

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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The Growing International Significance of Communist Construction

Frantisek Havlicek and Luciano Gruppi

REPORTING IN 1957 to the 150 high-ranking U.S. officials who form the Committee for Economic Development, Clarence B. Randall, special consultant to Eisenhower, referred to the views held by leaders in the semi-colonial and underdeveloped countries. America, they said, is a wonderful country. It took it 175 years to become what it is, whereas Russia has done the same thing in 40 years. It would be better, perhaps, were we to look at what Russia is doing now.

No less significant was the opinion expressed at the same session by Edward L. Allen of the Central Intelligence Agency. If we compare, he said, Soviet capital investments in industry, in the mining and power industries, with U.S. capital investments in 1957 in the same industries (excluding the construction of dwellings and trading enterprises) we will see that Soviet investments in these three basic industries made up (in comparable figures) approximately 85-90 per cent of U.S. capital investments. There is no need to look far into the future, Allen added, to understand the significance of this tendency.

Allen, it should be noted, said this in 1957, long before the target figures of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan were published. So that even then, top U.S. officials, in the presence of Vice-President Richard Nixon, could not conceal the apprehensions caused them by the Soviet achievements and, in particular, by the launching of the Sputniks. It is not difficult to understand the feelings and thoughts of influential imperialist spokesmen now that the Soviet Union has followed up the launching of earth satellites by sending a planet into outer space, and now that the XXIst Party Congress has opened new prospects before the Soviet Union and the entire world.

The bourgeois press is now much more cautious in its reaction to socialist planning and tends to refrain from using ridicule. Experience has taught it to assess more objectively the present and the future of the socialist economy. The comments on the XXIst Congress betray anxiety. This in itself testifies

to the tremendous changes that have taken place on our planet. And while those who seek to use the growth of socialism as justification for the cold war and reactionary sallies are still fairly strong, it is a fact that growing numbers of people are beginning to realize that with the adoption of the Seven-Year Plan the situation is no longer the same, not only in international relations, but also in internal matters.

The well-known Italian economist Demaria, who will hardly be suspected of sympathizing with socialism, had this to say about the XXIst Congress: "Seven years is a very short period. . . . It will be followed, no doubt, by other grand achievements. This process will gain steadily in momentum. It will create a new system of international relations. . . . There can be no doubt that the gigantic industrialization will acquire a 'supra-national' importance and give rise to similar phenomena among the big nations of the world."

It is difficult in a few pages to deal fully with the significance of the Congress, and even more difficult if we take into account the things that are being done throughout the socialist camp. China is striding ahead. Remarkable progress is being made in establishing people's communes. The country where only a few years ago rickshaw drivers carried arrogant foreign exploiters now says to Great Britain: "In ten or fifteen years we shall be producing more steel than you, the country of the great industrial revolution." This signifies that even those socialist countries which began their development from a very low level are now comparing their output with that of the highly developed capitalist countries of Europe.

The expression—"builders of communism"—now acquires a new meaning, because the XXIst Congress, which carried forward the line of the XXth Congress, discussed not merely the prospect of communism in an indefinite future, but formulated a clear-cut program for its construction, specifying the time in which the new society will be built. Today

the working people can say that not only has socialism become a reality, but the contours of communism, too, are taking shape.

The future becomes clearer than ever before, even in those countries where life is still grim and difficult. Yesterday's confidence becomes a new confidence, called upon to win new minds and hearts as quickly as possible. The target figures are striking. Between 1959 and 1965 capital investments in the Soviet economy will nearly equal the total investments made in the 40 years of Soviet rule. This clearly indicates the gigantic leap that will be made.

The political strength of socialism has always been greater than its economic might. It has now grown immeasurably, because the socialist camp enjoys the support of the working people in all countries and opposes imperialism jointly with the countries pursuing a policy of "active neutrality," jointly with the colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for liberation. The truth of this was confirmed, for instance, by the events in Lebanon and the Suez crisis. And what will be the influence of the socialist camp when it will be turning out not 33 but over 50 per cent of world industrial output?

It can be expected that as the USSR nears the goal planned for 1965, profound changes will take place in the balance of political forces in the capitalist countries both separately and internationally. By 1965, a relatively brief period, the socialist camp will have become stronger than the imperialist camp not only in some but in all respects. This will be such a turning point in history that its consequences cannot be foreseen today. But some of the pointers can be seen. One, for example, is clear even now: the peace forces are so strong that they can foil imperialist attempts to unleash war. "... If we take the countries forming the socialist world system and the countries waging a courageous struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for freedom and national independence, we shall find that even now the scales are tipped in favor of the peace-loving countries, not in favor of the imperialist states." (N. S. Khrushchov.)

War is no longer inevitable—this new factor signifies a qualitative change in the history of humankind. And this is due to the existence of the socialist camp, to the efforts of the workers in all countries. It may happen, however, that mankind will again be plunged into war. Consequently, vigilance and the struggle against this danger must be maintained. Precisely because the imperialists feel

that the time is near when they, with their aggressive policy, will be driven to the wall, they obstinately, more so than ever before, reject every reasonable proposal aimed at easing international tension, sharpen the most bellicose and adventurist aspects of their policy and try to provoke situations fraught with grave danger.

But when the economic potential of the socialist countries reaches and surpasses that of the capitalist world, when their political strength becomes even greater, then the day will be at hand when war will no longer threaten mankind. "Even before the final victory of socialism throughout the world," the XXIst Congress concluded, "with capitalism still extant in part of the globe, the real possibility will arise of excluding war from human society." This cherished hope, which seemed unrealizable in the past, this noble but utopian dream of so many great minds, is now becoming a reality. For all who believe in it, communism is indissolubly linked with peace. Accelerated communist construction in the USSR foreshadows the age of universal peace.

Is there anything surprising in the fact that there are now signs of a breach in the policy of the "cold war" and "brinkmanship," that so many people are calling for a reappraisal of the policy personified by the U.S. Secretary of State?

The economic might and the advance of science and technology, enabling the Soviet people to start the building of communism all along the line, add to the defense capacity of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, so much so that the latter is able to cool the ardor of those who would like to resolve the competition between socialism and capitalism by non-peaceful means. *Gone are the days when socialism could be destroyed from without, by force of arms. Restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the defeat of the socialist camp are excluded. Thus, socialism has triumphed completely, once and for all. As the XXIst Congress noted, the problem of building socialism in one country, of its complete and final victory, has been resolved by the march of history and social development. Another war would merely spell the end of capitalism.*

And when the road to war is blocked forever, increasingly powerful political forces will emerge in the imperialist countries, forces that will resolve the contradictions peacefully.

The XXIst Congress clearly defined the time when the Soviet Union will catch up with the United States and overtake it in per capita production.

The comparison with the United States is made not because it is the land of "prosperity." The USA is far from being a model, if only for the reason that along with workers who own automobiles there are many who can hardly make ends meet. In the United States, as in every capitalist country, working people are plagued by unemployment. And no matter how much the Randalls may boast about the United States being a "wonderful" country, millions of people in the colonies and in the countries which have recently won independence know of the extremes of racism in the United States. That is why it cannot be taken as a model. But inasmuch as capitalism has reached its maximum development there, comparison with the U.S. in the competition with socialism is understandable.

Socialism triumphed at first not in highly developed countries but in countries that were economically underdeveloped; and this fact complicates the comparison between the two systems. But as the Soviet Union catches up with and ultimately overtakes the highly developed capitalist countries in per capita production and to the extent that this is shown in the development of all the socialist countries, the comparison will become more simple; the superiority of socialism will be evident even to people less politically conscious. As the days go by it will be easier to judge which of the two systems is the better.

In his concluding speech at the XXIst Congress, N. S. Khrushchov pointed to the perspective of the competition between the two systems: "Let each system show how long is its working day, what material and spiritual benefits are enjoyed by the workingman, the housing provided for him, his chance of getting an education, the part he plays in the affairs of state, in the political life of his country, and who is master of the material and cultural riches—he who works, or he who does not work but owns capital."

There can be no doubt about the far-reaching changes that will take place in the thinking of people in the capitalist countries, or about the ensuing political consequences.

The progress of communist construction will exert, in particular, an increasing influence on the colonies and the newly independent countries. It is hardly necessary to recall how Nehru and Sukarno stressed the significance of the October Revolution, of Lenin's ideas and the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union, for the struggle waged by their countries and all the colonies

for independence. There is no need to examine the consequences of the Chinese revolution for Asia and its significance for the liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples. Nor is there any need to repeat how important is the comparison of the fruits of national liberation won, say, by China under working-class leadership and the banner of Marxism-Leninism with the results achieved in those countries where the working class has not yet become the leading force in the struggle for freedom and for a new national state.

Thanks to the existence of the socialist system the working people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and also in those which have recently won their independence, are becoming more determined and confident. Even the national bourgeoisie is in a position to win in the fight against imperialism largely due to the socialist camp which supports the countries upholding national independence. Without the economic and technical aid of the socialist countries, the new sovereign states of Asia and Africa would hardly be able to consolidate their positions.

It is precisely because of this that radical changes have taken place in Asia: the millions there have ceased to be the reserve of imperialism, and the colonial system is experiencing a grave crisis with all its consequences for the balance of political forces in the world. The anti-colonial movement is growing in Africa. In Latin America, too, the national-liberation movement, steadily gathering momentum, is stimulated by the existence of the socialist camp.

From the October Revolution to the revolution in China, from the Bandung Conference to the conference in Accra—no matter how these events differ in scale and consequences—we can trace a single line, not straight it is true, but steady, signifying that millions have been drawn into the making of history.

We have already seen how great is the power of attraction of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist system for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and how this worries the U.S. reactionary leaders. The new horizons which the XXIst Congress has opened to the socialist world will result in this power of attraction growing in geometrical progression.

Further sweeping changes in the balance of political forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America can be anticipated. This does not mean, however, that everything will go smoothly, in a straight line. On the contrary, when their old forms of domination experi-

ence crisis, the imperialists search for new ways of retaining their grip. In some of the Asian countries, Pakistan and Thailand, for instance, they have instigated reactionary coups. The imperialists seize on every opportunity to sap the anti-imperialist front; they try in every way to impose their "aid" on other nations and to disrupt the national-liberation movements. In Latin America, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to deflect to the right the forces fighting for national independence, to retard the liberation movement of the peoples, deafening them with anti-communist propaganda. Experience, however, teaches the peoples striving for independence that only militant unity of the national and patriotic forces can be decisive in the struggle against the main enemy—imperialism.

Communist construction in the Soviet Union cannot but exert a profound influence on the international working-class movement. The children of poverty and struggle have changed beyond recognition. The class which before the socialist revolution was oppressed and dependent, now leads a whole system of states and on a world scale has become an independent class in the sense that its class-conscious representatives are no longer subordinated to the bourgeoisie ideologically, are able to pursue a consistent policy in the interests of the working people, the policy of new and bright horizons. Who is it that now suggests a concrete and positive solution of international problems? In whose hands is the initiative? The answers are supplied by the bourgeois publicists. They complain that their governments lack "imagination," that their policy of "No" is a harmful policy. It is precisely the socialist states and the working class in the capitalist countries who show the real way to the solution of problems of the day: Germany, disarmament, trade, aid to underdeveloped countries, etc.

The working class is now playing an incomparably bigger role in the world. And this, let it be said, did not begin yesterday or the day before. It was the leading, active role of the working class in the battle against fascism that changed the character of the Second World War, the evolution of which from an imperialist war to a war of liberation was completed by the entry into it of the Soviet Union—the state of the working people led by the Communist Party. Carrying forward the traditions of the Paris Communards, the Soviet people, who more than once have risen in defense of the honor and independence of their homeland, this time took upon themselves a new mission: they headed the demo-

cratic and patriotic forces. The working class has now become the leading force in a number of countries. And this has had an impact on the entire working-class movement.

The leading role of the working class gives it added weight even in those countries in which it has not yet been able to head the nation. And this is a development that the other political trends cannot afford to ignore.

In each country the role of the working class is determined by the relationship of forces, by the conditions and tasks of the struggle. The ruling classes of feudal and bourgeois society were incapable of resolving the problems facing the nation, with the result that the working people had to fight for decades and still have to fight for their solution. In this struggle the working class has come forward as the leading force. But today its political weight in some countries acquires a new quality thanks to the role it plays in international affairs.

That is why the Communist and Workers' parties, even in the countries where the working class is still young and relatively inexperienced, are able not only to resist the policy of the ruling classes but also to formulate a positive solution of the national problems. That is why they are playing a much bigger part in the life of their countries, showing how to settle not only the major but also the minor questions of the everyday life of their people.

The strength of the Communist parties is that they have deep roots among the masses and, correctly expressing the interests of the working class, fight for the national interests. The international solidarity of the workers and their parties by no means contradicts the national character of the parties, which pursue an independent policy.

The ability of the revolutionary vanguard to rally the workers around it in broad unity has been displayed not only in countries where the working class has won power but also in a number of other big countries. This has become possible due to the leading role of the working class both within the country and internationally. The many new arguments and facts available can now convince the Social Democratic workers under the influence of their leaders—apologists of "people's capitalism" — which system and form of rule to choose in order to ensure the highest standard of living and the involvement of all citizens in discussing and deciding matters of state, the economy, education, and so on. Today the revolutionary vanguard can display

still greater initiative in its policy of unity with the Social Democratic workers and other political trends.

The rise of the socialist world system and its steady consolidation have deepened the general crisis of capitalism. The capitalist market is shrinking constantly, while the expansion of the productive forces necessitates its extension. By preventing trade with the socialist countries, the imperialist rulers merely aggravate the situation. Concentration of capital is increasing. The less numerous but more powerful financial groups compete for sources of raw materials and markets. The monopolies are squeezing out not only the middle sections in town and countryside but the non-monopoly bourgeoisie as well. They are depriving the working people even of the already restricted rights and liberties.

But it is this ever-growing monopoly domination that creates the objective conditions for a broad anti-monopoly front, opens before the working class the prospect of entering into class alliances of a kind which it could not even dream of before. Moreover, there is the possibility of reaching agreement with some groups of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie with a view to unifying all the anti-monopoly forces, something which until quite recently was considered impossible. Sooner or later these developments will lead to the isolation and defeat of the monopolies and the political forces supporting them.

A basic condition for the successful anti-monopoly struggle, though not the only one, is that in order to lead the masses, the working class and the Communist parties must display flexibility and the ability to change their policy in keeping with the new situation. It is most important for the working people to have before their eyes the striking example of the socialist countries. The economic and social demands arising from the pressing needs of the working class in the capitalist countries derive nowadays not only from the ideals of socialism, now scientifically substantiated, but also from the reality of socialism. That is why the workers' demands become more insistent and clear-cut, why the working-class movement grows stronger and becomes more confident.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, compelled to take cognizance of the fact that the working people now compare conditions in the capitalist and socialist countries, is forced to make concessions to which it would never before agree.

As the comparison with the socialist world, together with the growing working-class movement, make things increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie, it is searching for new forms of political domination. The old liberal parties are not longer suitable. The radical, democratic parties of the old type are also experiencing a crisis. The monopoly bourgeoisie relies on mass parties as, for instance, the Catholic parties in West Germany and Italy. But these parties, by virtue of their mass character, are not homogeneous; antagonistic interests coexist in their ranks which may deepen the contradictions and make inroads into their mass basis. Consequently, much depends on how the working class will be able to display political initiative in building broad class alliances. In view of the workers' demands, the monopolists consider it expedient at times to impart a "socialist" coloring to their rule, to act with more "benevolence" towards social democracy. But the internal contradictions come to the surface earlier in the big Social Democratic parties than in the others, because the rank-and-file workers, who joined these parties because of their socialist aspirations, want something more than lip service to socialism and subservience to the monopolies.

And when the traditional parties and the parliamentary system no longer suit the monopolies, the latter switch to the offensive. The events in France and the dangerous tendencies observed in other European capitalist countries show that the monopoly bourgeoisie, in the name of constitutional legality, are installing totalitarian regimes and seeking the support of new, fascist-type parties (the Soustelle party in France) which resort to the most unscrupulous social and nationalist demagoguery in order to acquire a mass basis.

Whereas the bourgeoisie renounces its traditional democratic institutions and is ready to trample on them, the working class more actively defends democracy and particularly an institution such as parliament. It is common knowledge that in some countries (Italy, France) the working class has become the main force in the anti-fascist struggle, in the fight to restore bourgeois-democratic liberties. By upholding parliament and the democratic institutions, the working class creates the necessary conditions for its further struggle. It strives to infuse new life into these institutions, to enable them to reflect the popular demands in the best possible way. This enhances the role of the working class as the chief exponent of the national interests, the continuer of the best traditions of the people

and the rightful heir to the cultural legacy which must be preserved and enriched. The comparison of the steady extension of socialist democracy with the crisis of bourgeois democracy helps the working class in this respect.

The XXist Congress of the CPSU has demonstrated that the building of communism signifies not only the rapid expansion of the productive forces and greater well-being but also broader democracy. In the Soviet Union some of the functions of the state bodies are now being transferred to the public organizations. The people are displaying their initiative in all spheres; the role of the trade unions and other organizations is growing, and this enables the state bodies to devote more attention to the economy. The Congress noted that "in contemporary conditions the main emphasis in the development of the socialist state is to be laid on the all-round development of democracy, on ensuring that all citizens participate in the management of economic and cultural affairs and the conduct of public affairs." Is it necessary to speak about the influence this will have on the people in the capitalist countries where bourgeois democracy is being steadily restricted?

The successfully developing socialist camp leaves an imprint on all aspects of the policy and economy of the capitalist countries. Now, with the working class resolutely pressing for a policy of friendship and trade between countries with differing political systems, the ruling circles are taking the road of extending military blocs. The imperialists are building political and military alliances and new economic coalitions, all of which become permanent institutions. In many capitalist countries the problem of the home market is acute. The working class is interested in extending the market through increased purchasing power for the population, better conditions and social and economic reforms. The ruling circles are seeking another way out. They are attacking living standards and raising prices. We see the creation of a common European market which can only aggravate the contradictions between the capitalist states. The weaker capitalist states are subordinated to the more powerful. The war potential of revanchist West Germany is growing rapidly.

In these conditions the working class, as the champion of the national interests, becomes the only force in Europe capable of implementing a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation among all peoples. To the reactionary efforts of the bourgeoisie it replies with political action in line with the new

requirements. The very existence of the socialist world helps the working class to understand the real significance of the unity of the working people, demonstrating that this unity is the condition for all the past and present achievements of socialism, the condition for achieving the aims of the working class. The need for this unity was convincingly explained in the joint statement issued by the Communist parties of France and Italy. The two parties called upon the Social Democrats to rally all forces against reaction and fascism. They also stressed that the present situation in Western Europe calls for closer co-operation between the Communist parties, for exchanges of experience and a joint analysis of the problems now facing the working-class movement in Western Europe.

The Communists know that the bourgeoisie will not surrender, that it will stop at nothing in order to retain its positions. But the laws of social development, spelling the doom of the class that has outlived its day, are inexorable, while the growing strength of the socialist camp shows quite clearly that history is cutting short the time left to the capitalist system.

But, as we know, the laws of social development do not operate of their own accord, they are manifested in the activity of people, in their struggle. A new social system arises only as the result of the movement of the working people, only through the development of class struggle on the national soil. That is why the Communists all over the world do not stand idly by, watching the progress of the socialist camp; they are working for the victory of the new social system with a confidence and a consciousness never known before.

The new horizons opened by the XXist Congress of the CPSU help the working-class parties to work more effectively, to deeply work through the problems of their countries and in this way develop the national features of their policy. Greeting the XXist Congress on behalf of the Italian Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti said: "... It would be incorrect if we were to think that because you are marching forward so confidently and so rapidly, we can sit back and wait for the future which will inevitably demonstrate our correctness. Such an attitude would be profoundly erroneous. We know that each victory won by you is a victory of our common cause throughout the world. But we also know, and for us this is most important, that the winning of our people and our country for socialism and communism necessitates above all our

work and struggle, which we must wage in our conditions and with our own forces."

Conscious of their responsibility before their peoples and the working class of the world, the Communist parties will unite

around themselves still larger sections of the people and by so doing pave the way in all countries to the highest type of society, the construction of which is now under way on a broad front in the Soviet Union.

The Polish United Workers' Party on the Eve of its Third Congress

E. Ochab

THE XIIth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held last October resolved to convene the Third Party Congress on March 10, 1959. It also endorsed the Draft Directives for the economic development of Poland during 1959-65, the Party's rural policy and the changes in the Party Rules to be discussed at the Congress. These questions were the subject of a nationwide discussion embracing Party members and non-Party people, mass organizations, young men and women; intellectuals, particularly teachers, engineers and technicians, took part in the discussion together with the workers and peasants.

The Third Congress will review the period since the Second Congress in 1954, a period which has been rich in political experience and changes both in our Party and in the international communist and working-class movements. It will, however, devote its main attention to determining the Party's policy and, first and foremost, to the Party's economic program for the next few years.

Politics are the concentrated expression of economics, Lenin stressed. The experience of the Polish People's Republic and of the other socialist countries shows that national economic problems occupy, and rightly so, the chief place in the policy of the working-class party. It is clear that the living conditions of the working class and of the population as a whole, and the development of education and culture depend upon the economic base, the growth of the national income.

Economic advance is an important factor in the peaceful world competition between socialism and capitalism. The stronger each socialist country becomes economically, the more powerful will be the world socialist camp in this competition.

Our economic expansion has always been the result of large capital investments and a relatively rapid rate of industrialization. In the five years that separate us from the Second Congress, gross industrial output has risen 63 per cent; output of electric power has grown from 13.7 billion to 23.9 billion kilowatt hours (the pre-war figure was in the neighborhood of 3.6 billion); steel — from 3.6 million to 5.6 million tons (about 1.4 million tons in 1938); sulphuric acid — from 370,000 to 573,000 tons (some 181,000 tons in 1938). Output of the machine-building industry in 1958 (in comparable prices) was nearly double the 1953 figure.

The advance made by agriculture has been considerably less pronounced. During 1954-58 gross agricultural output rose by some 25 per cent and marketable produce by about 40 per cent. There was a marked increase in animal products. Meat procurements (slaughter-house weight) rose from 936,000 tons in 1953 to 1,576,000 in 1958, while the respective milk-yield figures were 2.137 billion liters and 3.459 billion.

The national economy's advance over the past ten years has made it possible to provide work for an additional three million wage and salaried workers outside agriculture.

Compared with the prewar period, consumption of basic foodstuffs has gone up considerably. There is hardly any illiteracy in Poland and universal education has been introduced. The numbers in secondary and higher schools have grown substantially. Some 220,000 engineers and technicians were engaged in the national economy in 1957 as against the 1938 figure of 48,000.

The substantial growth of the productive forces has created conditions for a further rapid forward movement. With a view to ac-

celerating the rate of socialist construction, we are taking measures to improve the forms and the methods of economic management. The Party and the government have done much over the past two years to abolish the extreme centralization of planning and management, to apply the principles of business accounting in a better way, and to stimulate personal material interest in raising output and labor productivity.

We are trying hard to eliminate the disproportion in the economy in order to be able to raise real wages and salaries and peasants' real incomes as soon as possible. This is the aim of the Party's policy in the countryside, which is directed at achieving the simultaneous growth of agricultural output and extension of the co-operative farming. This was the aim we had in view in re-organizing economic management and also in giving more initiative to the people's councils and other bodies.

The Party Documents Are Being Discussed Throughout the Country

The Draft Directives adopted by the XIIth Plenary Meeting chart our economic development for 1959-60—the last two years of the current Five-Year Plan—and for the ensuing five-year period—1961-65. We contemplate by 1965 increasing industrial output by about 80 per cent and agricultural output by some 30 per cent over the 1958 figure. An 80 per cent increase in industrial output is planned between 1961-65 in the socialized sector, excluding agriculture, *by means of raising labor productivity.*

If we take into consideration that the projected increases are in the form of a draft which could not incorporate all the latent reserves in the economy, and that expanded production is, in the main, to take place as a result of a rise in labor productivity, the tremendous importance of the Party and nationwide discussion of the Draft Directives will become apparent.

And, indeed, the main subject of discussion, which lasted some months, was the search for ways of accelerating the growth of production without increasing planned capital investments.

It is proposed to invest 492 billion zlotys (at 1958 prices) during 1961-65, which means a 46 per cent increase over the current Five-Year Plan. This is a huge sum for Poland. But the needs of our development are still very great and a sum considerably in excess of the planned figures is called for. Hence, without increasing capital investments, we shall have

to achieve the greatest possible economic returns by tapping production resources. This was one of the focal points of the discussion.

Since we have but few possibilities of extending crop areas we shall have to increase agricultural output primarily by higher yields. This is the cardinal problem confronting the countryside. By 1965 we aim at harvesting an average of 17.5 centners of grain crops per hectare (the figure was 14.5 centners in 1955-58) and at substantially increasing the productivity of animal husbandry.

This calls for greater capital investments, particularly for improvements, fertilizers, plant protection, mechanization and electrification. It is planned to invest about 63 billion zlotys in agriculture over 1961-65 (as against 44 billion in the present plan). This is a sizeable sum, but still insufficient for the needs of the countryside. We must, therefore, utilize the internal reserves of individual, co-operative and state farming which, given the present volume of planned capital investment, should yield good results.

The discussion of the documents of the XIIth Plenary Meeting in the countryside was aimed at revealing reserves for increasing production. This concerns the use and preservation of land-improvement installations, improved seed farming, bigger and better animal husbandry, expansion of processing and auxiliary enterprises, modern agrotechnical measures, etc. Millions of peasants showed a lively interest in these matters. Creative initiative on the part of rural Communists and the peasants can help greatly to improve the situation. These factors mold the peasants' social consciousness, enhance the initiative of peasant organizations — the agricultural groups (set up for the joint use of machinery, cultivation of individual plots, and so forth —Ed.), specialized groups and co-operatives.

Producer co-operative members sought ways and means of extending and safeguarding public property, improving joint work and heightening discipline. The forms of collaboration between co-operative members and non-members was another subject that had been brought up.

Discussion on increased production on the state farms was important. Their profitability, higher output, the elimination of bad management and the proper use of modern agrotechnical achievements were topical themes.

The radical re-organization of the system of planning and management, the fact that all state farms have gone over to business accounting, that personnel is now more skilled

and materially interested in raising labor productivity, have helped to improve the situation on the state farms and state machine-and-tractor stations (MTS).

In 1956 the state farms and MTS had a deficit of six billion zlotys. In the 1958-59 economic year the MTS made good their deficit, while that of the state farms dropped to about 1.5 billion. Under the 1959-60 plan, now being drawn up, the deficit will be wiped out and state farms will for the first time bring the state a net income. Their 1958 output was about 14 per cent above the 1956 level. The numbers employed on them fell by about 17 per cent during this period; productivity of labor thus increased by approximately 37 per cent.

In the pre-Congress discussion close attention was devoted to worker and peasant management. No longer do we hear voices doubting the correctness or advisability of management in the forms set up in our country in recent years. Many consider it feasible to consolidate and extend these forms of socialist democracy, which have proved so effective. Workers' management conferences in the enterprises (they include workers' councils, factory trade-union committees and factory Party committees) and agricultural groups (for the joint use of machinery, cultivation of individual plots, and so forth) in the countryside are an important factor in solving the bold tasks mapped by the Central Committee at its XIIth Plenary Meeting.

Engineers and technicians in the enterprises and in the scientific institutes made an important contribution to the discussion.

Our Party attaches great importance to technological progress. An essential condition of the rapid growth of labor productivity is the introduction, on a wide scale, of advanced technology in all industries.

It is, therefore, most important that business-like discussions on the mechanization of labor, electrification, automation and the introduction of chemical processes in production are being held in the enterprises, at industrial conferences and among the experts. The discussions cover the order of priority in which new technology should be introduced, economic effectiveness, how, by what methods and at what rate technological tasks should be solved, according to industry and enterprise.

The pre-Congress discussion was not confined to problems of production alone. Education, science and cultural work are allotted considerable attention in the directives. "The school," the directives state, "should train

young people to be conscious and active builders of the new system, the system that creates the conditions for a life of well-being and culture for all working people. The school should educate the young people in the spirit of socialist ethics and deep respect for labor, as the basis of life and social development, and also for the working people, as the creators of material and cultural blessings. In the light of this the school system and the content of education should be reorganized step by step so that the school will be better able to train young people for industry, teach them to use modern techniques and to master—while still at school—the fundamentals of industrial know-how, and to acquire habits of work."

It is planned to build 27,000 class-rooms at state expense during 1961-65 in order to facilitate the development of education. Furthermore, at the call of the Party, a public collection is under way for funds to build 1,000 schools under the slogan: 1,000 schools to mark the thousandth anniversary of the Polish state, which will be celebrated a few years from now.

Many of the teachers in the general educational and trade schools discussed the type of school required, how young people should be trained for labor in town and countryside, and many other educational problems of importance for our country's future.

Among students and research workers the discussion covered the further development of higher education and trends in scientific development. Here we meet with people who are indifferent or even alien to socialist ideology; but the vast majority appreciate that the general requirements of our economy and culture call for better higher education and the perfecting of educational processes in the interests of socialist construction in our country.

In the field of cultural work we aim, in the first place, at evolving forms that would embrace broad masses. By 1965 we hope to be producing at least 35 feature films a year, and to enlarge the number of cinemas so there will be not less than 34 seats for every 1,000 people. Big efforts will be made to enlarge libraries and to publish more reading material, to increase the number of houses of culture in residential areas, etc. Cultural workers held discussions on ways and means of spreading culture and raising the general cultural level of the working people.

Considerable activity was displayed by the Socialist Youth Union and the Peasant Youth Union. In the factories and mines their acti-

vities took the form of establishing youth teams and voluntary squads, emulation and competitions in honor of the Third Congress. There were over 2,500 youth production teams competing for best results, better discipline and improving their skills.

Young miners have pledged themselves to raise about 320,000 tons of coal in excess of plan by the time the Congress opens. The peasant youth are busy in educational and cultural work, in modernizing farming and organizing social measures as, for example, the building of schools, electrification, road building, etc.

This gives us the right to affirm that the participation of millions of working people in the pre-Congress discussion testifies to the faith which the masses repose in the Party and people's power, to their confidence that the Party's economic program serves their country and socialism and conforms to the interests of the working people in town and countryside.

The discussion coincided with the country-wide celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Communist Party.

Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, paying homage to the heroic Communist Party, draw inspiration from the example of its courageous fighters. Its traditions are a source of strength for the struggle against the class enemy, for the purity of our communist ideology, for the consolidation of international working-class solidarity, and for the building of a socialist Poland.

Discussion Results

At thousands of meetings, gatherings and conferences the working people are putting forward their proposals, touching on questions large and small, and on matters affecting production, social life and everyday affairs. Some of the proposals are realistic, others are not. A number can be implemented at once, others will require some time. Most important, however, is the fact that a sense of responsibility for the country, its destiny and development, is maturing among Party members and the working people. That is why the Party lends a keen ear to all voices raised at the discussions, attaches importance to all proposals.

The Party organizations and leading Party bodies analyzed the numerous proposals; the worthwhile and feasible suggestions are included in the program of action, whilst explanations are given as to why others are incorrect or impracticable. Thus a broad campaign of creative criticism by the masses was

launched in the course of which the weak sides of the work of many Party and economic bodies were brought out.

The enterprises and the people's councils have now received the 1959 and 1961-65 target figures and are discussing their practicability as well as the ways and means of reaching them. Workers' management conferences, in their turn, summed up the results of the discussions that have taken place in their factories. This is not a matter of mere statistics. Out of these will emerge the programs of action which are intended to further the advance of the enterprises and will eventually mean augmenting or amending the Directives.

A number of proposals have been submitted for cutting down the time scheduled for sinking new mines or new levels in existing mines. It is envisaged, for instance, to increase the output of coking coal, and thus reduce coke imports, which have been planned at three million tons in 1965. The miners, in addition to overfulfilling the plan for the fourth quarter of 1958 by 360,000 tons, have taken new pledges.

Many proposals are being made in the iron and steel industry to increase steel output without raising the present level of planned investments. For example, the personnel of the Pokoj ("Peace") Iron and Steel Works have resolved not to build a heating furnace but to obtain the required heating capacity through a number of technical and organizational improvements. This will yield a considerable saving. Suggestions made by the workers at the Kosciuszko Iron and Steel Works will effect a saving of over ten million zlotys a year. Port workers in Szczecin had to handle 5.5 million tons of freight in 1958. In honor of the Third Congress they have exceeded this figure by more than 500,000 tons.

It is estimated that in the seven-year period the tractor works will yield production to the value of over one billion zlotys in excess of the planned figure; the railway rolling stock works are determined to exceed their target by the same sum.

These are just a few examples.

It is too early to assess all the material results that will accrue, but there can be no doubt that the initiative displayed by the masses will result in a big saving of material wealth.

Many collectives are, first and foremost, exploring for production reserves and are seeking to achieve the maximum efficiency by mastering modern technology and better

organization of labor. A preliminary analysis of the proposals submitted during the discussion enables us to say that many enterprises and a number of industries will increase their production plans for the next seven years as compared with the draft plan.

In the past, higher output was chiefly achieved by employing greater numbers of workers. Now many of the suggestions aim at increasing output mainly by raising labor productivity. Industrial output in 1959, for example, is planned to rise by 7.7 per cent over the 1958 figure, with a 1.4 per cent increase in the number of workers employed.

An important feature of the discussion was that millions of people were becoming aware of the major economic tasks emerging from the economic program. They made these plans their own. Such figures as nearly 26 billion kwh. of electric power in 1959 and 41.5 billion by 1965; 97 million tons of coal in 1959 and 111.5 million in 1965; over six million tons of steel in 1959, and 8.8 million in 1965, and many, many others are common knowledge, figures which illustrate the steady, consistent and considerable expansion of the productive forces.

Many questions, big and small, affecting the daily life of the working people, were raised in the discussion. This is often a matter of eliminating vexing trifles and shortcomings which have piled up not only as a result of objective difficulties but also because of bureaucracy. Elimination of the bureaucratic practices in the course of the discussion makes things easier for the people, strengthens their faith in the Party and results in more of them taking an active part in the search for production reserves.

The Party is Consolidating its Ranks

In its struggle against revisionism and dogmatism the Party has grown stronger ideologically, has matured politically and improved its organization. We can affirm on the basis of the discussion now under way that the policy elaborated at the plenary meetings of the Central Committee has been adopted throughout the Party. Implementation of the directive of the Tenth Plenary Meeting to verify members purged the Party of careerists and demoralized elements; the Party also got rid of the fortuitous members who had little in common with it.

The verification continued from November 1957 to May 1958. The result was that over 206,000, i.e., 15.5 per cent of the members and probationers, were expelled. This number included 792 active opponents of the Party's

general line from revisionist or dogmatic positions.

An important gain of the verification campaign was that the members were required to raise their ideological, political and moral level. A higher ideological and political level of the members, and greater activity by the Party organizations are essential for strengthening contacts with the masses and the Party's leading role.

When we say that the most important aim of the discussion is the search for reserves, we realize that the main reserves are the Party's activity, the extent of its work in the factories, pits, rural communities, scientific research institutions and higher education establishments. The more active a Party member, the better will he be able to lead the non-Party people in emulation. Consequently, the Party is working to activate all its organizations, to see to it that each member has a Party assignment, that all work energetically in the public organizations and collectives which can help in fulfilling the plans more rapidly and in a better and more economical way.

The XIIth Plenary Meeting resolved that delegates to the congress should be elected at regional Party conferences and at Party conferences in the large enterprises. One delegate will be elected to represent 750 members and probationers. Party branches in industrial, transport and building enterprises will elect delegates at the enterprise conferences (branches with less than 750 and more than 400 members will elect one delegate).

The Party realizes the decisive importance of the large enterprises for the national economy, the decisive significance of active worker-members in these enterprises. It considers it necessary that a large group of delegates at the Congress represent the big enterprises. This will, in all probability, be a group of about 200 out of the approximately 1,450 delegates expected at the Congress.

What is the membership and composition of the Party at the present time?

On October 1, 1958, the Party had a membership of 1,023,577 of whom 41.8 per cent—427,238—were workers (including agricultural workers). In point of fact the percentage is still higher, because the Party statistics have placed workers promoted to foremen and to administrative jobs in the mental-worker group.

There were 125,015 peasants in the Party of whom 6,378 are members of producer co-operatives. Nearly 50 per cent of the villages

still have no Party organizations. It should be said that as of October 1, 1958, the Party had 14,830 engineers, 7,632 agronomists and 32,487 teachers among its members. The 64 higher educational establishments have Party branches with 7,983 members and probationers, including 3,279 research workers.

There has been an influx of new probationers during the pre-Congress campaign. This testifies to the activity of Party branches and to the growing confidence of the masses in the Party. In the last three months of 1958, 11,729 people joined the Party, of whom 6,054 were workers and 1,515 peasants.

The nationwide preparations for the Congress are being accompanied by a further extension of socialist democracy, by the growing importance and independence of local councils and the public organizations.

The Party's leading role has become even more important in the new conditions under which the line adopted at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee (October 1956) is being implemented. Its methods and ways of influencing the country's affairs have improved considerably. The amendments to the Rules proposed by the XIIth Plenary Meeting pursue the aim of strengthening the Party in order that it may more successfully fulfil its leading role in building socialism.

The purpose of the amendments is to make the Party a monolithic body in which thinking, will and action are indissolubly linked. The underlying idea of these changes is the deepening of the democratic centralism typical of the Lenin type of party. "The basic organizational principle of inner-party life," read the Draft Rules, "is democratic centralism. It is a condition for the ideological and political cohesion and unity of action of the Party."

The Central Committee submitted the draft directives for the country's development over the next seven years to the Party and the people. They were discussed and amendments and suggestions incorporated. Additions were suggested, and tasks defined and elaborated. Thus a program of action was drawn up by the joint efforts of the Central Committee and the Party membership. When it is adopted by the Third Congress this program will become the property of the people now building socialism under Party leadership.

* * *

Awareness of the relationship between internal and international problems has deepened in the Party during the pre-Congress campaign. It is the heartfelt desire of millions of our people, as well as of those of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, to build socialism in conditions of peace. International aggressive and reactionary forces threaten world peace. The steady growth of the economic potential of the socialist camp and the consolidation of the unity of this camp is the best reply to their encroachments, the most reliable guarantee for ensuring peaceful construction in our countries.

The XXIst Congress of the CPSU and its program for the USSR's further development towards communism were striking testimony to the increased might of the socialist camp.

This Congress will be of great ideological help to our Party in solving its problems. Progressive people throughout the world have always turned their eyes to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A new era has begun in the Soviet Union. Its peoples, having forged, under Party leadership, a new social formation — socialist society — are now accomplishing the transition to the higher phase of communism. The sound of Soviet hammers resounds in all countries and awakes in the hearts of millions the conviction that the socialist cause will triumph.

