist Manifesto* that the class struggle always ends "either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society or in the common ruin of the contending classes." At the present time, when more than enough nuclear weapons are stockpiled to wipe out the human race, this is a proposition which has to be taken seriously. For a nuclear war today could bring an interruption to progress. This is what at all costs we must work to prevent.

YURI FRANTSEV:

THE THEORY OF PROGRESS AND THE SOCIAL IDEAL

NONE of the concepts of the social sciences has evoked so many objections in the past 50-60 years as that of social progress. Yet no other concept has acquired such currency in our time of great scientific discoveries and epoch-making social changes.

The Theory of Progress Signifies Confidence in the Future

Marxist-Leninists never envisaged social progress as an automatic movement forward, as a mechanical process ordained by fate. Progress, in the final analysis, is the activity of the masses to overcome the obstacles and difficulties standing in their way. Although it is always associated with the creative initiative of pathfinders, possibility cannot be transformed into reality except by the activity of the masses. *The theory of progress can be briefly defined as an expression of mankind's confidence in its future, confidence*

based on knowledge of the laws of social development. Its significance is measured by the accuracy with which it reveals man's historical possibilities and guides his activity.

The early 18th-century French enlighteners applied the theory of progress mainly to the advance of human reason, knowledge and science. In our age of nuclear energy and the conquest of outer space the progress of science can hardly be denied; nor is there any doubt that technology has advanced a long way since the stone axe. The theory of the enlighteners was also partly a theory of political progress, which deprived the state of the aureole of divine origin and posed the question of the political development of society, but it did not reveal the basis of this development.

A few decades later the utopian socialists of the early 19th century introduced substantial amendments to the old theory by showing that private-

property relations were not the acme of social development. They were perfectly correct in doing so, for the theory of progress cannot be limited to the evolution of the intellect and political forms alone; it must examine social change. In our time this can hardly be questioned. But as long as the social ideal remained utopian, theory failed to chart the true paths for the activity of the masses.

Lastly, no one denies that there has been progress in the sphere of the economy; indeed, it would be hard to find a single scientist who does not regard the economic changes since feudalism as being progressive.

Thus it is not progress in separate spheres of social life that is the principal controversial issue. Sharp differences emerge the moment an attempt is made to offer a single theory of progress in place of the various theories applied to different spheres. A single scientific theory cannot but act as a moral stimulus to action. Is this not the reason for the objections raised to it at present? Is this not why it is subjected to so many attacks?

Yet a theory of progress resting on the scientific knowledge of social phenomena and at the same time providing the basis for the social ideal is fully possible.

Our Ideal: Peace and Justice

Some bourgeois theoreticians claim that the contemporary ideological conflict is accentuated by the Communists' conviction that social progress is bound to lead to the realization of their social ideal. And this ideological conflict, should it become more embittered, may lead to war. This type of reasoning is utterly fallacious. The cold war is not simply an ideological struggle; in the sphere of ideas it amounts to psychological preparation for war. Yet ideological struggle, no matter how sharp and far-reaching it may be, need not turn into psychological war preparation. This happens only when it is believed that the struggle cannot be waged by ideological means alone, when it is argued that a military conflict is inevitable, when ideologists begin to propound the slogan of guns instead of ideas.

A social ideal may impel its adherents to attempts to impose it on others by armed force only in the case of its not being based on the scientific theory of progress, of its running counter to the laws of history and the interests of the masses. In this case "voluntarism" becomes the cornerstone of politics, adventurism supplants confidence in the law-governed processes of history, and ideological struggle degenerates into psychological warfare, accompanying intervention in the march of history "from positions of strength."

Our ideal includes the idea of peace and friendship among the peoples. Although peaceful co-

existence obviously cannot preclude the struggle of ideas, this does not mean that this struggle carries within it the seeds of war. Our concept of progress necessarily presupposes certainty that the ultimate victory of the new social system will be decided in the principal sphere of human activity — in productive labor — and not on the battlefield.

Release the Creative Powers of the People

The social ideal of Soviet society is to release man's boundless creative powers. To achieve this, exploitation and oppression must be abolished. Further, it is essential to ensure a growth of public wealth capable of satisfying all the requirements of man, while man himself must fully develop all his abilities. **Anyone who follows the political life of the Soviet Union cannot but be aware of the importance we attach to the creative initiative of the individual.** As Khrushchov put it, the foremost men and women working in our national economy are beacons lighting the way ahead. Developing all the creative abilities of the individual is our main task; it is in this that the education of the new man primarily consists. Leaders are obliged to draw on the experience of the masses, to create the most favorable conditions for disclosing the creative abilities of each individual and, hence, of the people as a whole. The leader who does not understand this soon loses his prestige.

The creative urge of the masses is the salient feature of the epoch of communist construction, a feature that accelerates our progress. Those who, like Professor Gurvitch, see our society as something in the grip of all kinds of bureaucrats, technocrats, organizers, etc., are hopelessly far from the truth, for it is the development of the abilities of man, of all his potentialities, that is the most important feature of our social ideal — the communist society. It is in this direction that Soviet society is developing, thus making man's ~~aged dream~~ of social justice come true.

~~We are working~~, and shall continue to work, to realize our social ideal. And for this we need peace, ~~and war~~. We reject the idea of war as an instrument of progress; on the contrary, it is to retard progress that some people in our day would ~~want~~ to war, armed intervention. Of course progress cannot be halted. But the lessons of history show that military conflicts can increase the cost, so to speak, of social progress. As for us, we want in every way to facilitate mankind's advance along the path of progress. The scientific theory of progress and the contemporary social ideal presuppose peace, ideological struggle, not the involvement of mankind in a thermonuclear holocaust.

Communications and Comment

Communist Gulliver Assailed by Lilliputians

THE new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has had wide repercussions in the capitalist world. As Khrushchov said at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party, "a regular battle is being fought between two ideologies—the Communist and the bourgeois—around the ideas set forth in the Program." And no wonder. For in this Program the ruling party of a country that was backward and oppressed only 40-odd years ago undertakes to secure for its people the highest standard of living and the shortest working day in the world. In 20 years it proposes to increase the per capital income more than 3.5 times, with a view to providing, by the end of the two-decade span, half the everyday needs of the people free of charge. The envisaged sixfold increase in industrial output and the 3.5-fold growth in agricultural production will, economically speaking, make the Soviet Union the most powerful country in the world, leaving the USA far behind. Moreover, the Party has solemnly pledged that the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism.

One can hardly expect the imperialist press to take a benevolent attitude towards this remarkable document or to examine it without bias. Were it to do so, it would have to admit that socialism is profoundly progressive and corresponds to the aspirations of the people, that it is superior to capitalism. And so the bourgeois press was alerted and rushed into the breach to persuade the public that the new Soviet Party Program is unfeasible, utopian and even aggressive in nature. The Lilliputians of the capitalist world worked overtime in an endeavor to discredit the Communist Gulliver—the grand plan for the reconstruction of society. The reactionary newspapers and magazines broke into a rash of virulent headlines. The high priests of anti-communism began a feverish search for arguments that would lend a semblance of veracity to their prophecies. Naturally, their heaviest fire was levelled at the central, economic section of the Program, sensing that this section would make the deepest impression.

However, contrary to their schemes the campaign boomeranged; it is capitalism that has found itself in the dock. The Program has evoked such a response among the public everywhere that many, even the most reactionary, journalists have

realized it is no use denying that the economy of the Soviet Union is on the threshold of another momentous leap forward. All they can do is to question the feasibility of some of the targets. Obviously, the lessons of history have not been wasted even on the most die-hard champions of the old world. The Communists, as Khrushchov said, "have compelled even their enemies to respect their plans."