A great leap forward in industry and agriculture is taking place in People's China. In all the socialist countries the index is rising steadily, testifying to the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Our foreign policy is aimed at strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, for our unity, the unity of the world working-class and communist movements is the basic condition for the victory of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world. In its pre-Congress campaign the Polish United Workers' Party is guided by the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism and is educating and tempering its members in this spirit. Observance of this principle will enable us better to fulfil the tasks set by the XIIth Plenum, will assist us in overcoming more successfully the influence of clerical, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, help us more rapidly to lay the foundations of socialism in town and countryside.

The People Will Not Forget the Lessons of the Past

I. Mintz

THE peoples of Europe have not forgotten that Nazi Germany began to prepare for the Second World War by making insolent demands on Czechoslovakia and Poland. And the revenge-seeking leaders in Bonn have already raised the question of the Federal Republic's claims to the "eastern territories," implying thereby part of Czechoslovakia and Poland's western lands.

Who is to blame if a menace to peace and the security of the peoples has re-appeared in the heart of Europe? The very forces that equipped and prepared Nazi Germany, as postwar history has revealed, are now turning West Germany into an instrument of their criminal policy of instigating a new war. The U.S., British and French rulers have built up a revanchist Bonn state that has inherited many of Hitler Germany's features — features that spell danger to peace.

During the war and shortly after it, the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition signed the Potsdam and other Four-Power agreements designed to end German militarism forever and to ensure the development of a peaceful and democratic Germany. But the Western powers never had any intention of implementing these agreements. Instead, they began to revive the forces that twice in our century have unleashed a world war. The inclusion of West Germany in NATO, the establishment of a North Atlantic Treaty base in West Berlin, and the remilitarization of West Germany, show that the USA, Britain and France have trampled underfoot the Potsdam and other Four-Power agreements and by so doing have removed the grounds for maintaining the present status of Berlin and, indeed, for the occupation of Germany.

The Soviet Union has always honored its obligations under international agreements, and this holds good for the agreement on Germany. More than once it raised a warning voice when the Western powers tore up one inter-allied agreement after another, impelling West Germany onto the path of militarism and revanchism.

The Soviet Government, aware of the real state of affairs, recently put forward pro-

posals on the Berlin question and the draft of a peace treaty. This peace-loving initiative has met with warm response everywhere, and the movement for preparing and signing a peace treaty is gaining momentum in the two German states. But the Bonn leaders, headed by Adenauer, have said "No" to the Soviet proposals. Relying on the support of American imperialism, they are continuing their dangerous game of playing with fire, laying claim to the "eastern territories." Bonn's semi-official *Diplomatische Korrespondenz* has pointed out that Adenauer's main reason for rejecting the Soviet draft is his unwillingness to relinquish his revanchist demands for Polish and Czechoslovak lands. This merely reaffirms that the bitter experience of the war has been wasted on some of the Western statesmen, that they are resurrecting the infamous Munich policy of pitting German militarism against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Everybody knows the results of this policy, and the people will never forget it.

March 15 marks the twentieth anniversary of Nazi Germany's seizure of Czechoslovakia, a deed made possible solely by the Western powers' deal with Hitler in Munich.

Since the time of this shameful plot among Britain, France, Germany and Italy many documents have come to light which thoroughly expose the falsifiers of history, the avowed and covert accomplices in fascist aggression. These documents testify to the Soviet Union's principled and consistent foreign policy.

The Organizers and Inspirers of the Munich Policy

The history of Munich is directly connected with the Versailles-Washington system which politically legalized the re-division of the world after the First World War. The Versailles system, the product of combinations of all kinds and of numerous attempts to reconcile contradictions, could not but break down at the first sharp turn of events. Taking full advantage of the contradictions obtaining among the victors and spurred on by the American monopolies who had invested extensively in her industry,

Germany began—with impunity and with but little attempt to conceal her activities from the control authorities—to sabotage the peace imposed upon her and to prepare for revenge.

The U.S. Senate refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty because the American imperialists were dissatisfied with their share of the spoils. The U.S. improved its positions at the Washington Conference (November 1921-February 1922) as a result of having consolidated and extended its sphere of influence in the Far East. But the appetite of American imperialism—the pretender to world domination—was not appeased. Discarding “isolationism,” the U.S. resolved to “put the European house in order.” Secretary of State Hughes proposed in December 1922 that the U.S. become the arbiter in the reparations question, and Britain and France, torn by antagonisms and compelled to pay their debts to America, after some hesitation, agreed. In January 1924 Dawes, a former lawyer, appeared in London in the capacity of Europe’s savior. Within three months he had submitted a “plan” for the salvation of Germany and the capitalist world. On the pretext of solving the currency problem Dawes advanced a plan for the rehabilitation of Germany’s monopoly industry by way of foreign—chiefly American—capital, and by intensified exploitation of the masses. With a view to removing the threat to the victor-countries of German competition and making sure that she would pay reparations, Germany was given a free hand on markets “free” of other imperialists—primarily the Soviet market.

British Prime Minister Baldwin lauded the Dawes Plan as a barrier defending West European civilization against any ravaging attacks from the East,* thereby disclosing one of the aims of the plan, namely, to use Germany for the economic and political subordination of Soviet Russia.

The Dawes Plan was the first step in laying the economic foundation of the Munich policy.

With the generous infusion of foreign investments, Germany’s industry and with it her war potential started out on a swift recovery. Her political status had to be brought into line with her growing economic might, and so the German capitalists advanced the idea of revising the Versailles Treaty by the signing of another agreement. Transatlantic businessmen again appeared on

the political scene. The U.S. Ambassador to London threatened, in the summer of 1925, to stop credits to any government that refused to sign the new pact. Washington insisted that the debtor-countries, France in the first place, should pay their debts. Under this pressure the rivals yielded, and in October 1925, Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany signed the Locarno Treaty which guaranteed Germany’s western frontiers, but left open the question of her eastern frontiers. Czechoslovakia and Poland were refused a collective guarantee of security. The pointer on the road to war turned East.

Thus the political foundation was laid for the Munich policy. The Locarno Treaty, like the Dawes plan, bore the trade-mark “Made in USA.”

The world economic crisis of 1929-33 shook the imperialist system to its foundations. Not only did the capitalists in all countries seek to make the masses bear the burden of the crisis, they tried hard to find a way out at the expense of other nations, and all of them together—at the expense, chiefly, of the USSR. The imperialists pursued two aims: first, to abolish the socialist country or, as a last resort, to weaken it for years to come, and, second, to divert German aggression eastward and thus weaken their German rival through war.

The German magnates, relying on foreign imperialist aid, put the fascist party—the most reactionary political party—in power. The organizational foundation was now added to the economic and political foundations of the future Munich betrayal; in the Nazis the Western imperialists found reliable executors of their designs.

In return for playing this role Nazi Germany insisted that the springboard for war should be extended; she sought to strengthen her rear and flanks at the expense of her neighbors and to annul the provisions of the Versailles Treaty limiting the building of an aggressive army. With the tacit approval of her recent adversaries Nazi Germany, in violation of the Versailles Treaty, began to build up an air force and a submarine fleet. In 1935 conscription was introduced, which signified the sapping of the foundations of the Versailles system. A year later the Nazis occupied the Rhineland demilitarized zone.

The Nazi war preparations proceeded before the eyes of the deeply anxious peoples, but the architects of the Versailles Treaty pretended that this had nothing to do with them.

*History of Diplomacy, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, Vol. 3, p. 284.

Encouraged by this attitude of the Western powers, the aggressors sparked off a number of wars. Japan invaded China, Italy attacked Abyssinia, while Germany, jointly with Italy, intervened in Spain. This was a try-out, part of the preparation for a big war. As a retaliatory measure the U.S. Congress passed a Neutrality Act prohibiting the sale of armaments to the belligerents and to states which might re-sell them to these countries. In point of fact, however, this law merely benefited the aggressors, for neither Germany nor Italy needed military supplies, whereas the victims of aggression were left without weapons.* The U.S. precedent was soon followed: in 1936, when Germany and Italy had invaded Spain, the British and French governments created the Non-Intervention Committee. This Committee, which in no way interfered with the criminal deeds of the fascists, made quite sure that the victims of the attack received no help from outside.

Another economic crisis struck capitalism in 1937. Germany and Japan, who had placed their economies on a war footing, were the only capitalist countries not affected. By this time the fascists had mobilized their forces. In the autumn of 1937 Italy joined the "anti-Comintern Pact" concluded between Germany and Japan in 1936 and thus the axis bloc took final shape.

With the support of the U.S., British and French monopolies, the fascists completed their economic, diplomatic and military preparations for a crusade to redivide the world in their favor, camouflaging it under the "idea" of saving "civilization" from communism. The U.S., British and French governments knew exactly what lay behind this, but they were aware, too, of the secret provisions of the "anti-Comintern Pact" and so did not give up hope of realizing their plans to incite the resurgent German imperialism and its allies against the USSR.

At a meeting of Nazi generals on November 5, 1937, Hitler set forth his plan of action for world "domination of the Aryan race." He admitted that a clash between Britain and the fascist bloc was inevitable.** Outlining concrete measures for war, Hitler argued that "in all probability England and

perhaps also France have already silently written off Czechoslovakia."*

Twelve days after this meeting the British government, which was aware of Hitler's intentions, sent a special mission to Berlin headed by Lord Halifax, Prime Minister Chamberlain's representative. During a talk with Hitler on November 19, 1937, at which the German Foreign Minister Neurath was present, Lord Halifax first stressed that he had been vested with extensive powers and was acting on behalf of his government and the head of that government. Halifax noted the Fuehrer's services in the struggle against communism, and stated that he had blocked the spread of communism into Western Europe and that Germany could rightly be regarded as the West's bulwark against Bolshevism.** He let it be understood that other countries, too, might rally around the fascist bulwark. If Germany and Britain reached agreement, Italy and France could also be enlisted. Thus, in plain terms, it was suggested to Hitler that he should continue his struggle against "communism"—against the Soviet Union—and he was promised the assistance of the Western bloc. Without any beating about the bush, Hitler stated his price—would Germany get any colonies? The British spokesman was not caught napping. Halifax hinted that the colonies could be discussed only after the campaign against the East was over. The colonial question, he said, could be considered only as part of an over-all settlement that would result in peace and security in Europe.*** On Hitler's repeating that there was, in fact, only one disagreement between Britain and Germany and that was the colonial question, Halifax named a specific price for the fight against the Soviet Union: Danzig, Austria and Czechoslovakia, a change in whose status quo would probably occur sooner or later.† Having named the victims and indicated the direction German aggression should take, Halifax again significantly added that the colonial question could be discussed: Britain was prepared to do so, but any British government could only regard this problem as part of a general settlement.‡ In tune with Halifax, Hitler terminated the conversation with the words: "The only catastrophe is Bolshevism . . .

*The aggressors easily by-passed this law by purchasing arms from American enterprises in Europe. As one American historian admitted, "During the time when both Germany and Italy were deeply involved in giving aid to the Spanish rebels, both of these countries were buying arms freely in this country." (J. Latane and D. Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, N.Y., 1941, p. 945.)

***Documents on International Affairs, 1939-1946*, Vol. I, March-September 1939, London, 1951, pp. 16-25.

**Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*. Washington, 1946, Vol. III, p. 302.

***Documents and Materials Relating to the Eve of the Second World War*. Moscow, 1948, Vol. I, p. 16.

****Ibid.*, p. 31.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 33, 35.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 45.

And only one country — Soviet Russia — stands to benefit in the event of a universal conflict.”*

An official communiqué published in Paris observed that Lord Halifax's visit had “helped remove the causes of international disagreement and contributed to the easing of tension.”** Thus the French government approved the deal, agreed to German aggression turning eastward and to the promised remuneration.

The Halifax-Hitler plot was a sort of rehearsal for Munich.

Nor did the USA remain aloof. In October, i.e., before Halifax visited Berlin, the State Department had conceived the idea of convening an international conference without the USSR, and against it.*** The idea appealed to the Hitlerites, they thought the conference would help to advance their plans.

It is difficult to say at the moment whether this was a mere coincidence or a co-ordination of British and U.S. plans. The latter is probably true, because on November 18, 1937, Bullitt, U.S. Ambassador to Paris, was sent on a secret mission to Berlin where Halifax had arrived the day before. Bullitt met Neurath, Schacht and Goering, who frankly admitted that Germany was preparing to make short shrift of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Bullitt raised no objection.† Then, two days after Halifax's talk with Hitler, Captain Wiedemann, the Fuehrer's personal aide-de-camp, was sent to the U.S. According to the French bourgeois press, his job was to obtain from leading American politicians a “guarantee for a free hand in the East.” It was also reported that Wiedemann had been instructed to meet Senator Vandenberg, the “herald of anti-communism in the USA.”‡

No details of these talks have been published, but it is known that on November 3, 1937, a secret meeting took place between Tippleskirch and Killinger, German consuls in Boston and San Francisco, and seven U.S. monopoly spokesmen. On behalf of the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Bankers' Association, Senator A. Vandenberg, L. Dupont, one of the monopoly tycoons, and A. Sloan, President of General

Motors, put forward a comprehensive program for a joint U.S.-German effort against the USSR. Tippleskirch declared that the main aim of German foreign policy was to establish close German-American collaboration in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the rivals of both countries. The American participants agreed with this statement.*

It follows, therefore, that Germany's rulers were well aware that their schemes had American monopoly backing.

Subsequent events ran smoothly as in a well-acted play. Just as Abyssinia had been handed over to the mercy of the Italian fascists, Austria, without any resistance, was sacrificed to the German aggressors. It was now the turn of Czechoslovakia. In Munich, on September 29-30, 1938, Czechoslovakia was dismembered and handed to the fascists; by this act peace was betrayed and the way to world war opened. The representatives of Britain, France, Hitler Germany and fascist Italy put their signatures to the infamous Munich agreement. True, the signature of the U.S. is missing, but that does not mean that it bears no responsibility for the Munich betrayal. The U.S. government acted as an “observer.” One need not be a diplomat to construe this attitude as one of unwillingness to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia. However, the moment the fascist-encouragement machine “jammed,” the U.S., ostensibly on the sidelines, immediately intervened.

On March 13, 1938, Dieckhoff, the German Ambassador to Washington, officially informed Secretary of State Hull of the seizure of Austria. “From a few questions which he asked,” Dieckhoff reported to Berlin, “it was apparent that he thoroughly understands our action.”*** His professional intuition did not play the German diplomat false. Early in April 1938, the U.S. Ambassador informed the German Foreign Minister that the Austrian Embassy in Washington had been closed.*** This signified recognition of the annexation of Austria and encouragement to the aggressor.

Hugh Wilson, U.S. Ambassador to Berlin, arrived in Prague in August 1938, simultaneously with Chamberlain's representative Runciman who had been assigned the task of making Czechoslovakia drop the idea of resisting, of forcing her to submit to Hitler.

*Ibid., pp. 46, 48.

**L'Humanite, December 1, 1937.

***W. Langer and S. Gleason. *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940*, N.Y., 1952, p. 24.

†Ch. Tansill, *Back Door to War*, Chicago, 1952, p. 361.

‡From V. A. Matveyev's book *Failure of the Munich Policy (1938-1939)*, p. 41.

*G. Seldes, *Facts and Fascism*, N.Y., 1943, pp. 69-74.

**Documents on German Foreign Policy, Series D, Vol 1, p. 583.

***Documents on American Foreign Relations, January 1938-June 1939, Boston, 1939, p. 275.

Wilson had talks with Benes, Krofta and Hodja. *Pravo Lidu*, the Prague reformist newspaper, noted that both the British and American missions pursued the same aim, while the *New York Times* wrote that the sending of a mission to Prague showed "that the United States have a personal interest in the Czechoslovak question."*

In order to strengthen the position of the capitulators in France, the U.S. Government informed the French government that in the event of a European war it would not get any U.S. credits or military aid.

"At the time of the Czechoslovak crisis," wrote the French Foreign Minister Bonnet to his Ambassador in Washington in November 1938, "the U.S. Government informed us that it could not let us have a single soldier, nor, by virtue of the Johnson Act, a single sou in credit. . . . At this crucial time M. Bullitt confidentially warned me that the President, despite his personal sentiments, would be obliged to strictly apply the Neutrality Act. He even showed me M. Roosevelt's personal letter warning M. Guy le Chambre (French Minister of Aviation.—I.M.) that delivery of aircraft purchased by us some months ago could not but meet with grave difficulties in the event of war."**

The United States' attitude during these critical days is further revealed in a letter sent by President Roosevelt to Hitler on the eve of Munich. After a dose of pacifist phraseology, this document said that "the government of the United States has no political involvements in Europe, and will assume no obligations in the conduct of the present negotiations."*** The Nazis could rest assured that the USA would not help the victims of aggression, either directly or indirectly.

"It was," admitted an American historian, assessing the President's message at the time of Munich, "far removed from any advocacy of collective security, sanctions or coercion."†

When the Munich agreement was being signed, Halifax conveyed to U.S. Ambassador Kennedy "the thanks of His Majesty's Government for the help that the President had given by his intervention during the last two or three days." He said he had no doubt whatever that "this had exercised a very powerful influence upon the course of events."‡

*Quoted from *Prager Presse*, August 9, 1938; *New York Times*, August 5, 1938.

**G. Bonnet, *Defense de la paix de Washington au Quai d'Orsay*, Geneva, 1946, pp. 341-342.

***J. Latane and D. Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, p. 982.

†Ch. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*, p. 220.

‡*Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, Third Series, Vol. II, L., 1949, p. 625.

There can be no question of the U.S. Government's sincerity in sending to Chamberlain, after his acceptance of Hitler's invitation (Sept. 28), a short but expressive message: "Good man."* Praise, too, was not wanting for the French. Bullitt, his arms full of flowers, visited Daladier and Bonnet the day after they returned from Munich and, with tears in his eyes, conveyed to them joyful greetings from America.**

The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union at the Time of Munich

Could the fascist aggression have been stopped? Could peace have been preserved and the Second World War averted?

A collective security system of the non-aggressor countries was the real way to prevent war. Efforts were being made to establish a united front of the peace-loving states. The Soviet Union, guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, pursued these efforts persistently and purposefully.

The Soviet Union realized that a war instigated by the fascists and their patrons could not be localized. It would inevitably become a world war, as the march of events was to confirm. In these conditions collective security alone could have saved the world from another slaughter. One cannot keep clear of the deluge, even by holing up at home.

And so the Soviet Union did all in its power to establish a system of collective security. In 1935 it signed mutual aid pacts with France and Czechoslovakia.

After it signed the Soviet-Czech Mutual Aid Pact the Soviet government unfailingly expressed its readiness to fulfil its pledges at any time and in any situation, should Czechoslovakia be threatened with aggression.***

The seizure of Austria enhanced Germany's strategic positions and gravely endangered Czechoslovakia: Hitler's troops had approached her frontiers from the direction of Austria. There was the further danger that pressure might be exerted via Hungary.

The Soviet government, on March 17, 1938, immediately after the Nazi seizure of Austria, proposed to Britain, France and the USA that "consideration should be given to the practical measures necessitated by the present circumstances," for "there is, first and foremost, the menace to Czechoslovakia, and

*W. Langer and S. Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940*, N.Y., 1952, p. 34.

**G. Bonnet, *Defense de la paix de Washington au Quai d'Orsay*, 1946, p. 294.

***On the insistence of the government of Czechoslovakia, the reservation was made in the Soviet-Czech Treaty of May 16, 1935, whereby the USSR would come to the aid of Czechoslovakia only in the event of France doing likewise.

then the danger, since aggression is infectious, of the threat developing into new international conflicts. . . .”^{*} This time, too, the Soviet government’s proposal for collective measures was rejected by the Western governments who, with astonishing persistence, encouraged the aggressors. The United States did not reply at all (for “our response . . . must be negative,” as Cordell Hull noted^{**}). Chamberlain emphatically rejected the Soviet proposal for a conference and said outright that the British government would not assume any obligation for joint action against aggression.^{***}

Meanwhile, events went their way, confirming in the Soviet government’s foresight. The Czechoslovak Republic was the next victim after Austria. In that tragic year of 1938 the Czech and Slovak peoples could see who were their true friends and who their avowed and secret enemies.

A special meeting of Soviet statesmen on the Czechoslovak question was held in the Kremlin in mid-April 1938. Ambassador Fierlinger was informed immediately of the decisions adopted and, at the request of the Soviet government, sent the following message to Prague:

“The Soviet Union, if requested to do so, is ready, in agreement with France and Czechoslovakia, to take all steps for our (i.e., Czechoslovakia’s) security. It has everything necessary for this. The state of the Soviet Army and Air Force allows of this.”^{****} In a talk with Fierlinger in April, Litvinov, People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs, confirmed that the USSR was ready to fulfil its allied obligations to the letter.[†]

The Soviet Union was prepared to go beyond the obligations it had assumed. On April 26, M. I. Kalinin, in a report on the international situation, said: “Of course, the pact does not prohibit either side coming to the aid of the other without waiting for France.”[‡] As the clouds gathered and the political climate in Europe changed radically for the worse, the Soviet government demonstrated once again that its words and actions were one.

During the so-called May crisis, when Hitler, through his Henlein stooges in Czecho-

slovakia, tried to seize the country without resorting to armed intervention, Britain and France insisted on the Czechoslovak government yielding to the Nazis. The U.S. Ambassador to Paris told his Czechoslovak colleague that the opportune moment for Hitler to start war had come, for Italy would join Germany, Poland and Rumania would go to war against Russia; Britain would refrain from action and Czechoslovakia and France would thus be isolated.^{*}

When the Western “allies” reneged on their pledges, the Soviet Union confirmed its readiness to help Czechoslovakia and suggested that appropriate measures be discussed at a joint meeting of the Soviet, French and Czechoslovak general staffs. What is more, the Soviet Union requested France to arrange with Poland and Rumania for the passage of Soviet troops through their territory should it be necessary to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia. But France never even tried to take any diplomatic steps.^{**}

The Soviet Union made renewed efforts for collective security in September when fascist Germany began to carry out her plan, long prepared and agreed upon with the Western imperialists, to seize Czechoslovakia.

On September 1, Payart, the French Chargé d’Affaires, visited V. P. Potemkin, Deputy People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs, and formally handed him a French statement to the effect that the situation in Czechoslovakia was critical; Germany was preparing to attack; France’s efforts to bring pressure to bear on Poland and Rumania had not yielded positive results. Payart then asked: “On what Soviet aid could Czechoslovakia count in view of the difficulties created by Rumania and Poland.”[†] The French spokesman requested a prompt answer. On September 2 the Soviet government informed France, Britain and Czechoslovakia that it was prepared to fulfil all its obligations under the Soviet-Czechoslovak Pact, “utilizing all the ways open to us.”[‡] As concerns Poland and Rumania, their attitude might have been different had the League of Nations adopted a decision on aggression as the Soviet-Czechoslovak Pact envisaged.

As regards concrete help, the Soviet government proposed an immediate conference of representatives of the French, Soviet and Czechoslovak general staffs. To avert an armed conflict the Soviet government suggested a Three-Power conference — between the

^{*}Documents and Materials Relating to the Eve of the Second World War, Vol. I, Moscow, 1948, pp. 104-105.

^{**}Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, The Soviet Union, 1933-39, Washington, 1952, p. 539; The Memoirs of Cordell Hull, N.Y., 1948, Vol. I, p. 659.

^{***}Documents on International Affairs, 1938, Vol. I, London, 1942, pp. 47-48.

^{****}Zdenek Fierlinger, Ve sluzbach CSR, Praha, 1951, Vol. I, p. 86.

[†]Ibid.

[‡]M. I. Kalinin, On the International Situation. Report at a Meeting of Agitators and Propagandists in the Lenin District, Moscow, April 28, 1938. Moscow, 1938, p. 14.

^{*}New Documents on the History of Munich, Moscow, 1958, pp. 39-40.

^{**}Ibid., p. 42.

[†]Ibid., p. 69.

[‡]Ibid., pp. 70-71.

USSR, France and Britain — and the publication of a joint declaration on collective aid to Czechoslovakia in the event of German aggression.

The Soviet Union was ready to go even further: replying to Payart, who called on Potemkin on September 5 and asked what would be the Soviet attitude in the event of Poland attacking Czechoslovakia, the Soviet spokesman said that although the Soviet-Czechoslovak Pact did not oblige the Soviet Union to take any action in this event, the "USSR had not thereby deprived itself of the right to take at its discretion one or another decision should Poland attack Czechoslovakia."^{*}

The Soviet Union's reply to France was perfectly clear and unambiguous, yet in reporting to Paris the French representative managed to distort it, alleging that the Soviet Union had insisted on diplomatic delays—on an appeal to the League of Nations and consultation among the Three Powers. Payart sought to create the impression that the Soviet reply was evasive and unclear. It was pointed out to Coulondre, the French Ambassador, that "manifestly unscrupulous use" had been made of the Soviet reply. For the third time in the space of a week or so all the points of the Soviet proposal were repeated. The French Ambassador was forced to apologize for his counsellor.^{**}

Instead of accepting the Soviet proposals, the Western powers went all out to "flabbergast" world public opinion by concocting another anti-Soviet falsification. On September 9, 1938, Bullitt, Bonnet and the not-known airman Lindbergh, an American provocateur, put out a statement to the effect that Hitler's air force was capable of defeating the combined British, French, Czechoslovak and Soviet air forces. General Foche, ex-chief of the French military mission in Prague, nailed this lie when he assessed the military potential of Czechoslovakia alone: "Even if Czechoslovakia were to face Germany alone," he wrote, "the war might last many months. The fact that the Czech Army had 40 splendid divisions meant that the superiority of the German forces was no greater than their superiority over the French at Verdun. Hitler knew this, and he would never have attacked Czechoslovakia had he not been certain that France and Britain would abandon her."[†]

The Nazis were haunted by the fear that the Soviet Union would help Czechoslovakia,

and the Soviet Union was prepared to aid her at all stages of the crisis. "At the most critical time for us," said Zdenek Fierlinger, who, as Czechoslovak envoy, played an important part in the events, "the Soviet Union displayed a genuine desire to comply with its allied obligations. . . . It took measures which testify to its serious desire to intervene in the matter."^{*}

With Western-power connivance the Czechoslovak crisis developed rapidly. At 2 P.M. on September 19 the French and British ambassadors handed the government of Czechoslovakia their governments' statement. After discussing Chamberlain's report on his talks with Hitler and the conclusions of the Runciman Mission, the British and French governments deemed it necessary to hand over the Sudeten districts to Germany. Czechoslovakia's new frontiers, the statement pointed out, would be guaranteed against an unprovoked attack, and a reply was expected from Czechoslovakia not later than September 21, when Chamberlain was to visit Hitler for the second time. On the same day Benes saw Alexandrovsky, the Soviet Ambassador, and requested the Soviet government's early reply to the following questions:

- 1) would the Soviet Union, in accordance with the treaty, render Czechoslovakia immediate and effective aid if France, loyal to her obligations, would render similar aid?
- 2) would the USSR support Czechoslovakia in the League of Nations to which it would cable a request to intervene in the event of an attack by Germany?

The Soviet government replied in the affirmative to both questions on September 20—the day it received them. The French Embassy was also informed.

The Soviet reply was telephoned to Benes while the government was discussing the British and French Note. The Soviet government's firm and resolute answer, together with the popular demand, had its effect: for the first time since the crisis the Czechoslovak government had said "no" to a proposal made by Britain and France; it requested them to reconsider their demands. This took place at 7 P.M. on September 20.^{**} On the following day, September 21, Litvinov, on behalf of the Soviet government, announced in the League of Nations: Our War Department is ready immediately to meet the representatives of the French and Czechoslovak War Departments in order to discuss appropriate measures.^{***} The Soviet representative emphasized that

^{*}Ibid., p. 75.

^{**}Ibid., pp. 78-82.

[†]Izvestia, December 26, 1938, quoted from M. Gus' book *American Imperialists, Inspirers of the Munich Policy*, p. 73.

^{*}Zd. Fierlinger, *ibid.*, p. 117.

^{**}New Documents on the Mistory of Munich, pp. 98, 126.

^{***}Izvestia, September 26, 1938.

peace could not be achieved by appeasing the insatiable appetite of the aggressors and destroying sovereign nations.

But the political Shylocks were inexorable. At 2 A.M. on September 21 the British and French ambassadors literally burst in upon the President of Czechoslovakia and, in the form of an ultimatum, proposed that the Anglo-French demands be accepted; if declined, both Britain and France would refuse aid of any kind.

The Czechoslovak government's firmness soon petered out. It knew that the Soviet Union was ready to take action. Fierlinger reported that the Soviet government was surprised that Czechoslovakia had not raised the matter of unconditional Soviet aid. It was also clear to the Czech government that the people wanted and were ready to rebuff the aggressors. But popular action was the thing the bourgeois government feared most of all. The Anglo-French ultimatum was accepted.

Even after this, when the Czechoslovak government inquired whether it could count on Soviet aid in the event of the negotiations with Hitler falling through and Czechoslovakia being forced to defend her frontiers, the USSR replied in the affirmative.*

The Soviet government, far from seeking a pretext to repudiate its obligations, on the contrary, took practical steps to carry them out. A quick decision was taken to send Soviet experts and high-ranking air-force officers to Prague. All the wishes of the Czechoslovak Command were taken into account. Air-force units were speedily prepared for transfer to Czechoslovakia. In view of the concentration of Polish troops on the Czech border, the Soviet government, at Czechoslovakia's request, warned Poland on September 23 that in the event of aggression against Czechoslovakia, it "would be compelled, without notice, to denounce" its Non-Aggression Pact.** The Soviet Union, moreover, informed France that 30 rifle divisions had been concentrated on the Western frontier, as well as cavalry divisions; all the units had been brought up to full strength; air and tank formations were ready for action.

Speaking of the events of those days Khrushchov declared: "It is no secret that the Soviet armed forces were in a state of readiness . . . ready to rebuff Hitler's aggression against Czechoslovakia."*

Then came the last act of the betrayal. During those tragic days, when Czechoslovakia, bound and gagged by her Western "friends," was thrown to the wolves, the Soviet Union alone extended a friendly helping hand to the people in trouble.

The facts, and only a few are mentioned here, fully confirm the conclusion drawn by Zdenek Fierlinger: "The Soviet Union's foreign policy was wholly in keeping with the idea of collective security . . . It was sincerely loyal to this idea, despite the fact that the situation obtaining in the rest of Europe might have induced it to hesitate as did many statesmen in other countries, among them Colonel Beck, George Bonnet and Laval, who, by reaching agreement with fascism, strove to buy security for themselves at the expense of another nation.

"The Soviet Union's historical service is that it was never tempted by this kind of cheap play."**

Many years have passed since Munich, but its policy is not yet dead. Now as in the past, this policy presages world war. But if the views and designs of some diehard and shortsighted politicians remain unchanged, big changes have taken place in the world — changes which favor the forces of peace, democracy and progress. This time, too, complete fiasco awaits the enemies of peace.

The recent Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU issued an ardent appeal for peace, which has evoked a powerful response all over the world and has won the approval of progressive people everywhere. Successful completion of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan, together with the growth of the economic potential of all the socialist countries, will give peace the decisive advantage in the international balance of forces and, as Khrushchov said at the Congress, "will result in the real possibility of eliminating war as a means of solving international issues."

*Izvestia, September 24, 1938. Litvinov's speech in the League of Nations Political Committee.

***Izvestia, September 22, 1938.

*From Khrushchov's Speech in Rangoon on December 6, 1955. Pravda, December 7, 1955.

**Zd. Fierlinger, *ibid.*, p. 41.

Concerning Certain Tendencies in Bourgeois Democracy

V. Joannes

THE present political situation in many capitalist countries, as manifested in the establishment of de Gaulle's authoritarian rule in France, spotlights the question of bourgeois democracy, its nature and its future. The situation today, says the joint statement issued by the French and Italian Communist parties, is such that effective struggle for peace — still the main task of the Communist parties — should be linked with struggle against the encroachments of the reactionaries, with the struggle for democratic and social regeneration.

To begin with, let us dispel any equivocation whatsoever: there is no such thing as democracy "in general," or "pure" democracy. In all capitalist countries it has always been simply a form of rule by the capitalist class. France, perhaps, is the classical example. In this country democracy has been a form of political domination by the bourgeoisie ever since the revolution of the XVIIIth century. Consolidation of bourgeois democracy was not achieved overnight, it was accompanied by grave crises. It is a fact worth noting that during each crisis the French bourgeoisie turned to Caesarism, to one-man rule in order to preserve its political power and class privileges. To overcome the pressure of the masses after 1789, the bourgeoisie finally vested power in Napoleon I; to quell the revolutionary working-class movement inaugurated by the uprising of June 1848 it called upon Napoleon III; and to prevent the recurrence of anything similar to the Paris Commune of 1871 it relied on the Thiers regime.

However, throughout this period bourgeois parliamentary democracy, while helping to eliminate the remnants of feudalism and being a most convenient form of dictatorship of the *rising bourgeoisie*, was an instrument in the hands of various groups of the bourgeoisie whose interests clashed on the capitalist market, and a means for resolving the conflicts between these groups. And it was precisely this function that the bourgeoisie did their best to disguise, claiming that Parliament was the geometrical point at which the interests of the entire nation met.

But towards the end of the last century the character of bourgeois democracy, while preserving its outward forms, began to change: class rule began to be concentrated in the hands of a definite capitalist group.

EVOLUTION OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY UNDER IMPERIALISM

I. Economic Basis of the Evolution

The transition to imperialism at the turn of the century was accompanied by the appearance of finance capital (merger of bank capital with industrial capital), which meant the replacement of laissez-faire capitalism by monopoly capitalism. Since the time of the First World War and the October Socialist Revolution — the period of the general crisis of capitalism — finance capital has made big headway in France. The big banks soon began to exert a decisive influence in all spheres of public life and above all in the administration. After the Second World War the concentration of finance capital continued at an increased rate. This factor plays an important role in the efforts of the oligarchy to retard, through the growth of monopoly, the tendency of the falling rate of profit. In the period 1946-56 the number of banks in France — according to data of the Conseil National du Crédit — declined from 411 to 326 (i.e., by 21 per cent); by the end of 1957 another nine had closed. Subsequent developments have tended to add to the power wielded by the financial oligarchy. For instance, no enterprise of any size can appear without its participation. Today there is no industrial-bank or even commercial capital which is not floated or immediately swallowed up by the oligarchy. This is particularly true of the new industries — oil and atomic power. The latter, for instance, since 1955 has been *completely* in the hands of the main representatives of the oligarchy, functioning of course in the guise of various companies, branches and mixed groups. Monopoly capital seeks to lay its hands on all that still remains of the medium-sized local enterprises. In 1958 the *Economist* noted that the large nets cast from time to time, carry-overs from the days when big fish was

available, are no longer satisfactory at the present stage of intensive fishing for shrimps. On June 30, 1955, a decree legalized the setting up of so-called "Societies for regional development." Through them the big banks have been able to appropriate 35 per cent of the capital of the enterprises to which they render "assistance." But that is not all: *the far-reaching interweaving of the state and the big financial companies* makes it possible to convert a considerable portion of the public funds into finance capital. Here is an example. La Caisse des Depots et Consignations operates with funds of which 80 per cent consists of sums coming from the savings banks—that is from small depositors. In 1956, La Caisse had a capital of 2,629 billion francs. It is now gradually becoming a bank for long-term investments; in 1953-56 its investments in industry in the form of long-terms loans or acquisition of shares amounted to 273 billion francs. "More than a quarter of this fund (accumulated in state-owned savings banks from the deposits of the poorer sections — V.J.) finds its way to the oligarchy." (*Economie et politique*, Nos. 50-51, 1958.) Sometimes even the nationalized enterprises were partners in these operations. The outcome of this activity was that the oligarchy was able to convert the accumulated state funds into its own capital, the profit from which it was no longer obliged to share with the small and middle capitalists. Capitalist production relations have reached the extreme point where the ownership of capital has been transferred from the lower and middle strata of the bourgeoisie to the ever-narrowing group of the oligarchy.

This evolution of capitalism determines the evolution of the bourgeois state. Even before the Second World War the French Republic had become a model "democracy" in which a minority, the 200 families, virtually decided the destiny of the entire nation. In September 1935 Edouard Daladier wrote: "... The 200 families — through the inter-penetration of the administrative councils, the growing power of the banks which issue shares and dispose of credit — have become the indisputable masters not only of the French economy but also of French policy." And the 200 families, it should be said, cynically admit the fact. A pamphlet published on their instructions says: "The banks and joint-stock companies are two state institutions. They are the state." Capitalism has evolved into state-monopoly capitalism.

At the same time finance capital has set the imprint of its features and require-

ments on the state. It has penetrated deeply into the state apparatus and exerts the decisive influence on it. The oligarchy need a state which would be an obedient instrument for the accumulation of capital, a means with which to combat the tendency of the falling rate of profit, with which to transfer the surplus value created by the whole of society to the handful at the summit of the capitalist hierarchy — in short, an instrument for economic domination. Big capital seeks above all to establish its domination over the labor market as well as over the "backward" groups of bourgeoisie who are still lauding "free enterprise" and resisting the power of the monopolies. The state structure and the bourgeois parliamentary democracy which existed in France prevented big finance capital from overcoming these contradictions. French finance capital had a state machine which lagged behind its requirements, whereas in the United States the state machine was "made to measure" for monopoly capital long ago, at the time of the First World War.

This explains why the French financial oligarchy — through de Gaulle whom they use as a screen — have now replaced their political henchmen in the state apparatus with a view to supervising *directly* the complex mechanism designed to safeguard their interests and to manage state affairs in much the same way as in the United States. This also explains why they (like the oligarchy in Federal Germany) decided to put an end to the traditional bourgeois parliament. The greater the role played by the state in the capitalist system of production, and the more the economic functions of the state are subordinated to the needs of finance capital, the more rapidly does the importance of a democratic parliament decline in the eyes of the financial oligarchy. The latter is concerned only with the possibility of deciding national economic questions without any regard for the interests of the other sections of the bourgeoisie, not to speak of the needs of the working people. It seeks to get rid of this double pressure, to evade any compromises tending to lower or pulverize its profits. For some time past it has been solving economic problems of national importance behind the backs of the elected parliamentary representatives. Here is an example: the question of building a railway network in France was discussed by Parliament for three-quarters of a century; nowadays the question of utilizing a new source of power—the natural gas deposit in Lacq—and creating a distribution

system (clearly a question of national importance) was decided by the oligarchy (whether in its own offices or in departments of state is really not important) without Parliament or the elected local assemblies. There is no doubt that Parliament and democracy generally act as a curb to the power-seeking oligarchy, since democratic institutions, though to a limited degree, enable the exploited masses to manifest their opposition, enable the smaller capitalists and big land-owners to express their own views. The words of Odilon Barrot* that "the bourgeoisie is being choked by its own legal system" have become a truth, though shamefully covered up. Finance capital has long sought to restrict traditional democratic rights to the utmost. Today in many countries it has launched an open attack against democracy and is taking steps to *abolish* it.

This step is also dictated by the need to regroup all the forces of the bourgeoisie under the leadership of finance capital in order to combat the danger manifested in the growing might of the working class and its revolutionary aspirations.

II. Political Basis of the Evolution

The general crisis of capitalism set in during World War I. "The European war," wrote Lenin, "means a deep historic crisis, the beginning of a new epoch. Like any crisis, the war has aggravated all the deeply hidden contradictions and has brought them out into the open. . . ."*

The imperialist war evoked a powerful rise of the revolutionary movement, the outstanding manifestation of which was the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. For the first time in history this revolution established the dictatorship of the proletariat, which enabled the working class to bring into being the *highest* form of democracy. In this way the Revolution exerted an influence on the working class of all countries. Lenin wrote in November 1918: "Instinctively, from hearing fragments of admissions of the truth in the bourgeois press, the workers of the whole world sympathize with the Soviet Republic precisely because they regard it as a *proletarian* democracy, a *democracy for the poor*, and not a democracy for the rich that every bourgeois democracy, even the best, actually is. . . . The Soviet government is the *first* in

the world (or strictly speaking the second, because the Paris Commune began to do the same thing) to *enlist* the masses, specifically the *exploited* masses, in the work of administration."*

In most capitalist countries strong Communist parties emerged, which assumed the role of the vanguard of the working class and organizer of the exploited masses. The danger arising from the growing popular movement equipped with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism increasingly threatened the very existence of capitalism. The working class grew not only numerically, its might, too, increased. This class organized and assumed the leading role in the economic and political struggle of the masses against capitalism. It won positions in Parliament and other elected bodies of bourgeois democracy. By making use of the opportunities afforded by bourgeois democracy (despite the numerous class restrictions and the very nature of this type of democracy as a form of class rule of the bourgeoisie) the working class extends the sphere of struggle for its economic and social needs and adds to its political might. Thanks to this other sections are to a greater or lesser degree involved in this struggle and exert pressure on the members of Parliament and on the political groupings in it, which, as a consequence, are forced to support the initiative of the working-class representatives.

These factors impel the imperialist bourgeoisie to re-shape the institutions which formerly assured its dictatorship. *Since the traditional democratic state is unable to meet the new requirements of the economic rule of finance capital, it is also no longer able to ensure for the imperialist bourgeoisie the political rule that could hold in check the offensive of the exploited masses.* Even before the Second World War the imperialist bourgeoisie launched an open attack against democracy. In France in the 'thirties it sought to establish the authoritarian rule of executive power. These attempts, including the fascist putsch of February 6, 1934, were frustrated by the vigorous opposition of the united people under Communist leadership. In other countries, however, the rulers succeeded in abolishing the remnants of bourgeois-democratic government. This was the case with Italy, Germany, Spain and a number of other countries where a fascist dictatorship was installed — "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most

*French Liberal-monarchist politician at the time of the 1848 Revolution. After the June uprising of the Paris workers he headed the counter-revolutionary ministry which paved the way to the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon.

**Lenin, *Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism. Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 21, p. 81.

*Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Selected Works, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, Part II, p. 54.

reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital. . . ."

After World War II the ultra-reactionary bourgeois circles increasingly felt the need to restrict and even to abolish the freedoms, democratic rights and parliamentarism, in a word, everything that is known as the sovereignty of the people; all this, of course, with a view to concentrating power in the hands of the oligarchy.

As a result of the defeat, in the course of the Second World War, of the main forces of imperialist reaction the working class, heading the masses, established its power in a number of countries. Socialism became a world system, which is growing stronger and stronger. The ideas of socialism and the realization that socialism ensures to the people genuine democracy and abolishes social inequality have gripped the minds of millions.

The great Chinese Revolution, and the revolutions in North Korea and North Vietnam, gravely sapped the rear of imperialism and, undermining its political prestige in the colonies, gave a mighty impulse to the liberation struggle of the other Asian and African peoples. New democratic countries—the Republic of India and the Republic of Indonesia—appeared almost simultaneously on the map of the world. More recently independence was won by Tunisia and Morocco. Such states as Ghana and the Republic of Guinea have been born, and the Republic of Iraq proclaimed. Democratic progress has acquired an immense scope, for it has now extended to countries where democracy was unknown and where "freedom" was the exclusive privilege of a tiny minority representing the colonial power.

The growth of socialism and the steady disintegration of the colonial system are accelerating the decline of capitalism which has lost its sway over a large part of humanity. Capitalism is confronted more and more with a dangerous contracting of markets, with shrinking sources of raw materials. At the same time its nature is such as to prevent it from utilizing and placing at the disposal of mankind the tremendous opportunities created by the rapid advance of technology. The contradictions between the imperialist countries are deepening.

Side by side with this, in many capitalist countries the strength and influence of the working class have grown. The decisive role it played in the anti-fascist struggle under Communist leadership enabled it, together with its natural allies—the peasants, intellec-

tuals and the middle sections in the towns—to retain for a certain period important positions in directing the affairs of the country. In France, Italy and Belgium after the liberation and until 1947 there were Communist members in the governments. The bourgeoisie was forced to tamper with electoral laws, and resort to well-nigh arbitrary action in order to prevent the Communists from having the strongest parliamentary groups.

United mass action by the working class enabled it at that time to impose on the bourgeoisie measures which were an important development of democracy.

Thus, the conditions of the emancipation struggle of the working class have so changed that there is now the possibility of establishing people's power by new means.

Clearly in this situation the big bourgeoisie can no longer exercise its dictatorial rule in the form of the classical parliamentary democracy. This form is no longer sufficiently reliable and effective to ensure bourgeois domination and to guarantee a safe home front in the war which is being engineered by the imperialists. The old form of democracy is now a direct threat to the big bourgeoisie. The latter, however, cannot undertake openly to restore fascism, because Hitlerism, Italian fascism and other kindred regimes in Europe are still fresh in the minds of the people.

That is why the ruling capitalist circles, while adopting some of the methods used against democracy in the inter-war period, are searching for new forms of maintaining and strengthening their dictatorship.

The Methods Used by the Bourgeoisie to Abolish Democracy

The new forms, obviously, could not be identical for Germany, France, Belgium, Italy. The general conditions, national peculiarities and the role played by the particular country in the Second World War have to be taken into account. But the basic trend is the same: to use the pressure and the support of the strongest imperialist power—the USA—in order to divide and break up the united people's front which had emerged in the struggle against fascism as, for example, in France, Italy and Belgium, and which had won certain social gains and constitutional rights, both political and economic.

In their policy of splitting the popular forces, the ruling bourgeois circles invariably resorted to the collaboration of politicians and parties claiming to be democratic and Leftist, in particular the Social-Democratic

*VIIth Congress of the Communist International, Abridged Stenographic Report of Proceedings, London, p. 571.

parties (SFIO in France and SDPI of Saragat in Italy). By rejecting co-operation with the Communists where it existed and by helping to oust the Communists from the governments, the leaders of those parties deliberately set out to split the labor movement. Moreover, by their attitude in the governments and parliaments the Right Socialist leaders discredited democratic institutions: though elected to Parliament on the basis of a Left program, they invariably pursued a Right-wing policy. The January 1956 elections in France can be taken as an example. The electorate voted for a policy of social progress and peace in Algeria and a Left majority was formed in Parliament which instructed Guy Mollet, Socialist Party leader, to form a government. But no sooner had Mollet assumed power than he refused to honor his election pledges. Together with his Right-wing colleagues Mollet, contrary to the decision of the Socialist Party congress, continued and aggravated the war in Algeria.

The constant rift between the needs of the people and national interests on the one hand and the policy pursued by the government in the past decade in compliance with the desires of big capital on the other, has been the cause of all the governmental crises. The reactionaries skilfully used these crises to spread the idea that the democratic regime and parliamentary corruption were identical; the crises were used as a pretext to attack democracy and justify the call for a "strong government," to vest power in a man chosen by providence.

Mention should be made of the way in which *inner democracy was abused in these parties*. This development, which was observed also in the inter-war period, is now becoming the rule. The leaders now make decisions which used to be the prerogative of the congress; they sometimes flout congress decisions; they even violate the normal procedure for electing congress delegates. At the last Radical Party Congress Mendès-France denounced the machinations of a leading group which had simply appointed congress delegates.

The tendency to do away with internal democracy is most pronounced in the Social-Democratic parties. This is explained by the fact that the party machine is controlled by the Rights, who manipulate it for the purpose of pushing through the policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. This practice, which ignores any critical rejoinder on the part of the rank and file, means that little by little the latter become indifferent to what takes place in

their party, to the attitude of their parliamentary representatives and abandon their rights in favor of the party bosses. In this way the Social-Democratic and other "Left" parties further the corruption and weakening of the democratic spirit of their membership.

* * *

After the unity of the popular forces had been undermined, the parties in power launched an offensive against the social gains and democratic institutions won by the people. The reactionaries first attacked the basic strongholds—the enterprises. They restricted the prerogatives of the elected organs of the workers, namely, the factory committees established after the anti-fascist war, with a view to implementing democratic control in the enterprises. The rights of the committees were gradually curtailed, thus making their existence purposeless. This was followed by discrimination against individuals (primarily active Communists, who were victimized for defending the interests of the workers) and against groups (trade unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor, though in France they represent over 70 per cent of the working class; moreover, these unions were systematically barred from negotiations, discussions and bargaining). Lastly, taking advantage of the new developments in the organization of capitalist production, the reactionaries intensified their discriminatory practices by various "technical methods"—including extreme differentiation in wage-rates, and "human relations," to say nothing of skilfully elaborated paternalism. These measures weakened the ability of the workers to resist the attempts of the reactionaries to stage a coup d'état.

The big bourgeoisie then directed its main effort against the democratic institutions, in the first place against the elected representative bodies. The bourgeois parties extended the powers of the Council of the Republic—the Upper House—which is elected in two stages, in order to turn it into a reactionary counterweight to the National Assembly, which is elected on the basis of universal suffrage; and, by so doing, to create an additional handicap to social progress. They returned to the policy of emergency powers and government by decree, which deprived Parliament of its basic function, the right to legislate. Systematic encroachments were made on trade union and political rights, on the freedom of speech, assembly, etc. In the Departments and Communes the local authorities were deprived, increasingly, of the right of popular control and the rights of the elect-

ed representatives of the people were restricted. The grip of the central government was intensified.

Simultaneously the ruling parties attacked universal suffrage by a "flanking movement" — by means of the law on the so-called electoral bloc (1951 and 1956), and in Italy by means of the "swindle law" which, fortunately, was frustrated by the people. More than that, they restored the old electoral law, thereby abolishing proportional representation which alone in view of the multi-party system could give a correct expression of the will of the electorate, and which enabled the working people to secure a fairer representation in Parliament.

* * *

Although monopoly capital has tried in a hundred ways to *deprive democracy of its content*, the efforts have not sufficed to cement its domination. There is no doubt that unlike the 'thirties it is much more difficult nowadays to abolish all the democratic institutions and establish an open terroristic dictatorship. The bourgeoisie is forced to make reactionary changes in order to strengthen its rule, preserving for the time being at least the outward democratic forms. By preserving the *semblance of democracy* the bourgeoisie makes it increasingly difficult, if not wholly impossible, for the working class and the masses to use democracy in the struggle for their immediate interests and for the advance to socialism.

While in this sphere, as in all others, the tone was set by the dominant American imperialism, and while the American example was slavishly followed in West Germany, France can be taken as a typical illustration of a case in which the United States and the West German experience has not only been applied but also supplemented and deepened.*

The new French constitution, adopted on September 28, 1958, while it proclaims grand democratic principles, in Article 92 vests in the government unlimited legislative rights by way of "ordinances" for a period of four months. In the last four months the de Gaulle government has passed about 200 ordinances without any control on the part of Parliament.

*It should be noted that the American capitalists are well aware of this fact and for this reason have rendered substantial financial support to the big French bourgeoisie. In January a number of American banks (including the Chase Manhattan and the First National City Bank of New York) with a view to easing the financial difficulties of the de Gaulle government granted it a \$200 million loan. For its part the Adenauer government granted France a 250 million mark credit.

Some of these (for instance, that of October 1, 1958) actually sanction the setting up of concentration camps and constitute a serious threat to civil rights. As in West Germany the existence of the Communist Party and other opposition groups is endangered by the introduction into the Constitution of Article 4, which empowers the ruling groups to decide whether any given party is constitutional. As to Parliament it, naturally, is retained, but its role is restricted to that of a mere registration chamber, turning it, to use Liebknecht's words, "into the fig leaf of absolutism." It is a mute Parliament in which opposition (curtailed down to the minimum by the new electoral system) will be tolerated insofar as it respects "the principles of the constitution." Under this Constitution Parliament as such is retained for the sole purpose of approving the decisions of the executive authority, otherwise it will be dissolved. General de Gaulle put this unequivocally: "If, by some misfortune, the Parliament of tomorrow fails to adapt itself to its role . . . the parliamentary institution will be wiped out for a long time." (Press conference, October 23, 1958.)

Thus all power is concentrated in the hands of one man backed by the representatives of finance capital, the armed forces, and the colonialists — the men who actually control the affairs of state.

* * *

In order to pursue this class policy the big bourgeoisie is forced to disguise it ideologically. It uses anti-parliamentarism, chauvinism, "the Napoleon legend," and perverts the idea of "the grandeur of the nation." But its main weapon is anti-communism. Every time the bourgeoisie finds itself in a difficulty it tries to justify its reactionary measures by the "necessity" to defend "the free world," "Western civilization," from the spread of "communist totalitarianism."

Anti-communism is an expression of the desire of big capital to deprive the working class of its role in the political life of the country. Anti-communism is rooted in the egoism of the money bags and in the demands arising from the imperialist policy of the United States, the country from which the governments of the NATO members take their orders. The most zealous agents of anti-communism are the Social-Democratic parties which supply the bourgeoisie with the basic anti-communist "arguments" and which are responsible for the policy of ostracism in respect to the Communist parties. The Vatican, too, plays a most active role in this anti-

communist concert, either directly through the Church or through the Christian-Democratic parties in Germany, Italy and France. Finally, anti-communist ideology has been adopted by the main parties and trends representing the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the Liberals, even when they claim to belong to the "Left."

Throughout the capitalist world anti-communism has served and continues to serve as a pretext to subvert democracy and working-class unity — the bulwark of democracy. This is a deadly poison which the bourgeoisie has succeeded in injecting into democratic organizations and which helps it to weaken their resistance.

Moreover, the bourgeoisie, as in the past, utilizes deeply rooted traditions by distorting them. In the name of "freedom" and "democracy" the NATO governments are drawing up aggressive plans against the socialist countries. In the name of "civilization" France is pursuing a chauvinistic colonialist policy. If one were to believe the ministers and bourgeois ideologists it would appear that "the French Republic" was waging war in order to bring the blessings of "democracy" to "feudal" Algeria. This policy, mainly pursued (as Guy Mollet has demonstrated by his attitude to the Algerian and Suez questions) by the Right Socialist leaders, influences large sections of people and even a considerable part of the working class. This was evident during the wars in Vietnam and Algeria, when the young people of France were forced to shed their blood and bring misery and death to peoples who could otherwise be friends and allies of France. All this once again tragically confirms the profound truth of Engels' words: "A nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free." Between the colonial policy, condemned by history, and the bourgeois offensive against democracy in the mother country there is a profound causal link which should be emphasized.

Meriting attention, too, is the role allotted by the monopoly bourgeoisie to the army in carrying out measures aimed at abolishing democracy. After the Communist ministers were ousted from the French government the big bourgeoisie paid special attention to specialized military units (paratroops, armored forces, etc.) and regarded the sons of the people in the army as their armed servants. The army assumed features of mercenary, praetorian troops. Its ranks were purged of most of the republican officers. The ruling classes, no longer capable of solving in the spirit of the times the issues arising from the

disintegration of the colonial system, are using the army to fight unjust and hopeless wars against nations battling for liberation. In its turn, the army holds the democratic regime responsible for its defeats. A part of the regular army, morally divorced from the people, is ready to perform any vile mission. Mercenary troops, placed in a privileged position, now constitute the anti-democratic shock-force, the chief weapon of authoritarian rule. Moreover, attempts are being made to place the entire nation under arms. On the pretext of the threat of an atomic attack and activity of "subversive elements," but actually in order to continue the hopeless colonial war, the de Gaulle government has implemented a series of measures aimed at *militarizing the entire country*. A new ruling provides that all males from 18 to 60 years, and even women, are eligible for "national service" of a military and semi-military character. This new feature, the tendency to militarize the life of the nation, is one of the most dangerous in the course steered by the big bourgeoisie for the destruction of democracy.

What, then, is the chief purpose of the reactionary transformation of the various elements of bourgeois democracy? The purpose is to provide monopoly capital with means for crushing the fight of the peoples for social progress, national independence and peace.

The Struggle of the Working Class for Democracy

The ultra-reactionary evolution of bourgeois democracy (although essentially *defensive* and reflecting the general weakening of the capitalist system) is a grave danger to the entire working-class and democratic movement as well as to the cause of peace. It confronts the Communists and all working people with vital theoretical and practical problems.

The question is — who will win: fascism, the goal of the reactionary authoritarian rule (as in France, for example), or democracy, the vital condition for progress and regeneration? Hence the question is whether or not the idea of a powerful, united democratic front — the sole force capable of ensuring the regeneration and extension of democracy — will be realized.

The Communists and the advanced workers have never been indifferent to the particular form through which the capitalists have exercised their class rule. They know full well that in all circumstances bourgeois democracy with its inherent one-sidedness and restricted civil rights and freedoms has always

been a form of capitalist dictatorship. But they are equally aware of the advantage accruing from bourgeois democracy as compared with other forms of rule by the exploiting classes. A bourgeois republic is a big advance compared with one-man rule. It enables the proletariat to become conscious of its strength and to organize its forces. Lenin in his *State and Revolution* pointed to the "fundamental idea which runs like a red thread through all of Marx's works, namely, that the democratic republic is the nearest approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat."* And although this republic by no means abolishes the rule of capital and, hence, the oppression of the masses, it helps nevertheless to extend and develop the class struggle and creates for the proletariat the most favorable conditions for establishing leadership of the broad masses in the struggle for a new, socialist democracy. "A wider, freer and more open form of the class struggle and of class oppression," said Lenin, "enormously assists the proletariat in its struggle for the abolition of classes in general."**

No matter how far democracy may be extended as a result of mass action and concessions wrested from capitalism, this in itself does not signify socialism. In this respect the experience of France and Italy is a deadly blow to the revisionist and Social-Democratic theories which depict the victories gained by democracy under capitalism as being final and irrevocable. Experience demonstrates the unsoundness of the claims that political democracy is an indivisible attribute of contemporary capitalism. On the contrary, the facts show that as long as capitalist rule exists nothing can guarantee the preservation or extension of the democratic gains of the working class and the masses, unless they are upheld by a powerful popular movement constantly on the alert, unless the goal of this movement is to curb and afterwards abolish the privileges enjoyed by the big bourgeoisie.

That is why the Communists — supporters of socialist democracy — fight for every single democratic gain wrested by the working class from the capitalists through long years of struggle. They know that "taken separately no democracy will yield socialism, but in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life, will stimulate its transformation;

and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. Such are the dialectics of living history."* This is precisely why the Communists are fighting hard also for the constant extension of democratic rights, for the fullest development of democracy. The socialist revolution is not a single battle. Socialist rule can be established only as a result of a series of acute class conflicts. It will be appropriate to recall Lenin's words to the effect that "it would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."**

A concentrated and consistent struggle for democracy, for the preservation and extension of the democracy conceived by the bourgeoisie and which it now subjects to attack, is all the more necessary today. Despite the attempts made by the imperialists of many countries to establish an open dictatorship, we remain convinced of the validity of the proposition of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the effect that in our time, in view of the considerable growth of the working-class forces, some countries can, given certain conditions, establish socialism peacefully.

It is true that the choice of the path which the working class and its vanguard want to follow depends less on the proletariat than on "the degree of resistance offered by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on whether these circles will resort to violence at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism" (M. Thorez). It is equally true that the proposition concerning the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism has nothing in common with the opportunist concept of the Social Democrats, who claim that a mere mechanical addition of votes in Parliament will be sufficient to transform it into an instrument of socialist rule. On the contrary, this principle presupposes that the fundamental thing is the movement of the working masses, the struggle of the proletariat and its allies which alone is capable of ensuring for the working masses, firstly, a fair repre-

*Lenin, *Selected Works*, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, Part I, p. 272.

**Ibid., p. 282.

*Ibid., p. 281.

**Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, *Selected Works*, New York, Vol. V., p. 263.

sensation in the elected assemblies and later the possibility to exert effective pressure on the various groups in these assemblies. Only with the support of the working masses and their united action will the representatives of the people be able to turn Parliament and the other institutions into bodies of and for the people; only in this way will they be able to achieve democratic and social changes and turn Parliament into a revolutionary instrument of the people. French (and Italian) experience at different times (in the period of the Popular Front and after the liberation) confirms this. We believe that the future will put the stamp of final confirmation on this basic truth.

This perspective of democratic development enables the Communists to formulate the tasks of the struggle for socialism. They maintain that this struggle is "connected with everyday action in defense of immediate interests and rights, with the extension of the struggle for democratic and social regeneration, for active and broadening participation of the working class in the political management of the country in all the phases of its development" (Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of France and Italy).

That is why the Communists see their primary duty in defending every particle of democratic freedoms, upholding and extending the rights of the working class and creating possibilities for the free activity of representative working-class institutions in the enterprises. Moreover, they consider it necessary to wage an active struggle to ensure respect for the prerogatives of representative democratic institutions and basic civil rights wherever these rights exist, and to fight for their restoration wherever they have been abolished, in particular for a Parliament in which the working class would occupy a place corresponding to its actual influence on the life of the country. At the same time the Communists are fighting for economic and social changes which would restrict the power of the monopolies and put an end to their absolute rule. That is why Communist Party programs call, for instance, for nationalization of certain industries, agrarian reform and defense of the small proprietors against the monopolies whose influence has spread to the countryside, for democracy in the public sectors of the economy, and for establishing democratic control over plans for state investments in industry and agriculture. These measures, if supported by the united democratic forces, would make it possible to isolate the big bourgeoisie and break up the

reactionary bloc in which monopoly capital dominates.

But the fundamental condition for such a broad alignment is working-class unity — the basis for any alliance of the democratic forces. Working-class unity alone is capable of infusing the masses with the strength needed to repel at an early stage the onslaught of the reactionaries and to attract more and more people to the struggle so as to ensure, at the next stage, the extension and regeneration of democracy. This perspective is the concern not only of the workers and the peasants, but also of all the middle sections. Regeneration and extension of democracy is the best guarantee against arbitrary action on the part of the military and reactionary cliques seeking to transfer the burden of monopoly policy and the crisis arising therefrom to these sections of the population.

Mass struggle aimed at ensuring the observance and extension of democratic rights is an important instrument in the hands of all social sections oppressed by monopoly capital: an instrument with which to force the latter to relinquish the perilous policy of war and to make further considerable economic and social concessions. Until now, particularly in France, vacillations on the part of the political organizations of the small and non-monopoly bourgeoisie, alarmed by the wide scope of the participation of the organized working class in the anti-fascist struggle, helped the reactionaries to achieve their goal. The representatives of these sections "have not remained aloof from the anti-communist maneuvers and the tendency to ostracize the Communists. Acting in this way they failed to see or had no desire to see that they were breaking with the working class — the main force of the anti-fascist movement and of democracy" (M. Thorez). And now they are suffering from the tragic consequences of their blindness: today these sections have registered the fact that none of the 200 "ordinances" of finance capital issued in the course of a few weeks and signed by de Gaulle, has brought them any improvement; on the contrary, most of these measures have gravely affected them, their living standards in particular. Consequently, in order to effect a turn in policy towards democracy it is vital that the role of the working class and its organized vanguard in political life be recognized. This in turn presupposes the eradication of anti-communism from the democratic movement. And when the Communists vigorously combat anti-communism this is not only their natural desire for self-defense — they have

in mind also the supreme interest of the democratic cause, including the interests of their allies and even of many of those who allowed themselves to be used as preachers of anti-communism.

* * *

"If we look more closely into the machinery of capitalist democracy," wrote Lenin, "we shall see everywhere, in the 'petty' — supposedly petty — details of the suffrage . . . , in the technique of the representative institutions . . . , restriction after restriction upon democracy . . . but in their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics, from active participation in democracy."*

To lead the masses by means of concrete action to the demand for active and broader participation in the political and economic management of the country at all levels—this, in brief, is the sum and substance of Communist Party activity in the capitalist countries today. And this work of the Communist parties is an inalienable part of their struggle for socialism.

In order to preserve, extend and regenerate democracy, the masses, headed by the working class, should be active in the factories, shops, offices and in the countryside — wherever working people are to be found. They should render wholehearted support to their deputies in Parliament in carrying out their duties to the electors, should work to make

the deputies act in accordance with their obligations, and demand the right to recall those deputies who fail in their duties.

But mass action of this kind does not take place spontaneously. It is the task of the Communists to organize it, and to explain the problems to the people, help them to understand the reason for their present position and to facilitate the assimilation of their experience. The Communists should help the masses quickly to find effective means with which to realize their aspirations, to become conscious of the strength inherent in unity.

Active participation by the masses in discussing and solving the vital problems of political, economic and cultural life is the essence of democracy. This, precisely, is the genuinely democratic nature of government in the socialist countries, where laws of vital importance to the people are enacted only after nationwide discussion. In the Soviet Union, for instance, over 70 million working men and women attended the 968,000 meetings at which the target figures for the Seven-Year Plan were discussed. Similarly, in Czechoslovakia, millions of people are now discussing questions relating to wages, pensions and housing.

The Communists in the capitalist countries are working towards this genuine democracy, this broad, unanimous and active participation of the popular masses in political life which makes every citizen politically conscious, enabling him to take part in affairs of state when the state becomes, finally, his state.

*Lenin, *The State and the Revolution*, Selected Works, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, Part I, p. 290.

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The Struggle for Independent Working-Class Political Action in Canada

Tim Buck

SINCE ITS biennial convention in April 1958, the Canadian Labor Congress, which is the national center of a million and a quarter of the million and a half trade unionists in the country,* has been heading a campaign looking to the establishment of a new political party. This is not by any means the first attempt to establish in Canada a national labor party based upon the trade unions.

The labor movement in Canada shares with that of the United States the dubious distinction of not yet having produced a mass political party. The reasons for this failure help to explain the political immaturity of the labor movement and, also, they illustrate the manner in which the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" have obstructed progress by thwarting the healthy desire for independent working-class political action.

The immediate reason why the labor movement has failed to produce a mass political party is that, until recently, the national trade union center in Canada, as in the United States, officially denied the class content of political action, denied the class basis of parties and denied the necessity for a distinct party to unite the workers and develop labor-farmer unity in action against monopoly capital.

Until twenty years ago the overwhelming majority of trade union officials were active members of one of the two parties of the capitalist class (Liberals and Conservatives)—and the latter were in the majority.

The unchallenged domination of the trade union movement of North America for so long by men who boast of their capitalist interests and proclaim their violent hostility to socialism is possible mainly because the majority of the members of the trade unions are uninformed concerning the contradiction between bourgeois politics and the real interests of the working class. Wide circles of otherwise militant workers continue to accept capi-

talist interpretations of all political questions and of the meaning of events, sometimes even while rejecting and condemning the aims of U.S. imperialism. It is true that such a contradictory attitude is illogical, but it is a stubborn reality. The depth of the contradiction between the very high spirit of militant solidarity displayed in economic struggles and the manner in which the same fighting workers support the parties through which monopoly capital takes away everything that the working class has won by struggle around economic issues must be seen first-hand to be believed.

Along with the foregoing it must be emphasized that, in Canada, there is a long record of attempts to establish a political party based upon the trade unions. This is one of the outstanding differences between the history of trade unionism in Canada and the USA. These attempts at labor political action have been the main form in which Canadian trade unions have tried to assert the right to govern their own affairs and determine their own national policies while remaining within the framework of the U.S. trade union movement—the so-called "international" unions.*

The U.S. trade unions have traditionally advocated support by the working class of the two-party system in vogue in that country which ties the working class to the tail of one or the other of the two capitalist parties.** This policy of dependence of the work-

*It should be explained that most Canadian unions are branches of the U.S. trade unions organized in the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the Railway Brotherhoods, and as such are subject to the policies and constitutions of these U.S. unions. The Canadian branches of these "international" unions are now joined with strictly Canadian unions in a national center called the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) where the "internationals" which constitute the majority, participate in shaping Canadian trade union policies within the confines of their U.S.-issued charters.

**A commentary on the political level of the thinking of the majority of the trade-union leaders of the U.S.A. was provided by James Carey, President of the International Union of Electrical Workers, during the dinner to which a number of leaders invited Comrade Mikoyan, while he was in the United States. When Comrade Mikoyan remarked upon the fact that the working class in the United States has not yet produced its own political party, Carey "explained" that, really, it is no more remarkable than is the fact that there is no capitalist party in the Soviet Union.

*The Canadian Labor Congress was brought into being in 1956 by the merging of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (A.F. of L.) and the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO).

ing class on the capitalist parties has been periodically challenged by Canadian unions on behalf of forward-looking Canadian trade unionists who have striven over the years to bring into being a labor-farmer political movement. The Labor-Progressive Party, as did its predecessors the Workers' Party and the Communist Party, supports the formation of a labor-farmer party, not as a substitute for a Marxist-Leninist party, but as an organized movement which will advance the working class toward political activity on its own behalf. Now for the first time the national trade union center is actively participating in the campaign to build a new party.

Though the top officers of the trade unions in Canada traditionally have obeyed the general Executive Boards of their "international" unions in the United States, they have been less blatant in their opposition to proposals for an independent labor political movement than the trade union leaders of the United States. At least they were less firmly united on this question than the Americans. Of no little importance here was the fact that in Canada immigrants from Britain were numerically preponderant in large sections of the trade union movement until 25 years ago, and among them the Labor Party tradition was strong.

The pressure of rank and file demand for organization of a labor party has broken through official opposition many times. The great majority of such "break-throughs" have been on a local or provincial scale but on four different occasions resolutions in favor of establishing a mass labor party were adopted in annual national conventions of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

The organizations which emerged from such "break-throughs" were social reformist* and were dominated by opportunists, but they made the participation of trade unions in political action quite common in Canada during the first 27 years of this century.

An outstanding example of this type of action was provided by the Ontario Labor Party, brought into existence by a conference sponsored by the carpenters' union and held in Toronto during the Easter weekend in 1918. Its structure was that of a federation and included local unions, central labor councils and local labor parties (most of which called themselves Independent Labor Parties). Its political philosophy varied from militant

leftism to petty-bourgeois opportunism according to which grouping dominated it in the given locality. In the provincial general election, held in February 1919, less than a year after it was founded, the Ontario Labor Party and its candidates received the full benefit of the profound inspiration of the October Revolution. Eleven of its candidates were elected to the provincial legislature. The 11 united in coalition with the representatives of the United Farmers of Ontario, and formed the first Farmer-Labor government to be elected in North America, the labor group receiving two places in the cabinet. Regrettably, the right-wing opportunists who dominated the labor groups in the legislature directed all their efforts, not to arousing and organizing the working class but to reassuring the frightened bourgeoisie. The result was that not one of the 11 was re-elected in 1923.

In 1921, without any direct participation by officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada but with their tacit agreement, a convention to establish a national labor party was held immediately following the Congress convention. It founded the Canadian Labor Party. The CLP was a federated party, affiliation was open to any organization which accepted its platform and did not oppose it in elections. Its basic unit was the local council composed of two delegates from each organization affiliated locally. Active organization was quickly developed in six provinces. At various times the CLP had members in the provincial legislatures of Nova Scotia (four M.P.'s), Alberta (1), British Columbia (2).

The Canadian Labor Party was destroyed in 1927. The United States presidents of the "international" unions instructed their officers in Canada that local unions must disaffiliate from the CLP or be expelled. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. warned all Canadian organizations which operated under an A. F. of L. charter that continued participation in the Canadian Labor Party would be cause for revocation of its charter and the setting up of a rival organization by the A. F. of L. This threat embraced every central council, every industrial council,* and all provincial federations. The Canadian Labor Party literally ceased to exist within a month.

In July 1932, on the crest of the wave of radicalization which developed along with the mass struggles of the workers and farmers against the effects of the economic crisis—struggles that in the main were led by the outlawed Communist Party of Canada—the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

*An exception to this was the Socialist Party of Canada which, during the first decade of this century, nominated candidates in elections on a platform of "implacable struggle against the profit system." Socialist party candidates were elected on that platform to the Provincial Legislatures of Alberta and British Columbia.

*Building Trades Council, Allied Printing Trades, Railway Workers' Federations, etc.

(CCF) was founded. Like all the mass efforts to establish a party of radical reform in Canada, the CCF came into existence as a federation. Its national leadership, however, hastened to destroy its federal form, thus preventing the CCF from turning into a mass party. Within three years of its foundation, it was transformed into a typical social-democratic party, similar in all essentials to the European social-democratic parties by whose ideology it was dominated. Its national leadership moved quickly to the right. It repudiated by its vote in parliament the pacifist doctrine of Woodsworth, its national leader and main founder. It discarded the pretense of favoring the abolition of capitalism. It has supported the policies of the Liberal and Conservative parties of integrating Canada in the war drive of U.S. imperialism, including Canada's membership in NATO. It has refused to fight to get U.S. troops out of Canada or Canadian troops out of Europe.

Before the merger of the A. F. of L. and the CIO, the national center for the CIO unions in Canada was the Canadian Congress of Labor (CCL). At its annual convention in 1942 the CCL adopted a resolution endorsing the CCF, declaring it to be "the political arm of Labor." It did not rally the rank and file of the trade union movement to active support of the CCF, however, in part because many workers who wanted a mass labor party objected to the technique by which the tightly organized social democrats in control of the CCF were given unqualified control of the political activity of the trade unions, including the nomination of the candidates whose campaigns the unions financed and for whom they were called upon to vote. Such workers became increasingly suspicious of the arrangement as they saw the identity of political philosophy as between the CCF and the Liberals. When the Canadian Labor Congress was brought into being, the endorsement of the CCF by the CIO unions was dropped.

* * *

The first convention of the CLC was held in April 1958* and it came right on the heels of the national general election held on March 31st. The general election was marked by a sharp swing to the right—the Conservative Party won 209 seats. The Liberal Party suffered a shattering defeat winning only 48 seats. The CCF won only eight seats and lost almost every seat that it had held previously in the urban centers. Worse even than the results in terms of seats was the fact that 87 per cent of all who voted had supported

one of the old parties of monopoly capital. The workers had not supported the CCF. The hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers, dissatisfied with the anti-national policy of the Liberal government, voted for candidates of the Conservative Party, swayed by its promise of action to meet their needs and desires.

On the other hand, the CCF rejected the proposals for labor-farmer unity advanced by the LPP, maintaining its traditional "go-it-alone" policy, and continued its support of NATO and the cold war. The only thing the CCF leadership offered the working people was the perspective of becoming the official parliamentary opposition.

The convention of the Canadian Labor Congress met in the shadow of that stunning victory for the party which, traditionally, has been considered to be the main banner bearer of capitalist reaction with close ties to British imperialism. To those delegates who sincerely wanted independent political action, even for reformist aims, it was evident that a new approach was indispensable. The election signaled the necessity to unite the workers in political action. But it emphasized also the necessity to overcome the impression, developed through the previous fifteen years, that political action by trade unions necessarily meant support of the CCF.

These, then, were the circumstances in which the Canadian Labor Congress was committed to undertake the organization of a political party in opposition to the traditional parties of the capitalist class.

The terms of the resolution adopted were all too general but it was clear on two points: namely, that the CCF must be replaced and that the party replacing it should be all-inclusive. The resolution states:

"This convention believes that the imperative need of the Canadian political scene today is the creation of an effective alternative political force based on the needs of workers, farmers and similar groups, financed and controlled by the people and their organizations. . . .

"The time has come for a fundamental realignment of political forces in Canada. There is a need for a broadly based people's political movement, which embraces the CCF, the labor movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government. . . .

"This convention, therefore, instructs the Executive Council to give urgent and imme-

*After the foundation convention held in April 1956.

diate attention to this matter by initiating discussions with the CCF, interested farm organizations and other like-minded individuals and groups, to formulate a constitution and a program for such a political instrument of the Canadian people."

The resolution was adopted almost unanimously with less than 50 of the 1,500 delegates opposing it.

Following that, the convention provided an example of the peculiar indirection by which the organized labor movement in Canada approaches the task of developing political action against the parties of monopoly capital; it also revealed that this movement was gravely endangered by the conciliators. The Reverend Stanley Knowles, who had exchanged the vocation of a clergyman for that of a professional politician when he was elected to Parliament as a CCF candidate, was one of the CCF members swept out of Parliament by the landslide in favor of the Conservatives. Having lost his seat in Parliament, he made what appeared on the surface to be another change. He turned up in the convention as a delegate of the Typographical Union. In the election of national officers he was elected first vice-president of the Congress. He now heads the joint CLC-CCF committee which is in charge of the campaign to organize a new party. That, the most meteoric rise ever witnessed to the second highest office in the trade union movement, significantly strengthening the position of the CCF, contradicted the essential wording of the resolution, which had called for replacement of the CCF by an all-inclusive coalition or party—but it reflected the truce that prevailed between the supporters of the Conservative, the Liberal, and the CCF parties in the convention under the impact of the elections.

* * *

The extent to which the entire project for a new party was controlled by the right-wing social democrats in agreement with the leading representatives of the Liberal and Conservative parties is revealed by the fact that there was not at any time any discussion whatever of the question: "Is it correct at this advanced stage of mankind's transition to socialism on a world scale to involve the organized labor movement in a social-reformist political organization with its inevitable cultivation of bourgeois illusions and class collaboration?"

Had there been any opportunity at all to debate this question before the decision was made and the organization campaign launched, some very dangerous illusions might have

been dispelled. The insoluble contradiction between bourgeois politics and the real interests of the working class could have been explained to wide circles of workers as part of the process of arriving at a decision. The relationship of the decision to the atomic war mania of U.S. imperialism and what it means to Canada could have been placed inescapably before all peace-loving workers. A convention decision to proceed to the organization of a new mass party after such a public debate would have included very much wider understanding of the dangers which beset the new movement than is the case now.

It should be emphasized, however, that the answer to the question: "Should the trade union movement in Canada participate in a social reform movement at this time?" cannot be separated from the effort to unite the working class in political action against the monopolies. The need for "an effective alternative political force based upon the needs of the workers and farmers . . ." is pressing. The working class of Canada, eventually, will free itself from the domination of bourgeois ideology and the political sway of the capitalist class in its own way.

The capitalist class is fighting the campaign to organize a political party based upon the organized workers. The level of politics is such that, in spite of the efforts of the right-wing social democrats to prove that "the CCF is the most effective barrier against communism," the capitalists as a class consider even the right-wing social democrats as unnecessary and a disturbing factor. Their desire now is to go back to what they smugly describe as "the two-party system," meaning their own political twins, the Liberal and Conservative parties.