The bourgeois critics of the Program sense that this is a document which is bound to exercise a decisive influence on world developments. Indicative in this respect is the admonition to his colleagues by C. I. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*. "The best way to analyze this (plan) is not by juggling statistics and by comparing potentials as if they were actualities," he wrote. "The best way might be to look backward over two decades to see what an impressive gain Russia has already made." It is not excluded, he went on, that "in this contest we ourselves may have to accept some of the adversary's economic disciplines. . . . We cannot . . . remain static or complacent another 20 years."

If the "free world" were what the bourgeois press would have its readers believe it is, if it were "better, more dynamic and more viable than socialism," it would easily accept the challenge of socialism to competition in developing the productive forces and raising living standards. But who in the West, even in the richest capitalist countries, would claim that they have solved all their problems and that all their people are enjoying prosperity? The USA is the acme of modern capitalism, yet the rulers of this country with the highest per capita production level in the world admit that considerable groups of the population live in poverty, that the number of slum dwellers is growing, that education, the health services and social security are in a bad way.

It was none other than President Kennedy who said that there were five and a half million Americans without jobs, that "since 1951 farm income has been squeezed down by 25 per cent," that "we still have 25 million Americans living in substandard housing," that "one-third of our most promising high school graduates are financially unable to continue the development of their talents," and that the achievements of medicine "are

too often beyond the reach of too many people, owing to a lack of income." Yet per capita national income in the USA is 1.8 times that in Britain, roughly double that of France and Federal Germany, and 10-25 times as much as in the economically backward countries.

Or take the rate of economic growth. What lamentations on this score have there been by capitalist leaders, including the U.S. President! Why, then, do they not speed it up to a level corresponding to the requirements of the economy? The point is that the leaders of the capitalist world are powerless to offer their people any real, positive plan for developing the national economy and improving the working people's life.

How can the men at the helm of U.S. imperialism confidently scan the horizon when they cannot extricate themselves from economic reefs? The U.S. economy still has its booms and slumps, Secretary of the Treasury Dillon complains. And what else could he say when the USA has had four crises in the past 12 years and there is no guarantee that another eruption will not shake its economy in the years ahead. This uncertainty is implicit in the opinion expressed by *Business Week*, a leading mouthpiece of Big Business, that no preliminary assessment of the U.S. economy outlook can be made before next spring.

It would of course be a mistake to think that the U.S. rulers have no idea at all of what the next few years hold in store for them. The outlook, however, is so gloomy that they do not see any point in advertising it. The American economist Leon Keyserling, for instance, told a Senate subcommittee earlier this year that owing to unemployment and undercapacity operation of production facilities the USA lost between 1953 and 1960 some 18,500,000 man-years of labor time and more

than \$260,000 million in product value, or, we might add, three times as much as the total Federal budget. Should these unfavorable trends continue, Keyserling said, unemployment in 1965 may approach the nine-million mark and the gross national product fall \$120,000 million short of the potential total.

And if this is the outlook in the USA, what are the prospects in Britain, Federal Germany or France? Certainly they are not brighter. Nobody in Britain, Emrys Hughes, Labor M.P., has said, has the slightest idea what he will do or try to do two years from now, not to speak of 20. The same note was struck by the French weekly *Tribune de nation* at the time of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. "The West," it said, "cannot visualize the future and it desperately clings to the past." True enough, the ideological arsenal of capitalism in our times is much like the gorgeous raiment of the naked king in Hans Andersen's fairy tale.

Experience shows that the rulers of the leading capitalist states are not in a position even to promise their peoples prospects of economic advancement in any way comparable to the plans and programs of the socialist countries. As a system based on exploitation, capitalism is incapable of systematically raising the living standards of the people. But its supporters cannot afford to admit this publicly, for to do so would be to concede that capitalism is bankrupt, which is tantamount to committing political suicide. This, naturally, they don't want to do. Hence the efforts of the reactionary press to make the political miasma rising from the capitalist swamp more dense, so as to obscure the sun of communism from the working people. But, as we know, the rays of the sun disperse fogs and dry up swamps.

V. KAJE

The "Vostock" and the West

THE scientific, political and social implications of the Gagarin and Titov space flights continue to hold the center of attention all over the world. And as time goes on, more and more arguments and opinions are being advanced with a bearing on the fundamental issues involved. I should like to draw the attention of the readers of *World Marxist Review* to some of the more noteworthy views expressed in the West.

Was this simply a technical accomplishment or a sign of the superiority of the socialist system? This disturbing question, posed in one way or another by most bourgeois papers in their com-

ment on the cosmic flights, expresses in concentrated form the political and economic significance of these universally recognized scientific achievements.

The most important factor which has placed the Soviet Union in the lead in spheres holding so much promise for the future is the emergence of the New Man as personified in Gagarin and Titov. This New Man has amazed and won the admiration of the West. "The future is rising in the East," so wrote Servan-Schreiber in the French weekly *Express*, urging the Western youth to take an example from the Soviet spacemen. "The

spaceships were not named *Vostok* (East) by chance, nor was the choice of Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov to man them accidental."

Heinz Schewe, Moscow correspondent of the West German *Die Welt*, gave this portrait of the first cosmonaut: "Yuri Gagarin is well read. He likes Molière, he knows Jules Verne, and he loves Pushkin and Chekhov. He was carried away by the prophetic books of Tsiolkovsky about future space flights just as much as our youngsters are carried away by their Karl May (author of adventure thrillers—K.W.). Besides sports, mathematics and physics were his favorite subjects. . . . Yet he retained his feelings for beauty. . . ." This is indeed a portrait of the typical Soviet young man, just as Gagarin's biography is typical of the life story of the ordinary Soviet citizen. As regards Cosmonaut Two, the *Express* article quoted above had this to say: "We need not be afraid to say that he personifies a new type of human being."

This new type of person is the Soviet man—well-educated, scientifically-minded, and dedicated to the ideas of the liberation of humanity, the ideas of communism. It is this new man who, by virtue of the superiority of the socialist system, was destined to win the epoch-making victory of man over Nature.

The capitalist press, and especially the American press, is discussing why the United States, though by no means short of resources, is far behind the Soviet Union in space exploration. The *New York Herald Tribune* explains this by saying that the United States is manufacturing H-bombs of compact size and therefore does not need big rockets to carry them. This statement reflects the underlying principle of the U.S. space-research program which is subordinated to military purposes.

Whereas the Soviet Union is carrying out a "well-considered research program," as *Neue Züricher Zeitung* pointed out in a commentary on the U.S. space projects, the U.S. government lends its ear not to scientists but to politicians (read: warmongers). Several groups in the USA have been working "on a space ship for manned flights," the paper says, "but the projects were meagerly

financed since the available funds were used for military missiles."

Sir Bernard Lovell, director of the radiotelescope at Jodrell Bank, Britain, has said that the scientific accomplishments of the Soviet Union are the result of its peace policy, whereas the U.S. lag by "at least three years" in the key fields is due primarily to the subordination of space research to the armaments drive. A generation ago, Lovell wrote, the Soviet Union was largely an illiterate country; "today they have succeeded because of their tremendous investment, first in education and then in research." The United States, despite its wealth, was unable to retain the superiority it enjoyed a generation ago because since the Second World War "the development of any of the major scientific space projects in America was under the shadow of a Secretary of Defense who could see little point in research which had no immediately foreseeable economic or commercial value."

Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Foreign Minister, pointed to another aspect of the matter when he observed that in their "cosmic controversy" with the Soviet Union the Americans have lost because under their system "only that is produced which brings in a profit." The USA fell behind because "there is no market for earth satellites and they cannot be sold," he said. A pointed "compliment" indeed for the system of free enterprise!