Thus, the trade-union campaign to establish a new political party has different aspects. Its social reform character reflects the persisting domination of the trade union movement by capitalist ideology and continued acceptance of the political aims chosen by the capitalist class. The role of the right-wing social democrats in this campaign is a classical illustration of the manner in which social democracy serves imperialism in its efforts to make itself the most favored instrument of capitalism for intercepting the leftward moving workers and sidetracking them politically into the blind-alley of social reformism.

But, along with these negative features, the campaign mirrors the growing pressure of the workers for political action against monopoly capital. Whatever the subjective

desires of its sponsors may be, a mass political party that is based upon the trade union movement will be an anti-monopoly party because of the ever-sharpening contradictions between the workers and farmers, on the one hand, and monopoly capital, on the other.

An even more immediately significant facet of the decision of the executive officers of the CLC to assume responsibility for this campaign is its relationship to the national question in Canada. The present action reflects a potentially far-reaching change that is taking place in the relationships between the Canadian memberships of the "Internationals" and their general executive boards in the U.S. It reflects also the change that is taking place in the character of the struggle within the trade union movement in Canada against continued subjugation to the trade union bosses in the U.S. There is a significant and increasingly influential relationship between the growing support in Canada for independent working-class political action and the rising and spreading national resentment against U.S. domination of Canada.

The Canadian memberships are demanding, with growing insistence, a measure of real autonomy in Canadian matters. Some of them are winning concessions. There is a tendency among the forces of the left to underestimate these concessions, to dismiss them as meaningless, since the union constitutions guarantee ironclad control for the international presidents. That is an erroneous estimation. The reason why they are being granted is because the hard-boiled labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in the U.S. are not so confident today as they were until recently that they can afford to reject outright the rising demands for Canadian autonomy.

Significant in this respect is the success of the two Canadian sections which have been granted full autonomy by their parent bodies in the United States. These are the Canadian memberships of the United Electrical Workers and the International Union of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The success of these Canadian trade unions impressed the U.S. union bosses perhaps more than the majority of the rank-and-file unionists. The right-wing leadership of the A. F. of L. and the CIO attempted to prevent these two unions from demonstrating that the Canadian membership is capable of operating their own organizations successfully. It resorted to activities of the sort which previously have been associated usually with employers' attempts to smash unions. These two unions, originally expelled from the Canadian Congress of

Labor, have not been admitted to the CLC and are subjected to systematic, lavishly-financed raiding by AFL-CIO unions under the authority of the Canadian Labor Congress wherever they have organization. As they defeat the attempt to organize an opposition union to oust them from one enterprise, another attempt is made elsewhere. Every time either of them starts to organize workers who, previously, were unorganized, a counter campaign is organized with staffs of full-time "organizers," publicity men, etc., to defeat the other. Tens of thousands of Canadian workers are without the benefit of trade union organization today solely because of this systematic anti-labor activity.

Yet, in spite of that, and despite the fact that these attacks compel the two autonomous Canadian sections to expend so much of their energy and resources in defense, the Canadian members of these two unions have enjoyed bigger gains from trade unionism than have any other comparable groups of workers in Canada—so much so that the International Nickel Company appealed for public sympathy during the recent bitter 87-day strike of its miners and smeltermen on the ground that the wage level of its employees, won by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, was already the highest in Canada.

In addition there is the fact that the aggregate trade union membership in Canada is big enough now to maintain an independent movement if need be. In the light of these facts some of the top leaders of the AFL-CIO are modifying their attitude to the Canadian membership.

This illustrates the fact that the launching of a campaign to organize a new political party is the most definite step that the CLC has taken so far toward autonomy of the Canadian trade union movement.

* * *

The executive officers of the CLC and the leaders of the CCF have not disclosed what type of structure they favor for the new party but their plans for its political character are being revealed by evident implication. The implications so far reveal a contradiction between the terms of the resolution that was adopted by the national CLC convention and the aims of the CLC and CCF leaders. The Right-wingers, who are running the campaign, are giving it the political character of bourgeois-liberalism.

Addressing a press conference in his capacity as vice-president of the Labor Congress and chairman of the committee to found a new party, Stanley Knowles explained that

his aim is to restore "the two-party system" with the new party displacing the Liberal Party which, Mr. Knowles explained, "has had it." He characterized the proposed new party as "competing for the same left-of-center support" with the Liberal Party. Needless to say, the center that he referred to is that of capitalist politics in Canada. His determination to avoid being pushed very far to the left of the center was emphasized in a subsequent press conference. Asked by one of the interviewing newspapermen if the new party will propose nationalization of banking and credit, Mr. Knowles implied that it will not, explaining that "the CCF does not propose to nationalize the banks."* Apparently, Mr. Knowles feels that the capitalist class should be given even more assurance for he hastened to explain that, in his opinion, "creation of the new party should not increase class conflict or community disorder."

These pronouncements reflect the tendency of the right-wing social democrats to use the new party for the purpose of subordinating working-class interests to those of capital.

The situation in Canadian politics calls for a new party, but because of the low political level of the trade union movement, there is the danger that the right wing may succeed in their effort to give the new party the character of bourgeois liberalism.

* * *

There is now a real possibility that a new party based upon the organized workers will come into being. Under the pressure of the historic changes which characterize the epoch of the transition to socialism on a world scale there is growing recognition of the necessity for radical changes in national policies. There is a belated but rapidly spreading awareness that, if the imperialist interests personified by John Foster Dulles are permitted to plunge the world into nuclear war, Canada will be its very first victim—with immeasurable suffering for her people. There is rising pressure for immediate changes which will indicate recognition by the government of the necessity for long-term peaceful coexistence of states with differing political and economic systems.

Because recognition of the necessity for a radical change in the aims of national policy comes into sharp conflict with United States domination of Canada, it strengthens the national content of the anti-monopoly sentiment which permeates the labor movement and the organized farmers.

*It should be noted that nationalization of banking and credit has been a plank in the legislative program of the Labor Congress for thirty years.

A vacuum is developing in Canadian politics. This vacuum is evidence of the contradiction between the interests of the country, including influential sections of Canadian capital, and the policies pursued by all three parties represented in Parliament.* The extent to which the two old parties of monopoly capital are dominated by U.S. imperialism is illustrated by their cynical betrayal of Canada's sovereignty since the Second World War. The Liberals, headed by Louis St. Laurent (Prime Minister, 1948-57), sacrificed Canada's independence for integration in the war plan of United States' imperialism without ever acknowledging what it was doing.**

Lester Pearson, the new leader of the Liberals, who was the main instrument by which St. Laurent operated his betrayal of Canada to the United States, put forward demagogic proposals in his federal election campaign in March, 1958, which in effect were a repudiation of Louis St. Laurent's policy. During the session of parliament which followed the election, Pearson repeated those proposals. But he did not once consider it necessary to acknowledge that they contradicted the policies of the government in which he was previously Minister of External Affairs. His attitude is: "Then I was a member of the government; now I am in opposition."

John Diefenbaker, the present Conservative prime minister, illustrates the same type of cynical exploitation of popular sentiment. In the federal general election campaign, he found wide circles of people openly resentful of the effects of United States domination of Canada and demanding new national policies. Discarding the Conservative platform adopted by the convention which elected him leader of the party, Diefenbaker gave voice to some of the democratic desires of the people. As a result, he appeared to the voters as the man who would stop the sell-out to the United States, re-establish a reasonable balance between overseas markets and the United States in Canada's foreign trade, revive the development of secondary industries in Canada, and reassert Canada's sovereignty over her armed forces and her territory.

What has Diefenbaker done? He still condemns the Liberals but, in the main, he continues to pursue the policies for which he condemns them. He has adopted inflation as a long-term policy. He promised to reduce interest rates but, instead, his government has increased the interest rate on more than a third of Canada's bonded debt from three per

*Liberal, Conservative and CCF parties.

**The CCF parliamentary group supported the Liberal government in that action.

cent to four and a half per cent, to give to the rich capitalists—the main holders of the bonds—a 50 per cent increase in their claims against the taxpayers on this part of the national debt.

He promised to divert 15 per cent of Canada's foreign trade away from the United States to British Commonwealth markets. To have implemented that promise would have meant that Canada would defy the U.S. and accept payment for exports in sterling. But, in the Commonwealth trade conference the Canadian delegation represented the interests of the U.S. dollar bloc, pretending that recovery of trade is waiting for Britain to guarantee the pound freely convertible into dollars.

Diefenbaker promised to make companies incorporated in Canada responsible solely to Canadian law. When President Eisenhower addressed a joint session of the House of Commons and the Senate in Ottawa, he dealt with that proposal and rejected it. His categorical refusal was offhand, almost disdainful. But Prime Minister Diefenbaker accepted it obediently, exactly as the Liberals had done, so many times, before him.

As for restoring Canada's sovereignty, one of the first acts of the Diefenbaker government was to barter away Canada's command of the Royal Canadian Air Force to the United States. As for his promise to assert Canada's sovereignty over Canadian territory, on August 13, 1958, the Minister of Northern Affairs admitted that even he, the "Minister of the Crown," cannot visit the Canadian territories* for which he is supposed to be responsible without first getting permission from the United States.

In the sphere of foreign policy, Diefenbaker declared that Canada would pursue a clearly defined Canadian foreign policy.

What has he done?

In the Middle East, for example. First, the prime minister assured President Eisenhower that the U.S. would have Canada's support in its invasion of the Middle East. Then, he said in the House of Commons, "I trust that a prompt and positive reply will be forthcoming to Premier Khrushchov's proposal. There should be a summit meeting as soon as possible." The next day, when Macmillan and Eisenhower put forward their trick proposal for the Middle East crisis to be dealt with in the Security Council, Prime Minister Diefenbaker switched again and supported that.

Referring to the crisis provoked by the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Formosa Straits, the

prime minister told the members of the House of Commons: "I think the world wants to be assured that nothing will be left undone to prevent any action that might result in the world sliding into disastrous consequences . . .

"As far as Canada is concerned, I think Canadians as a whole would expect that their representatives will not fail at this time to explore every avenue for the settlement of the grave situation which today prevails, and it is in that spirit that I suggest the United Nations might have an opportunity and an appointment with responsibility in this direction."*

If the assurance implicit in those words had been made good, Canada would have been a co-sponsor of the proposal to place the question before the General Assembly. But the Canadian delegation pleaded that it "had no instructions."

However, the inconsistencies, the political gyrations, are not the result of the personal peculiarities of the prime minister. As shown above, there is no basic difference between Tory and Liberal prime ministers.

Like his success in two federal elections, Diefenbaker's political inconsistencies mirror the deepening contradictions within the capitalist class. Monopoly capital in Canada is linked by innumerable ties of interest and interlocking directorates with state-monopoly capitalism in the U.S. The limited extent to which representatives of sections of the capitalist class support measures which contradict the policies of United States imperialism is determined by their desire to preserve remnants of their short-lived capitalist monopoly in Canada.

* * *

The base around which the masses of Canadian workers and farmers could be rallied in action against monopoly capital and U.S. domination, for peace and all-sided, friendly intercourse with the socialist countries, is the working class. This is the case notwithstanding the contradiction between the advanced objective necessity for independent working-class political action and the political level of the thinking which dominates the trade union movement.

In terms of organization the primary need is to unite for action on a national scale the political activists in the trade unions. The resolution adopted by the national convention of the Canadian Labor Congress committed the Congress precisely to this task. The Labor-Progressive Party solidarized itself with that resolution in the following terms: "Canadian

*Almost a million square miles.

*House of Commons Debates, September 6, 1958, p. 4703.

Communists have advocated exactly such a concept continuously since the day that we founded the Workers' Party of Canada in the Labor Temple on Church Street, Toronto, in 1922. It was the central proposal that the LPP placed before the electorate in the recent federal general election. It is right at the center of the proposal in our national program, for the development of independent working-class political action and labor-farmer unity. The outcome of the federal general election shows clearly that such action, now envisaged by the CLC, is an urgent necessity for all workers, farmers, and forward-looking professional people."

Communists are in this fight to achieve a party of radical reform, open to all democratic forces. The public statement greeting the Congress resolution emphasized that the Labor-Progressive Party will support electoral agreements, electoral alliances and more permanent forms of election unity. The only condition that the LPP attaches to its support is that the action be directed to the development of an all-inclusive electoral alternative to the Liberal and Conservative parties. Subject to that condition, members of the LPP will do everything in their power to develop consistent fraternal electoral co-operation with supporters of the CCF—and with all forward-looking people. Members of the LPP will advocate all-inclusive conferences of trade unions and other organizations which accept the Legislative Program of the Canadian Labor Congress. In such conferences, members of the LPP will urge their fellow delegates to stay by the spirit and the letter of the resolution. Our aim is to work with all progressive forces, going forward in united action to give organizational form to the democratic idea that it describes.

While emphasizing, without any equivocation, its support of the aim proclaimed by the Congress convention, the Labor-Progressive Party draws the attention of the labor movement to the fact that many of the public statements of the national leaders of the CCF are in direct contradiction to the terms of the resolution. *In fact, if the new party is organized on the basis proposed now by leaders of the CCF, the character and aims of this party will contradict the essential terms of the convention resolution. The LPP calls upon all trade unionists to prevent this.* The LPP urges all forward-looking trade unionists to fight in all spheres of trade union activity to ensure that the new party shall unite the workers, and the workers and farmers, for political struggle against monopoly capital, and not in a party of class collaboration—to

make the new party a united front of all democratic forces and not the means of subordinating the trade unions politically to the CCF.

It is necessary to fight for the all-inclusive character that was specified in the convention resolution, making the new party open not only to the unions affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress but to all organizations which accept its electoral platform and abide by the provisions of its constitution. The LPP fights for a constitutional provision that affiliating organizations shall pay per capita fees only on behalf of those of their members who formally "contract in."

Against the propaganda to the effect that the new party is to be "a marriage of the Labor Congress and the CCF," the LPP fights for recognition of the need to prevent the new party from being dominated by any affiliated organization. Against the efforts to give the new party the character of bourgeois liberalism the LPP fights to make the country-wide debate concerning its establishment an intensive campaign to help free the labor movement from the domination of bourgeois ideology.

There are difficulties, of course. Until now the Right social democrats have succeeded in excluding the Labor-Progressive Party from the regional conferences being held all across the country to discuss the project. In addition to excluding the Labor-Progressive Party they have succeeded also in excluding unions not affiliated to the CLC. The constitutions of the "international" unions exclude Communists from full membership rights and prohibit support to policies identified with the Labor-Progressive Party. Thus, while Communists are being elected to represent local unions at the regional conferences the debates in the conferences are not directly on the party's proposals.

But, in spite of the efforts of the Right wing to divert them, the desire of numerous rank-and-file activists for an all-inclusive radical reform party is finding expression in the regional conferences.

The definitive decisions concerning the establishment of a party, its platform, structure and name, are to be made by the convention of the Canadian Labor Congress in 1960. Until then the debate must be extended and its political level raised. This debate will become, increasingly, a battle against illusions and against social-democratic deception. The campaign for the organization of a new party must be made a big step forward by the Canadian working class.

Revisionist "Socialism" and Yugoslav Reality

Vladimir Skrlant

THE international communist movement has resolutely and unanimously condemned the Yugoslav revisionists' disruptive policy, their subversive activities against the socialist countries. The criticism, levelled by the Communist and Workers' parties against Yugoslav revisionism from the standpoint of true proletarian internationalism, has thoroughly unmasked the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist essence of the so-called Yugoslav road to socialism.

It was only through heavy sacrifice and with Soviet help that the Yugoslav peoples liberated themselves from the fascist invaders, overthrew the bourgeoisie and stepped out on to the high road to socialism. But now, as Comrade Khrushchov pointed out at the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, the policy of the Yugoslav leaders, aimed at counterposing Yugoslavia to the socialist camp and the international communist movement, may lead to loss of the socialist gains won by the Yugoslav peoples.

Yugoslavia, instead of marching forward, is zigzagging along the socialist path. And the responsibility for this rests entirely with the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its revisionist, anti-Marxist line. Not only is the revisionist interpretation of the fundamental problems of socialist construction the "theoretical banner" of the LCY leadership, it is the Yugoslav state's basic economic policy. The "unusual and specific" way in which socialism is being built in Yugoslavia derives, in point of fact, from the denial of the general laws of socialist construction. Practice shows that trends and elements alien to the socialist mode of production are becoming established in Yugoslav economy.

Non-Socialist Trends in Industry and Trade

The revisionist theory of the withering away of the socialist state, and first and foremost of its economic and organizational functions, during the transition from capitalism to socialism, forms the basis of Yugoslavia's economic policy. The withering away of the state, the LCY Program states, is the basic and decisive problem confronting the

socialist social system. Viewing the socialist state as an intermediary between the producers and the means of production, the LCY considers that central state and planned industrial management should be replaced by "management of the producers." The latter should ensure "a free-hand for the producers," "economic democracy," under which planned guidance is replaced by spontaneous development of market relationships.

In view of the introduction in 1950-52 of ownership of group property by collectives of workers in factories, mines, etc., state management of industry and trade has been almost entirely liquidated. Enterprises headed by workers' councils have been granted a large measure of production and financial independence. They determine, at their own discretion and depending on supply and demand on the market, the extent and range of production and the prices for their goods, the distribution of profit, the way in which wages are to be distributed among the workers in the enterprises, co-operation with other enterprises, etc. The state's functions are restricted to establishing certain general principles concerning the functioning of the enterprises, to receiving a portion of their incomes and to financing separate industries.

Under this system the main factor determining the development of production is the interest of the enterprise in obtaining the maximum financial means. The workers' councils carry out their activities first and foremost in line with the requirements of the enterprises, proceeding from their own local interests. And inasmuch as the economy of the enterprises is regulated by the market, the factories compete in the drive for profits. By virtue of the production and market monopoly held by some enterprises they raise prices speculatively.

Relations between enterprises rest on an unsound basis. Competition leads to enterprises having production and trade secrets, a situation typical of capitalist concerns. The LCY's central organ *Communist* (No. 22, 1957) stated that "production and trade secrets should be recognized and legally safeguarded. In a market economy, labor and

the achievements of separate enterprises should be remunerated." If a production secret is handed over to another enterprise, then "full compensation must be made for the loss sustained by the giver."

And so, inter-factory rivalry takes the place of socialist planned co-operation and emulation. Instead of an exchange of production experience, trade and production secrets are fostered. Instead of the mutual aid of socialist collectives we get an unhealthy struggle.

Even the LCY leaders have been obliged to admit the manifestations of speculation and rivalry. At the Congress of the League of Communists Tito stated that "some trading enterprises frequently display a greater willingness to purchase small quantities of goods and raise their prices instead of purchasing bigger quantities and lowering prices. This method is characteristic not of the socialist but of the capitalist system. . . . Non-socialist competition and artificial price-raising, which injure the consumer, are still a daily occurrence." A letter of the Executive Committee dated February 6, 1958, addressed to the LCY organizations, said that "strong local patriotic trends, which are primarily evident in the economy (in the allocation of funds, capital investments and so on) often acquire nationalist and chauvinistic features."

The journal *Ekonomski pregled* had this to say about trade practices: "The concepts: market factors, psychosis, risk, speculation and so forth, are inherent in all branches of trade. They are particularly characteristic of trade in agricultural produce. The situation here is extremely difficult as this is the most unstable market." (Nos. 8-9, page 744, 1956.)

It would appear that this criticism of non-socialist tendencies in production and trade is a positive factor. Yet it does not go beyond a forced statement of glaring facts. There is no Marxist analysis of the reasons for these phenomena, nor are measures being taken to end this abnormal situation, with the result that prices continue to soar, as the following table shows:

Average Annual Index of Industrial (Wholesale) Prices of Manufactured Goods (1957 = 100)						
1952 93	1953 92	1954 94	1955 99	1956 101	1957 100	November 1958 103

Average Yearly Index of Retail Prices for Manufactured Goods (Indeks, No. 12, 1958)					
97	93	91	97	100	102

A computation based on the 1952 level will show that the wholesale prices of industry were 11 per cent higher in November 1958 than in 1952, while retail prices were 11.2

per cent above the 1954 prices. Payments for services in 1957 were 15 per cent above the 1955 figure, and in October 1958 were seven per cent higher than in 1957. (*Indeks*, No. 12, 1958.)

At times crisis symptoms accompany the price increases. As a result of the artificially inflated price level, which bears no relation to the purchasing power of the population, there is no ready market and stocks are piling up. In July 1958, as against December 1957, for example, stocks of metal products rose 62 per cent, electrical goods 180 per cent, textiles 80 per cent, footwear 94 per cent, rubber industry goods 120 per cent and so on. (*Ekonomska politika*, September 27, 1958.) Stocks of some goods accumulated with exceptional rapidity. Compared with July 1957 the number of unsold wireless sets rose 74-fold, domestic electrical appliances 13-fold. (*Ekonomska politika*, September 6, 1958.)

People are buying many manufactured goods on credit. A reduction in prices would send up sales and help clear stocks. But the enterprises are not interested in bringing down prices. As *Yugoslavia's Industrial Development* (Belgrade, 1957, page 80) points out, "the enterprises are not orientated towards lowering prices." Thus the economic policy of the Yugoslav leaders is creating sharp contradictions between the interests of each individual enterprise and those of the working people in general. Is there any need to mention that this kind of policy runs counter to socialism? Yugoslav practice itself refutes the theoretical "discoveries" of the Yugoslav revisionists.

But it may be that this system of leadership is conducive to a better solution of one of the main tasks of socialist production — the rapid and constant growth of labor productivity?

Compared with the prewar level industrial output has risen considerably. Production in 1957 was up 211 per cent as compared with 1939. Yet labor productivity is rising extremely slowly. The rise in output is the result in the main of building new enterprises and employing more workers. The average annual rate of growth of labor productivity between 1947 and 1956, according to *Ekonomska politika* of March 15, 1958, was only 0.7 per cent. The following changes in the productivity of labor have taken place in recent years:

(1953 = 100)						
1952 99	1953 100	1954 98	1955 101	1956 105	1957 115	1958 (estimated) 116

(*Borba*, December 26, 1958)

By way of comparison we cite figures showing the growth of labor productivity in the countries of the socialist camp. In the German Democratic Republic, labor productivity rose 74 per cent between 1950 and 1957, in Rumania 75 per cent over the same period, in Bulgaria 88 per cent between 1948 and 1956, in Czechoslovakia 116 per cent between 1948 and 1957. These figures are striking testimony to the extent which the growth of labor productivity in Yugoslavia lags behind that of the countries of the socialist camp and to the opportunities lost as a result of an unsound economic policy.

The slow growth of labor productivity is one of Yugoslavia's major unsolved problems. Radkovic, Director of the Institute of Economics of the FPRY, was obliged to admit that labor productivity was becoming a grave problem to which insufficient attention was as yet being paid under the present economic and planning system, despite the fact that the question had long since matured.

But the system of isolation and rivalry between enterprises, of allowing spontaneous market relationships to develop freely, is not conducive to high rates of growth of labor productivity — one of the chief advantages of socialist industry. The Yugoslav enterprises are working for the market and base their activities on the interests of the market and not on the requirements of the people in general. Rivalry and the impact of market factors make it impossible to organize labor co-operation along planned lines. Not what the people need is produced, but what the enterprise finds most profitable. The whole system of industrial organization in Yugoslavia has had the effect of making the enterprise materially interested in the market, prices, speculation and competition instead of raising the interest of the enterprise in improving production conditions for the benefit of society in general. "... The present methods of distributing profits have, in some respects, anything but a stimulating effect on the growth of labor productivity" (Vukmanovic, "The Role of Trade Unions in the Distribution of Profits." *Borba*, October 26, 1958.) The system of distributing profits has been altered several times in the past few years, but the problem of incentives to increase labor productivity has not been solved because the measures that have been taken are based on the principle of stimulating the group interests of the enterprises, and not those of the working class as a whole. This,

naturally, retards the growth of labor productivity.

Despite the fact that more people are entering industry unemployment has risen of late.

Average Yearly Unemployment					Jan.-Sept.
1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
81,610	76,215	67,233	99,338	115,904	127,920
					(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

As experience has shown, the economic policy now being pursued by the LCY offers no real prospect of solving this acute problem.

Another phenomenon alien to socialist economy can be observed in Yugoslavia: funds are not allocated equally among individual enterprises, the allocations do not correspond to the contribution made by the enterprises to society. The result is that "... some economic enterprises and branches do not even have sufficient means to pay the average earnings envisaged by the plans, despite the fact that labor productivity has risen in their enterprises. At the same time other enterprises and branches were allocated much larger funds compared with the planned wages of the workers, although labor productivity has hardly increased at all." (Vukmanovic, *Borba*, October 26, 1958.)

Some enterprises lack the funds with which to pay minimum wages or to pay for improvements, while others (chiefly those engaged in trade) pay out monthly earnings 15, 20 and more times a year. *Vjesnik u srijedu* reports, for example, that the "General Export" organization in Belgrade paid wages an average of 24 times to each worker during nine months of 1957, while 55 per cent of the factories in the fruit and vegetable canning industry were not in a position to pay minimum wages (*Ekonomska politika*, November 3, 1958). Furthermore, as the letter of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists dated February 6, 1958, states, at some enterprises "groups of executives received bonuses equal to the wage fund of the whole collective of workers. . . . Certain categories of office workers have supplementary, unearned incomes of various kinds." This is a dangerous tendency and one that cannot be eliminated by mere philippics against bureaucracy.

A spontaneous differentiation in allocating funds among enterprises leads to non-socialist phenomena. Some enterprises become unprofitable because they cannot overcome production difficulties on their own. Those unable to fulfil their financial obligations to the state, to their creditors and workers, are earmarked for liquidation. Their equipment is

sold and the proceeds are used to pay off debts. In the three-and-a-half years since the promulgation of the law on the liquidation of enterprises, reports *Ekonomska politika* of August 17, 1957, the Economic Court has received 1,874 proposals to liquidate various enterprises (trade, industrial, co-operative, etc.).

The property of the wound-up enterprises is not always purchased by profitable factories. Occasionally it finds its way into private hands. Under the Yugoslav system new enterprises can be founded not only by state bodies and organizations, but also by "groups of citizens" who have amassed sufficient funds. According to the regulations, these people do not become the owners of the enterprise but "merely" have the right to recover the invested funds. To all intents and purposes, however, they are the masters of the enterprise.

Any substantial weakening in the state central management of industry, and unrestricted market operations lead to the emergence, and even the consolidation, of non-socialist tendencies and elements of a private, capitalist nature. These phenomena and their effects run counter to the development of socialist economy, to the interests of the working people of Yugoslavia.

Strengthening of the Capitalist Sector in the Countryside

One of the main tasks involved in the transition from capitalism to socialism is to reconstruct agriculture along socialist lines. Socialism is impossible unless socialist production relations are established in the countryside.

How is this task being solved in Yugoslavia?

Immediately after the working class came to power agricultural producer co-operatives began to be organized. In 1952 there were 6,888 of these co-operatives cultivating 20.4 per cent of the crop area. Since 1952, however, their number gradually fell and in 1958 there were only 575 co-operatives cultivating 1.5 per cent of the arable land. (*Mezhdunarodnaya Politika*, No. 193, 1958.) In 1956 the socialist sector (state farms and co-operatives of all kinds) accounted for only 7.7 per cent of the crop area. (*State of Agriculture and Co-operation and the Prospects for Their Development*, "Kultura" Publishing House, Belgrade, 1957, page 14.)

Co-operation in the Yugoslav countryside is on a lower level than in any of the socialist camp countries. In Rumania, for example, the

socialist sector now embraces over 55 per cent of the land; in the German Democratic Republic—45 per cent; in Czechoslovakia—77 per cent; in Bulgaria—over 95 per cent; in Albania—76.2 per cent.

The socialist sector in the Yugoslav countryside has lost nearly all its gains. Matters have come to this pass as a consequence of revisionist practices in agriculture—and this in a country with a predominantly peasant population.

Under the decision made public in 1954 the producer co-operatives were called upon to prove—by their efforts and without state aid—their viability in the competition with individual peasants. This amounted to a virtual rejection of the leading role of the working class in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. This attitude, it goes without saying, contributed to the disintegration of the co-operatives.

Later, the idea of co-operation in the form of collectivization was rejected altogether. At a meeting of the Federal People's Assembly in April, 1957, S. Komar, Secretary of the Federal Executive Council of the Agricultural Department, declared: "Let none of us hope for collectivization, either now or in the future. We have entirely outlived the tendency to 'solve' the problem of agricultural production by collectivization, which was a peculiar form of expropriation of the peasants." (*State of Agriculture and Co-operation and the Prospects for Their Development*, p. 122.)

Thus Komar repeats the notorious Trotskyite allegation that collectivization is a form of expropriation of the peasants. And so, slandering Lenin's co-operative plan and ignoring all the experience and achievements of the co-operative movement in the socialist countries, the Yugoslav leaders reject the socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

And yet agricultural production is the most important problem confronting the Yugoslav economy. It has suffered from long periods of depression, low productivity, scatteredness (there are more than 30 million plots in the country), backward methods (nearly 50 per cent of the farms have no means of transport of their own). Agriculture cannot, by its own efforts, supply the urban population with the foodstuffs and industry with the raw materials they require. According to *Politika* (January 7, 1959), the volume of agricultural output in 1958 fell by 15-20 per cent as compared with 1957. Wheat and rye yields dropped by about 70,000 wagon-loads, corn by nearly 200,000 wagon-loads.

How do the Yugoslav leaders see the way out? In the recent period, instead of collectivization, they have advanced their own "specific" way—the so-called "co-operation of individual peasants with the socialist factors of agriculture." This, in the main, is *supply and marketing* co-operation of the capitalist type. The so-called general co-operatives engage mostly in trade. They supply the peasants with fertilizers, seeds, pedigree cattle, etc., and buy up agricultural products and handicraft articles. The co-operatives own the machinery and render services to the individual peasants (transportation, sowing, harvesting, and so forth), for which the peasants pay by arrangement. Where the co-operative gives help in farming, the profits are shared between it and the peasant in accordance with the money expended. These co-operatives are a long way from socialism. And it goes without saying that kulak elements use them to enrich themselves.

This is confirmed by the figures for the composition of the leading co-operative bodies: in 1946 peasants owning up to two hectares comprised 21.5 per cent of the members of the co-operative managements, those owning over ten hectares—12.1 per cent. By 1956 the situation had changed radically. There were only 15.3 per cent of peasants with small plots—up to two hectares—in the co-operative managements, and 25 per cent owning more than eight hectares. If we take the money income of management members as a basis, we shall see that 8.2 per cent of the peasants in the leading co-operative bodies had yearly incomes of up to 20,000 dinars in 1956, while the rich peasants, with incomes of more than 100,000 dinars, comprised nearly 40 per cent of the total management membership. (*Ekonomska politika* FNRY, RAD Publishing House, 1957, pp. 220-221.) Only one conclusion can be drawn from these facts: the rich sections in the countryside are acquiring increasing and decisive influence in the general co-operatives.

These agricultural co-operatives testify quite clearly to the general trend of Yugoslav agriculture, namely, the strengthening of the private owners, particularly the kulaks. *Borba* of December 17, 1958, states that "... there is a flow of public funds (granted to the general co-operatives by the state—V. S.) into private ownership." The explanation offered by Yugoslav economists is that the co-operatives use the funds unprofitably. The real reason is that the interlocking in the co-operatives of socialist and private-ownership elements in a situation generally favor-

able to the latter enables the rich sections in the countryside to safeguard their interests.

Yugoslav theoreticians have long since ceased to analyze class relationships in the countryside. They have solved the problem of abolishing the exploitation of peasants very simply: "Thanks to the fact that property in land has been limited to 10 hectares of arable land, individual property in our conditions is concentrated in the family, and this makes it impossible to exploit working peasants. In future the present scale of individual property in land should not be restricted by legislative means." (*State of Agriculture and Co-operation and the Prospects for Their Development*, p. 137.)

Restricting the size of the plot is, undoubtedly, most important, but does this measure alone abolish exploitation? The Yugoslav leaders themselves have had to admit, in a veiled form it is true, that this is not so. Komar said in his address, for example: "Many peasants are either cultivating their land with other people's means of production or they are leasing it. Almost half the peasant farms have no draft animals. On this basis the most varied relationships arise in production within the private sector." (*Ibid.*, p. 122.) Komar by-passes the fact that the "varied relationships" are, in fact, a form of the exploitation of the small peasants by the kulaks.

The following table testifies to the strengthening of the private sector:

	Number of Peasant Households				
	Total no. of households	of up to 2 hectares	from 2-5 hectares	from 5-8 hectares	More than 8 hectares
1952	1,962,589	595,231	768,655	318,238	280,465
1957	2,331,840	697,220	932,736	384,754	317,130

(Statisticki godisnjak FNRY, 1958)

This table shows an increase in the number of private households of all categories. There has been a substantial growth in the number of peasants owning small plots (an increase of 101,989). This means that the small and medium plots are still being parcelled out, while the bigger farms are being stabilized. The number of rich peasant and kulak households rose by 36,665 over a period of five years. The land held by them increased from 3,874,000 hectares to 4,254,000 (i.e., nearly 35 per cent of the arable land).

Privately-owned production, then, predominates in agriculture. The rising demand for agricultural produce, of which there is a shortage, has contributed to this. The peasants, mainly the kulak elements, are taking full advantage of the favorable market factors, with the result that prices for farm produce are rising steadily.

Average Yearly Index of Retail Prices for Agricultural Products (1957 = 100)						
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
62	79	76	94	98	100	115

(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

If 1952 is taken as 100, prices for farm products were, on the average 85 per cent higher in November, 1958, than in 1952.

Who gains from this spontaneous rise in prices?

The burden falls heavily on the working class and working people generally in the towns. But the kulaks become richer. Thus there is an obvious tendency in Yugoslavia for capitalist elements in agriculture to increase.

Tendency for the Workers' Standard of Living to Fall

Socialist production relations ensure a steady improvement in the living standards of the working people. This is evident from the experience of the socialist countries. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the conditions of the working people, and especially of the working class, have been subject to sharp changes in the last few years. The cost of living is going up steadily as a result of the rise in retail prices.

Monthly Cost of Living Index of a Worker's Family of Four
(1957 = 100)

1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	April 1958
69	78	78	91	97	100	113

(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

Taking 1952 as 100, we observe that the cost of living in April 1958 rose by 63.7 per cent. The growth of nominal wages does not keep pace with the rise in the cost of living, and this leads to a fall in real wages. The December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Trade Unions stated: "There has been no improvement in living standards in the past few years, and conditions have partially deteriorated . . ." (*Jugoslovenski pregled*, 1957, p. 23.) Real wages rose in 1957, but in the first six months of 1958 ". . . the real incomes of wages and salary workers were again unfavorably affected by the higher cost of living which set in towards the end of 1957." (*Press Service*, Telegraph Agency Bulletin, August 15, 1958.) As Yugoslav statistics show, less basic foodstuffs (meat, flour, fats, milk and potatoes) are being consumed in workers' families. ". . . There is much talk of late about the real incomes of the workers lagging behind the plans for the contemplated growth. . . . We, evidently, must expect a fall in the standard of living in the large towns. . . ." (*Ekonomska politika*, September 27, 1958.)

Chronic inflation has had a detrimental effect on the conditions of the urban population. The purchasing power of the dinar is falling steadily. Goods which cost the Yugoslav consumer 1,000 dinars in 1954 cost 1,222 dinars in 1957. (*Statisticki kalendar FNRJ*, 1958.)

An article by S. Kavcic, published in *Borba* on November 29, 1958, showed that economic and political difficulties are on the increase. "A detailed study of the various misunderstandings, disputes and conflicts at separate enterprises shows that they stem from the following causes: firstly, the impact of the general conditions, difficulties and the material position of the workers; secondly, the influence of bureaucratic elements and bureaucratic activity; thirdly, the influence of anarcho-syndicalist and petty-bourgeois parasitic and profiteering elements."

The latter is of particular importance. Inasmuch as market prices are built up spontaneously and depend on supply and demand, and in view of the fact that agriculture, owing to its low level, cannot satisfy the urban needs for foodstuffs, profiteering tendencies are growing among the kulaks and the rich sections in the countryside. This is the picture of Yugoslav life.

Every country, especially a country as economically backward as Yugoslavia, meets with obstacles on its road to socialism, obstacles which must be overcome on the basis of socialist forms of economy—by a policy of industrialization and socialist reconstruction of agriculture. This is the only policy that can ensure better conditions for the people.

Dependence of Yugoslavia's Economy on the Capitalist Countries

The economy of the socialist countries develops by utilizing internal resources and through economic co-operation in the socialist world system. This co-operation embodies the principles of proletarian internationalism. It creates possibilities for solving the economic problems of the separate countries, for eliminating the economic disparities. Yugoslavia, however, has taken another road. She has rejected fraternal co-operation with the socialist countries and is becoming increasingly dependent upon the capitalist countries. The development of her industry, trade and agriculture depends to an ever-increasing degree upon credits from capitalist states, chiefly the USA. Yugoslavia's foreign debt is piling up from year to year.

According to a United Press International report from Washington on January 8, 1959, U.S. military and economic aid to Yugoslavia

over the past eight years has amounted to about 1.6 billion dollars. Of this sum a little over 900 million dollars was economic aid; military aid is estimated at about 700 million dollars. Yugoslavia owes 77 per cent of her total debt to capitalist countries.

The question arises: why is it that the U.S. government, which so persistently places obstacles in the way of developing normal trade relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, not only trades with Yugoslavia but readily grants her credits and so-called "free aid"? Is it not obvious that international capital is vitally interested in Yugoslavia's continuing her disruptive policy in relation to the socialist countries and the international working-class movement? It is only because the Yugoslav leaders have assumed this shameful role that dollars, pounds and marks are pouring into the country. The American monopolies are feeding "Yugoslav socialism."

The dependence of Yugoslav industry on the capitalist countries is strikingly borne out by the following facts. A series of factories in Yugoslavia is producing goods under licenses granted by capitalist firms. Many of the industries import most of the needed parts. In the production of motorcycles, for example, only 17-20 per cent of the parts are manufactured in the country, and only 22 per cent of the parts needed for the manufacture of the "Fiat 600" motor car are home-produced. (*Ekonomska politika*, January 1, 1958.) As the Yugoslav press ironically notes, these goods have been nicknamed the three "f's"—"farben" (varnishing), factory trade mark and "faktura," in other words, all that is done in the Yugoslav factories is to varnish them, stamp them with the trade mark and make out the invoice. If the goods are subject to any constructional change in the capitalist plant, production in Yugoslavia has to be re-organized. As *Ekonomska politika* of March 1, 1958, noted, "the currency allocated often cannot be used as the foreign suppliers do not wish to sell us the parts we need. . . . They sell what they find most profitable."

The orientation of Yugoslav economy on the capitalist countries causes other difficulties. The symptoms of the economic crisis in the West are beginning to make themselves felt in Yugoslav foreign trade. Owing to the unsatisfactory structure of her exports, Yugoslavia is obliged to sell her goods on capitalist markets at reduced prices, and this makes matters still worse for her.

Abolition of the state monopoly of foreign trade has resulted in a substantial increase

since 1950 in the number of enterprises independently engaged in foreign trade; there are now over 300 of these organizations. In 1957 some 58 per cent of the exports and 67 per cent of the imports fell to the share of 25 foreign trade enterprises.

Ekonomska politika (April 5, 1958) reported that some Yugoslav enterprises compete on the world market. The large number of foreign trade organizations and their rivalry is injuring the national economy.

The end result is a constant adverse trade balance, with the deficit showing a tendency to increase.

Annual Balance of Trade Deficit*				
(in millions of dinars)				
1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
62,797	29,706	55,312	45,207	79,861
(Statisticki kalendar FNRJ, 1958)				

On December 31, 1958, *Borba* commented that the country had not succeeded in reducing this deficit in 1958, although this was one of the major aims of the year. The deficit for nine months of 1958 amounted to 71 billion dinars. During this period goods to the value of 35.049 billion dinars were imported from the United States, while exports to the USA amounted to a mere 6.934 billion dinars.

Whither the Yugoslav Economy?

A study of the present situation and trends in the Yugoslav economy shows clearly that Yugoslav economic theory and practice add up to revision of the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction. And this revision is yielding bitter fruits. The economy is experiencing hard times. And yet the LCY leadership, having no desire to abandon their revisionist concepts, are unable to take effective measures to put the economy on a sound footing.

The accumulation of economic difficulties has upset their revisionist concepts. The key positions held by the state in the economy are being strengthened, although this runs counter to the revisionist theory of abolishing centralized management of industry. These, however, are but one-sided half-measures, because in tackling the economic problems they take as their starting point the need to preserve the system of group ownership in industry and to safeguard the interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

A pronounced strengthening of state centralized management and control has been observed of late. Under stress of the economic difficulties, the state has been obliged to abandon the principle of free price formation in keeping with supply and demand, a principle lauded as one of the major advantages of the

*Including deliveries of agricultural products from the USA.

Yugoslav economy. We now see the Yugoslav leaders resorting to "administrative state" intervention — methods which they formerly eschewed and condemned. Last year, for example, state price-control was introduced. If an enterprise wishes to raise prices, it must submit substantiated proposals to the administrative bodies, whose decision is binding. Even this measure, however, failed to halt the further price advance inasmuch as other conditions remained the same. (In November 1958 prices for agricultural products were on the average 15 per cent higher than in 1957.) Prices for manufactured goods, too, are rising. To put a stop to this, fines (of up to three million dinars) were introduced in Belgrade, for instance, and six-month prison sentences imposed for illegal price-raising. But these administrative and bureaucratic measures failed to have the desired effect, for the entire system of economic organization is in opposition to planned state management and, to a considerable degree, is subordinated to spontaneous market regulation. Consequently, the steps taken by the Yugoslav government have not removed the causes of the economic difficulties, nor have they prevented the emergence of non-socialist tendencies in the economy. Quite the reverse, these tendencies are growing.

The basic question of the transition from capitalism to socialism—"who will win?"—is being tackled in Yugoslavia from a revisionist standpoint, and this standpoint, as the irrefutable facts attest, contributes to strengthening the private-capitalist sector to the detriment, naturally, of the socialist sector. We should not forget the Leninist thesis that during the transition there exist both the possibility for building socialism and the danger of capitalist restoration. Capitalist tendencies are growing in Yugoslavia; they are expressed in the growth of profiteering and rivalry, in anarchy in allocating public funds, in the growth of unearned income among some groups of the population, and in the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside. These factors help to strengthen the private sector, help the growth of the kulaks, lower the living standards of the working class, and lead to increased dependence on the capitalist world.

The views and policies of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia jeopardize the gains won by the people's revolution and socialism in Yugoslavia. Unless Yugoslavia takes the genuinely socialist path of development, the restoration of capitalist relationships will not only be a real threat, it will become a reality.

*In the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

Studying the Program of Communist Construction

THE decisions of the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU have been hailed at all Rumanian enterprises, including our August 23 Plant. The congress of the builders of communism enables us better to appreciate the prospects opened to our country by the Leninist policy of industrialization, and also the remarkable changes brought about by socialism.

The blacksmith Ion Angelescu voiced the opinion of his fellow workers when he said: "We are proud to belong to the socialist camp which in a bare seven years from now will be producing more than the entire capitalist world with its industry and technology which up till now seemed second to none!" Gheorghe Niculescu, foundry worker, said: "When we recall what tsarist Russia was like forty years ago, and the tremendous progress made

by the Soviet people, we get an idea of the mighty power of socialism."

The changes wrought by socialism are clearly evident in our plant. We are producing more and, what is most important, our production has undergone a qualitative change. The plant has become an important center of machine-building—an industry that has appeared in our country under people's rule. We are turning out equipment and machinery for the ferrous, cement, chemical, oil, power, mining and other industries, i.e., everything that until recently had to be imported.

Not long ago every worker, technician and engineer at the plant pledged to achieve the utmost economy—to save over 6.5 million lei annually. Ways and means of raising productivity and lowering costs have been discussed at production con-

ferences and at trade union and Party meetings. The 1,400 valuable suggestions made by the personnel are proof of the enthusiasm in the plant.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU has demonstrated that the one-time economically backward countries can, by drawing on the experience, co-operation and mutual aid of the other socialist countries, rapidly make up for lost time and raise their economic and cultural levels. The day is not far off when all the socialist countries will be building a communist society.

Our Party branch is conducting extensive work, explaining that the victory of socialism does not come by itself. Our most important duty is to see to it that every worker and engineer understands his task in the socialist construction, to inculcate in them a lofty sense of responsibility to the collective, to encourage and support initiative.

The target figures for the Soviet Seven-Year Plan are being discussed and studied both by the workers and at the 90 political classes held in the plant.

Our activists are keenly interested in the theoretical problems advanced at the Congress; these points are being studied at seminars and classes.

Visual aids are also used in studying the Congress materials. A large panel erected in the yard contains diagrams on the theme: "By giant leaps to communism." Wall newspapers and posters also enable our workers better to appreciate their tasks arising from the decisions of the Congress.

In the past two years the Party organization at the plant increased by about a thousand new members. Of these 85 per cent are workers at the bench. The branch is helped by a rapidly growing group of active non-Party members. In carrying out mass work it enjoys the support of over 600 leading workers, innovators, engineers and technicians.

Florea EMILIAN

Secretary of the Party Committee, August 23 Plant, Bucharest.

The Danish Communist Party Clears the Way for Advance

THE Communist Party of Denmark held its XXth Congress between October 31st and November 2nd, 1958—six months ahead of schedule. The Congress was preceded by a lively debate which attracted considerable attention. The background to this was the disagreement among the leaders on the fundamentals of Marxism, on the tasks of the Party and its work. In substance, it was a debate on the issues in the controversy between the world communist movement and opportunism. This explains why the Congress evoked interest in all countries.

The position of the Party was worsened by the fact that Axel Larsen, who for many years had held the post of Party chairman, acted as the standard-bearer of revisionism. Larsen's speeches show that his revisionist vacillations date back to 1927, when Trotskyism was defeated in the Soviet Union.

The shortcomings and errors of the ex-chairman were aggravated by his reluctance to associate with the workers, to maintain contact with them, go deeply into their hard day-to-day struggle for better conditions. Larsen preferred to associate with petty-bourgeois individualists, those who delight in radical phraseology. He succumbed to their cajolery and, ultimately, became the victim and instrument of alien political schemes.

Characteristic of the revisionists is their pessimistic estimate of the postwar political scene in

Denmark. The foreign policy of the Danish ruling circles in the prewar years was distinguished by excessive concessions to Germany. Denmark was the only country in Northern Europe to conclude, in 1939, a non-aggression pact with Germany. This pact, however, did not prevent the Nazis from occupying the country in April 1940. Despite this the government continued to collaborate with Germany and in 1941 brought the country into the anti-Comintern pact. In August 1943, a powerful popular movement, accompanied by strikes, swept away the government of collaborators.

The Communist Party headed the struggle for national independence and against the reactionaries' attempts to shift the burden of the war and occupation on to the people. Thanks to the trust and prestige won by it, Communists were included in the first postwar government. Under working class pressure, the Social Democrats agreed to unity talks. In the 1945 elections the Communist Party polled 255,000 votes, winning 18 seats in Parliament.

Later, however, the membership, the Communist voters and the circulation of the Party press declined. The unconcealed pressure of the capitalist forces, the demagoguery to which they resorted in connection with the events in February 1948 in Czechoslovakia, the Korean war and the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary had their effect. The doubters and waverers deserted the Party. Many of these were fellow-travellers who had

applied for membership in 1945. Those who were too cowardly to admit their weakness, resorted to foul tricks against the Party, to treachery. The Party also lost some members who had joined it with the best intentions, men who had fought in the resistance movement but who, later on, became disappointed over the way things were going, particularly by the internal disputes.

One of the main reasons for the decline in the Party membership was that the Danish Communists were opposed, especially in the trade unions, by an influential Social Democracy skilled in the art of maneuvering. As a counterweight to the Communist influence it advanced in 1945 a "radical" program—"The Denmark of the Future." Pointing to the social gains won through workers' action and aided by the relatively favorable economic situation, the Social Democrats advanced the notion of Denmark as a "welfare state." Judging by Larsen's speeches, this idea had a certain effect on him.

Despite the blows from outside, the dangerous manifestations of petty-bourgeois ideology within and the obvious weaknesses in its work, the Party never lost its contact with the masses, never deviated from its path. It remained the genuine party of the working class, upholding socialist ideas.

Together with the masses the Party has been fighting for national economic independence and for peace, against the "common market," against joining the Atlantic bloc and the growing subordination of the country to the leaders of this bloc. The Party did its bit in the nationwide movement of protest which compelled the government to reject the U.S. claims for military bases on Danish territory. It was in the van of the protest movement against the ratification of the Paris agreements and German rearmament. The Party is combating the attempts to place the Danish armed forces under the West German Bundeswehr.

The Communist Party pursues an active policy on all the major issues of the country's internal life. The present coalition government is led by the Social Democrats. Since 1945 there has been quite a regular succession of Social-Democratic cabinets and cabinets including representatives of the Venstre (Agrarian) Party and the party of the urban bourgeoisie (Conservatives). The common feature of these governments was their policy of lowering living standards. The Communists alone have fought for a change in policy, for a "new policy"—social insurance, a higher standard of living and well-being for the working people. In Parliament they opposed the tax increases and, on some occasions, succeeded in organizing a mass protest movement.

By attacking living standards, the government and the capitalists, with the backing of the Right-wing leaders of the trade unions, aimed at dis-

rupting the trade union movement and crushing its militant spirit. The Right-wing leaders drew up the new voting procedure, which restricts the democratic rights of union members in determining the conditions of work, elaborated complicated judicial rules for settling industrial disputes, aimed at submitting claims to compulsory arbitration and so forth. The Communists alone have persistently upheld the workers' interests.

The principles of the Party's policy were set forth in the program, *The Road of the Danish People*, adopted at its XVIIth Congress in 1952. The program outlined new possibilities of the transition to socialism: "The victory of socialism in a number of countries," it says, "has shown that there are different roads to socialism. Each country, each nation should take the road which corresponds to its position and conditions. But without the people and their struggle there can be no road to socialism and, consequently, to lasting peace and freedom." Stressing the needs for a people's government and for making use of Parliament, the program explains that this can be achieved only with the active support of the people led by the united working class, with the participation of the basic mass organizations.

But in the new conditions the petty-bourgeois and even the bourgeois elements who joined the Party after the war began to go from one extreme to the other. Together with Axel Larsen they brought to the fore not the new prospects indicated by the XXth Congress of the CPSU, but the personality cult and the mistakes arising from it, and launched a discussion. And here the weak sides of the Party were revealed.

True, the Party Conference held in September 1956 clarified all the points. But a month later the internal strife flared up again in connection with the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary. The situation was worsened by the reactionary campaign launched against our Party, by the victimization of Communists. In some places the Party premises were raided. The solid core of the membership reacted to the persecution by closing their ranks, declaring their readiness to repel every attack of the reactionaries.

In these conditions the confusion and panic among the wavering petty-bourgeois elements became even more pronounced. As is so often the case with deserters, many of them hastened to justify themselves, to save face in the eyes of the bourgeoisie by renouncing Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity. They began even to search for mistakes made by the Party; this was the line taken particularly by some of the staff of *Land og Folk*, the Party's central newspaper. In circumstances which called for a clear and firm position, the paper began

to display uncertainty and vacillation; and Larsen's attitude made things more difficult.

A Party congress had to be summoned without delay. The pre-congress discussion, conducted in the columns of *Land og Folk*, acquired a sharp tone. While a compromise was reached, as can be seen from some formulations in the documents, the XIXth Congress as a whole, and its decisions, demonstrated the resolve of the membership to preserve the Party's unity on the Marxist-Leninist principles. "Marxism-Leninism," said the Congress resolution, "is our ideological basis in the fight for socialism, peace and the everyday needs of the people. We rely on the working class as the leading force in the fight against exploitation and reaction, in the fight for socialism. We rely on the working class and on the international solidarity of the socialist forces."

Then, by way of compromise, the point was added that the Danish Communists "standing on our principled basis . . . will independently estimate events and the development of the working-class movement in other countries." This implied the counter-revolution in Hungary and the exposure of the personality cult by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Citing this particular formulation, Larsen and the other revisionists attacked the Party leadership, claiming that it ran counter to the Congress decisions and, in their view, did not signify an independent position in estimating and criticizing the fraternal parties (viz., the trial of the counter-revolutionaries in Hungary).

The XIXth Congress laid the basis for strengthening the Party. Optimism and the earnest desire to work have been strengthened in the branches and in the area organizations. The parliamentary elections in May 1957 showed the strength of the Party. The enemies of the working class believed that the external pressure and the internal dissension had shaken the Party to the extent that it would lose its seats in Parliament. But this did not happen. The Party received 72,000 votes, winning six seats in Parliament—true, less than in the previous elections (1953) when it polled 92,000 votes and had eight seats.

But while the enemies had miscalculated it became clearer that the Party had not cured its ills. Instead of working collectively, on the basis of the Congress decisions, Larsen sought to create his own platform and to disrupt the Party. In May 1957, when the Party was active in the movement against nuclear tests, Larsen suggested that the Soviet Union be requested to end the tests unilaterally. Criticizing the Party's policy on questions of war, he actually demanded that it be replaced by a purely pacifist policy.

In August 1957, during the talks with Soviet Party leaders in Moscow, Larsen raised, in his personal

capacity, the question of unilateral test suspension. In November of the same year he attended the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Central Committee heard Larsen's report on the Declaration endorsed at the Moscow meeting and unanimously accepted this programmatic document. But when the Party had to define its attitude to the Yugoslav program, which ran counter to the Moscow Declaration, Larsen refused to dissociate himself from the Belgrade document and tried to get a delegation to the Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. At the Central Committee's meeting on May 31 and June 1, Larsen found himself in the minority both on this and other points. He then declared that he would submit his views in writing to the next meeting. Such was the origin of the notorious "Larsen memorandum." Although this document was designed solely for the Central Committee and, officially, was sent only to its members, big extracts from it appeared in the capitalist and Social-Democratic newspapers. These papers frequently appeared with inside information on the situation in the Party, although this information was available only to the leading Party officials. This circumstance left its imprint on the subsequent developments.

Larsen called for a revision of Party policy, he insisted on a "change of skin," on a "radical change." The feature of the "memorandum" and kindred documents was vagueness, a shying away from clear-cut proposals. But leaving aside the vagueness and indefiniteness—typical of the opportunists—of those documents, the point at issue was an attempt radically to change the ideological and organizational principles of the Party, deriving from the notorious revisionist concept: the movement is everything, the goal is nothing.

But the Communist Party proved to be much stronger than the external enemies and all skeptics in its ranks had anticipated. The Central Committee meeting held on August 23-24, 1958, rejected the "memorandum" and, by a majority (27 for, seven against, with one abstention), approved a resolution based on the decisions of the XIXth Party Congress and the principles of the Moscow Declaration.

This line was approved at the XXth Party Congress by an overwhelming majority. The Congress almost unanimously (with twelve votes against) adopted a principled resolution unequivocally declaring that the Party recognizes "the fraternity and solidarity of the working class and the Communist parties." In its estimate of the present situation and the tasks arising therefrom, the Congress proceeded from the Declaration with which "our Party has solidarized itself and has taken as a basis for its policy." The Congress condemned revisionism as the main ideological danger and pointed out that the revisionist trends had developed

into groupings; in the hour of trial they directed their activities against the Party and subsequently sought to disrupt and destroy it.

In contrast to the liquidationist trends, the Congress underlined the role of the Party which is called upon to act as the leading force of the working class and the people as a whole and which bases its activities on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the general laws of class struggle and the building of socialism. The new Rules approved by the XXth Congress clearly formulate the aims of the Party, the rights and duties of its members and, lastly, its organizational principle—democratic centralism. The Congress also adopted an appeal to the Party members and a manifesto—a policy statement—which, proceeding from the Moscow Declaration, sets forth the tasks and aims of the Party. Before being published in *Land og Folk*, the manifesto was circulated in 100,000 copies.

The Congress did not conceal the shortcomings in Party work and the need to eliminate them. For instance, dogmatism had manifested itself “both in defining our political and practical tasks and in carrying them out, as well as in bureaucratic methods of leadership.” In his report on behalf of the Central Committee Poul Thomsen, secretary, drew attention to the weak sides of Party education and trade union work, to the Central Committee’s attitude to the branches and its underestimation of their initiative. The task of the Party, the Congress decisions read, is to eliminate “any tendency towards complacency, self-praise and self-satisfaction” which “lead to one-sidedness and superficiality, stifle initiative and the policy of broad unity.”

The new Central Committee consists of 37 members; eleven being elected to it for the first time. Knud Jespersen, the new chairman, is a young but experienced comrade who has been active in the communist movement from his youth; during the Nazi occupation he was arrested for participating in the resistance movement. Later, he was elected chairman of the trade union organization and a municipal councillor in Aalborg.

The XXth Congress of our Party aroused considerable interest in other countries. Proof of this and also a manifestation of fraternal solidarity was the attendance of delegates from sixteen parties, including the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, China and some of the people’s democracies.

Endorsement of the Congress decisions by the Party organizations signified the fiasco of those who had foretold the break-up of the Party and who had tried to sow confusion in its ranks. The best of the wavering elements returned to the Party when they realized whither they had been drawn by the adversaries of socialism. An end has been put to the confusion and vacillation. While the wavering, alien elements are being expelled, new

people are applying for membership. The last session of the Congress was told that some district Party organizations had recruited members; since then the membership has been rising. More funds have been collected for the Party and its press.

The discussion of the Congress decisions in the Party organizations has shown that the members feel that the defeat of the revisionists must not lead to any complacency or relaxed vigilance, that vigorous efforts should be made to carry out the tasks facing the Party.

And the Party has important tasks in all spheres—those which were buried in oblivion during the long inner-Party struggle and the tasks advanced by life. West German pressure has been intensified, designed to secure subordination of Denmark’s armed forces to the Bundeswehr. Some sections, especially the big landowners, hungry for higher prices, advocate joining the so-called Common European Market. The attack on living standards continues. In 1958 the collective agreements were prolonged from two to three years. Using this as a pretext, the employers are trying to intensify the speed-up to the utmost. At the same time the government has enacted a law enabling the landlords to raise rents up to 30 per cent, thus undermining the basis of the wage agreements. In addition, the state housing subsidies have been drastically cut. Agriculture, an important branch of the economy, is having marketing difficulties and is feeling the effects of the fall in prices for animal products. This particularly affects the small farmers. As a result of mechanization, the number of workers employed in agriculture has fallen approximately from 300,000 to 150,000.

Our Party is ready to fight actively for a solution to the problems brought about by this state of affairs.

Larsen and his supporters refused to recognize the decisions of the XXth Congress. What is more, they are combating them, conducting subversive activities in the Party and trying to persuade members to leave it. It was on these grounds, incidentally, that Larsen was expelled from the Party. Some of his supporters, including some trade-union officials and municipal councillors, have left the Party and, following Larsen’s example, have refused to give up the positions they won thanks to the Communist vote.

Larsen is trying to justify his action, collecting signatures of electors in support of his stand. His aim is to use them in an attempt to form a break-away organization—“the Socialist People’s Party.” Officially, this “party” has been registered in the Folketing since it has one deputy — Axel Larsen himself. The new “party,” Larsen declared, should stand “between the Social Democrats and the Communists.” Although it has no members, this

"party," judging by all appearances, possesses considerable funds; it has offices and circulates propaganda materials in large editions. For instance, the issue of *Land og Folk* carrying Larsen's "memorandum" was distributed in Norway, Sweden, Iceland and Finland. But the collection of signatures is a slow process, because the self-styled "party" has no program and its supporters are united by their hatred of the Communist Party.

After its XXth Congress the Party has intensified its work with a view to extending its influence among the masses. For a long time this work was not carried out because of the internal struggle imposed by the revisionists. Party conferences and branch meetings have been held, together with a number of public meetings addressed by the new Chairman, Knud Jespersen.

A meeting of the Central Committee, held on January 17-18, 1959, adopted a plan of work for the next few years. The principal tasks of the Party are as follows:

1. To work for a nationwide protest movement against Denmark's growing military dependence on West Germany. This is an urgent task linked with the Party's campaign against atomic armament, nuclear tests and the danger of war. The Bonn militarists led by Defence Minister Strauss want to establish a Danish-West German military command, i.e., to subordinate Denmark's armed forces to the Bundeswehr. These claims are a source of anxiety to the Danish people who want the government to say "NO" to the German militarists. It is necessary to insist that, instead of giving way to Bonn, the government pursue a policy which would ensure Denmark's neutrality, that she align herself with the Rapacki plan and make the Baltic Sea a peace zone.

2. To step up and improve work in the trade unions and at the factories. In recent months many protest strikes against the employers' attempts to "raise the efficiency" of labor have been held; this protest movement testifies to the radicalization of the working class. But each time the strikes are broken by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders of the trade unions. In this

connection the Party plans to convene four regional conferences of Communists who are trade-union officials. It is working for the convening of meetings and conferences in the various industries within the confines of the trade union movement. This will help the workers to formulate demands for the forthcoming trade-union congresses.

3. In view of the considerable unemployment (especially in some districts) the Party has drawn up and circulated its "employment program" which outlines a number of definite tasks and shows how jobs could be provided, including the possibility of exploiting the recently discovered mineral deposits (salt and potassium). In Parliament and in the local government bodies the Party is working to improve the conditions of the unemployed, relying on their activity in this matter.

4. The Party must devote more attention to the numerous problems facing the young people, their right to work, education and homes, to organizing their recreation.

The ideological work among the Party members has improved of late. In some towns, especially in big industrial centers, members are attending 12-day evening seminars where the ideological principles of communism are studied. In many localities the Party has organized the study of the vital problems facing it. Many members are studying the decisions of the XXIst Congress of the CPSU. These decisions will be discussed also at a number of open Party meetings.

Last month funds were collected for *Land og Folk* which marked its 25th anniversary at the beginning of the year. Every day men and women, mostly young workers, are applying for Party membership. The Communist Party of Denmark, which this year will celebrate its 40th anniversary, is becoming more united, and with the recruiting of new members its ranks are becoming more youthful and stronger; it is making greater efforts in the fight for peace, freedom and socialism in Denmark.

Villy FUGLSANG

Some Notes on the Dutch Party Congress

THE XIXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, held on December 26-29, 1958, coincided with the formation of a Right-wing Cabinet. The new government immediately dissolved Parliament and announced March 12 as the date for the general election. The parties of

the Right, giving free rein to demagoguery, are dead set on victory.

The background to these developments can be seen in the political report of the General Committee delivered by Secretary-General Paul De Groot: the offensive launched by the big monopo-

lies on the one hand and, on the other, resistance of the working people to lowering the standard of living.

The big monopolies, with the backing of the Catholic People's Party, in which semi-fascist tendencies are becoming more pronounced, are trying to maintain their profits during the recession by means of intensified exploitation. The reactionaries are inspired by the example of de Gaulle. They, too, hankering for dictatorship, are scorning the traditional parliamentary methods. This is evident from the methods employed by the Beel Cabinet. It first installed itself in power and only after doing so did it announce a general election. According to the Catholic People's Party the issue in the elections is for or against a government which is already in office. This signifies not a choice of parties and programs but a referendum. These developments, the Congress pointed out, characterize the first stage of the reactionary offensive, which testifies not to their strength but to their weakness.

For the first time since the war the Labor Party (Social-Democratic Party) is in opposition. Its leaders, while they have protested against "the breach of good parliamentary principles," reserve for themselves the right to take part in the government after the elections and, if not, to form a "constructive opposition." They have refused to call on the workers and the trade unions to fight. But a change of sentiment can be observed in the ranks of Social Democrats as a result of the influence of Communist policy. Dissatisfaction is felt over the military expenditure, the attack on the standard of living and the policy pursued with regard to West Irian. The majority of the members are opposed to the Right policy, so much so that the leaders are worried as to whether they will be able to maintain their "constructive opposition" within the parliamentary framework.

"The reactionaries," said Comrade Paul De Groot in his report, "are becoming insolent, taking advantage of the absence of unity among the working class and in the trade union movement. Disunity is fostered and aggravated by the anti-communism of the leaders of the Labour Party. The first and most important thing is to demand that they stop sowing discord, allow their members to co-operate with the Communists, and remove the barriers to a merger of the Social-Democratic trade unions and the United Trade Union Center. Our task as Communists," De Groot continued, "is clear. The great battle against reaction and fascism has been launched. We must be, and we will be in the front ranks. Once more we advance the slogan: United action in the struggle against the reactionaries."

The Congress has demonstrated the solidarity of the Party. It is common knowledge that in recent years a group of revisionists have tried to deflect the Party from the Marxist-Leninist path to the opportunist path. This group assailed democratic centralism, opposed solidarity with the Soviet Union and the world communist movement, and resisted the policy of working-class unity. Consequently the struggle against revisionism became an urgent task, and the Party, waging this struggle from the Leninist standpoint, demonstrated its ideological maturity. Revisionism was defeated not only by organizational measures but also ideologically and politically. The facts of life and their own experience brought home to the Party members and all those active in the workers' movement the pernicious nature of the ideas and actions of the revisionists. The Congress approved the political line of the Party and the struggle waged by the Central Committee against revisionism.

The activity of the revisionists had its counterpart in other countries. Consequently the Central Committee deemed it necessary to trace the history of the Right grouping in the Party. Revisionism in Holland dates back to wartime. In 1942 and 1943 when it became clear that the Soviet Union would smash Hitler, the Nazis, and the emigre bourgeois governments then in London, worked might and main to undermine the growing communist influence in the occupied countries. In 1943 the Gestapo struck at the leadership of the underground Communist Party. Taking advantage of this, people who frequently were more in line with the interests of the British intelligence service than of the Dutch people wormed their way into the leadership of the Party and began to pursue an altogether different policy. The London government also took steps to make the underground resistance movement serve its aims. In this government the last word rested with big international trusts such as Royal Dutch Shell, Unilever and the shipping companies. There are grounds for believing that the "change" in the leadership was associated with the government's attempt to bring the Party under its sway. Much factual material, featured at the time in the underground Party paper *De Waarheid* and in other publications, showed how the policy of the Communist Party was being distorted. At that time the leadership sought to subordinate the political aims of the Party to imperialist politics; attempts were made to weaken solidarity with the Soviet Union, to support a federation policy in relation to Indonesia; to weaken and then dissolve the Party; to end the armed resistance to the Nazis, and to merge the "solidarity with the Communists" fund with the funds of bourgeois organizations. These materials were published by the

Central Committee in the form of information before the XIXth Congress.

Immediately after the war the new leadership headed by Comrade De Groot, who resumed his post as Secretary-General, launched a struggle for the Leninist line. Many of the former underground leading body joined the anti-communists. But such figures as Wagenaar, Brandsen and Reuter remained in the Party, pretending to agree with its line. But after the reactionary onslaught which followed the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary and Titoite activity, they discarded their masks and attacked the Party. Ultimately, however, they were expelled.

The revisionists grouped around the monthly *De Brug* launched a slander campaign against the Party and its leadership, particularly against Comrade De Groot. Before the Congress they issued "an open letter" demanding that the "differences in the Party should be made public," although the differences were known to all. In reality they were again claiming the right to conduct factional activity. They insisted that a commission should be set up to examine the Party policy in 1939-45 and from 1946 to the present, that the commission should not include members of the Central Committee and that expelled revisionists be allowed to speak at Party meetings.

In the report of the Central Committee these demagogic claims were firmly rebutted. Comrade De Groot suggested that the Congress should insist on the immediate and unconditional dissolution of the *De Brug* group, that its members should immediately return to the Party their parliamentary and other seats, that they should relinquish their open and concealed anti-Party activity. Let the group give an undertaking that it will abide by the Congress decisions and promise to carry them out, let its members adopt a self-critical attitude and condemn the factional activities, by doing so they might rejoin the Party. The Congress approved of this proposal.

The revisionists, however, have again shown their true colors. After the Congress they decided to contest the general election with their "own" list. They have joined the anti-communist campaign and are feeding the reactionary press with slanders. It is now plain to every worker that the revisionists are directly supporting the reactionaries.

The Congress focused attention on consolidating and extending the Party's contact with the masses. It discussed the attitude towards trade unions. There are four trade union centers in the Netherlands: Social-Democratic (the Dutch United Trade Unions — NVV), Catholic, Protestant and the United Trade Union Center (EVC). In the latter body there is a strong Left influence. The first

three number over 1,300,000 members, or about 41 per cent of all factory and office workers. Despite repeated calls by the Party, its members do little work in these unions. Moreover, in recent years the Party branches tended to turn inwards, foregoing mass work. The main reason for this was the anti-Party activity of the Reuter-Brandsen group. The political report stressed the Leninist principle that the Communists must work among the masses and primarily in the trade unions. A pressing issue now is a merger of the Social-Democratic (NVV) and the United Trade Union Center (EVC). This would substantially strengthen the working-class movement, but fusion is opposed by the reformist trade-union leaders. Many of the NVV rank and file, however, are of a different opinion — their confidence in the Communists has grown. To strengthen the forces of the working class the closest possible contact between the Communists and all workers' organizations is essential.

Approximately 300 delegates and visitors were present at the Congress. The 42 speakers who came to the rostrum cited many examples of the growing co-operation between the NVV and EVC workers. The past two years have witnessed strikes of building workers against the new agreement which cut wages by 20 guilders a week. These strikes were led by action committees representing a number of trade unions and in which Communists and EVC members played a particularly big role. The court, pressed by the capitalists, tried to force a resumption of work, threatening a fine of 25 guilders for every day lost. The reply to this was the formation on the initiative of the Communists of solidarity committees in 12 districts in Amsterdam.

Thanks to the firmness of the building workers and the solidarity of the working people, the court hesitated to execute its decision — which interfered with the right to strike—so much so that even the capitalists could not insist on it.

The winning in the past few months of 2,150 new subscribers for the Party paper *De Waarheid* is a sign of the growing influence of the Communists. After the expulsion of the revisionists the Party became stronger ideologically and began to recruit new members.

The Congress unanimously adopted an appeal addressed to all workers in town and countryside, to the people of Holland, containing a number of immediate demands — no increase in rent; shorter working hours with the same pay and same rate for the job; conclusion of fair collective agreements; no dismissals; measures to combat unemployment; hands off the right to strike. The appeal further demands that military expenditure and the term of conscription be reduced, that no

troops be sent to West Irian and that the province be returned to the Indonesian Republic, that East-West trade should be extended. The Congress protested against the establishment of U.S. rocket-launching sites and urged the country's participation in the projected atom-free zone in Europe. It also demanded an end to nuclear weapon tests and the banning of these weapons.

The messages of greeting received from the fraternal parties showed that none of the parties regards the revisionist group as "Communists." The Government refused visas to representatives

of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, China and other countries, including capitalist countries. But the authorities gained little from their action, for we read their messages. We enjoy the solidarity of 33 million Communists who have the trust of one billion people in the socialist camp and of millions more in the capitalist world. This adds to the influence of our Communist Party in the country.

Marcus BAKKER,

Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Netherlands.

Publication of Political Literature for the Mass Reader

SPREADING the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explaining Party policy to the masses, and also the problems arising in the course of socialist construction and international politics — these have always held an important place in the work of the Kossuth Publishing House in Budapest.

During the years of people's rule the Kossuth Publishing House has issued the works of Lenin in thirty-five volumes, the main writings of Marx and Engels and selected volumes by Marx, Engels and Lenin on particular subjects and also works by prominent writers in the international and Hungarian working-class movement. These books have helped to train Marxist-Leninist propagandists — conscious builders of socialism. After the defeat of the counter-revolutionary putsch in 1956, political publications helped all sincere people to get rid of the venom of revisionist propaganda and to become aware of their place in socialist construction.

In the past two years the Publishing House has considerably expanded the sphere of its activity. Before that it had concentrated on books for a relatively narrow section of Party functionaries. Popular political literature was scarce. Moreover there had been a tendency to avoid putting out books on controversial subjects in which people were keenly interested. Now, however, together with the Marxist-Leninist classics, special attention is devoted to popular literature. The Publishing House is now making a study of the points raised at public meetings. This experience will help the publishers to make a better selection of subjects. However, it is not only the subject that counts, language and style also play their part, and the editors are paying special attention to this aspect of the work. Books of a polemical character, written in a lively manner and containing convincing arguments, are greatly valued.

Such books attract the reader and whet his interest in political literature.

Last year the Publishing House put out 216 books and pamphlets — altogether 5.5 million copies. These included fifteen books on the modern history of Hungary. Among them is Bela Kun's *The Hungarian Soviet Republic* and the Selected Works of Ervin Szabo. Some of the pamphlets deal with the subversive activity of the imperialists in the people's democracies, particularly the counter-revolutionary intrigues in Hungary. A series of eighteen pamphlets give an insight into the life of the socialist countries.

One very popular series is *Everyday Life*. Both journalists and writers were invited to write up this series. The pamphlets are devoted to vital questions of contemporary public life: for instance, socialized property, combating speculation, bureaucracy, etc. These booklets have an appeal to the reader and are quickly sold out.

Another popular series consists of short literary works dealing with the heroic struggle against fascism during the Second World War. Among them we find stories about the battles fought by Soviet, Polish, Yugoslav, French and Hungarian partisans, the national-liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, and questions of socialist construction. On the average the books of this series appear in editions of 50,000 copies.

One of the lessons drawn from the counter-revolutionary putsch was that the Party had not paid sufficient attention to the political and ethical education of the young people. It is important to provide them with books which can supply the answers to the questions worrying the youth. To meet this need the Publishing House is putting out such titles as *On the Purpose of Life*, *Choosing a Profession*, *Public Life*, *Character Molding*, *Self-Education*, and so on; pamphlets *On Friendship*.

A Healthy Body Means a Healthy Mind, Boys and Girls and Reading Is Useful. These publications set forth the basic principles of socialist ethics and show the bright prospects opened by the socialist system for the youth. The pamphlets issued each in 20,000 to 25,000 copies are sold out in a few days.

The series *Briefly on International Affairs* has a big circulation. These pamphlets (60,000 copies each) explain the complexities of international politics in a popular way. Each month one or two such pamphlets appear. They are illustrated with drawing and maps. In addition to reviewing current events they contain a deeper analysis of questions than is possible in the daily press.

There is a ready sale for the *International Almanac*, a new venture. This reference book of 900 pages contains considerable information on all countries, their economies and politics.

In the last two years the output of popular political literature has increased nearly five-fold. The fact that the books do not gather dust in the bookstores (as was often the case before) and quickly find their way to the public is indicative of the growing interest in political matters. The people are keen on acquiring a better understanding of both Party policy and events at home and abroad. The Publishing House is on the right road, but much still remains to be done to raise the ideological level of its popular series and to broaden the topics. This year it is inaugurating a series of *Questions and Answers*. Also in preparation is the series *What Is Socialism?*, designed to elucidate briefly and in popular form some of the basic ideological and practical questions of socialism.

Scheduled for publication this year in this series are *The Forerunners of Scientific Socialism*, and *Why Communists Are Internationalists*.

Journalists and writers are working on themes devoted to rural and urban life, factories, state farms, co-operatives and outstanding personalities. The idea is to draw a comparison between the situation that existed in Hungary prior to the liberation and the progress achieved so far. And not only to compare but also to show the prospects.

There are many more ideological questions on which books have not yet been written and which are of interest to the people and the Party members. These include such topics as combating revisionism and nationalism, in particular, chauvinism and anti-Semitism; elucidation of the burning issues of socialist construction and Party life. All this occupies a considerable place in the plans for the current year. There will be more books dealing with the life of the working class, the inspiring work of the Soviet people now building communism, and on the life of the working people in the socialist countries. Urgently needed are books containing a profound scientific analysis of the causes and pre-history of the counter-revolutionary putsch of 1956, and also the conclusions drawn from it.

Thus, while going ahead with its regular program of issuing work of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and theoretical works, the Kossuth Publishing House is putting out a wider range of the themes of popular political literature and raising its ideological level.

H. V.

Short Notices

Austria

MILITANT TRADITIONS A BASIS FOR EDUCATION

THE fortieth anniversary of the Communist Party of Austria was widely utilized for educational purposes. Over 500 Party meetings were addressed by leaders of the Party, including members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. A feature of these meetings was the large attendance and the enthusiasm of the participants. The speeches were followed by a showing of lantern-slides, adapted for sound by means of tape-recorder, depicting various stages in Party history. Veteran members told the audiences of the struggle waged by the Party.

There were touching celebrations to honor those who have been in the Party for over two decades. There are more than seven thousand such members, and each of them, after a brief congratulation, was awarded a badge of honor and a certificate. New members were recruited at many meetings — all in all, two thousand new members joined the Party.

In addition to the Party meetings, public rallies were held in the bigger towns. The Vienna gathering drew an audience of 12,000. It was addressed by representatives of the fraternal parties who had arrived for the anniversary.

The Party organizations in many districts put out materials featuring the militant activity of their members; a symposium "On the History of the Communist Party of Austria" was issued by the Central Committee.

But the past was not the sole content of the celebrations. They were linked with the fight on the issues of the day. For example, the campaign

to prevent the holding of an international rally of SS men in Salzburg was crowned with success. A broad movement is under way for a 45-hour working week, against the attack on sick benefits and against dismissals.

Summing up this work the Central Committee stated at its meeting that the anniversary celebrations had greatly strengthened the Party, and were a good beginning to the struggle due to be waged this year in connection with the Parliamentary elections, the elections for most of the Landtags and for the production councils at the enterprises.

Algeria

PROTESTS AGAINST PERSECUTION OF SYRIAN COMMUNISTS

THE repressions against the Communists in the United Arab Republic have evoked indignation and protests on the part of democratic organizations in a number of countries.

The anti-Communist campaign, as is generally known, began with President Nasser's speech on the occasion of the second anniversary of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt, after the failure of the Anglo-French-Israeli intervention. Nasser alleged that the Syrian Communists were opposed to Arab unity. His speech was followed by a wave of arrests of Egyptian and Syrian Communists.