The capitalist press and capitalist politicians are thus unwittingly helping the public to arrive at the conclusion that the socialist system has proved its superiority while capitalism is becoming more and more discredited, revealing its inability to cope with the tasks of the day.

Obviously, not all Western commentators make admissions of this kind. Many of them resort to slander and try to belittle the achievements of socialism. But the facts speak for themselves. The Gagarin-Titov flights are the proof that the East is in the ascendancy and the West declining, that socialism is overtaking capitalism and leaving it behind.

Kurt WERNER

Soviet Collective Farms Pool Production Efforts

IN RECENT years collective farms in the Soviet Union have set up joint production associations of various kinds. This development is the result of the expansion of the farms.

The collective farms appeared as voluntary associations, usually on the scale of the particular village. Most of them were relatively small. With the advance of the collective farm system and the growth of mechanization the narrow bounds of small farms began to act as a barrier to the expansion and full use of machinery.

Amalgamation into bigger units in the early 'fifties resulted in the appearance of big farms which, after the reorganization of machine-and-tractor stations in 1958, acquired their own machines.

As the collective farms grew bigger and stronger the need arose to pool their efforts and resources and this was done in the form of production associations.

A number of such associations have been set up jointly with state farms and other state-owned enterprises and organizations. The pooling of their efforts and resources is also effected in the form of joint work by the collective farms to help the state build irrigation and water conservation installations, power plants and other projects. In these instances the greater part of the capital is invested by the state organizations which usually run the enterprises. The latter cater to the needs of both state organizations and collective farms.

The joint associations, which embrace nearly all branches of farming, can be divided into five groups:

First, mixed associations of collective farms, state farms and other state organizations for building power plants and electro-transmission lines from the state power grid, for reclamation, irrigation and other work.

Second, inter-collective farm building organizations and building materials enterprises to serve the needs of the amalgamated collective farms and other organizations of a given district or a number of districts. These are the most widespread and advanced form of associations. They are run by local building associations and associations producing and stocking building materials. In Moldavia, for instance, an inter-collective farm building association has been set up on a republican scale.

Third, associations for processing farm produce, for animal husbandry, poultry raising and peat extraction, repair shops, transport parks, etc.

Fourth, associations for seed, forage, food and money reserve funds.

Fifth, associations for the joint building of recreation and welfare institutions: boarding schools, sanatoriums and hospitals, holiday homes, childrens' camps, radio relay centers, telephone exchanges and village halls.

There are nearly 2,000 types of joint associations in the USSR, including more than 1,000 types of building and up to 500 building materials associations. Over one-third of all the collective farms take part in one or another association. In the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Latvia and in a number of regions of the Russian Federation the associations embrace from 70 to 90 per cent of the collective farms.

The significance of building associations lies not only in that they help their members to build more quickly and more cheaply but also in that an industrial base is being laid for extending building work on the collective farms.

The associations play a big role in the electrification and mechanization of the collective farms. By the beginning of 1960 they ran 624 power stations. Electricity charges are lower than those of power plants run by individual collective farms.

To raise the efficiency and improve the tending of joint power stations and transmission lines they are passed over to state organizations which operate them on a contract basis, and are often linked in a single power grid on a district level.

Labor productivity in the inter-collective farm enterprises is much higher than in those run by the smaller collective farms.

Most of the big inter-collective farm enterprises such as power stations, repair shops and dairies work all the year round and hence need a permanent and skilled labor force. Besides, there are seasonal enterprises and those which function all the year round but expand production when field work ends. The latter embrace building, processing, storing and the manufacture of articles and semi-finished products from local raw materials.

The initiative of Ukrainian collective farms in creating joint seed and forage funds has been taken up in many other republics. Some farms are beginning to establish mutual insurance funds.

Inter-collective farm associations are set up on a strictly voluntary basis and are run by a board elected for two years at general meetings of the collective farmers. Managers of enterprises and heads of sections are appointed from among specialists in the respective fields.

The funds of associations are made up of contributions the size of which depends on the planned production requirements of the association and the economic potentialities of each member. The members can make contributions either in cash or by transferring to the association auxiliary enterprises, storage and other facilities, equipment, means of transportation and other property.

As associations develop their funds accumulate from their profits, whereas the share of contributions steadily declines. This is the same process as in the collective farms. If in 1932 the contributions made by collective farmers accounted for 24 per cent and the non-distributable assets for 76 per cent of all public funds of the collective farms, in 1960 the latter's share exceeded 98 per cent and that of the former shrank to 1.5 per cent. In many associations contributions also constitute a lesser part of their public funds. The greater part is the result of the production activity of associations.

By their socio-economic nature associations can be described as cooperative-collective farm property. It would be wrong to regard their property as something independent from collective farm property, since they develop on the basis of the non-distributable funds of collective farms. At the same time their property acquires new features as compared even with the property of the amalgamated farms. This is property owned not by single farms but by groups of collective farms. The associations extend the boundaries of cooperative-collective farm property, raise it to a higher degree of socialization and bring it closer, by its nature and forms of organization, to the state enterprises which are the property of the

whole people. These new features are particularly manifest in the associations whose members include state enterprises and organizations.

"As the productive forces grow," the Program of the C.P.S.U. points out, "inter-collective farm production ties will develop and the socialization of production will transcend the limits of individual collective farms. The building, jointly by several collective farms, of enterprises and cultural and welfare institutions, state-collective farm power stations and enterprises for the primary processing, storage, and transportation of farm products, for various types of building, the manufacture of building materials, etc., should be encouraged. As the commonly-owned assets increase, the collective farms will participate more and more in building enterprises and cultural and welfare institutions for general public use, boarding schools, clubs, hospitals and holiday homes. All these developments, which must proceed on a voluntary basis and when the necessary economic conditions are available, will gradually impart to collective farm-cooperative property the nature of public property."

The drawing closer of the two forms of public socialist property and their eventual merging into communist property is a gradual process. The way to the merger lies not through the gradual abolition of collective farm-cooperative property, but through its development, through raising the level of socialization of collective farm production. Of course, inter-collective farm associations are not the sole means of raising this level. But they doubtless are called to play an important role in this matter and, therefore, in wiping out the distinctions between collective farm-cooperative and state (national) property.

I. Syomin

Heartfelt Thanks

(Letter to the Editor)

DEAR Editor,

Let me express my gratitude to the *World Marxist Review* and its readers for the splendid efforts made in the struggle to secure my release from a United States federal prison. This struggle resulted not only in my ultimate freedom, but made an important contribution to the entire fight for democratic liberties in the United States.

In the summer of 1948, members of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States were sitting in session discussing some of the major problems of the postwar period. Some of

the questions under consideration were how to extend the unity, which had been achieved during the war, between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union, how to develop the fight for 60,000,000 jobs and the conversion of industry from war to a peace-time economy, and how to extend democratic liberties and further the struggle for equality for the Negro people in the United States.

Before the agenda was half underway, the National Office was surrounded by the FBI, the elevator in the building was commandeered, the office in which the meeting was being held was

entered and the leaders of the Party, including Comrades Foster, Dennis and myself, were arrested.

Few indeed were those who thought that the government would go to this limit. Many thought that the most that would happen would be the issuance of a Presentment against the Communist Party. But the whole labor and progressive movement were now confronted with this rude awakening.

Why this indecent haste on the part of the ruling circles in the United States less than three years after the close of the Second World War? This is to be explained by the desire on the part of U.S. imperialism to move rapidly in the direction of establishing its supremacy over the capitalist world, to take advantage of the weakened position of other capitalist countries and to further its penetration into the colonial world and to wage a struggle against socialism and the Soviet Union in particular. The lessons of the Second World War were to be erased and in such a fashion as to prevent the American people from drawing the proper conclusions. Consequently, the powers that be undertook to strengthen their rear by an assault against democracy in general, their starting point being the attack on the Communist Party. Dean Acheson, Truman's Secretary of State, called this "total diplomacy." The eleven arrested leaders of the Communist Party became the first victims of the cold war.

This attack took place on the eve of the formation of the Progressive Party, headed by Henry Wallace, the former Vice-President of the United States. This Party came into being in protest against Truman's cold war policy and in response to the mass sentiment of the people pressing for a policy of peaceful coexistence. The Administration left no stone unturned to discredit and undermine these developments. The people of the United States were confronted with an unprecedented campaign of demagoguery. Truman became the "champion" of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and a "proponent" of wider democracy. As is known, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and later Point 4 became the products of this Administration. It was at this time that McCarthyite fascism began to raise its ugly head and became the spearhead of anti-democratic efforts in the United States. It was under such conditions that the leadership of the Communist Party in the United States was indicted and brought to trial.

The charges against us were twofold:

1. "Conspiracy to teach and advocate the duty and necessity for the violent overthrow of the government of the United States" and

2. "Knowingly being a member of the Communist Party, USA."

The trial lasted for nine months under conditions of hysteria. The leaders of the Communist Party, in violation of the Bill of Rights, were convicted and sentenced to five years in prison. This case was appealed to the Circuit Court and to the Supreme Court. The decision of the lower court in each case was upheld. The Supreme Court never ruled on the substantial issues raised by the defense in connection with the entire frame-up. They ruled that the Communist Party was a "clear and present danger" and that the Smith Act was constitutional, and not as to whether the leaders of the Communist Party had violated the Smith Act. Such a ruling, however, meant that we go to prison.

In 1951 we were asked to surrender ourselves for prison term. Gus Hall, who is presently the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Gilbert Green, Robert Thompson and myself did not surrender at that time. I did surrender five years later when it became clear to me that the back of McCarthyism had been broken, that the fascist danger was being held at bay, and the possibilities of struggle for democratic liberties could be more favorably waged. So in 1956 I did surrender but was given an additional three-year sentence for contempt of court. It was during the time when I was serving this eight year sentence that I became very seriously ill. As a result of prison neglect and wrong medical diagnosis I lost my sight. But I was still held as a Federal prisoner. This callous attitude on the part of the Federal Government resulted in arousing the wrath and indignation of outstanding public figures in the United States, mass organizations of different kinds and the popular support from people from all walks of life, from practically every country in the world. The campaign in behalf of my freedom was exceptionally wide indeed. For example, from Cuba, a heroic worker whom I do not know personally, offered to give me his left eye, his right eye, he explained, he needed for looking down the barrel of his rifle to help protect his country from imperialist invasion. It was this type of thing that was reflected in the press of the world.

Since the conviction of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party there have been over 100 indictments under the Smith Act. Many people were convicted and served prison sentences, including our present National Chairman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. However, following the Yates Decision, as well as several other decisions relating to the 1st and 5th Amendments of the Constitution, the Supreme Court reversed conviction after conviction of this nature, to the point where no others served time under the conspiracy section of the

Smith Act. But the Supreme Court never reversed its decision in regard to the Communist Eleven; when it upheld the decision of the lower court in 1951 it did suggest that at a later time many of the substantive questions would be reviewed.

The previously mentioned struggle against these anti-democratic laws and decisions also contributed to the fight against the infamously reactionary McCarran Law in the United States and for these past years were able to prevent it from becoming law in the United States. But now, by a five to four decision, the Supreme Court makes this the law of the land. This law falsely labels the Communist Party as an arm of a foreign government. It calls for immediate registration by the leaders of the Communist Party. Failure to register could, in one month's time, result in a fine of \$300,000 and a 150 years' jail sentence for each individual. The reason for this is that for each day's refusal to register a penalty of five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine can be assessed against the individual. This is a monstrous law! For example, it becomes illegal for Communists to work in defense industries and 85 per cent of the industries in the U.S. are of a defense nature. Under this law it is illegal to issue newspapers, magazines or literature of any kind without labeling it communist propaganda.

On November 19 the fascist McCarran Law came into force. The U.S. police machine is ready to take any repressive action against our Party. The reactionaries are jubilant. But their jubilation is premature.

The Communists cannot be broken by repression. The history of all the countries of the capitalist world has afforded ample proof of this in recent decades. On the other hand, the persecution of Communists in our country which, as more and

more people are coming to realize, is part of the broad anti-democratic offensive launched by the monopolies, is evoking intense public discontent with the policy of the Administration. Moreover, the feverish steps taken by the Kennedy Administration against the Communist Party are a clear reflection of its fear of the ideas of communism and undermine still more the already badly shaken prestige of the USA abroad.

A broad protest campaign is already under way throughout the world against the anti-Communist terror in the United States. This campaign is of great assistance to us and our Party in our struggle, for it undoubtedly will influence the development of events in our country.

The worldwide Communist, anti-imperialist and democratic movements were in great measure responsible for the action taken by the President of the United States in issuing an order for the immediate commutation of my sentence to time served. This commutation made unnecessary a continuation of imprisonment and restored many of my democratic rights and above all returned me to the love of my family and friends.

Through the pages of the *World Marxist Review* I want to take the opportunity to extend my heartfelt thanks to the freedom-loving people of the world who helped make possible the restoration of my freedom. I clasp my hand in solidarity and friendship with those who participated in these struggles and I am confident that we will be victorious in outlawing all the pro-fascist laws that exist in many countries today, and restoring freedom to all who languish in prison because they fought for peace and a good happy life for the peoples of the world.

Comradely,

Henry WINSTON

Japan: Another Setback for the Reactionaries

IN June 1961 reactionaries in Japan submitted to Parliament a fascist-like bill designed to prevent "political violence." The underlying purpose of this move was to impose a militarist regime and abolish the democratic rights guaranteed in the Constitution. It was designed further to prevent a united front of the working people, to suppress the growing peace movement, to abolish national sovereignty and independence and thereby weaken the struggle against the anti-popular and reactionary policy of the Ikeda Government.

The democratic forces vigorously opposed the bill. They forced the reactionaries to retreat and the consideration of the bill was postponed.

Then, at the urgent request of the Liberal-Democratic leadership the infamous bill was again submitted to Parliament in October. This time the reactionaries resolved to achieve their aim by all means. They were supported by fascist organizations which, with the complicity of the authorities, stepped up their criminal activity and came out openly against the leaders of the democratic movement.

But again the reactionaries were defeated. The Communist Party called on the people to oppose the bill, and millions took part in the struggle against it. Anti-government meetings and demonstrations were held in more than 600 towns

and settlements. A signature campaign spread all over the country. Thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals bombarded parliament with petitions against the bill. In this campaign the Communist Party was joined by the Socialists, trade unions and other democratic organizations.

In view of the unity and organization of the democratic forces parliament postponed discussion of the bill until the winter session. The postponement was a resounding victory for the democratic forces.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FREE OSKAR NEUMANN!

IN any case I am convinced that we, together with our boy — and this is as true as that you became my wife during the dark years of barbarity . . . — will one day live in a country in which the witch-hunters and the murderers of the Jews will be merely the subject of historical study. And this will be not just anywhere, but in our country, in our homeland, and the things that weigh heavily upon us today will be, if not completely forgotten, at least things of the past that will bear no comparison whatever with the great things expected of us and which we will not fail to accomplish. And so, remembering our past life together, I think I shall not be mistaken if on our wedding anniversary — though it falls at such an unfortunate time — I wish us both happy memories and firm faith in a better and brighter future, that future which is personified in our boy and for which each of us, at his own post, will work courageously and perseveringly until it is ours, utterly and completely . . .”