The charge against the Communists, who are staunch opponents of colonialism, — that they are opposed to the unity of the Arab peoples — is a spurious one and can only injure the national effort in the struggle against imperialism. The Communist Party of Syria openly declared itself for the unification of Egypt and Syria and for the immediate establishment of a federal union which would respect democratic liberties in each part of the united state, and also those economic and cultural features that have taken shape in the course of their development. The Party stands for strengthening the independence of the UAR and is opposed to the imperialist intrigues and plots. It supports the idea of Arab unity based on complete liberation from the imperialist yoke and on democracy.

Expressing solidarity with the Egyptian and Syrian Communists, the Communist Party of Algeria has issued a protest which reads:

"The UAR Government has resorted to repressions against the fraternal parties of Syria and Egypt in the name of Arab unity. But the Arab Communists are ardent supporters of this unity in its popular and anti-imperialist expression, and they are fighting for its democratic realization.

In many Arab countries, and particularly in Iraq, the public, the nationalist organizations and many individuals are of the same opinion as the Communists: that the way to monolithic unity lies through free agreement of the nations concerned, through respect for each Arab nation, for its lawful interests, and defence of democratic liberties. Consequently, the Nasser action can but detract from the prestige of the United Arab Republic and retard the movement of the Arab nations for unity."

Argentina

FACTORY BULLETINS

COMMUNIST Party bulletins are published in 30 enterprises in Buenos Aires. Appearing as a rule once a month, they come out in editions ranging from 200 to 2,000. There are also others which appear irregularly and at longer intervals.

These bulletins feature the life of the enterprise, the struggle waged by the workers and their demands. But they do more than that — they explain the cardinal tasks facing the working-class movement: the struggle against dismissals, for higher wages, trade union rights and the unity of the trade union movement, for collective agreements, etc. Many of them link this work with the political line of the Party on major international and domestic issues. They dwell on the struggle for peace, denounce the utilization of Argentine oil by the U.S. imperialists, feature items about life in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, call for action to secure an end to the state of siege and for a national democratic front.

The contributors include non-Party workers as well as Communists. The articles are written in simple and unambiguous language. Often after a discussion of a particular point, the workers ask one of the Communists to write in the bulletin about the discussion and the views expressed on the subject.

In the main the bulletins are produced by editorial committees of three or four people. The committees of *En lucha* (In Struggle) and *La gran familia* (The Big Family) and of other papers maintain close contact with the workers and greatly help their respective Party organizations. The employers fear the workers' press, and are often forced to grant the demands printed in the papers. For example, at a textile factory when two workers were fired for taking part in running a paper, all the shops struck work. As a result the two were reinstated and the membership of the Party organization increased several-fold.

AGAINST THE FORTHCOMING INTER- AMERICAN CONFERENCE

THE XIth inter-American conference is scheduled to be held in Ecuador early in 1960. Conferences of this kind, attended by representatives of the governments of the American states, are held regularly and serve U.S. imperialist aims in the struggle against the democratic movement. This can be seen from the previous two conferences which achieved unenviable renown. For example, during the IXth conference, held in Bogota in 1948, Jorge Elieser Gaitan, a popular Colombian politician, was murdered. This act was followed by a sanguinary civil war which culminated in a military-landlord dictatorship in Colombia. The next (Xth) conference (Caracas, 1954) adopted an anti-communist resolution and paved the way for the U.S. intervention in Guatemala.

In connection with the forthcoming (XIth) conference the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party has decided to launch a campaign for the purpose of exposing the exploiting nature of pan-Americanism, and to show what the conference bodes for the Latin American peoples, particularly for the people of Ecuador. At the same time the Central Committee is organizing a struggle

Ecuador

aimed at making the conference speak out in favor of world peace, disarmament and against the nuclear weapon tests. Denouncing the imperialist essence of the military blocs and of the mutual-aid treaty signed in Rio de Janeiro, the Party is calling for abrogation of the latter and also of the anti-communist resolution adopted at the Xth inter-American conference.

The Central Committee's decision lists the following demands: abolish the barriers to free trade with the whole world, defend the export prices, loans without the humiliating conditions usually attached to North American loans. The decision also calls for a broad united front to win these demands.

The Central Committee has been instructed to prepare pamphlets, articles and other materials on the forthcoming conference. The opposition to the inter-American conference marks another step in the growing resistance of the Latin American peoples to North American imperialism. In Ecuador blood has already been shed in connection with conference preparations. For the purpose of building a luxurious hotel to house the delegates, ground was allotted (in Otavalo region) on land that had belonged from time immemorial to an Indian community. The authorities resorted to violence to drive the natives away—five of them being killed and several dozen wounded. This action has evoked indignation all over the country.

Documents

Resolution of XXIst Congress of CPSU on N. S. Khrushchov's Report: "Control Figures for Economic Development of USSR for 1959-65"

(Adopted unanimously, February 5, 1959)

THE Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was convened at an exceedingly important historic moment when, as a result of deep-going transformations in all spheres of social life and on the basis of the triumph of socialism, the Soviet Union entered upon a new period of its development, the period of the extensive building of communist society. The great goal of building communism, for which

many generations of people have striven, is now being reached in practice by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The program of communist construction in the Soviet Union, a program of a new, powerful upswing of the economy, culture and material welfare of the people, has no equal in history for its grandiose scale. The seven-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR is a concrete embodiment of the Leninist general line of the Party at the present stage.

The Congress expresses its deep satisfaction over the course and results of the pre-Congress discussion of the theses of the report by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov on the control figures for the economic development of the USSR for 1959-65. This discussion developed into a mighty demonstration of the creative initiative and activity of the Soviet people, their solidarity with their tested leader, the Communist Party. The whole Soviet people unanimously approved the control figures for the development of the national economy, regarding the seven-year plan as their own vital concern, and expressed their full readiness to fulfil and overfulfil its tasks.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU resolves: to approve the theses and report by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov on the control figures for the economic development of the USSR for 1959-65;

to endorse the control figures for the economic development of the USSR in 1959-65 with the amendments and addenda introduced on the basis of the discussion at the Congress and during the pre-Congress discussion of the theses;

to instruct the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to introduce into the annual plans of the development of the national economy of the USSR, drawn up on the basis of the control figures endorsed by the Congress, the necessary corrections dictated by the course of the economic development of the USSR.

I

The period that has elapsed since the Twentieth Congress of the Party has been one of the most important in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. In implementing the decisions of that Congress and of subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet people have achieved outstanding successes in their advance along the road to communism. That period showed the tremendous importance that the Twentieth Party Congress decisions had for communist construction in the USSR and for the entire international communist and working-class movement, for the strengthening of peace the world over.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU wholly and completely approves the activity of the Central Committee and the important measures it has taken in domestic and foreign policy. The Party's major decisions on reorganizing the management of industry and construction, on accelerating the development of the chemical industry, on reorganizing the machine and tractor stations and further developing the collective-farm system, on increasing the output of agricultural produce, on establishing a closer link between school and life and further developing the system of public education, are of enormous importance for promoting the economy,

advancing culture and improving the welfare of the people, for the building of communism.

The might of the Soviet state and its international prestige have risen still further as a result of the Leninist line of the Central Committee and the Soviet Government and of the selfless labor of the Soviet people.

The entire activity of the Central Committee of the Party was founded on a creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory in solving the tasks of communist construction and was built up on the basis of a profound study of the experience of the masses and on constant connection with the life of the people, on an ability to find the chief link in the chain of historical development, open up prospects, mobilize the masses, and courageously and resolutely smash everything obsolete that hinders the forward movement.

The Congress approves the decisions of the June (1957) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee which, unanimously supported by the whole Party and the entire people, exposed and ideologically routed the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov. Resorting to the basest methods of factional struggle, this group tried to shatter the Party's unity, to divert the Party and country from the Leninist path. It opposed all the most important measures taken in conformity with the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, measures which made possible the achievement of big successes in developing industry and agriculture, improving the welfare of the people, and in foreign policy—the lessening of international tension and strengthening the cause of peace. The Central Committee acted correctly when it emphatically condemned and cast off the despicable group of factionalists and splitters. Exposing and ideologically defeating the anti-Party group, the Party rallied still closer round the Central Committee under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party has always triumphed and will continue to triumph thanks to its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, the unity and solidarity of its ranks, its unbreakable ties with the people. In the Leninist Party, the Soviet people see their tested leader and teacher, and in its wise leadership, the guarantee of further successes of communism.

With profound satisfaction and revolutionary pride, the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party sums up the great gains of the Soviet people. The chief result of the heroic struggle and labor of the Soviet people is the new society they have established—socialism—with its corresponding political system, the Soviet socialist state.

Our country has become a great socialist power with a highly-developed economy and advanced science and culture. In volume of industrial output,

the USSR at present occupies first place in Europe and second place in the world. In 1958, gross industrial output was 36 times greater than in 1913, while the output of means of production, the foundation of the whole of the national economy, increased 83 times, and the output of the engineering and metal-working industries—240 times. In 1958, our country put out nearly 55 million tons of steel, extracted 113 million tons of oil and 496 million tons of coal and generated 233 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power.

Substantial successes have been scored in promoting the light and food industries. Compared with 1913, output of consumer goods increased almost 14-fold in 1958, while over 45 times more articles of household and cultural use were produced. Today, 2.7 times more consumer goods are produced than in 1940.

The tremendous scale of industrial output and the unparalleled rate of industrial development have been attained thanks to the advantages of the socialist system of economy, combined with the utilization of the latest achievements of science and engineering and the nationwide socialist emulation movement. On this basis, labor productivity is rising continuously in all branches of the national economy. In 1958 labor productivity in industry was 10 times higher than in 1913 and 2.5 times higher than in 1940, although the length of the working day had been reduced.

Agriculture is also developing successfully side by side with the rapid growth of socialist industry. The Party has fearlessly and sharply criticized mistakes and shortcomings of the leadership in agriculture in past years, discarded everything that blocked the development of collective- and state-farm production, and outlined a program for effecting a steep rise in agriculture. The measures to further the development of agriculture drawn up and carried out by the Party and the Soviet people have brought our country remarkable fruits. In 1958 the country procured 3.5 billion poods of grain, i.e., 1.6 billion poods more than in 1953. Development of tens of millions of hectares of new land gave the country thousands of millions of poods of additional grain. In the past five years the grain output has increased by 39 per cent as compared with the mean annual volume of the previous five-year period. Considerable successes have been scored in the output of other crops, particularly sugar-beet and cotton, and in promoting socialized animal husbandry.

The Soviet state has a powerful and all-sidedly developed industry and a highly-mechanized agriculture. The country's social wealth and the standard of living and culture of the people are growing continuously on the basis of the general rise of the socialist economy. In Soviet years, the national

income per head of population has increased 15 times. Compared with 1940, the real income of the workers and employees almost doubled by 1958, while the real incomes of the farmers—per working farmer—more than doubled.

In pursuance of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, such important measures were implemented as raising the wages of the lower-paid brackets of workers and employees, shortening the working day on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays, introducing a shorter working day for the workers and employees of a number of branches of heavy industry, establishing a six- and four-hour working day for juveniles, increasing social-insurance benefits for the people; maternity leave has been prolonged and the pensions for workers and employees have been increased. The Soviet state is appropriating increasing sums of money to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the people.

The Communist Party has educated millions of new people, conscious builders of communism. This is the most remarkable achievement of the socialist system.

In the Soviet Union, the culture of all the nations and nationalities is really flourishing, and unlimited opportunities have been created for an all-sided and free development of science, engineering, literature and art. The launching of the world's first earth satellites and of the first artificial planet, which is revolving round the sun, are a striking expression of the high industrial and technical level of our country and of the creative genius of the Soviet people. With its magnificent victories in scientific and engineering thought, the Soviet Union has opened a new era in the cognition of the world. The far-reaching importance of these victories is that they have demonstrated the mighty creative forces of socialism, which work in the interests of mankind, its progress and prosperity. All Soviet people take great patriotic pride in their country, which is advancing at the head of world scientific and technical progress and boldly paving the way to the future.

The historic gains of the Soviet people in economy and culture and the measures of the Party and the Government that have been put into effect in recent years have led to a further consolidation of the Soviet system and its firm foundation, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. The friendship and the political unity of all the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union has become stronger than ever before. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is setting the whole world an example of a communist community of free and equal peoples.

The Soviet Union, which has blazed the road to socialism for mankind, has reached a level of

productive forces, socialist production relations and cultural development, that enables the building of a communist society to be started on a broad front.

II

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU considers that in the coming seven years the principal tasks of the Party are:

in the economic field—all-round development of the productive forces in our country and, on the basis of priority expansion of heavy industry, the achievement of a level of production in all branches of economy which would allow taking a decisive step towards the establishment of a material and technical base for communism and ensuring the Soviet Union's triumph in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries. The increase in the country's economic potential, the further technical progress in all economic spheres and the continuous growth of the productivity of social labor must secure a substantial rise in the living standard;

in the political field—further consolidation of the Soviet socialist system, the unity and solidarity of the Soviet people, development of Soviet democracy, the activity and initiative of the broad masses in the building of communism, extension of the functions of public bodies in matters of state importance, raising the organizational and educational role of the Party and the socialist state, and an all-out strengthening of the alliance between the workers and the peasants and of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR;

in the ideological field—intensifying the ideological and educational work of the Party, raising the level of communist consciousness of the working people, particularly of the rising generation, instilling a communist approach to labor and developing in them the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, eliminating survivals of capitalism from the minds of people, and combating bourgeois ideology;

in international relations—consistent pursuit of a foreign policy aimed at preserving and consolidating international peace and security on the basis of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; implementation of a policy aimed at putting an end to the cold war and relaxing international tension; all-out strengthening of the world socialist system and the community of fraternal peoples.

The fundamental problem of the coming seven years is to make the most of the time factor in socialism's peaceful economic competition with capitalism. Fast rates and the necessary proportions must be ensured in the development of the national economy.

Attaching prime importance to the development of industry, of heavy industry in particular, the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to make provision in the seven-year plan for increasing the gross industrial output by approximately 80 per cent: in group "A" (output of means of production) by 85-88 per cent, and in group "B" (output of consumer goods) by 62-65 per cent. In industry as a whole, the mean annual increment in gross output is to amount to approximately 8.6 per cent in 1959-65; in group "A" to 9.3 per cent, and in group "B" to about 7.3 per cent.

The Congress considers it necessary that in the seven-year plan provision be made for:

a considerable increase in the output of ferrous and non-ferrous metals to meet more fully the requirements of the national economy. The target for 1965 is to raise the output of pig-iron to 65-70 million tons, steel to 86-91 million tons, rolled stock to 65-70 million tons, marketable iron ore to 150-160 million tons; to increase the output of aluminum by approximately 180-200 per cent, refined copper by 90 per cent and to substantially step up the production of other non-ferrous and particularly rare metals;

an accelerated expansion of the chemical industry, particularly the output of artificial and synthetic fibers, plastics, other synthetic materials and mineral fertilizers. By the end of the seven years, the output of artificial fibers must be increased four times, plastics and synthetic resins more than seven times, and mineral fertilizers about three times;

a change in the structure of the fuel pattern through priority development of the output of the cheapest kinds of fuel—oil and gas. In 1965, the output of oil must reach 230-240 million tons; gas 150 billion cubic meters, and coal 600-612 million tons;

a rapid electrification of all branches of the national economy by building chiefly big thermal power stations. In 1965, the output of electric power must be brought up to 500-520 billion kilowatt-hours;

high rates of development of the engineering and instrument-making industries in order to equip factories with new, highly-productive equipment, machines and instruments, to achieve comprehensive mechanization and automation in industry. In the coming seven years, the output of the engineering and metal-working industries must be approximately doubled.

The Congress considers that on the basis of a high level of development in heavy industry and the further rise of agriculture, provision must be made for a substantial growth of the output of consumer goods so that within seven years there is an ample supply of fabrics, clothes, footwear

and other goods to satisfy all the requirements of the population.

In pursuance of this task, the following increases over the 1958 level must be achieved in 1965:

gross output of the light industry by approximately 50 per cent, including the output of cotton textiles by 33-38 per cent, woollen fabrics by 65 per cent, silks by 76 per cent, and leather footwear by 45 per cent;

gross output of the food industry by approximately 70 per cent, including meat by 110 per cent, butter by 58 per cent, dairy products by 120 per cent, sugar by 76-90 per cent, and fish by 60 per cent.

Special attention must be given to extending the variety and improving the quality of manufactured goods and foodstuffs and to increasing the output of household utensils and appliances.

Party organizations must ensure the rhythmical work of all enterprises so that the state plans are fulfilled and over-fulfilled with regard to all quantitative and qualitative indices from day to day, from month to month. The potentialities and possibilities of enterprises to step up production under the existing capacities must be more fully brought to light, and the technology and organization of production as well as the utilization of equipment and raw and other materials must be improved.

In agriculture, the chief task is to attain a level which would allow satisfying to the full the food requirements of the population and the raw material requirements of industry and meeting all of the state's other demands for agricultural produce. This problem must be solved primarily by considerably raising the yield of all farm crops, increasing the number of livestock and further promoting the productivity of socialized animal husbandry.

With a total increase of 70 per cent in gross agricultural production in the next seven years, the output of the staple products must be brought up as follows: grain to 10-11 billion poods, sugar-beet to 76-84 million tons, cotton to 5.7-6.1 million tons, meat (slaughtered) to 16 million tons, milk to 100-105 million tons, potatoes to 147 million tons, and other vegetables to a quantity that would fully meet the requirements of the population.

The main line in crop-farming will continue to be the utmost expansion of grain-growing as the basis of all agricultural production. The collective and state farms now have all the requisites for increasing the yield by an average of three to four centners of grain per hectare throughout the country within the next few years. In livestock breeding, the chief task is to raise the output of meat, milk, wool, and eggs by sharply increasing the number of livestock, raising the productivity of all branches of animal husbandry and developing poultry and rabbit breeding at collective and state farms. Fodder resources must be increased even more

perseveringly than before, mainly by cultivating corn, potatoes and sugar-beet and growing protein feeds such as clover, alfalfa, vetch-and-oats mixtures, peas, lupine, etc., depending on the features of one zone or another. The output of soya-beans must be increased.

It is important that the annual plans for the purchase of all kinds of agricultural produce be successfully fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The Congress expresses its confidence that the movement started in the country for a pre-schedule fulfilment of the tasks envisaged by the control figures in agricultural production, particularly the output of meat and other livestock products, will enable the country not only to fulfil but also to overfulfil the seven-year plan as regards both the timetable and the volume. Every encouragement must be given to the initiative of the republics, territories and regions, which have worked out concrete measures to increase agricultural output in the next few years and have taken pledges to raise the meat output more than 2-3 times already in 1959. Fulfilment of the pledges taken by republics, territories, regions, districts and collective and state farms will be a worthy contribution towards answering the call of leading collective and state farms to overtake the United States in per capita output of meat and other agricultural products within a short space of time. The contribution of each republic, territory, region and district, and every collective and state farm must be evaluated on the basis of the output of livestock products per 100 hectares of farmland.

In order to cope with the big tasks facing agriculture in the coming seven years, Party, government and agricultural bodies must do their utmost to consolidate the collective farms economically, carry out sweeping measures to promote mechanization and electrification of agricultural production, improve labor organization and, on this basis, secure a considerable growth in labor productivity and a reduction in the cost of agricultural produce. The role of the state farms, as the leading socialist enterprises in agriculture, must be enhanced still further.

Side by side with measures aimed at further extending agricultural output, it is necessary to start the construction of farm-produce processing enterprises by the collective and state farms and the consumers' co-operatives, to extend housing construction and the building of cultural and public facilities in the countryside and to organize community services and amenities in the villages. With the incomes of the collective farms growing, the practice of several collective farms pooling resources to build power stations, roads, building materials enterprises, big and well-equipped inter-collective farm canning factories, bakeries and

other enterprises, should become more widespread.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU considers that in the future as well the question of developing all branches of agricultural production must have the full attention of Party, government and agricultural bodies, of all collective farmers and state-farm workers.

All means of transport must be developed in order to achieve high rates of economic growth in the country. In the course of the next seven years a radical technical reconstruction must be carried out in the basic branches of transport, especially the railway transport, where it is necessary to replace steam-engines by modern, economical locomotives—electric and diesel locomotives. At the same time, everything must be done to increase carriage by sea, river, air and automobile transport and to extend the network of pipelines with emphasis on the most economically profitable means of transport for the given district and the nature of the freight. Telephone communication and the network of radio and TV broadcasting stations must be developed.

The Congress considers that the decisive condition for the successful fulfilment of the seven-year plan and the creation of the material and technical foundation of communism is a broad application of new technique, comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes and specialization and co-operation in all branches of the national economy. The task in the coming seven years is to eliminate arduous manual labor through comprehensive mechanization of production processes in industry, agriculture, construction and transport. Insofar as the measures aimed at the mechanization and broader automation of production are not only of economic but also of great social importance, the Congress instructs the Central Committee of the Party and the local Party organizations to exercise day-to-day control over the implementation of all measures related to comprehensive mechanization and automation of production.

The further over-all development of the economic regions must be perseveringly promoted through the most effective use of natural resources with provision for expedient specialization by enterprises, an improvement in co-operation between enterprises and economic regions and the elimination of unpractical trans-shipments.

In order to achieve high rates in extended socialist reproduction, the Congress considers it necessary to implement important measures in the sphere of capital construction in the forthcoming seven years. The volume of investments by the state will rise 80 per cent in the next seven years as compared with the preceding seven-year period, and will approximate 1,940-1,970 billion rubles, which is

nearly equivalent to the investments made in the national economy in all the years of Soviet power. In order to make most effective use of the investments, large funds should be earmarked for reconstruction, extension and technical re-equipment of operating establishments and the renewal and modernization of equipment, which will make it possible to solve the task of increasing output and raising the productivity of labor with smaller outlays and more rapidly than by building new industrial plants.

The Twenty-First Congress notes that for the timely execution of projected capital construction it is necessary to maintain the policy of maximum industrialization of building, of turning the building industry into a mechanized conveyor process of assembly of buildings and structures from large-size prefabricated panels and blocks. It is necessary to develop the building-materials industry, particularly the cement industry, at accelerated rates and to extend production of reinforced concrete elements. A bolder approach is to be encouraged in merging building organizations. Designing must be improved, investments in capital construction concentrated in key and nearly completed projects, building time-tables shortened, cost of building and assembly lowered and its quality improved.

In view of the unprecedented scale of construction in the forthcoming seven years and the need to achieve a maximum economy of social labor in time, special attention should be paid to the correct distribution of the productive forces. Attention should be devoted to the further development of the economy of the country's eastern areas, which possess tremendous natural resources. In solving questions connected with the further increase of production capacities, preference should be given to districts where the invested funds will yield the best economic effect. It is essential that Party organizations should work for the strictest observance of the interests of the state, and the slightest signs of a narrow local approach should be nipped in the bud.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national socialist state, based on the friendship of equal peoples united by the single desire and aspiration to advance steadfastly along the path of communist construction. Our plans give vivid expression to the Leninist national policy, which furnishes extensive possibilities for the all-round development of the economy and culture of all peoples.

The seven-year plan makes provision for a large-scale expansion of the economies of all the Union republics. In each republic emphasis is to be laid on branches of economy for which it possesses the most favorable natural and economic conditions, so as to make more effective use of the resources of each republic and ensure the proper harmony

of the interests of the individual republics and the Soviet Union as a whole.

The Congress considers that one of the prime tasks of the seven-year plan is to achieve a considerable rise in the productivity of social labor, this being the chief source of extended socialist reproduction and accumulation, the basis of a further improvement of the people's living standard. In the course of the seven years the productivity of labor is to rise 45-50 per cent in industry, 60-65 per cent in building, 34-37 per cent in railway transport, 60-65 per cent on the state farms, and about 100 per cent on the collective farms.

It is necessary to reduce expenditures in production so as to achieve a reduction in the cost of production in industry of not less than 11.5 per cent through the seven years and in the cost of production in building and assembly of not less than six per cent.

All Party, economic, trade-union and Young Communist League organizations must intensify the drive for fulfilling and overfulfilling the targets of the seven-year plan in growth of labor productivity, lowering production costs and stringent economizing. It is necessary to launch a nationwide drive against all aspects of mismanagement, extravagance and neglect of public property, to make greater demands on managers for the improvement of all qualitative indices in the work of establishments, building projects and, above all, for the reduction of costs of production and improvement of quality of output. The self-supporting operation of establishments in industry, transport and agriculture must be strengthened in every way.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU considers that under present conditions, when tremendous successes have been achieved in the development of industry and agriculture, there exist all the conditions necessary to provide still better living standards for the Soviet people in the immediate future and to meet their material and spiritual needs to a still fuller extent. For this purpose the seven-year plan should provide for:

- a 62-65 per cent increase in the national income, which will ensure a considerable extension of consumption; the volume of consumption is to rise 60-63 per cent in the next seven years;

- a rise during the seven years of the real incomes of industrial and office workers by an average of 40 per cent per worker and a rise of the real incomes of collective farmers also by not less than 40 per cent; the annulment within the next few years of taxes levied on the population;

- measures to put the wage system in order, and in the course of the next seven years to raise the wages of the lower-paid brackets of industrial and office workers from 270-350 rubles to 500-600 rubles a month;

- a rise of the minimum old-age pension from the present 300 to 400 rubles a month in towns and from 255 to 340 rubles for pensioners permanently residing in rural localities and connected with agriculture, and also a rise of the minimum disability pensions and pensions paid to families which have lost their breadwinner;

- a considerable improvement in the trade and communal services for the population, extension of the network of public catering establishments, and reduction in the price of the output of public catering establishments;

- an increase in the number of boarding-schools, nurseries, kindergartens and homes for the aged;

- all-out promotion of building and public utility construction so as to build houses with a total floor space of 650-660 million square meters, or nearly 15 million apartments, in towns and workers' settlements in the next seven years, and with the resources of the collective farmers and the rural intelligentsia to build about seven million houses in rural localities;

- introduction of measures to shorten the working day and the working week. The transfer of factory and office workers to a seven-hour working day, and of workers of leading trades in the coal and mining industries occupied in underground work to a six-hour day, must be completed in 1960. The transfer of factory and office workers with a seven-hour working day to a 40-hour working week must be completed in 1962. The gradual transfer of workers engaged in underground work and in work in harmful labor conditions to a 30-hour working week, and the rest of the workers to a 35-hour working week with two days off a week and a 6-7 hour working day, is to be started in 1964;

- an approximately 62 per cent increase in the volume of the retail sales by state and co-operative trade establishments. Provision must be made for considerably extending the sale to the population of livestock products, vegetable oils, sugar, fruit (including citrus fruits), and staple manufactured goods such as fabrics, clothing, underwear and footwear, as well as general merchandise, especially items that lighten housework.

Implementation of all these measures will signify a further major gain for the people of our country, a striking expression of the Communist Party's and the Soviet Government's constant care for the welfare of the Soviet people.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU considers that the carrying out of the grandiose plan of communist construction demands from Party, government, trade-union and Young Communist League organizations a further improvement of all their work of educating Soviet people, raising their consciousness and activity, shaping the new man in the spirit of collectivism and industry, conscious-

ness of his social duty, in the spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism, and steadfast observance of the lofty principles of communist morality.

The activity of Party, government, trade-union, Young Communist League and other public organizations should be focused on communist education of the working people and the elimination of survivals of capitalism from people's minds. It is necessary to continue an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology. Propaganda and agitation, the press, cinema, radio and television, and cultural and educational establishments must play an important role in the Party's ideological work.

Special attention should be paid to the communist education of the rising generation. Party and government organizations must ensure unswerving implementation of all measures connected with the reorganization of the secondary and higher school so that the Soviet school, closely linking study with production, with the practice of communist construction, will train well-educated and politically conscious citizens, specialists with secondary-school and higher-school training.

In the period of the building of communist society, science is acquiring increasing importance. Noting the tremendous achievements of Soviet science in all fields of knowledge, particularly in the field of nuclear physics and nuclear power engineering, jet aircraft and rocketry, the Congress considers that in the next seven years it is necessary to attain a more rapid development of all branches of science and the implementation of extensive theoretical research ensuring further scientific and technical progress. For this purpose it is necessary to provide for a broad program of scientific research concentrating scientific forces and means in major fields that are important scientifically and practically. The link between the scientific institutions and practice must be constantly strengthened, the latest achievements of science and engineering must be broadly and rapidly introduced and experimental and designing work carried on more daringly.

The social sciences, especially economic science, have the task of creatively generalizing the experience of our economic and cultural development and examining the new problems being posed by life. It is necessary profoundly to study the laws governing the transition to communism, all-sidedly analyze the most important processes taking place in the capitalist world, expose bourgeois ideology, and uphold the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The forthcoming seven years must be marked by a further development of socialist culture. Workers in literature, the theatre, the cinema, music, sculpture and painting are called upon to raise still higher the ideological and artistic level of

their art, to continue being the Party's and the country's active assistants in promoting the communist education of the working people, in propagating communist morals, in developing the multinational socialist culture.

III

In determining the tasks of communist construction for the contemporary stage, the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU proceeds from the fact that the Soviet Union has entered a new period of historical development. The victory of socialism in our country is complete and final. The time is past when the Soviet Union was the only socialist state in a hostile capitalist encirclement. Now there are two world social systems: capitalism, which is nearing its end, and socialism, brimming with growing vitality and enjoying the sympathy of the working people of all countries. Nothing in the world could restore capitalism in our country, or overcome the socialist camp.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Soviet people have achieved triumphs of socialism in all spheres of economic and socio-political life, triumphs which make possible the practical accomplishment of the task of building the material and technical basis of communism and of balanced and gradual transition to communism. Communism can be achieved on the sole condition that we surpass the production level of the developed capitalist countries and attain a higher productivity of labor than exists under capitalism.

Extensive communist construction must, along with material plenty, provide for a genuine flowering of spiritual culture and an ever fuller satisfaction of the requirements of all the people, for the further development of socialist democracy and the education of politically-conscious working people of communist society.

With the growth of the productive forces, socialist social relations, based on principles of comradely co-operation, friendship and mutual assistance, must also be further enhanced. In step with technical progress in all branches of the economy and a closer merging of schooling and production, the essential distinctions between mental and physical labor will fade out and a rise in the cultural and technical level of all working people will take place. Reduction of the working day and the further improvement of working conditions on the basis of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production must facilitate the transformation of labor into a vital urge and necessity of the harmoniously developed man.

As a result of the measures taken in recent years to advance agriculture and the growth of the socialized assets of the collective farms, the collective-farm system is gaining new strength, and its

advantages and ample possibilities are unfolding ever more fully. All this shows that the kolkhoz-cooperative form of relations of production serves the development of the productive forces of agriculture, and will do so for a long time to come.

In the process of communist construction the socialized nature of collective-farm production will be extended, the kolkhoz-cooperative property and public property will draw closer together and the distinctions between them will disappear. The non-distributable assets of the collective farms will expand and strengthen, and inter-kolkhoz production contacts will become broader. The merger of the kolkhoz-cooperative and public forms of property will occur in the future not through the gradual effacement of kolkhoz-cooperative property, but by way of raising its level of socialization to the level of public property with the assistance and support of the socialist state.

In the contemporary conditions of communist construction the distribution of material wealth is based on this guiding principle: from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor. Distribution according to labor stimulates the material interest of people in the results of production and promotes the growth of labor productivity, the rise in the proficiency of the working people, and the improvement of production techniques; it also plays a big educational role, accustoms people to socialist discipline, makes labor universal and obligatory. Equalitarian distribution would lead to the exhaustion of accumulated means and impair communist construction.

With the development of socialist society and the growth of the social awareness of the masses, the labor enthusiasm of Soviet people is rising ceaselessly, and so is their concern for the well-being of society. The urge for personal enrichment is losing ground and moral incentives to work for the good of society are steadily taking precedence.

The transition to distribution according to need is to take place gradually as the productive forces develop, when there will be an abundance of all the necessary consumer goods and all people will work voluntarily according to their ability, regardless of the measure of material benefits they receive for their labor, conscious of the fact that their work is needed by society.

Even now in Soviet society a substantial and ever-growing portion of material and cultural benefits is distributed free of charge in the form of pensions, stipends for students, allowances to mothers of many children and funds for the building and maintenance of schools and hospitals, kindergartens, nurseries, boarding-schools, and also of clubs, libraries and other cultural facilities. This portion of the socialized consumption fund will grow progressively, and this is an important pre-

mise for a gradual transition to the communist principle of distribution.

The Congress takes note that in contemporary conditions the main emphasis in the development of the socialist state is to be laid on the all-round development of democracy, on ensuring that all citizens participate in the management of economic and cultural affairs and the conduct of public affairs. It is necessary to enhance the role of the Soviets as mass organizations of the working people. Many of the functions now performed by state agencies should gradually pass to public organizations. Questions related to cultural services, public health, physical culture and sport should be handled with the active and broad participation of public organizations. In the matter of enforcing the rules of socialist human relations an ever more important role is to be played by the people's militia, courts of honor and similar voluntary public organs, which, hand in hand with the state institutions, should perform the functions of preserving public order, protecting the rights of citizens and preventing acts injurious to society.

The transfer of some functions from the state agencies to the public organizations will not weaken the role of the socialist state in the building of communism, but will extend and reinforce the political groundwork of socialist society and ensure the further development of socialist democracy. The Soviet state will be able to concentrate even more on developing the economy, which is the material basis of our system.

The socialist state is called upon to perform extremely important tasks in the defense of peace, and the defense of the country from the threat of armed imperialist attack. As long as there exists an aggressive imperialist camp, the Soviet state is obliged to strengthen and improve its glorious Armed Forces—the Army and Navy, which stand guard over the socialist gains and the peaceful labors of the Soviet people. It is necessary to strengthen the organs of state security, which are aimed first and foremost against agents sent by the imperialist states. The functions of defending the socialist country, now performed by the state, will not wither away until the danger of an imperialist attack has completely disappeared.

IV

The Congress is fully confident that the accomplishment of the seven-year plan will add still more strength to the position of the Soviet Union and the world socialist camp as a mighty fortress of peace and progress, and will lead to further growth of the forces of peace and to a weakening of the forces of war. The success of the seven-year plan will be a major triumph of the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, a

token of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. They will attract millions of new followers of socialism.

The seven-year plan ushers in a new stage in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. The mammoth labor effort of the Soviet people, who follow the path indicated by Lenin, has elevated our country to so great a height that it can now successfully compete with the United States in the economic sphere and can win this competition and leave that leading capitalist power behind. In this, the high rates of production growth in our country will be of decisive importance.

On accomplishing the seven-year plan the industrial output per head of population in the Soviet Union will be greater than the present industrial output in the most developed capitalist countries of Europe — Britain and West Germany — and will rank first in Europe. In the over-all output of some key items of production the Soviet Union will surpass, and in others approach, the present level of industrial output in the United States of America. By that time the over-all and per capita output of key agricultural products will exceed the present level of the United States. After this it will take about five years more to catch up and outstrip the United States in industrial output per head of population. The Soviet Union, therefore, will, by that time, or possibly sooner, take first place in the world both for physical volume of production and for production per head of population. That will be a world-historic victory of socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism.

A different course of development is typical for the capitalist countries. The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen owing to the growth of the forces of socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system and the exacerbation of internal social antagonisms. The instability of the capitalist economy is growing, and capitalism is going through slump after slump. Neither the armaments race nor any other measures taken by the capitalist states will eradicate the cause of crises. The contradictions of capitalism continue to accumulate, setting the stage for new upheavals.

The economic competition of the socialist world system and the capitalist world system is unfolding. The economy of all the countries of the world socialist system is developing at rapid rates. High rates of production growth are a general objective law of socialism, now confirmed by the experience of all the countries of the socialist camp. In consequence of socialist industrialization and the transfer of the peasantry to the co-operative mode of production some People's Democracies

have already entered the period of completing the building of socialism.

As a result of fulfilling and overfulfilling the seven-year plan and also as a result of the high rates of economic development in the People's Democracies, the world capitalist system will, economists estimate, produce more than half the world industrial output. This will establish the superiority of the world socialist system over the world capitalist system in material production — that decisive sphere of human activity.

The distinctive features of the economic development of the socialist countries lie in the fact that as they stride forward their mutual relations gain strength and the world socialist system becomes ever more united. A diametrically opposed tendency obtains in the capitalist world, where the growth of production in one country or another serves to aggravate contradictions between capitalist states, to strengthen competition, and to incite conflicts between them.

With the further growth and consolidation of the world socialist system all the socialist countries will develop successfully. Countries that were economically backward in the past are benefiting by the experience of the other socialist countries, by co-operation and mutual assistance, and are rapidly raising their economy and culture. In this way, the general line of economic and cultural development in all the socialist countries is leveling out. The requisites for their transition from the first phase of communism to its second phase will be built up at accelerated rates. The time is near when these countries will, like the Soviet Union, tackle the building of communist society.

The Soviet Union considers it to be its prime task to continue promoting greater unity of the socialist countries, the development of close economic and cultural contacts between them, and still greater solidarity of the fraternal family of free nations on the basis of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Congress considers that the accomplishment of the seven-year plan and also of the plans of the other socialist countries will create even more favorable conditions for solving the principal problem of our time — the preservation of universal peace. The conclusion drawn by the Twentieth Party Congress to the effect that there is no fatal inevitability of war has proved to be perfectly justified. There now exist tremendous forces capable of defending peace and of delivering a crushing blow to any imperialist aggressor who tries to start a war. Aggression by the imperialist states against the socialist camp can have but one outcome — the down fall of capitalism.

Fresh successes of the socialist countries will induce an expansion and strengthening of the peace forces throughout the world. The countries working for a lasting peace will be joined by ever more countries. The idea that war is impermissible will take ever firmer root in the conscience of peoples. Backed by the might of the socialist camp, the peaceful nations will then be able to compel the bellicose imperialist groups to abandon their plans of starting new wars. In this way, even before the complete victory of socialism in the world, with capitalism still extant in a part of the globe, there will take shape the real possibility of excluding world war from human society.

However, at present the possibility that the imperialists might start a war exists, and the threat of war must not be underestimated. For this reason, the socialist countries and all the forces of peace must be vigilant to the utmost, and must extend their struggle for safeguarding peace.

The aggressive policy of American imperialism, which reflects the ambition of the U.S. capitalist monopolies to gain world domination, remains the main source of the war danger. The rulers of the United States, and those of West Germany, Britain, France and the other member-countries of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, continue to stockpile nuclear weapons, reject any peaceful settlement of international problems, and continuously provoke armed conflicts in various regions of the world. In this, the role of the main shock-force of the North Atlantic alliance is assigned to West Germany, which is becoming the principal nuclear and rocket base of that alliance. Militarism and revanchism have reared their heads in West Germany and threaten the peaceful nations.

Imperialist aggression, as the experience of recent years shows, threatens peoples in different regions of the world. The imperialists are provoking armed conflicts in the Middle East and the Pacific Ocean basin; they are engaged in military operations against the peoples of Africa who are fighting for their freedom, and are continuously threatening armed intervention in the domestic affairs of the Latin-American countries. All this makes the struggle of the peaceful peoples for collective security, for the rejection of war as a means of settling international disputes, all the more imperative.