These lines are from a letter written by Oskar Neumann, a leader of the Communist Party of Germany, whom, as we have already reported, the Bonn “democrats” have thrown into jail and are scheming to destroy physically. Reading the letter one cannot but be moved. It conveys the image of the convinced Communist, patriot, husband and father.

Neumann is a veteran fighter against reaction and war. Having taken part in the resistance movement during Hitler and having experienced the horrors of Buchenwald, Neumann became convinced that Communists were the most consistent and resolute fighters for the people. The liberation of Germany from fascism brought freedom to Neumann and, like thousands of other anti-fascists, he joined the Communist Party.

Years passed. German imperialism, with the support of international imperialism, has preserved its rule in West Germany and again become a center of war in the heart of Europe. And once more Neumann is behind bars. Those who did not succeed in killing him in Buchenwald would

like to do so today in the dungeons of Federal Germany. But even in prison Oskar Neumann continues to fight.

His valiant struggle for the national interests of his people has won for Neumann the respect of all sincere Germans. The campaign to secure his release is growing in both parts of Germany. “Freedom for Oskar Neumann!” is the demand of the working people and the press in the German Democratic Republic. The 19th meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany held recently urged the people to fight for the release of Neumann. People who cherish peace and freedom are sending letters expressing solidarity with and support for the prisoner of the Bonn regime (Oskar Neumann, Strafanstalt Kleve, Nordrhein-Westfalen*) and angry protests to his gaolers (Bundespraesident Luebke, Bonn**; Generalbundesstaatsanwaltschaft, Karlsruhe***).

The struggle for the release of Oskar Neumann has acquired not only specifically national German significance but has also a broad international significance. Neumann has been deprived of freedom for urging that Federal Germany renounce atomic arms and that a peace treaty be concluded.

In 1953 Neumann told the State Prosecutor, Guede: “All my life I have worked for Germany and her future and will continue to do so. And if because of this I am called a state criminal, this characterizes the regime, not me.” Addressing the Political Commission of the Federal Court in Karlsruhe in June 1954 Neumann said: “My father’s tragedy (he was persecuted by the Nazis — Ed.) was that people like him did not understand that a system based on preparation for war cannot but be a system of total deprivation of rights.” This was how things were under Hitler. And this is how things are under Adenauer.

In its memorandum to the Sixteenth U.N. General Assembly the government of the GDR decla-

*Oskar Neumann, Kleve Prison, North Rhine-Westphalia.

**Federal President Luebke, Bonn.

***Federal General Procurator’s Office, Karlsruhe.

ed that during the past 10 years 250,000 people had been sentenced by political courts in the Federal Republic. West German patriots are prosecuted by Nazi criminals. The judiciary in Bonn employs 1,155 former Nazi judges and prosecutors who are responsible for the death of tens of thousands. Fifty per cent of the leading posts in the Federal Ministry of the Interior and 84 per cent in the Foreign Ministry are held by former Nazi officials and diplomats. Over 2,000 former SS officers serve in the Bundeswehr. All its 140 generals and admirals held top posts in the Hitler High Command and in the Wehrmacht. All of them are responsible for the Nazi crimes committed during the Second World War.

In 1956 the Bonn Government banned the Communist Party, the first party to become the victim of the Hitler terror, the party which saved the honor of the German nation during the dark years of barbarity. Almost every day the democratic press reports new reprisals against Communists in the FRG. People are thrown in prison merely for being members of the Communist Party, for sympathizing with the ideas of communism, the ideas of peace and democracy. Party member Willy Haller said in the Duesseldorf court: "I am not the first son of the working class to be declared an agent by the court. My grandfather was declared a foreign agent under Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law because he celebrated May Day with the red flag. The Nazis condemned my father as an agent and threw him into a concentration

camp. And today I, their grandson and son, face the court on a similar charge."

The Communist Party cannot be destroyed, just as it is impossible to destroy the working class, living thought or the radiant truth of the ideas of communism. But the anti-communism now being implanted in the Federal Republic can again spell tragic death for millions. "Degradation of law," "offensive against non-conformists" — in these terms progressive West German journalists characterize the present situation in the Federal Republic, pointing out that within the framework of formal democracy there is an infinite readiness to destroy the heterodox as can be seen from the suppression of all progressive, peace-loving opposition forces. All those who take a realistic view of the situation in the Federal Republic clearly see that it has returned to the principles of Adolf Hitler.

To forestall this perilous development is the objective for which Neumann has fought, for which he is still fighting. "I would like to be doing my share in this," he writes in his letter from prison, "instead of having to watch how others — no, how we, although without me — will achieve it." Oskar Neumann is right. By combining their efforts the peoples can and must curb the West German warmongers and followers of Hitler. And for this reason everyone who is conscious of the terrible danger emanating from West German militarism and revanchism, must raise his voice in defense of Oskar Neumann.

Walter SCHULZ

AND THEY CALL THIS DEMOCRACY!

THE rulers of Pakistan boast that their country is a model of democracy. In a recent interview President Ayub Khan declared: "The people gave me their support in the course of free elections. No, I am not a dictator. We conduct our government in the most democratic way."

The Western capitalist press, too, takes pains to extol the present regime in Pakistan. The American journal *Newsweek*, for instance, wrote that Pakistan is trying to put into effect a new formula which in the long run could serve as a model for the other new states in Asia and Africa.

The facts, however, speak of a regime of ruthless suppression of elementary human rights, a regime of police repression and violence, behind a façade of fine phrases about freedom and democracy in Pakistan. These facts include the butchery of Comrade Hasan Nasir, a prominent public figure in Pakistan and one of the leaders of the Communist Party.

Hasan Nasir was a staunch fighter for democ-

racy and for the well-being of his people. Devoted to the cause of the working class and the liberation of his motherland, he was repeatedly jailed by the authorities. In August last year Comrade Nasir was arrested once again and held in prison in Karachi without trial. Several weeks later, he was transferred to the Lahore Fortress—notorious as one of the worst prisons in Pakistan—where he was tortured by the secret police. But the torturers failed to break the will of the Communist. He met his death with dignity, remaining loyal to his Party and his people.

To cover up the traces of their crime, the police issued an official statement which said that the prisoner committed suicide on November 13, 1960.

Comrade Nasir's mother requested the body of her son. The Supreme Court was forced to issue an order for exhumation and an autopsy. But the police, in an endeavor to conceal the fact that the prisoner had died under torture, produced the body of another person and the Supreme Court,

upon holding an autopsy, brought in a verdict of suicide, ignoring the protests of the mother and friends.

The circumstances of Comrade Nasir's death have shocked people everywhere. Progressive newspapers and journals denounced the crime of the Pakistani authorities. The National Council of the Communist Party of India adopted a special resolution in memory of this staunch revolutionary. A number of major trade unions in Britain sent a joint protest to the High Commissioner of Pakistan in London, insisting on an impartial investigation and punishment of the culprits.

But the Pakistani government, ignoring public opinion, has lapsed into silence . . . This, of course, is not surprising. The routine practice of the authorities is to take measures to stamp out democracy. Here are some examples. A decree

on the press has been issued which empowers the government to impose heavy fines on newspaper publishers for printing "undesirable" materials and to prohibit the publications containing such materials. New articles of martial law have been enacted which prohibit citizens, under penalty of a long term of imprisonment, to organize, hold or attend any meeting or demonstration of a political character; the law provides for extending to two years the term of imprisonment for taking part in strikes.

These are the realities of "democracy" of which the Pakistani authorities are so proud and which the press of the "free world" lauds to the heavens! Evidently for the gentlemen of the press there is no difference between a democratic state and a dungeon.