The aggressive policy of the Western Powers is opposed by the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, which is supported by the peaceful nations. It was thanks to the firm stand of the countries of the socialist camp and the peaceful countries of the East that it has been possible in recent years to nip the

hotbed of war in the Middle and Far East in the bud, and to frustrate other imperialist schemes.

The Twenty-First Congress unanimously approves the peaceful Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Government, which raises insuperable obstacles to imperialist aggression. Timely and correct are the recent moves of the Soviet Union related to a peaceful solution of the German problem, to agreement on the discontinuance of testing and the outright prohibition of nuclear weapons, on disarmament, ending the cold war, and arranging a conference of heads of government.

The Congress authorizes the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government to continue working consistently for the implementation of these and other proposals designed to safeguard international peace and security.

By the efforts of all peace-loving peoples the international atmosphere must be cleared of all inflammatory incitements to armed attack. Efforts must be made to enhance mutual confidence and co-operation between states regardless of their social systems. An important part in relieving international tension and promoting mutual confidence must be played by the extensive development of world trade, cultural exchanges and other forms of international contacts. Better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States—the two Great Powers bearing special responsibility for the fate of world peace — could be decisive in effecting an improvement in the international situation.

Guided by Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union will work persistently for all-round co-operation among all countries. The growing might of the Soviet Union, like that of the entire socialist camp, and the fresh achievements of Soviet science and technology are placed in their entirety in the service of peace and international security.

The Congress considers the accomplishment of the seven-year plan to be fresh evidence of the fulfilment by the working people of the Soviet Union of their international duty to the working-class and communist movement of the world, to all progressive mankind. The new successes in the building of communist society will serve as powerful moral support to all the forces fighting for peace, democracy and social progress. This support is of special importance at this time, when in the capitalist countries signs are appearing of a new offensive of reaction and fascism.

The transition of the reactionary bourgeoisie to open dictatorship is a sign of its weakness, of its inability to maintain its dominance by parliamentary methods. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that in conditions of unbridled dictatorship reaction has greater opportunities of re-

doubling repressions and terror, suppressing opposition, acting upon the masses in the spirit that suits its ends, poisoning them with the venom of chauvinism, and untying its own hands for military gambles. The peoples must be vigilant, ever ready to rebuff the onslaught of reaction and the threat of a revival of fascism. It should also be remembered that fascism may reappear in new, and not only in its old forms which have been discredited in the eyes of the peoples. The unity of the democratic forces, above all of the working class, is the most reliable barrier to the fascist threat. The successful advance of the Soviet Union to communism, the victories of all the socialist countries, the consistent struggle for peace, create favorable prospects for achieving working-class unity of action both on the international and the national scale. In the process of the class struggle the broad masses of social-democratic workers and their organizations in the capitalist countries will become increasingly aware of the new possibilities that present themselves to the international working class in connection with the successes of socialism, and it is to be hoped that they will march together with the other detachments of the working class and large democratic sections of the people in order to bar the road to fascism and war.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957 demonstrated the complete unity of viewpoints of the fraternal parties. The Declaration of the meeting was unanimously approved by all the Communist and Workers' Parties and has become a fighting program of action for the world communist movement. The conclusions of the Declaration were proved completely right by the course of events. Since the November meeting the solidarity in the ranks of the Communist Parties and the entire international communist movement has been cemented on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism. Revisionism has been routed ideologically and politically.

The revisionist program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was unanimously condemned by all the Marxist-Leninist Parties. The theory and practice of the Yugoslav leadership is a deviation from the positions of the working class, from the principles of international proletarian solidarity. The views and policy of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia jeopardize the gains of the people's revolution and socialism in Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Communists and the whole Soviet people have friendly feelings for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, for the Yugoslav Communists. The Soviet Union will continue to work for co-operation with Yugoslavia on all questions of

the struggle against imperialism, for peace, in which our positions coincide.

While continuing to expose revisionism as the main threat within the communist movement today, the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism must go on unabated, for they impede the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory and lead away from the masses.

The Congress considers essential the strengthening in every way of the might of the socialist camp, the further consolidation of the unity of the international communist movement in accordance with the principles of the Moscow Declaration. The fraternal co-operation of the Communist and Workers' Parties must be developed and extended on the basis of the complete independence of each Party, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, voluntary co-operation and mutual assistance. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reared by V. I. Lenin in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, considers itself one of the component detachments of the international working-class and communist movement. Together with the other Communist Parties, the CPSU bears responsibility for the destiny of the socialist camp, the destiny of the world communist movement. It will continue to follow faithfully the great international teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, combat revisionists of all hues, uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and work for new successes of the world communist and working-class movement.

V

The historic victories of socialism in our country that have created the conditions for transition to a new stage of communist construction are the result of tireless creative labor on the part of the Soviet people and of the tremendous political and organizational work of the Communist Party. The Party, basing itself on the collective wisdom of the working class and of the entire people, on their wealth of experience, elaborates and implements the plans for communist construction. Our Party has come to its Twenty-First Congress more united and monolithic than ever before, and is capable of successfully carrying out gigantic new tasks.

The boundless love and trust which the people show for their own Party is clearly manifested by the growth in the membership of the CPSU, reinforcements being drawn from the best people of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia. In the time that has elapsed since the Twentieth Congress, the Party has consistently followed the line of expanding inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism and of increasing the activity of the Party

membership. The Central Committee and local Party organizations have been conducting a determined struggle for the restoration and further development of Leninist standards of Party life and principles of collective leadership.

The entire experience gained in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism shows that in the course of the building of communist society the role of the Party, as the tried and tested vanguard of the people and the highest form of social organization, is growing to a still greater degree.

The fulfilment of the seven-year plan will require a still higher level of Party ideological, political and organizational work and the active mobilization of the creative forces of the Soviet people. It is essential that the targets of the plan be made clear to all working people, that the efforts of every collective be organized and directed towards their fulfilment, that shortcomings be resolutely eradicated and that difficulties met with in work be overcome.

The success of the plan will depend directly on factories and construction sites, on the collective and state farms and on research institutions. In view of this the role of the local and lower Party organizations will be still further increased, since these are called upon to mobilize and organize the masses for the fulfilment of concrete tasks in production. It is the duty of Party organizations to ensure that at every factory, on every collective and state farm, in every institution, an atmosphere of creative labor and production enthusiasm prevails. It must be remembered that victories will not come of themselves, they must be won and consolidated.

Party organizations, lecturers and propagandists, while calling for the fulfilment of the plans of communist construction, must explain, clearly and simply, what communism is, what great benefits it will bring people, and must in every way support and develop communist forms of labor. The organizational and educational work of the Party, all methods of ideological work, must be devoted to the successful achievement of the communist construction targets. It is essential to ensure that every worker makes better use of his machine, machine tool, installation, tractor or harvester combine and employs progressive methods of work.

The Congress is of the opinion that a priority role in the fulfilment of the seven-year plan belongs to Party and government cadres. The placing and training of cadres must be improved. We must promote to responsible positions people who are well-trained and principled, who have a feeling for the new, who will devote all their strength and knowledge to benefit the people, who will in-

troduce Bolshevik ardor into the work and be implacable in respect of shortcomings. It is essential to promote young cadres more boldly and to give them an opportunity to display their ability in practical work.

The Party organizations must strengthen the backward factories, collective and state farms and districts by sending them competent cadres, selecting good organizers and specialists, capable of using the potentialities that there are, organizing people and bringing lagging sections up to the mark.

It is the duty of all Party organizations to train our cadres and all Communists to be exacting with themselves, to be conscious of their responsibility for the task entrusted to them, train them in the spirit of loyal service to the people and to the cause of communism. We should systematically raise the level of theoretical knowledge and Marxist-Leninist training of our cadres.

Of increasing importance for better organizational work of the Party and mobilizing the masses to carry out the tasks of communist construction is the consistent application of inner-Party democracy and the development of criticism and self-criticism as a powerful means of eliminating shortcomings and achieving a further advance.

At the present stage of the development of society the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies is growing to a still greater extent. Republican, territorial, regional, city, district and village Soviets must daily tackle the most important problems of work at factories and building-sites, collective and state farms, for the fulfilment of the seven-year plan targets and must pay attention to raising the living and cultural level of the working people. The greater the extent to which Soviet bodies rely on the activity of the masses, achieve a further extension of socialist democracy and resolutely combat elements of red tape and bureaucracy, the more fruitful their work will be.

It is necessary to make some amendments and addenda to the Constitution of the USSR. Important changes in the political and economic life of the Soviet Union have taken place since the Constitution was adopted; the international situation has also changed. All these changes should be reflected and given legal force in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The trade-union organizations will have to carry out considerable work in mobilizing the masses to struggle for the successful fulfilment of the seven-year plan. The trade unions are called upon to develop the activity of the working class and all working people, to effect a still greater development of socialist emulation for the fulfilment

and overfulfilment of state targets at every factory, support the initiative of inventors and rationalizers, the leading people in production, and popularize their experience. The trade unions must increase their control over the application of safety measures in production, fulfilment of housing plans, the distribution of housing, the work of trading and catering establishments and of medical and communal services for the working people. A most important task of the trade unions is that of developing educational work among the masses and improving the work of cultural and educational institutions.

The program of communist construction drawn up by our Party for the forthcoming seven years opens up wide vistas for the activity and the growth of creative initiative on the part of the rising generation and its vanguard, the Lenin Young Communist League. The League members are called upon to continue setting an example of selfless labor to the youth. Every League organization must become a militant, vitalizing collective that maintains close ties with the youth. The Young Communist League will have to take an active part in the construction of industrial enterprises, housing and public buildings, in the struggle for the further development of socialist agriculture and for the use of the natural resources of the areas now being developed.

The Party and Young Communist League organizations must pay special attention to molding the communist outlook among the youth, the training of active, conscientious builders of communist society, whose love for their country is boundless and who live and work in the communist manner.

The chief task of the Communist Party and the Soviet people today is to ensure the unconditional fulfilment of the seven-year plan for the development of the national economy. The fulfilment of the targets set by the Party and the Government for the next seven years will have tremendous importance in further strengthening the might of our country. The fulfilment of the seven-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR, the main objective of which is developing the peaceful economy and raising the living standard of the people, will, at the same time, further strengthen the country's defense potential, and add to its preparedness to rebuff any attempt by imperialist aggressors against the great gains of socialism. The successes of peace-

ful economic construction in the USSR and all socialist countries will be a new expression of the advantages of socialism over capitalism, to a still greater extent increasing the power of attraction of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

* * *

The Soviet people, in the course of socialist construction, have performed great feats of labor that have been recognized by the whole world. The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party expresses its firm conviction that the entry of our society into the period of extensive communist construction will give rise to a mighty wave of labor enthusiasm, new forms of nationwide emulation for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the seven-year plan, and will be marked by outstanding victories.

The magnificent plan of communist construction elaborated by the Party opens up before the Soviet people wide and bright prospects for the advance of communism. Our cherished goal is close at hand. We have to go through the decisive stage in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, and in the shortest time win that competition. We have all that we need to capture that position. And when we have solved those problems and new vistas open up before us it will be easier for us to advance. For the sake of the great goal of communist construction we can and must work well.

In paving the road to communism the Soviet people maintain close unity with the peoples of all countries of the socialist camp. Day by day the mighty camp of socialism grows stronger. The ideas of communism have become the leading force of our time.

The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party addresses a call to struggle actively for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the seven-year plan to all the working people of our great country. The Congress is fully confident that the workers, collective farmers, and Soviet intelligentsia will do everything to further strengthen the might of our socialist country, to put into effect the communist ideals inscribed on the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The valiant Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, are marching confidently forward, building the finest and most just society on earth — communist society.

Resolution on Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes

(Adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at its Sixth Plenary Session on December 10, 1958)

IN 1958 a new social organization appeared, fresh as the morning sun, above the broad horizon of east Asia. This was the large-scale people's commune in the rural areas of our country which combines industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs and in which government administration and commune management are integrated. Since their first appearance the people's communes with their immense vitality have attracted widespread attention.

The movement to set up people's communes has grown very rapidly. Within a few months starting in the summer of 1958, all of the more than 740,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives in the country, in response to the enthusiastic demand of the mass of peasants, reorganized themselves into over 26,000 people's communes. Over 120 million households, or more than 99 per cent of all China's peasant households of various nationalities, have joined the people's communes. This shows that the emergence of the people's communes is not fortuitous; it is the outcome of the economic and political development of our country, the outcome of the socialist rectification campaign conducted by the Party, of the Party's general line for socialist construction and the great leap forward in socialist construction in 1958.

Although the rural people's communes were established only a short while ago, the mass of the peasants are already conscious of the obvious benefits they have brought them. Labor power and the means of production can, on a larger scale than before, be managed and deployed in a unified way to ensure that they are used still more rationally and effectively, and consequently the development of production will be further facilitated. Under the unified leadership of the commune, industry, agriculture (including farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries), trade, education and military affairs have been closely co-ordinated and developed rapidly. In particular, thousands and tens of thousands of small factories have mushroomed in the rural areas. To meet the pressing demands of the masses, the communes have set up large numbers of community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, "homes of respect for the aged" and other institutions for collective welfare, which have, in particular, completely emancipated women from thousands of years of kitchen drudgery and brought

broad smiles to their faces. As a result of the bumper crops many communes have instituted a system of distribution that combines the wage system with the free supply system; the mass of peasants, both men and women, have begun to receive their wages and those families which in the past constantly worried about their daily meals and about their firewood, rice, oil, salt, soya sauce, vinegar and vegetables, are now able to "eat without paying." In other words they have the most important and most reliable kind of social insurance. For the peasants, all this is epoch-making news. The living standards of the peasants have been improved and they know from practical experience and the prospects of the development of the communes that they will live much better in the future.

The development of the system of rural people's communes has an even more profound and far-reaching significance. It has shown the people of our country the way to the gradual industrialization of the rural areas, the way to the gradual transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in agriculture, the way to the gradual transition from the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" to the communist principle of "to each according to his needs," the way gradually to lessen and finally to eliminate the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labor, and the way gradually to lessen and finally to eliminate the internal function of the state.

All this proves the correctness and historic significance of the Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas adopted on the basis of the creativeness of the masses by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Peitaiho meeting in August 1958.

People's communes have now become the general rule in all rural areas inhabited by our people of various nationalities (except in Tibet and in certain other areas). Some experiments have also begun in the cities. In the future, urban people's communes, in a form suited to the specific features of cities, will also become instruments for the transformation of old cities and the construction of new socialist cities; they will become the unified organizers of production, exchange and distribution.

and of the livelihood and well-being of the people; they will become social organizations which combine industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs; organizations in which government administration and commune management are integrated. There are, however, certain differences between the city and the countryside.

Firstly, city conditions are more complex than those in the countryside.

Secondly, socialist ownership by the whole people is already the main form of ownership in the cities, and the factories, public institutions and schools, under the leadership of the working class, have already become highly organized in accordance with socialist principles (with the exception of some of the family members of the workers and staffs). Therefore, the switch-over of cities to people's communes inevitably involves some requirements different from those in the rural areas.

Thirdly, bourgeois ideology is still fairly prevalent among many of the capitalists and intellectuals in the cities; they still have misgivings about the establishment of communes—so we should wait a bit for them.

Consequently, we should continue to make experiments and generally should not be in a hurry to set up people's communes on a large scale in the cities. Particularly in the big cities, this work should be postponed except for the necessary preparatory measures. People's communes should be established on a large scale in the cities only after rich experience has been gained and when the skeptics and doubters have been convinced.

The rural people's communes which have already been established have not had time to consolidate their organizations, perfect their working systems, or systematically settle the new questions concerning production, distribution, livelihood and welfare, management and administration, which have arisen with the establishment of the communes. This is because the communes were only recently set up and most of them, immediately after their establishment, threw themselves into the heavy work of the autumn harvest, plowing and sowing, and the nationwide campaign for iron and steel. There is as yet insufficient experience in successfully running and developing the people's communes. Different approaches to certain questions are unavoidable. The urgent tasks at present are to achieve quickly a unity of views on the communes among all members of the Party and among the people, strengthen the leadership over the communes, check up on and consolidate their organization, define and perfect their working systems, and improve the organization of production and life in the communes. Energetic efforts must be made to strengthen those communes which have already been set up, so that they will be in a

position to carry out ever more successfully their great mission of promoting the development of the productive forces and the relations of production.

II

The people's commune is the basic unit of the socialist social structure of our country, combining industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs; at the same time it is the basic organization of the socialist state power. Marxist-Leninist theory and the initial experience of the people's communes in our country enable us to foresee now that the people's communes will quicken the tempo of our socialist construction and constitute the best form for realizing, in our country, the following two transitions.

Firstly, the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in the countryside; and,

Secondly, the transition from socialist to communist society. It can also be foreseen that in the future communist society, the people's commune will remain the basic unit of our social structure.

From now on, the task confronting the people of our country is: through a form of social organization such as the people's commune, and based on the general line for socialist construction laid down by the Party, to develop the social productive forces at high speed, to advance the industrialization of the country, the industrialization of the communes, and the mechanization and electrification of agriculture; and to effect the gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, thus fully realizing ownership by the whole people in the socialist economy of our country and gradually building our country into a great socialist land with a highly-developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. During this process, the elements of communism are bound to increase gradually and these will lay the foundation of the material and spiritual conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

This is a gigantic and extremely complex task. In the light of experience already gained, as concrete conditions now stand in our country, it is possible that socialist ownership by the whole people may be fully realized at a somewhat earlier date but this will not be very soon. Though the pace at which we are advancing is fairly rapid, it will still take a fairly long time to realize, on a large scale, the industrialization of our country, the industrialization of the communes, the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and the building up of a socialist country with a highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. This whole process will take fifteen,

twenty or more years to complete, counting from now.

The imperialists and those who parrot them say that this is too short a time for us to build a highly developed modern industry, agriculture and science and culture, and that we won't be able to achieve our aim. We've got used to such tunes; we needn't pay any attention to them; the facts are bound to batter these people down time and time again. But there will be others who will say that this time is too long. They are good-hearted people in our own ranks, but they are over-eager. They think that the building of a highly-developed modern industry and so on, full realization of socialist ownership by the whole people, and even the attainment of communism, are very easy things. They think that ownership in the rural people's communes is even now of the nature of ownership by the whole people and that very soon or even now they can dispense with the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" and adopt the communist principle of "to each according to his needs." Consequently, they cannot understand why the socialist system will have to continue for a very long time. Their view, of course, is a misconception which must be cleared up.

It should be pointed out that the changeover from agricultural producers' co-operatives to people's communes, the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people and transition from socialism to communism are processes which are interconnected but at the same time distinct from each other.

First of all, the changeover from the agricultural producers' co-operatives to the people's communes has expanded and strengthened the existing collective ownership and contains certain elements of ownership by the whole people. But this is not to say that collective ownership in the countryside has been transformed into ownership by the whole people. The whole Chinese countryside has now changed over to people's communes, but a certain time will have to pass before ownership by the whole people is realized throughout the countryside.

True, the establishment of the people's communes has added certain elements of ownership by the whole people to the collectively-owned economy. This is because the rural people's communes and the basic organizations of state power have been combined into one; because the banks, stores and some other enterprises owned by the whole people, originally existing in the countryside, have been placed under the management of the communes; because the communes have taken part in establishing certain undertakings in industrial and other construction which are by nature owned by the whole people; because in many counties county federations of communes, exercising unified leader-

ship over all the people's communes in these counties, have been formed and have the power to deploy a certain portion of the manpower, material and financial resources of the communes to undertake construction on a county or even bigger scale (this has already started in many areas), and so on. But at the present time the means of production and the products of the rural people's communes are in the main still collectively owned by the communes and differ from those of the state-owned enterprises which belong to the whole people. Both collective ownership and ownership by the whole people are socialist ownership; but the latter is more advanced than the former because the state, representing the whole people, can directly make a unified and rational distribution of the means of production and the products of enterprises owned by the whole people according to the requirements of the national economy as a whole, while this cannot be done with regard to enterprises run under collective ownership, including the existing rural people's communes. To say that the ownership now existing in the rural people's communes is already ownership by the whole people does not conform to reality.

To gradually promote the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, every county should set up its federation of communes. In coming years, on the basis of the energetic development of production and the raising of the people's political understanding, such federations should take suitable steps to increase gradually the proportion of their means of production that is owned by the whole people and the proportion of their products that is subject to unified distribution by the state, and, when conditions mature, should change collective ownership into ownership by the whole people. If timely steps are not taken to promote and complete this change and if the existing collective ownership is kept intact indefinitely with the result that commune members confine their attention to the relatively narrow scope of the interests of their collective, the continuous development of the social productive forces and the continuous raising of the people's political understanding will be impeded. This is not appropriate. However, it must be pointed out that collective ownership still plays a positive role today in developing production in the rural people's communes. How soon the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people will be effected will be determined by the objective factors—the level of development of production and the level of the people's political understanding—and not by mere wishful thinking that it can be done at any time we want it. Thus this transition will be realized, by stages and by groups, on a

national scale only after a considerable time. Those who, because they fail to understand this, confuse the establishment of people's communes with the realization of ownership by the whole people, making impetuous attempts to abolish collective ownership in the countryside prematurely, and trying hastily to change over to ownership by the whole people, will not be doing the right thing and therefore cannot succeed.

Furthermore, the change from socialist, collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people is not the same thing as the going-over from socialism to communism. Still less is the change from agricultural producers' co-operatives to people's communes the same thing as the change from socialism to communism. The change from socialism to communism will require much more time than the change from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people.

True, the free supply system adopted by the people's communes contains the first shoots of the communist principle of "to each according to his needs"; the policy carried out by the people's communes of running industry and agriculture simultaneously and of combining them has opened up a way to reduce the difference between town and countryside and between worker and peasant, and when the rural people's communes pass over from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, the communist factors will grow further. All this must be acknowledged. Moreover, with social products becoming increasingly plentiful thanks to the continuous advance of industry and agriculture throughout the country; with the proportion of what is supplied gratis under the distribution system of the people's communes gradually growing larger and the standards of free supply being gradually raised; with the consistent raising of the level of the people's communist understanding; with the constant progress of education for the whole people; with the gradual reduction of the differences between mental and manual labor; and with the gradual diminution of the internal function of the state power, etc., the conditions for the transition to communism will also gradually mature. It is of course not proper to ignore or even impede this course of development and relegate communism to the distant future.

Nevertheless every Marxist must soberly realize that the transition from socialism to communism is a fairly long and complicated process of development and that throughout this entire process society is still socialist in nature. Socialist society and communist society are two stages marked by different degrees of economic development. The socialist principle is "from each according to his

ability and to each according to his work"; the communist principle is "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." The communist system of distribution is more rational; but it can be put into effect only when there is a great abundance of social products. In the absence of this condition, any negation of the principle of "to each according to his work" will tend to dampen the working enthusiasm of the people and is therefore disadvantageous to the development of production and the increase of social products, and hence of speeding the realization of communism. For this reason, in the income of commune members, the portion constituting the wages paid according to work done must occupy an important place over a long period and will, during a certain period, take first place. In order to encourage the working enthusiasm of commune members and also to facilitate the satisfaction of their complex daily needs, the communes must strive gradually to increase the wages of their members and, for a number of years to come, must increase them at a rate faster than that portion of their income which comes under the heading of free supply. Even after the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, the people's communes will, during a necessary period of time, retain the system of "to each according to his work," owing to the fact that there is not as yet an abundant enough supply of social products for the realization of communism. Any premature attempt to negate the principle of "to each according to his work" and replace it with the principle of "to each according to his needs," that is, any attempt to enter communism by over-reaching ourselves when conditions are not mature—is undoubtedly a Utopian concept that cannot possibly succeed.

Both the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people and the transition from socialism to communism must depend on a certain level of development of the productive forces. Production relations must be suited to the nature of the productive forces and only when the productive forces develop to a certain stage will certain changes be brought about in production relations — this is a fundamental principle of Marxism. Our comrades must bear in mind that the present level of development of the productive forces in our country is, after all, still very low. Three years of hard battle plus several years of energetic work may bring about a great change in the economic face of the country. But even then there will still be a considerable distance to go to reach the goals of a high degree of industrialization of the entire country and the mechanization and electrification of our country's agriculture; and there will be an even longer distance to go

to reach the goals of an enormous abundance of social products, of a great lightening of labor and of a sharp reduction of working hours. Without all these, it is, of course, impossible to talk about entering a higher stage of development in human society—communism. Therefore, since we are devoted to the cause of communism, we must first devote ourselves to developing our productive forces and working energetically to fulfil our plan for socialist industrialization. We should not make groundless declarations that the people's communes in the countryside will "realize ownership by the whole people immediately," or even "enter communism immediately," and so on. To do such things is not only an expression of rashness, it will greatly lower the standards of communism in the minds of the people, distort the great ideal of communism and vulgarize it, strengthen the petty-bourgeois trend towards equalitarianism and adversely affect the development of socialist construction.

On the question of transition from socialism to communism, we must not mark time at the socialist stage, nor should we drop into the Utopian dream of skipping the socialist stage and jumping over to the communist stage. We are advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution; we hold that no "Great Wall" exists or can be allowed to exist between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and between socialism and communism. We are at the same time advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of revolution by stages; we hold that different stages of development reflect qualitative change and that these stages, different in quality, should not be confused. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has pointed out clearly in its August Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas: in the case of the people's communes, "the transition from collective ownership to ownership of the whole people is a process, the completion of which may take less time — three or four years — in some places, and longer — five or six years or even more — elsewhere. Even with the completion of this transition, people's communes, like state-owned industry, are still socialist in character, i.e., the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his work' prevails. Some years after that the social product will become very abundant; the communist consciousness and morality of the entire people will be elevated to a much higher degree; universal education will be achieved and the level raised; the difference between worker and peasant, between town and country, between mental and manual labour—the legacies of the old society that have inevitably been carried over into the socialist period—and the remnants of unequal

bourgeois rights which are the reflection of these differences—will gradually vanish; and the function of the state will be limited to protecting the country from external aggression, and it will play no role internally. At that time Chinese society will enter the era of communism in which the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' will be practiced." In order to clear up misconceptions about people's communes and ensure the healthy development of the people's commune movement, extensive and repeated publicity and education based on this Marxist-Leninist point of view must be carried out seriously throughout the Party and among all the people of China.

III

The people's communes must plan their production, exchange, consumption and accumulation. Their plans should be subordinated to the state plans and to the administration of the state. In working out their plans, the people's communes should at the same time fully develop their own characteristic features and their initiative.

Development of production is the key to the consolidation and elevation of the people's communes. The correct policy of the people's communes for the development of production should be: to ensure the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and of production for their own use and for exchange in accordance with the principles of unified state planning, of adaptation to local conditions and of running the communes industriously and thriftily. In all fields of production and capital construction, strict economy must be practised; careful plans must be worked out; manpower, material and financial resources must be used as rationally as possible; production costs must be reduced; expenditures must be cut down and income increased; extravagance and waste among some functionaries of the communes following bumper harvests should be prevented and opposed.

In agricultural production, shallow plowing, careless cultivation, and "big acreage with low yield" should be gradually replaced by deep plowing, intensive cultivation, and by "small acreage with high yield." Farming should be carried on as meticulously as gardening, and agricultural production should be mechanized and electrified to bring about a big increase in per mou* yields and labor productivity and to gradually reduce the area under cultivation and the manpower engaged in agriculture. We should strive to reach a yearly average of two to three thousand catties or one to one-and-a-half tons of grain per capita within a comparatively short period. As the grain problem

*A mou is equivalent to 1/6 acre or 1/15 hectare.

is solved, the proportion of the total agricultural output occupied by cotton, flax and jute, silk, soya beans, oil-bearing crops, sugar-bearing crops, tea, tobacco, medicinal and other industrial crops must be gradually increased. In addition, great attention should be paid to speeding the development of forestry, animal husbandry, farm side-lines and fisheries. In short, as on the industrial front, a great revolution must be carried out on all the fronts of agriculture — farming, forestry, animal husbandry, farm side-lines and fisheries—so as to thoroughly change the face of agriculture.

People in the past often worried about our “over-population” and the relatively small amount of available arable land. But this idea has been overturned by the facts of our 1958 bumper harvest. Insofar as we succeed in seriously popularizing the rich experience gained in getting high yields through deep plowing, intensive cultivation, layer-by-layer fertilization and rational, close planting, it will be found that the amount of arable land is not too small but very considerable, and that the question is not so much over-population as shortage of manpower. This will be a very big change. In the next several years, local conditions permitting, we should try to reduce the area sown to crops each year, say, to about one-third of what it is at present. Part of the land so saved can lie fallow by rotation, or be used for pasturage and the growing of green manure; the rest can be used for afforestation, reservoirs and the extensive cultivation of flowers, shrubs and trees, to turn our whole land with its plains, hills and waters, into a garden. By these means:

Firstly, it will be possible to greatly economize on the use of water, fertilizer and manpower, and to considerably increase the fertility of the soil;

Secondly, full use can be made of every mountain, river, forest and pasture; and comprehensive management of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, farm side-lines and fisheries, can be greatly developed.

Thirdly, our natural environment will be transformed and the whole country beautified.

This is a great ideal that can be realized. People's communes throughout the countryside should work to realize this aim.

People's communes must go in for industry in a big way. The development of industry by the people's communes will not only accelerate the industrialization of the whole country but will also promote the realization of ownership by the whole people in the rural districts, and reduce the differences between town and country. According to the differing conditions in each people's commune, an appropriate part of the labor force should be transferred, step-by-step, from agriculture to industry so as to develop, according to plan, the

production of fertilizer, insecticides, farm implements and machinery and building materials; the processing and many-sided utilization of agricultural produce; the manufacturing of sugar, textiles and paper; the expansion of mining, metallurgy, electric power and other light and heavy industries. Industrial production in the people's communes must be closely linked with agricultural production; it should first of all serve the development of agriculture and the mechanization and electrification of farming; at the same time it should serve to meet the demands of commune members for staple consumer goods, and serve the country's big industries and the socialist market. The principles of adaptation to local conditions and obtaining raw materials locally should be fully taken into consideration; in order to avoid increased costs and waste of labor power, industries should not be set up in places where raw materials are lacking and have to be brought from very far away. With regard to production techniques, the principle should be carried out of linking handicraft with mechanized industry, and indigenous methods with modern methods of production. All handicraft industries which have good foundations and prospects for expansion must continue to be developed, and gradually carry through the necessary technical reform. The mechanized industries must also make full use of iron and steel, produced by indigenous methods, and of machine-tools and other raw materials and equipment produced by these methods; they will gradually advance from indigenous to modern, from small to large and from a low to a high level.

Whether in industry or agriculture, people's communes should develop for their own use production which directly meets their own needs, and they should also develop commodity production on as wide a scale as possible. Every people's commune, according to its own characteristics and under the guidance of the state, should carry out the necessary division of labor in production and the exchange of commodities with other people's communes and state-owned enterprises. Only in this way can the economy of our whole society expand at a faster rate, and every commune acquire through exchange the machinery and equipment needed for the mechanization and electrification of farming, as well as the consumer goods and ready cash required to meet the needs of commune members and to pay them wages, and also make it possible to raise wages step by step. To ensure fulfilment of trading plans, a system of contracts should be drawn up between the state and the communes and among the communes themselves.

It must be stressed that during a necessary period of time commodity production by the people's communes and the exchange of commodities

between the state and communes and among the communes themselves must be greatly developed. Such production and exchange of commodities are different from those under capitalism, because they are conducted in a planned way, on the basis of socialist public ownership and not in an anarchic way on the basis of capitalist, private ownership. Continued development of commodity production and continued adherence to the principle of "to each according to his work" are two important questions of principle in expanding the socialist economy. The whole Party should have a common understanding of them. Some people, attempting to "enter communism" prematurely, have tried to abolish the production and exchange of commodities too early, and to negate at too early a stage the positive role of commodities, value, money and prices. This line of thinking is harmful to the development of socialist construction and is therefore incorrect.

IV

The people's communes in rural districts should distribute their own incomes properly on the principle of running the communes industriously and thriftily. To speed up production, the proportion of accumulation should be appropriately increased after production costs, administrative expenses and taxes have been deducted from the gross income. But on the basis of the development of production, the portion of the income used to meet the individual and collective expenses of commune members (including the portion spent on public welfare, culture and education) should be increased annually in order to improve the livelihood of the people year by year.

The introduction of a distribution system which combines the wage system and the free supply system in that part of the commune's income allotted to its members for consumption is a form of socialist distribution created by China's people's communes, and at the present time it represents what the broad mass of members earnestly demand. As stated above, this distribution system includes the first shoots of communism but in essence it is still socialist — based on the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work."

The proportions of wages and free supplies in the total amount allotted to members should be determined in the light of the varying conditions of the development of production in the communes. At present, in fixing the ratio between wages and free supplies, care should be taken as far as possible to avoid reducing the income of households which have relatively few members but are strong in labor power; in general, it should be made

possible for more than 90 per cent of the members to increase their income as compared with the previous year while the rest should get no less than in the previous year.

For the present, the scope of free supply should not be too wide. The application of the free supply does not seek to make the life of the people uniform. Under socialism and communism, the needs of the people are on the whole similar while varying according to the individual. Therefore in the future as well as at present care should be taken to ensure, as far as possible, that members have suitable freedom of choice within the framework of the free supply system.

Wages must be increased gradually as production expands. For the present, except for the items freely supplied, wage scales in the rural areas may, in general, be divided into from six to eight categories, and the highest category may be four or more times as much as the lowest. But the differences should not be too great; for if they were they would not conform to the existing differences in labor skills in the rural areas. Certain differences between the wage levels in different areas are permissible. For the present differences between wage scales in the city are greater than those in the countryside, and this is necessary. In the future, as a result of the tremendous rise in production, everyone will be much better off and whether in city or countryside such differences in wage scales will be unnecessary and will gradually disappear. That will be nearing the era of communism.

The reasons why wage levels in the city are generally higher than those in the countryside are manifold (including the factor of higher living costs in the city). This too is a temporary situation which should be explained to the peasants. Some commune members, apart from working in the villages, also receive money sent home by their relatives who are away in cities or elsewhere (such as workers, armymen, functionaries and Chinese living abroad). Work should be done to dissuade other members from wrangling about this. In distribution within the commune, members with such receipts should be treated the same as others without discrimination in regard to free supplies and wages, and they should not be urged to make special investments or contributions to the commune. If they rely on family members away from home for the whole of their livelihood, the commune should not interfere, but it may stop supplying them with the usual allotments. Those who leave home for study, apart from those whose needs are covered by the state or can be covered by their own families, should be supported by the county federation of communes according to the standards laid down by the schools.

The more socialism develops and the more abundant social products become, the more abundant will certainly become the means of livelihood allotted to each individual. Some people think that the changeover to communes will call for a redistribution of existing property for personal use. This is a misconception. It should be made known among the masses that the means of livelihood owned by members (including houses, clothing, bedding and furniture) and their deposits in banks and credit co-operatives will remain their own property after they join the commune and will always belong to them. When necessary, the commune may with their consent borrow the surplus housing space of members but ownership still rests with them. Members can retain trees around their houses, small farm tools, small instruments, small domestic animals and poultry; they can also continue to engage in some small domestic sideline occupations on the condition that these do not hamper their taking part in collective labor.

Debts incurred before the people's communes were established should not be declared cancelled irrespective of whether these are between individuals, between the commune and its members, or debts contracted by commune members with banks or credit co-operatives. These debts should be repaid where conditions permit, and where the conditions make repayment impossible for the time being, they should be held over.

V

The people's commune is the organizer of the production and life of the people and the fundamental purpose of the development of production is to satisfy to the maximum the constantly growing material and cultural needs of all members of society. In leading the work of the commune, the Party must give all-round attention to the ideological development, production, and livelihood of commune members. It must care for the people and correct the tendency to see only things and not human beings. The greater the working enthusiasm of the masses, the greater the attention the Party should pay to their well-being. The more attention the Party pays to the livelihood of the masses, the greater their enthusiasm will be in work. It is wrong to set production and people's livelihood against each other and to imagine that attention to the livelihood of the masses will hamper production. Of course, it is also wrong to put a one-sided or excessive emphasis on the improvement of their level of political consciousness and the development of production, and not to advocate working hard for long-term interests.

Communists have always held that in a communist society labor will be changed "from a heavy burden into a pleasure" and will become the

"primary necessity of life." There is no doubt that the working day will be greatly shortened in future. With the development of mechanization and electrification we must strive to introduce the six-hour workday within a certain number of years. Our intensive work at the present time is precisely to create conditions for the six-hour workday and even shorter working hours in future. At present, the system of eight hours of actual work and two hours of study should be put into effect in both city and countryside. During the busy farm season or when other work in the rural areas is particularly heavy, working hours may be appropriately extended. But, in any event, eight hours for sleep and four hours for meals and recreation, altogether twelve hours, must be guaranteed every day and this must not be reduced. It is true that there is a labor shortage at present, but the way out must be found in stressing the successful implementation of the reform of tools and improvement of labor organization and not in extending working hours. Special attention must be paid to safety in production, and labor conditions must be improved as far as possible in order to reduce to the minimum or completely eliminate work accidents. Adequate rest must be ensured to women both during pregnancy and after childbirth and they should also get the necessary rest during menstruation when they should not be asked to do heavy work, to get their feet wet in cold water or work at night.

Community kitchens should be well run. All commune members must be assured of adequate, good, clean food suited to their national and local habits. The communal eating establishments should have dining-rooms, and they should efficiently run their own vegetable gardens, bean-curd mills, bean-noodle mills, and condiment shops; they should raise pigs, sheep, chickens, ducks and fish. The food should be varied and appetizing. Nutrition specialists should be consulted to make sure that the food contains enough calories and the nutrients needed by the human body. Where necessary and possible, special food should be provided for the aged, children, invalids, pregnant women, women who have just been confined, and nursing mothers. It is permissible for some commune members to cook at home. Community dining-rooms should be managed democratically. Their administrative staffs and cooks should be chosen from among those who are politically reliable. It is best that they be elected democratically.

Nurseries and kindergartens should be run well so that every child can live better and receive a better education in them than at home, and so that the children will want to stay there and the parents will want to put them there. The parents may decide whether it is necessary for their children to board there, and may take them home at any

time. In order to run nurseries and kindergartens well, the communes should train a large number of qualified child-care workers and teachers.

The "homes of respect for the aged" should be run well so as to provide better dwelling places for those old people who have no children to take care of them (those who are eligible for the "five guarantees").*

Communes must ensure the successful running of primary and secondary schools and adult education. Universal primary school education should be instituted in the rural areas throughout the country. Full-time secondary schools and half-time secondary agricultural schools, or other secondary vocational schools, should be well run and universal secondary education should be introduced step by step. Earnest efforts should be made to wipe out illiteracy, to organize various kinds of spare-time schools and conduct political education, cultural classes and technical education for adults. In reducing the differences between manual and mental labor, the institution of universal education among the working people and the gradual raising of their educational level is an important step which must be carried out conscientiously. The communes, in addition, must also select and send a number of young people to study in senior secondary schools, secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning in the cities so as to train fairly well-educated working personnel for the state and the communes. The principle of combining education with productive labor must be carried out thoroughly in all schools without exception. Children above the age of nine may take part in some labor to an appropriate extent in order to cultivate the habit of work in childhood and stimulate their physical and mental development; but full attention must be paid to the health of the children, they must be given only light work for short periods of time, suited to their physical strength and their aptitude.