W. WATTSON

MASSACRE OF ALGERIANS IN PARIS

PARIS, whose streets resounded in the past with noble words about liberty, fraternity and equality, has witnessed a ferocious outbreak of police terror. The Grands Boulevards have been spattered with the blood of innocent men and women. The waters of the Seine have been dyed with the blood of fallen fighters. . . . In the mid-twentieth century the Gaullist dictatorship has held its own St. Bartholomew's day.

The reactionary, racist attitude of the French authorities to Algerians residing in the country has long been known. But today, with the war in Algeria in its eighth year, racism has assumed particularly brutal forms, as can be seen from the tragic events that took place in October and November.

. . . On October 17 Algerians residing in Paris protested in the streets against de Gaulle's race policy. The occasion for this perfectly peaceful demonstration was the recent government decision instituting curfew regulations in the Algerian quarter. Some thirty thousand people—young and old, men and women—took part.

The police opened fire on the marchers. The exact number of killed is unknown: the police are not in the habit of announcing the number of their victims. Initial reports gave the number killed as two, later reports said 20. . . . But it is not only the police archives that keep the secrets of the slaughter. The Seine, too, could tell its own story, for the bodies of the demonstrators are still being fished out of its waters. The suburban forests also know the truth—for there, too, according to the press, the bodies of Algerians who had been tortured and then hanged, have been found.

Dozens were wounded and some twelve thousand arrested. Only once before in its history had the

old Palais des Sports, in which most of the "captives" were herded, witnessed a similar crime; that was during the Nazi occupation when the Gestapo used the building as a concentration depot for Jews.

A wave of indignation swept France. Decent citizens of diverse political persuasions were shocked by the monstrous police crime. The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party issued a statement condemning the colonialist policy of the government and urging the workers and all republicans vigorously to fight against the race persecution, for peace in Algeria. Responding to this call, which was joined by all democrats, the working people held strikes and other protest actions in many parts of the country expressing their solidarity with the Algerian people.

On November 2 the Algerian political prisoners in France declared a hunger strike. They chose this last means of struggle at their disposal to protest against the terror and demanded the status of political prisoners for the fighting sons and daughters of Algeria, a right hitherto denied them. *Fifteen thousand Algerians refused food for nearly three weeks.*

Worldwide reaction to the events in France has seriously embarrassed de Gaulle and his ministers. The blood-bath they ordered has forever branded them with shame.

The Paris shootings and the memory of the million Algerians who died in the liberation war now in process are a challenge to the conscience of people throughout the world, urging them to demand:

End colonialism for all time! Freedom for Algeria!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
Problems of Peace and Socialism

CONTENTS FOR 1961
(Nos. 1-12)

EDITORIALS

The Central Factors of Our Day	5	3
Communism and the Cosmos	6	3
Safeguard Peace and Progress!	9	18
An Historic Congress	12	3

A R T I C L E S

ABDELKADER, ADNAN, AMIR, FERHAT—Solidarity—a Potent Force	8	3
P. ALBERDI—Industrialization of the Economically Backward Countries	8	9
ALI YATA—New Weapon for Embattled Africa	12	16
GH. APOSTOL—Rumania is Completing the Building of Socialism	5	8
E. ARAB-OGLY—Is There a Danger of Overpopulation?	8	38
R. ARISMENDI—The Program of Communism and the National-Liberation Movement	11	18
G. ARMSTRONG—Ideological Unity and Historical Responsibility	2	18
O. BELIC, R. ISCARO—New Stage in the Struggle of the Latin American Peoples	5	47
F. BILLOUX—The German Peace Treaty and de Gaulle's Policy	12	10
L. BOHR—The Communist Party—a National Force	6	14
S. BORISOV—Socialism and Taxes	7	40
L. BOUHALI—The Algerian War of Liberation and the Struggle for Peace	5	15
K. BRUTENTS—Cuba—Where Freedom Has Entered the Americas	2	38
T. BUCK—This Generation Will Witness the Building of Communism	11	27
E. BURNELLE—The Working-Class Struggle in Belgium—Its Achievements and Prospects	7	19
R. CALAS—Soviet Democracy at a New Stage	3	27
S. CARRILLO—The Underground Party and Its Contact with the Masses	4	11
H. CLAUDE, J. DENIS—French Imperialism: The Present and Future	6	21
G. COGNIOT—Anti-Communism—a Crime Against the Peoples	10	30
A. CUNHAL—Portugal at the Crossroads	6	30
D. DEGTYAR, A. KUTSENKOV—Cooperation of the Socialist States with the Economically Underdeveloped Countries	6	36
L. FIGUERES—Current Political Problems of the French Communist Party	7	11
G. FILIPOV—Socialism and Incentive	12	30

P. FLORIN—Stop West German Militarism!	9	23
G. FROID—Strike Struggles in 1960	2	25
J. FUCHS—State Capitalism in the Argentine: Its Essence and Forms	6	44
F. FUERNBERG—The Work of the Austrian Communist Party in the Present Period	9	30
L. GALLICO—The Catholic Church in Africa	4	34
L. GALLICO—Gap Between Vatican Ideology and Social Reality	12	38
GH. GHEORGHIU-DEJ—The Socialist Camp—Mainspring of World Progress	1	29
E. GLUECKAUF—Whither the Social Democratic Party of Germany?	8	30
J. GOLLAN—The New Stage in the British Labor Movement	3	18
A. GRANICK—The Might of Socialism and the Activity of the Masses Are the Guarantee of Peace	12	23
W. GREY—Imperialist "Aid"—an Instrument of Enslavement	2	33
S. HAKAMADA—The Foundation of the United National Front	2	3
J. E. JACKSON—The General Crisis of Capitalism Deepens	1	38
J. KADAR—Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture in Hungary	6	7
G. KALLAI—Some Questions of Peaceful Coexistence and Class Struggle	10	17
A. KAMBAKHSI—Iran at the Crossroads	9	38
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV—For New Victories for the World Communist Movement	1	3
V. KOUCKY—The Moral and Political Unity of the Socialist Nations	3	3
F. KUNC—In the Service of Man	7	47
A. LEONIDOV—Monopoly Militarism in the USA	4	28
A. MAGHREBI—The United Nations: Its Possibilities and Reality	8	54
O. MILLAS—Anti-Imperialist Unity—the Guarantee of Victories of the Chilean People	7	27
L. MORRIS—The Anti-Monopoly Struggle in Canada	4	22
M. NASZKOWSKI—The Forces of Socialism and the Situation in Europe	7	3
I. NOERLUND—The Swing of the Masses to the Left and Perspectives of the Communist Party of Denmark	8	22
M. OLSHANSKY—Some Topical Aspects of Soviet Agricultural Development	8	16
I. PLYSHEVSKY—Some Problems of the Independence Struggle in Africa	7	32
B. PONOMARYOV—In the Name of Human Happiness	9	3
I. POTEKHIN—Some Aspects of the National Question in Africa	11	41
S. RASHIDOV—Writers of Asia and Africa Make Common Cause	3	33
B. ROCA—New Stage in the Cuban Revolution	10	3
M. SALIM—Three Years After the Iraqi Revolution	10	37
H. SCHAUL, J. VORHOELZER—Socialist Education of the Working Class in the German Democratic Republic	5	39
G. SHEETAREV—Draft Rules of the CPSU—Document of Creative Marxism	10	10
A. SUAREZ—Building the Party Is an Integral Part of the Revolutionary Process	2	10
E. SZYR—Present Stage of the Socialist World Economic System	4	3
J. TERFVE—The Congo and Its Problems	5	24
M. THOREZ—Communist Construction in the USSR and the Aggravation of the Crisis of Capitalism	11	3
G. TRAIKOV—What Our Experience Teaches	4	41
Y. TSEDENBAL—From Feudalism to Socialism	3	11

G. VIEIRA—The Peasant Movement in Colombia and the Communist Party	5	32
J. WINZER—Efforts of the GDR for a Peace Treaty	10	24
G. ZAGLADIN—Crushing Defeat for Exporters of Counter-Revolution: First Lessons of the Events in Cuba	6	50
B. ZAHARESCU—The Soviet Union Points the Way	11	35
N. ZHAGVARAL—From a Nomadic to a Settled Life in Mongolia	8	50
Africa: Continent of the Future	2	44
Belgium: The General Strike—a Political Action	2	32
Greetings from Gagarin	5	2
In Memory of Eugene Dennis	3	39
In Memory of Elias Lafertte	4	47
In Memory of William Z. Foster	10	57

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

The Agrarian Problem and the National-Liberation Movement

Contributions by K. BAGDACHE (Syrian Region of the United Arab Republic), S. AGUIRRE (Cuba), A. BOUDIAF (Algeria), E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD (India), R. ULYANOVSKY (U.S.S.R.), K. NOURI (Iran), D. TABET (Italy), G. VIEIRA (Colombia)	1	59
M. RIFFI (Morocco), R. BARBE (France), A. OJEDA (Venezuela), J. KARLIK (Czechoslovakia), N. SANMUGATHASAN (Ceylon), J. AHUMADA (Chile), S. SAWAYA (Lebanon)	2	64
J. M. GARCIA (Argentina), AZIZ AL HAJJ (Iraq), J. RODRIGUEZ (Guatemala), N. STEINBERGER (German Democratic Republic), R. ARISMENDI (Uruguay), S. ALVAREZ (Spain), J. DEL PRADO (Peru), P. SAAD (Ecuador), V. MALINSCHI (Rumania)	3	60

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

Contributions by the Economic Committee of the Communist Party and the journal <i>Nueva Era</i> (Argentina), L. FIGUEROA (Chile), V. PERLO (USA), K. TESSMANN (German Democratic Republic), R. MEDVEDEV (USSR)	4	62
The Marxist Study Center (Canada), V. S. SEMYONOV and L. A. LEONTYEV (USSR)	5	71
The Institute for Marxist-Leninist Research and Education (Czechoslovakia), A. BARJONET (France)	6	75
I. MRACHKOVSKAYA, Y. ZHUKOVSKY, I. KULKOV, V. LOPATKIN, A. EFIMOVA, V. SEMYONOV, Y. ZHILIN and G. KOZLOV (USSR)	9	61
Some Conclusions	9	66

Crises and the Working People

Y. BAREL, S. MENSNIKOV—What Is Taking Place with the World Cycle?	7	66
Y. OSTROVITYANOV, O. REINHOLD—The Monopolies, the State & Crises	7	72
J. SCHMIDT—Prosperity or Decline?	7	80
A. PESENTI—Role of the Class Struggle in Economic Development	8	76
H. LUMER—In the Grip of Economic Contradictions	9	74

Man and His Future
(International Seminar in Royaumont)

Two World Outlooks Clash (Diary of the Seminar)	10	59
	12	70
P. VILAR—The Misadventures of Professor Rostow	10	65
J. de CASTRO—Colonialism, Hunger and Progress	10	67
J. D. BERNAL—Scientific Progress and Social Justice	10	70
B. PORSHNEV—The Quickening Pulse of History	12	79
R. GARAUDY—Progress and the Responsibility of Man	12	81
M. CORNFORTH—Are Judgements of Progress Objective?	12	83
Y. FRANTSEV—The Theory of Progress and the Social Ideal	12	84

The Communist Movement and the Youth

Contributions by P. LAURENT (France), J. RATZER (Argentina), J. DELAHOY (Britain), M. FERHAT (Morocco), F. MUNOS (Venezuela)	10	73
P. OCCHETTO (Italy), S. SUROSO (Indonesia), G. GIANNOPULOS (Greece), J. GOTOWITCH (Belgium), U. KARLSSON (Sweden)	11	63

PAGES FROM HISTORY

J. HENDRYCH—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the Struggle for Socialism	6	56
K. OLBE—Symbol of the Fight Against Militarism and War	8	74
E. TERSEN—Glorious Harbinger of a New Society	5	66

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

M. AHMAD—For the Complete National Independence of Malaya	7	61
A. F.—Japan: How the Communist Party Circulates <i>Akahata</i>	12	50
D. BALALIA—Popularizing the Best Production Experience is an Important Party Task	12	54
J. BERMUDEZ, M. STRANG, H. KIERLUF—From the Experience of Publishing Activity	8	70
C. CHAVEZ—The Mexican Communist Party Is Growing Stronger	10	48
D.O.—The Communist Party of Japan Gets Ready for Its Eighth Congress	7	53
EL VELAZCO—Venezuela: New Conditions Call for New Tactics	8	60
M. ESSAOUIRI—The Question of Mauritania	1	56
M. ESSAOUIRI—Support and Criticism	3	56
M. FERHAT—Moroccan Communists Are Working for a Democratic Constitution	2	58
F. H.—The Key Task of the Czechoslovak Communist Party	8	67
F. N.—What the Jordanian Communist Party Is Fighting For	7	58
M. FYODOROV—Democracy and Management	5	63
J. GOLLAN—Great Britain: Party Building Year	8	63
S. HAKAMADA, O. GHIOLDI—For Mass Communist Parties, for the Activity of Every Communist	3	49

M. L. HERRERA—Colombia: The Policy of the Communist Party and the Crisis of Oligarchy	9	48
R. IBARBURU, N. SCHWARTZ, J. L. MASSERA—From the Experience of the Communist Party of Uruguay (Letters)	1	49
M. IVANOV—Training Propagandists in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	7	63
J. D.—Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party	5	55
J. V.—Standing Guard Over the Interests of the Working People (Switzerland)	4	56
W. KOZDRA—Public Initiative in the Polish Countryside	11	52
M. LAB—In Czechoslovakia	4	53
F. LAGER—On the Way to a Mass Organization (Sweden)	4	48
R. LECLAIR—Party Cadres Are the Decisive Link in Organizational Work	12	48
S. LOCHO—The Newspaper of the Panamanian Communists	12	52
F. MARGULIS—Factory Papers in Austria	10	53
L. MARMIO—Success of a Factory Branch (Finland)	5	60
R. MATHIEUX—France: Party Work in the Factories	12	46
J. MATOS—Portugal: New Tasks of the Party Press	11	54
M. MONJE—Development of the Bolivian Revolution and the Party's Tactics	5	57
K. MOROZOV, I. MIKHAILOV—The Soviet People Are Discussing the Program and Rules of Their Party	10	44
R. NECOCHEA, P. GOMEZ—Letters from Chilean Communists	9	51
N. NIKOLAIDIS—Turning Point in Mass Struggles in Greece	4	54
S. PIERRE-JUSTIN—The Goal of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe	4	58
O. POIKOLAINEN—Some Aspects of Work Among the Youth	3	54
RAHMAT—Communist Party of Indonesia: Strengthen National Unity	8	66
R. S.—Matters of Moment. "Educate Him. Don't Throw Him Out!"	2	60
K. SACHER—Ideological Discussions (Austria)	8	72
S. SANCHEZ—The Party of Labor Is at Its Post (Guatemala)	6	72
L. SHARKEY—The Communist Party of Australia Calls to Repel the Attack of Reaction	2	54
L. SHARKEY—The Congress of the Australian Communist Party	9	50
B. SIMON—Great Britain: New Possibilities Are Opening in the Work Among Intellectuals and Professional Workers	10	51
G. SINFIELD—The Daily Worker —Paper of the Working Class	1	57
T. STOICHEV—Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge in Bulgaria	2	62
P. TLALE—The 40th Anniversary of the Communist Party of South Africa	11	56
D. URBANI—Luxembourg: For a Policy of Unarmed Neutrality	11	51
E. VERCELLINO—Italian Communist Party Marks Its Fortieth Anniversary	3	46
P. VERGES—A Communist Newspaper on Reunion Island	2	56
E. WOJCIK—Some Aspects of Work with Cadres	9	54
Build the Party Numerically and Organizationally	6	63
Closer to the Youth, Their Needs and Demands	5	51
Combat War Hysteria	9	44
The CPSU Prepares for Its Twenty-Second Congress	3	41
Developments in Syria	12	56
Educate the Youth in the Spirit of Socialism (German Democratic Republic)	4	51

The Fight for Peace in Algeria Enters the Decisive Stage	7	57
For the Leninist Party Spirit in Philosophy	1	54
Forms and Methods of Mass Work	3	57
	4	60
The Great Charter of Communism	11	47
The Korean Party of Labor on the Eve of Its Fourth Congress	8	69
Landmarks in a Great Strike (Belgium)	3	43
The Land of Soviets Looks Forward to the Forthcoming Party Congress	9	46
Post-Election Policy of the Italian Communist Party	1	46
The Stand of the Moroccan Communist Party	5	62
Statement of the Algerian Communist Party	2	53
Successes and Tasks of the Mongolian Communists	10	54
Unanimous Approval	2	50
William Foster in Moscow	2	63
World-wide Communist Unity	3	40
The Work of the Problem Commissions of the Polish United Workers' Party	6	69
Short Notices	9	58
	10	55
	11	58
	12	58
Meetings of Central Committee	9	56
	10	58
	11	60
	12	59

REVIEWS

S. BRUNI—G. Boffa's "The Challenge to America"	2	90
J. COX—A Marxist Book on Africa	5	83
H. FAGAN—An Exploded Myth	3	80
J. FLORES—Uruguayan Communists' Theoretical Journal	4	75
W. Z. FOSTER—"History of the American People"	2	81
J. GIBBONS—The National Purpose or an International Obsession	9	82
G. GREIS—Man of the Cosmic Era	9	79
G. GREIS—Anti-Communism Boomerangs	12	68
R. HERBER—Looking Forward to the Year 2000	2	93
M. KLIR—From Struggle to Victory	11	80
H. KOLBE—A Sober View of Bonn Policy	8	86
J. KON—Capitalism in the Shadow of Doom	5	86
R. MATVEYEV—Gaullism and Big Business	2	86
V. MIKHEYEV—Faithful Stewards of the Capitalists	10	87
I. ORLIK—The Working Class Is Becoming Stronger	12	62
Y. OSTROVITYANOV, A. STERBALOVA—Is There a Way Out of the Blind Alley of War Economy?	4	78
A. ROTHSTEIN—Mr. Taylor's Aunt Sally	11	83

S. SEMYONOV—Latin American Socialists on a New Course	12	65
K. ULAGI—"Press Lords vs. Press Freedom"	8	82
J.-M. VANDENHOVE—Never Again!	11	76
J. ZUZANEK—They Have Learned Nothing, Nor Have They Forgotten Anything	7	83

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

A. R.—A Rebuttal That Backfires	2	101
O. BARTKE—Uranium 235 and Bonn's "Loyalty" to Its Treaties	1	85
A. M. BARTZ—Whither the Logic of Revisionism Leads	4	82
G. CONATO—Letter from Berlin	11	89
L. GRUENEWALD—The Habsburgs Again	8	88
F. HAZE—Education and Culture to the Working People	9	86
J. IZYDORCZYK—Bonn's Revenge-Seeking Is a Threat to Peace in Europe	2	97
J. D.—The Struggle Grows Sharper (Venezuela)	3	86
J. L.—Against "Atomizing" Norway	6	84
J. R.—The Communists of Nicaragua Are Fighting Against the Pro-Imperialist Dictatorship	4	88
V. KAJE—Communist Gulliver Assailed by Lilliputians	12	86
V. KUDROV—Running Away From the Truth	9	90
M. O.—From Under the NATO Gateway	2	99
J. MITCHELL—The Hand of Brandt in Transport House	4	87
K. NEUNER—Who Are These "Champions" of Freedom?	9	88
PERICLES—Following the Proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus	2	100
P. B.—National Independence, Democratic Liberties	6	86
G. SCHREINER, K. BREUER—The Ruhr Protests	6	82
J. SHVAN—Peoples of Oceania Against Colonialism	11	87
G. SCHREINER, K. BREUER—The Ruhr Protests	6	82
J. SHVAN—Peoples of Oceania Against Colonialism	11	87
V. SKRYPNIK—Cooperation in Science and Engineering Among the Socialist Countries	1	80
J. SYOMIN—Soviet Collective Farms Pool Production Efforts	12	89
V. VILOU—Socialism is Remaking Dobrogea's Farming	1	83
K. WERNER—The <i>Vostok</i> and the West	12	87
H. WINSTON—Heartfelt Thanks	12	90
Japan: Another Setback for the Reactionaries	12	92
Letter from William Foster to the Editorial Board of <i>World Marxist Review</i>	4	90

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS

ABDELKADER, E.O.—The Colonialists Will Not Break the Will of the People	2	107
ABDELKADER, E.O.—Slander Against the Moroccan Communists Exposed	3	90
ALVES, M.—Save the Lives of Portuguese Patriots	1	87

CASTRO, J.—McCarthyism in the Argentine	1	90
F. CHUKRI—Foul Murder	7	87
L. DIAZ—Franco at War With the People	2	102
J. FERNANDES—West European Democrats Demand Amnesty in Spain	7	88
K. HANDTKE—Open Letter to President Nasser	9	96
I. G.—The Movement Is Growing	2	106
J.D.—Trujillo on the Rampage	2	105
J.N.—For Amnesty in Spain and Portugal	4	92
S. KHALIL—Nazi Prison Experts in Jordan	6	90
K.M.—The Congo Tragedy	3	89
A.KOURDI—Save the Lives of and Release the Heroes of Mossoul	2	105
LARA, H.—Mexico: Anti-Communism Is the Way to Fascism	1	87
S. MAHMOUD—Combating the Terror in Iraq	6	88
S. MAHMOUD—Iraq: The Facts Accuse	11	92
S. MAHMOUD—Reign of Terror in the United Arab Republic	1	88
J. MATOS—All Progressive People Are With Us	2	108
A. MERCAN—Martinique Is Fighting	8	93
M.O.—Freedom Fighters in Prison (United Arab Republic)	4	91
K. MURAKAMI—Save the Innocent!	11	91
N. NIKOLAIDIS—Attack on Democratic Liberties in Greece and the Struggle of the People	7	89
J. RAMIREZ—Stay the Hand of the Butcher!	2	104
J. RAMIREZ—Fascism Shall Not Pass!	10	91
J. RODRIGUEZ—Regime of Terror in Guatemala	9	93
L. ROSENDO—Miami Fabrications	5	91
A. SABER—Freedom for the Political Prisoners in the UAR	8	92
W. SCHULZ—Free Oskar Neumann	12	93
J. SHERIFF—Arbitrary Action of U.S. Authorities	8	91
I. SUMAR—The Frame-Up That Backfired	10	92
M. TANAKA—Unity and Organization Ensure Success	9	95
R. VALKE—Wrest Neumann from the Hangman!	10	93
W. WATTSON—And They Call This Democracy!	12	94
Government Takes Political Revenge	2	109
A Letter From Prisoners in Corfu	5	92
Massacre of Algerians in Paris	12	95
Stop the Persecution of Peace Supporters!	6	91

S U P P L E M E N T S

Economic Development of the Socialist Countries	1	93
The Socialist Countries in the Year 1960 (Review of National Economic Development	5	93

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(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
the titles here are given in English)

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