Ideological and political work among the staffs in community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, "homes of respect for the aged," primary schools, public health centers, clubs and shops must be strengthened and efforts made to give positive guidance to public opinion so that the whole of society and the whole commune regard the successful running of community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens and other collective welfare undertakings and satisfactory work in the personal services as noble work of service to the people. The attitude of the exploiting classes in

looking down on work which concerns the daily life and welfare of the masses and work in the personal services, must be criticized and corrected.

The existing old-style houses must be reconstructed step by step; townships and village housing estates with parks and woods must be built by stages and in groups; these will include residential quarters, community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, the "homes of respect for the aged," factories, threshing floors, livestock sheds, shops, post and telecommunications offices, warehouses, schools, hospitals, clubs, cinemas, sports grounds, baths and public lavatories. The construction plans of townships and village housing estates should be thoroughly discussed by the masses. We stand for the abolition of the irrational patriarchal system inherited from the past and for the development of family life in which there is democracy and unity. This stand has been warmly received by the masses. Therefore, in building residential quarters, attention must be paid to building the houses so that the married couples, the young and the old of each family can all live together.

There is now a big bunch of fools in the world who are attacking the people's communes with all their might and main and among them is Mr. Dulles of the United States. This Dulles knows nothing about things in our country but likes to pretend to be a China expert and madly opposes the people's communes. What breaks his heart especially is that we have supposedly destroyed the marvellous family system which had been handed down for thousands of years. True, the Chinese people have destroyed a feudal, patriarchal system. This patriarchal system, it must be noted, generally disappeared long ago in capitalist society and that was a progressive step in capitalist society. But we go a step further and establish a democratic, united family and this is generally rare in capitalist society. Only in the future, when the socialist revolution has been carried out and when the capitalist system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, will it be possible to establish such families there universally. As to nurseries, kindergartens and workers' canteens in the factories, these also first appeared in capitalist society. But under capitalism all such undertakings established by the bourgeoisie are capitalist in nature and are aimed at facilitating the exploitation of men and women laborers by the capitalists. On the other hand, such undertakings run by us are socialist in nature and they facilitate the development of the socialist cause and the emancipation of the individual personality of man. They have truly and completely emancipated the mass of women and enabled the children to receive better education and care. That is why they are warmly

*The "five guarantees" represent the special help extended by the agricultural co-operatives to the aged, the weak, the orphaned, the widowed and the disabled, who lack labor power or are entirely unable to work, and who are without means of support. The co-operatives assure them a regular supply of food, clothing and fuel and see to it that the young have a chance of education and the aged a proper burial after death.—Tr.

welcomed by all the working people, and first of all by the masses of women.

VI

The organizational principle of the people's commune is democratic centralism. This principle must be thoroughly applied in the management of production, in the distribution of income, in work concerning the life and welfare of commune members and in all other aspects of work.

Unified leadership as well as management at different levels should be put into effect in the people's commune. The administrative set-up of the commune may in general be divided into three levels, namely: the commune administrative committee, the administrative district (or production brigade) and the production team. The administrative district (or production brigade) is in general the unit which manages industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs in a given area and forms a business accounting unit, with its gains and losses pooled in the commune as a whole. The production team is the basic unit of labor organization. Under the unified leadership of the commune administrative committee, necessary powers should be given to the administrative district (or production brigade) and the production team over such matters as the organization of production work and capital construction, finances and welfare, in order to bring their initiative into full play.

The various levels of organization of the county federation of communes and of the people's commune must learn to make reasonable distribution and deployment of manpower for the different branches of production (agriculture, industry, transport) and for routine production work, shock production tasks and service work, so as to avoid situations where there is work without men in one place and there are men without work in another. The organization of labor must be constantly improved, the system of responsibility for a given task at a given level must continue to be applied and reinforced in production and other tasks, the system of labor inspection and labor awards must be perfected in order to guarantee effectively the steady improvement of labor efficiency and the quality of work.

There must be both discipline and democracy in the organizations of labor in the people's commune. What we describe as getting organized along military lines means getting organized on the pattern of a factory. It means that the organizations of labor in the people's commune should be as organized and disciplined as in a factory or the army; this is necessary in large-scale agricultural production. The forces of large-scale agricultural production, like the forces of large-scale

industrial production, constitute an industrial army. The modern industrial army was organized by the bourgeoisie, each factory being like a military camp. The discipline for the worker standing before the machine is as rigid as that in the army. The industrial army in socialist society is an industrial army of a single class, the working class, which has got rid of the capitalists who squeezed surplus value out of the workers, and has put into force in the working class a vigorous and lively democratic centralism based on the voluntary principle. We are now applying this system to the rural areas, thus establishing a socialist industrial army for agriculture based on democratic centralism, which is free from exploitation by the landlords and rich peasants and is elevated above the level of small-scale production.

Militia organizations should be set up at corresponding levels of the production organizations in the people's commune. The leading bodies of the militia and production organizations should be separate and, in principle, the commanding officers of the various levels of the militia such as regimental, battalion and company commanders, should not be concurrently directors of communes and administrative districts (leaders of production brigades) and leaders of production teams. These commanders should take part in the administrative organizations of the same levels in the commune as their members, and they will receive dual leadership: from the administrative organizations of the same level and the superior commanding organizations of the militia. The militia should be equipped with the necessary arms produced by arsenals set up locally. The basic units of the militia should undergo military training according to a set schedule, while the ordinary militiamen should also get appropriate training during the break in work; this is to prepare conditions for turning the whole nation into soldiers. The broad mass of working people in our country greet the militia system warmly, because, in the course of their protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and their lackeys, the Kuomintang reactionaries, they came to realize that only by arming themselves would they be able to overcome the armed counter-revolution and become masters of the land of China. After the victory of the revolution, they have come to see further that there are still imperialist pirates abroad who are clamoring every day about wiping out this people's state. Therefore, the whole of our people are determined to continue to arm themselves, and they declare: Be warned, you pirates bent on plundering us; do not dare to make a vain attempt to harm our people engaged in peaceful labor; we are fully prepared! Should the imperialists dare to unleash an aggressive war

against our country, then we will turn the whole nation into soldiers; the militia will co-operate with the People's Liberation Army and at any time replenish it to crush the aggressors utterly.

There should be both centralism and democracy in all organizations of the people's communes, including the militia organizations. The people's communes should not only organize the people's production work but the people's livelihood as well. In order to do their work well, the communes must practice a high level of democracy, consult the masses on all matters, faithfully represent their interests and reflect their will. Therefore, while "organizing along military lines, working as if fighting a battle and living the collective way," the communes must fully implement democratic management. It is absolutely impermissible to use "getting organized along military lines" as a pretext or to make use of the militia system—which is directed against the enemy—to impair, in the least, the democratic life in the communes and the militia organizations. The people's commune is the basic organization of our country's state power; only by fully ensuring democracy in the commune will it be possible to create throughout the country a vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

VII

In running a people's commune well the fundamental question is to strengthen the leading role of the Party. It is only by strengthening the Party's leading role that the principle of "politics in command" can be realized, that socialist and communist ideological education among the cadres and commune members and the struggle against all kinds of erroneous tendencies can be conducted in a thoroughgoing way and that the Party's line and policy can be implemented correctly. There are some people who think that with the emergence of the commune the Party can be dispensed with, and that they can practice what they call "merging the Party and the commune in one." This kind of thinking is wrong.

In its work in the people's commune the Party, besides its task of ensuring that the correct line and policy are put into effect, should also pay attention to educating the commune staffs to develop good styles of work—first of all the mass line and a practical style of work.

Following the 1957-1958 rectification campaign, the Party's mass line achieved a new, great victory. The great leap forward in socialist construction and the setting up of people's communes throughout the rural areas are two signal marks of this victory. The mass-line working method of the Party

is the life-blood of the people's communes. The setting up and consolidation of the people's communes is impossible without the mass line, without the full confidence of the people in the Party and in the People's Government and without an upsurge in the revolutionary zeal of the masses. Therefore, leading functionaries of all levels in the commune must put the mass line thoroughly into practice in every type of work tackled. They must look upon themselves as ordinary working people, and treat the commune members in a comradely way. Kuomintang and bourgeois styles of work which coerce the masses are strictly prohibited. Because of the big leap forward in production and the victory in setting up communes, some cadres are beginning to get dizzy with success and, unwilling to do the patient work of educating the masses by persuasion, they are exhibiting certain rude attitudes. Though these are individual cases, they should make us keenly vigilant.

In all its work, the Party should hold fast to the principle of combining revolutionary zeal with a scientific spirit. The great leap forward in 1958 has won an unprecedented victory for socialist construction in our country. Now even our enemies find it impossible to deny the significance of this victory. But we must never overlook our small weak points because of big achievements. On the contrary, the bigger the achievement the more we need to remind our cadres to keep cool-headed and not be carried away by the flood of news of victory and become unable or even unwilling to see the weak points in their work. One tendency which deserves our attention in the present work of socialist construction is exaggeration. This is incompatible with the practical working style of our Party, and is harmful to the development of our socialist construction. We must do our economic work in an ever more thoroughgoing way. Our leading personnel at all levels must be good at differentiating between the reality and false appearance of things and between demands which are justified and those which are not; in assessing conditions they must strive to keep close to objective reality. Only by doing so can we work out and carry through our plans on a reliable and solid basis.

VIII

In order to promote the consolidation of the people's communes and ensure an even bigger leap forward in industrial and agricultural production in 1959, the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should, in accordance with the requirements set forth in this resolution and in close integration with the production tasks of the winter and spring seasons, make full use of the five months from December 1958 to April 1959 to carry out, within the people's

communes in their areas, educational work, check-up and consolidation, that is, the work of checking up on the communes.

In the course of checking up on the communes, it is necessary, in the first place, for leading personnel to make earnest self-criticisms and listen with modesty to the masses' opinions, and on this basis, mobilize the masses with great daring to air their views freely and frankly, carry out debates and post up *tatsepao*,* to commend good persons and deeds, criticize wrong ideas and bad styles of work, sum up experiences, clarify the line of work and develop a thoroughgoing socialist and communist ideological education movement.

In the course of checking up on the communes, it is necessary to carry out an overall and thorough inspection of the production plan, distribution, welfare, management, financial work, organization and leadership in the communes. The organizations of the Party and communes should be carefully checked over at the same time to guarantee that leading personnel of the Party and communes at various levels are activists, loyal to the interests of the people and to the cause of communism. In addition, the finest people who have been tested in the big leap forward and people's commune movement and are qualified for Party membership, should be enrolled in the Party.

Problems related to the style of work of Party members and cadres should be dealt with through Party education and frank airing of views by the masses. In dealing with these problems, attention should be paid to keeping up the zeal and initiative of the cadres and masses, and the principles of "unity — criticism — unity" and "taking warning from the past in order to be more careful in the future" and "treating the illness in order to save the man" must be observed. Those who have committed errors but are willing to correct them should be criticized seriously but treated with

leniency. The masses should be mobilized to purge the leadership in the communes of those alien class elements who have smuggled themselves into the leadership and the very few who display a very bad style of work and have never corrected their errors even after being repeatedly admonished.

Complex class struggles not only develop sharply abroad, in the capitalist world, but also exist at home. It is necessary to educate the masses to increase their revolutionary vigilance to prevent disruptive enemy activities. Whether ex-landlords, rich peasants and counter-revolutionaries and other people deprived of political rights should be accepted as members or probationary members of the communes, or remain to work under the communes' supervision, should be discussed and decided by the masses dealing with each case on its merits in the course of checking up on the communes.

The work of checking up on the communes should first be carried out in one or two communes in each county as an experiment. That is to say, help should be given to the comrades in one or two people's communes to get things going well in a fairly short space of time, so as to acquire experience, set examples and then popularize the experience gained generally. Every province, municipality and autonomous region should organize its inspection teams consisting of a thousand, several thousand or ten thousand people for the check-up, and the first secretaries of the Party committees at the provincial, regional and county levels should personally lead the work of checking up on the communes. These inspection teams should compare different special administrative regions, counties and communes, organize mutual visits, call on-the-spot meetings to develop the good points and overcome the shortcomings, rouse the drive of the people, and find ways of concretely solving current problems and promptly popularizing successful experiences. In short, through these check-ups, the work of the people's communes in the country must be generally carried one step forward.

*Written opinions in big Chinese characters posted publicly for everybody to read.

Reviews

West Germany: Center of War Danger in Europe

Weissbuch ueber die aggressive Politik der Regierung der Deutschen Bundesrepublik. Herausgegeben vom Ministerium fuer Auswaertige Angelegenheiten der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 168 S., 1958.

White Book on the Aggressive Policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. Published by the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic, 168 pages, 1958.

IF A FEW years ago the point at issue was the resurgence of German militarism, now with the armed forces being speedily built up in West Germany and the Bundestag agreeing to introduce atomic and rocket weapons, a new stage in West German imperialism has set in—that of active preparation for an atomic war of revenge in Europe. In the Moscow Declaration of November 1957, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries stressed that a center of grave war danger was being created in the heart of Europe, and repeated the call for the utmost vigilance.

The chief danger now is that these weapons are being placed in the hands of the forces which have twice plunged the world into annihilating wars and which are plotting revenge, unequivocally demanding a change in the map of Europe and the establishment of a "new order." These forces—the inspirers of the militarist policy of revenge—are the big West German monopolies which have been fostered and revived by France, Britain and, particularly, the USA. This policy is zealously pursued by the Adenauer Government with the support of ex-Nazi officials and ex-Hitler generals, war criminals who are again dreaming of war gambles.

In the struggle against German militarism a most important role is played by the German Democratic Republic which, being nearest to the advanced positions of "the cold war," is to repel hostile sallies emanating mainly from West Berlin—the center of subversion against the socialist countries. The GDR, conscious of its responsibility for the future of Germany, stands guard over the interest in peace of the German and all the European nations, exposing the anti-national policy of the Adenauer Government.

A document that attests most vividly to the concern displayed by the GDR for the preservation of peace is the *White Book on the Aggressive Policy*

of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany published by the Foreign Ministry of the GDR at the end of 1958.

The underlying idea of the book is that the militarist policy of revenge pursued by the Adenauer Government endangers not only the GDR and other socialist countries, but also the Western states, particularly those bordering on the Federal Republic. The book contains a wealth of documents which expose the policy and diplomatic practices of the Bonn Government. The authors, in addition to enumerating the facts, show their inter-relation, the trend and aims of Bonn's policy, thus leading the reader to ponder over these problems.

With the Federal Republic's acquisition of economic strength and the consolidation of its military positions, two main trends in its foreign policy come to the fore:

First, under the slogan of a "United Europe" the Federal Republic is going ahead with economic, military and political expansion in Western Europe with a view to the eventual subordination to its sway of France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and other countries. So that what Hitler failed to achieve by force of arms, the West German imperialists seek to achieve by "integrating Europe."

Secondly, the Adenauer Government uses the Western military alliances and the arms race as "levers" in its power politics for its number one aim—the armed annexation of the GDR and the territory to the East of it, ceded by Germany under the Potsdam Agreement,* and also of the territories in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania which, prior to World War II, were inhabited by German minorities.

The purpose of the White Book, as stated in the introduction, is to "disclose the aggressive nature of German imperialism and militarism in its entirety, to warn against underestimating the danger inherent in the Adenauer policy." (p. 8).

The danger, we regret to say, is still underrated in Western Europe and also among certain peace supporters—due largely to the imperialist, and primarily Bonn, propaganda. The advocates of remilitarization of the Federal Republic try to soothe the public by saying that the West German army cannot be regarded as a danger to the Federal Republic's Western neighbors. Adduced as proof

*The Bonn Government demands the "return" of Upper Silesia, East Prussia and other territories under German rule in 1937.

are the "arguments": in contrast to the governments of the inter-war years, whose diplomats maneuvered between East and West, the Adenauer Government looks solely to the West. The West German army is not an independent force but is part of the NATO forces, created for defence against the invented "communist danger." Moreover, they claim that the numerical strength of the Bundeswehr and its armament are now limited and controlled by the Western European Union. And lastly, the claim is made that Adenauer and his ministers, who have not displayed any "sinister nationalist instincts," have recommended themselves as politicians who think as "Europeans."

While befuddling people with these arguments, the imperialist propagandists conveniently omit the fact—and the reasons for the omission are fairly obvious—that Hitler's fanatical hatred of communism, a hatred shared by the men of Munich, did not restrain the German militarists from first trying their strength in the West.

The book demonstrates that, as was the case under Hitler, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism constitute one of the pillars of the Bonn Government's policy. And this is so because Bonn regards these as the principal means of facilitating the preparation of another war gamble and of crushing the democratic movement.

At the same time the ceaseless propaganda about the need for "defensive measures" is designed to lull the vigilance of the West European nations who are haunted by an understandable fear of renewed German aggression. No one in the West should suspect the Germans of plotting fresh war plans. West Germany needs atomic weapons solely in the interests of Europe and only in the event of a war against the "Reds." Such were the expressions used in the Bundestag by Defense Minister Strauss in an attempt to justify the generals' desire to obtain atomic and rocket weapons (p. 10).

The book throws light on the chauvinist, revenge-seeking nature of Adenauer's "European" policy. The chapter, "In All Directions the Aggressive, Chauvinist and Revenge-Seeking Policy of the Adenauer Government is a Grave Danger to All Countries," shows that in the guise of a "United Europe" the German imperialists are furthering their own program of restoring a "grand German empire" and seizing colonies (p. 51). For the German imperialists the West European military and economic groupings such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom and the Common Market, established with the support of the USA, are instruments for steady and ever deeper penetration into the economic and political life of the European capitalist countries with a view to their complete subjugation. And once this West German domination extends also to the military sphere,

then the Bonn revanchists intend to undertake a joint "march to the East" and thus get the West European countries to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the German imperialists. This was admitted by Adenauer himself as early as 1952: "We shall regain Berlin and the German East only through a united Europe." (p. 53).

The book deals with the Bonn generals' designs to utilize the territory and the coastal waters of Denmark with a view to strengthening the Federal Republic's strategic positions in that part of the Baltic (pp. 54-55). Referring to the need to make the Atlantic command more effective, Defense Minister Strauss demanded at the end of last year that the Danish Navy be placed at the disposal of General Speidel, ex-Nazi, and now Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces in Central Europe. This insolent demand has evoked the indignation of the people of Denmark.

Most important are the chapters on the militarist atomic policy of the Adenauer Government. With its incorporation into the Atlantic bloc, West Germany has become the principal atom and rocket base of this aggressive grouping. The government is now at work building a half-million-strong Bundeswehr. Moreover, there were in the Federal Republic at the beginning of 1956 about 1,200 ex-soldier — including many SS — organizations (p. 44), which instil in the youth chauvinism and the worst traditions of the German soldiery. These bodies are both material and spiritual reserves of German militarism.

The book answers the question whether the Bonn Government reckons with the proviso in the Paris agreements, widely publicized in the West, on "limiting" West German armament. Under the Paris agreements of 1954 the Adenauer Government, as we know, undertook not to manufacture atomic, rocket, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons on German territory. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also the Communist parties of France, Italy and Germany, warned the West European nations at the time that this reservation was simply an imperialist maneuver designed to weaken their resistance and to get their parliaments to agree to this first and decisive step towards the total arming of the Federal Republic. The very fact that the reservation said nothing about equipping the Bundeswehr with atomic and rocket weapons attested to dishonest intentions. All the more so because the authors of the agreements said nothing about what would happen in the event of the West German monopolies manufacturing atomic arms outside their territory.

The loopholes were utilized by the Bonn rulers. Barely four years later, in March 1958, the Adenauer Government, the first in continental Western Europe, decided to equip its army with atomic

weapons. By taking this reckless step Bonn has laid bare its intentions. It signified that the start had been made in turning the country into a center for preparing atomic war in Europe.

Facts not widely known are cited, showing how the Bonn Government, evading and violating its obligations, is getting ready to manufacture atomic and rocket weapons. In the course of the Euratom negotiations Bonn insisted that West Germany should have the same right as France to manufacture atomic weapons (p. 22). At the end of 1957 when a secret agreement was concluded between France, West Germany and Italy on a Bonn-Paris-Rome "triangle" for manufacturing arms, M. Gailard, then Prime Minister of France, made it clear that the agreement would enable West Germany to produce certain substances indispensable for the manufacture of atomic arms (p. 26). Thus, the German militarists were provided with additional opportunities to make their own atomic and rocket weapons.

And if the French rulers, who hypocritically boasted at the time that the Paris agreements "guaranteed" France's security, are now making further military concessions to the Bonn Government, this is explained by their desire to get financial and technical aid from the big West German monopolies. The "aid" is to be used to make a French atom bomb, in the naive belief that by becoming the fourth A-bomb power, France will add to her grandeur.

"The German imperialists," says the White Book, "are trying to create the impression that they are observing the provision in the Paris agreements forbidding them to manufacture atomic arms. In reality, they are repeating the trick to which they resorted after the First World War in order to get round the Versailles restrictions on the German armed forces." (p. 26).

The danger to the European countries arising from the Adenauer policy is heightened by the tie-up between this policy and the aggressive line of the U.S. imperialists. The security of the West European countries, including France and Britain, is sacrificed to the mercenary aims of the two aggressive imperialist marauders.

The point is made that the Federal Government, by its policy of total armament, is dead set against any let-up in international tension, against disarmament. With U.S. backing, says the book, Bonn is hindering a solution of issues pertaining to disarmament and European security, at times it even influences the stand taken by Britain and France. In doing so the Adenauer Government speculates on the slogan of all-German elections, claiming that no international issue can be resolved until the question of German unity is settled on conditions dictated by Bonn. This subterfuge was

employed, for instance, to torpedo Eden's proposal at the Geneva Four-Power Heads of Government Conference for a limited demilitarized zone in Europe (p. 94).

The line has always been resolute opposition to an atom-free zone in Central Europe. According to Defense Minister Strauss, this question cannot even be raised until the reunification of Germany is discussed "in conditions of freedom" (p. 107). But everybody knows what the German imperialists mean by German unity "in conditions of freedom." While formally insisting on elections, they are in reality preparing to annex the German Democratic Republic by force of arms and to seize the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries with a view to establishing the "new order" there. In point of fact, the Bonn Government has shown itself to be the enemy of the peaceful reunification of Germany, because it has rejected the only realistic way to unity—that of negotiation and rapprochement with the German Democratic Republic.

The Federal Government has resisted all the proposals for a peaceful and democratic solution of the German problem. The chapter devoted to this point contains many documents showing how Bonn has sabotaged these proposals. After the signing of the Paris agreements and before their ratification by the Bundestag, the People's Chamber of the GDR urged the Bundestag deputies to reject these agreements; it suggested, moreover, that free elections should be held in 1955. The People's Chamber expressed readiness to start negotiations on this without any preliminary conditions (p. 128). The Adenauer Government, bent on rearming the country, turned down the GDR proposals and thus seriously damaged the cause of national unity.

Undisguised remilitarization, participation in aggressive military blocs, persecution of democratic organizations, banning of the Communist Party and the sharply hostile attitude to the German Democratic Republic—all expose the Bonn Government as the avowed enemy of peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany. In view of this the matter of ensuring peace in Germany, the rapprochement of the two states and the matter of a peace treaty acquire ever greater significance, while the question of elections has receded into the background. Apropos of this the White Book cites the statement made by O. Gotewohl, Prime Minister of the GDR:

"Only when there are real guarantees that there will be no new aggression on the part of the German imperialists and that the elections will not be used for aggressive purposes, will it be possible to hold genuinely free, democratic elections throughout Germany." (p. 133).

What, then, is the way to real guarantees of peace and security in Germany and throughout Europe? The way is indicated in the proposals advanced by the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Poland. It is explained in detail in the concluding chapters of the White Book.

The real way to settle the German question once and for all and to get rid of the danger of German militarism lies through the peaceful settlement of relations with Germany. A peace treaty would greatly facilitate the drawing closer together of the two German states and the formation of a confederation as the first step towards reunification. A peaceful solution of the question presupposes first of all measures to guarantee security in the heart of Europe: atomic weapons must not be manufactured in Germany or stationed on its territory, the two German states should withdraw

respectively from NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, foreign troops should be withdrawn from Germany and the military bases be closed.

The transformation of West Berlin from a NATO outpost and a center of war danger into a free demilitarized city would be a vital step towards a peaceful solution of the issue. This would be in line both with the interests of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic and of the peace-loving nations of Europe.

The White Book is another contribution by the German Democratic Republic to the common cause of all Germans who are opposed to West Germany being turned into an atomic war center, who are for peace in Europe. It calls on all in Europe to be vigilant, to fight vigorously for European security.

P. SHAPOSHNIHENKO

A Renegade Takes a Look at Himself

J. Gates. *THE STORY OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST*. New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958, 221 pages.

MR. John Gates, one of the latest evangelists of anti-Communism, was launched upon his new career with all the fanfare of one of those sensational revivalist campaigns so common in the U.S. The dense clouds of obscurity in which the bourgeois world had shrouded the lifetime of Johnny Gates the Communist burst as if riven by thunder. The knights of the cold war and all the enemies of the working-class movement took the renegade to their bosom. And inevitably, the evangelist has written his testament, another tract for the cold-war times, which the millionaire publishing business, only too pleased to oblige, has presented to the public as *The Story of an American Communist*.

The "Story," a pretty dull affair, is hardly brightened by the foreword supplied by Earl Browder, Gates' spiritual prompter. It is a service of the kind performed by the undertaker when he nails down the lid of the coffin. Browder, it will be recalled, was the man who in the early nineteen-forties predicted a post-war world of perfect bliss and harmony both in class relations at home and in international relations abroad.

In this cloud-cuckoo land, so soon to be shattered by a wave of strike struggles and the declaration of cold war, the Communist Party would be entirely superfluous. And Browder, its leader at the time, took the initiative in paving the road to his Acadia by trying to dissolve the Party.

Mr. Hoover, it is said, became very envious of Browder, seeing that he had all but succeeded in a matter in which the police chief had so dismally failed.

Browder, rather conscious it seems of the disgust engendered among the reading public by the flagellation to which deserters from the Communist movement resort, typified in the hysterical outpourings of Howard Fast, tries to apologize for his pupil's incursion into the literary field.

Gates' book, we are told, is in a different category. Its predecessors are filled with "breast-beating confessions" of sin . . . "stale and boring to the point of nausea," so much so that "they are an offence to human dignity." One couldn't agree more. Browder's admission, however, does little to save his protege. For the anti-Communism of the Gates effusion is every bit as nauseating as that of Fast.

The Gates that emerges from this personal testimony is assuredly not a "quiet American," but rather the brash type full of braggadocio and conceit. In pages of trivialities about his early years we learn that he "was a stubborn and opinionated child" with whom "grandmother" had no end of bother in administering the annual doses of "castor oil." At school "I was appointed to the color guard." And after school, when he first joins the communist movement he sets out for Ohio "not to make money," but "to make the Revolution."

The boasting becomes louder with the years. In the chapter on Spain, where he served with the Lincoln battalion of the International Brigade, the

impression is that Johnny was the best of all the Americans there. A letter home by a fellow fighter is quoted: "some turn out badly here," while men "like Johnny Gates rise to the top." And further: "I had started out a private and had risen to the highest rank of any American there." Perhaps the peak of this banality is reached when, in connection with the framing of the Communist leaders, he tells us: "because I had become so accustomed to standing upon my rights . . . I even insisted on my right to be arrested and without any waste of time." Why, it almost seems as if he was desperately anxious to break into jail, as if he would not be in time for the Black Maria.

Nor is this the end of the self-praise. After insisting on being arrested, we are told that his "good reading voice" during the Foley Square trial drew praise for him from Judge Medina as the "best reader."

Presumably he now considers himself the king of the anti-Communists.

Gates joined the American Communist movement at the time of the great economic crisis of 1929-33, when the "whole structure of American society seemed actually to be going to pieces." In those years, when unemployment soared to well over the twelve-million mark, years epitomized in the words of the song hit of the day — "buddy, can you spare a dime?" — with the Democratic and Republican parties paralyzed by fear, the Communist Party alone put forward a program to cope with "the appalling situation." The Communists alone "were able to infuse youth with idealism, missionary zeal and a crusading spirit." The "Communists deserve credit" for their fight for justice and rights for the millions of Negro people whose plight is "our national shame."

Nor can the deserter deny tribute to the Communist Party for its sterling work in winning the millions of unorganized workers for trade unionism — a movement which eventually blossomed into the powerful Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The American Communists spearheaded the movement for a broad front of national unity against fascism, and Gates is forced to acknowledge that the "prestige of the Communist movement soared chiefly as a result of its struggle against fascism."

These are the undeniable facts of the 1930-40 chapter of the history of the American Communist Party. They show the American Communists and their Party in the midst of the people, heading and guiding their struggle and, what is more, they reveal the dishonesty of Gates' arrogant boast,

designed to justify his desertion, that he left the Party in order to "rejoin the American people."

Gates' attitude to the Browder ultra-revisionist policy also entitles us to question the integrity of the evangelist. The reader is told, again boastfully, that in a letter to his wife early in 1944 (at this time Gates was serving overseas in the U.S. Army) his new thinking had anticipated some of the changes envisaged by Browder. Later, when Browder dissolved the Communist Party of the United States and re-formed it into an association, the news "filled me with elation." This action, he writes, "was the most serious effort to date by the Communist movement to become an integral and accepted part of American life."

How the Party was to become an accepted part of American life by going into voluntary liquidation is a thing that baffles logic, except perhaps the revisionist logic of a Browder or his pupil.

Communists all over the world, who stand four-square for proletarian internationalism, were filled with consternation and dismay at this retrograde step. They shared none of Browder's illusions about the transformation of the wolves of Wall Street into gentle, lily-white lambs.

And so it happened that in 1945 Jacques Duclos, French Communist leader, wrote an article in which he denounced Browder's liquidation policy. But the very idea of anyone questioning the action taken by Browder was anathema to Gates. These "accusations," he writes, "infuriated me." Soon, however, the ardor for Browder's line cooled off, for shortly afterwards the ex-enthusiast delivered a report to a meeting of the National Committee on the "fight against Browderism."

Now this would be perfectly explicable — nearly all the National Committee members at first supported Browder's policy — were it not for the fact that by 1956 we find him writing an article in a Party journal which, in the guise of more new thinking, reversed his previous "fight against Browderism." "We should," he wrote, "stop calling ourselves a party and become a political action association." Change the name of the Party, he cries, drop the word Communist.

Gates, then, on his own showing, is nothing if not a sprightly, quick-change artist — for Browder, against Browder, back to Browder. The two, master and pupil, travelling different roads, ultimately arrive at the same destination as the reactionaries in seeking to liquidate the Party of the working class.

In pursuing this aim Gates discovered that the Communist Party, which, he admits, displayed patience, tolerance and comradeship towards him, could hardly be as soothing as grandmother was when the naughty Johnny refused his cradle-days' medicine.

His anti-Party line, naturally, was criticized, but criticism, no matter how comradely, was a medicine that Johnny Gates just couldn't stomach. And because Foster, Dennis, Jackson, Thompson, Davis, Gurley Flynn and the other members of the National Committee flatly rejected his liquidation policy, they are dubbed as "dogmatists" and "bureaucrats."

When his "American" socialism and radical movement whose "Americanism cannot be questioned" were turned down, he reacted by intimidating the Party with the threat to "resign." And this was done by the man who now vilifies the Party for its lack of "democracy," and who repeatedly flouted the will of the majority.

Before deserting from the Communist Party Gates, like the other leaders and members, experienced in full measure the arbitrary punishment meted out by the rulers of the United States to all who fight actively for a better way of life for the American people.

Yet he alienates our sympathy and evokes our disgust by the polite, almost obsequious references to those who only yesterday slandered and persecuted him, by the caddish treatment of his former comrades who had supported him through thick and thin and who still hold their heads high. He boasts, actually boasts, that in recent years the Party membership has fallen considerably. His reasons — the "mistakes" of its leaders. In contrast, the nefarious activity of the secret police, the hounding, shadowing and jailing, the use of informers, the role of McCarthy and the inquisitions of loyalty boards, the victimization of Communists and Lefts generally, the hostility of the monopoly press, the war psychosis — these are hardly mentioned.

On the way to power the working class and its Party, as we know, experience gains and setbacks, defeat and success. The Russian communist movement, too, knew liquidators of the Gates type who also advocated dissolution of the Party and its replacement by a "loose association" similar to the "Labor Party."

In placing their hopes on the Gates type of renegade the enemies of socialism and of the working class are whistling in the dark. In gloating over the fall in Communist Party membership in the United States they would do well to recall the unkindness of history to the butchers of the Paris Commune who boasted that they had finished forever with the Communists, its unkindness to the Stolypins in Tsarist Russia who, drunk with victory in 1905, had no inkling of what history had in store for them in October 1917, and to Hitler who claimed that he, too, had extirpated communism and had established the 1000 years' Reich.

The history of the workers' struggle confirms over and over again that a working class Party that fights unflinchingly, while it is bound to suffer casualties, far from dying, gains in tempering and inner strength. And the gallant struggle waged by the American Communists for their Party throughout the post-war persecution has won them the admiration of the working people of the world. Today the American Communists, free from the corroding Gates canker, correcting their mistakes and surmounting the difficulties, are extending their contacts with the people and strengthening their ranks, guided by the sure compass of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course there were moments in the activity of Gates the Communist which one cannot but admire. For instance his participation in the unemployed struggles of the nineteen-thirties, his International Brigade service in Spain, and his stand during the Foley Square frame-up.

But the fact remains that having gnawed a hole in the ship he, rat-like, scuttled, abandoning ship and crew while the storm was still raging. And, having done his dirty work, he now turns his slander against those who are continuing on their course.

Like Mark Twain's Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg, he is "a bitter man and revengeful" and, like the nineteen good and true Hadleyburgians, he is also a good businessman.

All the publicity channels blocked to Gates the Communist were now opened wide to Gates the renegade. Invitations to appear on television, to write articles in the yellow press, to lecture in clubs and universities poured in hard and fast and, presumably, brought grist to the mill. FBI surveillance ceased, and he was no longer reviled as a "Red."

The Gates' Story can be summed up in the words: Browder out-Browdered. And it is safe to say that were it not for the fact that it supplies the enemies of the American working class and the cold-war warriors with ammunition against the Communist Party no publisher would have dignified the story with a second look.

Gates claims that he has now "rejoined the American people." Let us see.

One evening last April he was among the speakers at a forum organized by the Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. The other speakers included Herbert Philbrick, an FBI spy and one of the prosecution "witnesses" against the Communist leaders during the Foley Square trial. Here was a dramatic situation — the police spy Philbrick, and Gates, one of the victims of his spurious testimony, the man he helped to send to jail. In the course of the trial Gates the Communist had never hesitated to denounce those whom he rightly described as "Hoover rats." Now was the

opportunity of a lifetime to expose one of them, to uphold his own dignity as a man, to do what a real man would have done in the circumstances — walk off the platform. But the fighting Johnny Gates of yesterday was no longer free to do any of these things. He was now tongue-tied, having bartered his manhood and true freedom for the pottage of anti-Communism.

The insolent police spy even questioned the man whom he had betrayed, and his former victim, now self-imprisoned in a gilded cage, a penitent weakling, disgraced himself forever by answering in the humblest terms.

By standing on the same platform as Philbrick, Gates showed that he had "rejoined" not the American people, but the rats who are held in

contempt by all decent Americans. It showed, moreover, that, politically speaking, he had become a living corpse, or as Marx said, that he had "joined the living dead."

Many years ago Byron, writing of a literary renegade of his time, used words which remind us of the deserter who shared the platform with the unspeakable Philbrick: "Licking the hands that smote him, eating the bread of his enemies, and internally writhing beneath his own contempt — he would fain conceal, under anonymous bluster, and in a vain endeavor to obtain the esteem of others, after having forever lost his own, his leprous sense of his own degradation. What is there in such a man to envy?"

John GIBBONS

Reviews in Brief

D. N. Aidit, *The Birth and Growth of the Communist Party of Indonesia*, Djakarta, 1958, 49 pp

THIS booklet shows that the activities of the Indonesian Communist Party are indissolubly linked with the liberation movement of the people. The history of the Party, corresponding to important stages in Indonesia's development, can be divided into the following periods.

The first, dating from May 1920 when the Party was founded, continued until 1926 when the Dutch occupationists resorted to open terror against the Party and the people. The booklet shows how the Communist Party arose and took root among the organized and unorganized workers and peasants on the basis of the growing workingclass and liberation movement and under the impact of the Russian Revolution. The author critically analyzes the "leftist" slogans which at the time prevented the Party from correctly approaching the question of rallying the anti-imperialist forces and consolidating its ranks.

The second period (1926-45) embraces the underground activities and resistance to the Japanese invaders. During these years the Party worked to build the anti-fascist front and bring about the democratic reconstruction of the country.

The third period (1945-51) was characterized by the August revolution and the resistance to another wave of white terror. In analyzing the peculiarities of the anti-imperialist revolution, the author notes both the strong and weak sides of the Party in its attitude to guerrilla warfare, to organizing resistance in the occupied areas, the revolutionizing of the Dutch army, etc. Much space is devoted to the Party resolution — "The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia" (1948)—

which, as Aidit points out, was an important step towards building a party of the Leninist type. This resolution reflected the Party's struggle against the Right-wing Socialists who distorted the issue of unifying the revolutionary forces.

Also featured is the persistent struggle waged by the Party to purge its ranks (a struggle which has become particularly pronounced in this period, from 1951 onwards) and the struggle against petty-bourgeois subjectivism which has deep social roots in the country. The author analyzes the decisions adopted at the Fifth Party Congress (1954) and at meetings of the Central Committee. Carrying out these decisions, the Party is strengthening its influence among the masses.

The booklet is useful for those studying the history of the international communist movement and the movement in Indonesia.

C. N. Anavitarte, *Mariategui y el descentralismo* (*Mariategui and Decentralism*), Cuzeo, "Garcilaso," 1958, 76 pp.

THE revolutionary activity and writings of Jose Carlos Mariategui, one of the founders of the communist movement in Latin America, have long attracted the attention of Marxists. A sign of this is the book by the progressive Peruvian sociologist Anavitarte on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in Peru in the works of Mariategui.

The author makes the point that Mariategui's analysis of Peru's economic, political and cultural ills holds good today, since abolition of the feudal survivals, agrarian reform, democratization of public life, solution of the national, or "Indian"

problem, ridding the country of the domination of foreign capital, etc., are inconceivable without effecting fundamental changes. The book shows Mariategui's fight against the attempts of the ruling classes, above all the big trading bourgeoisie, to establish bureaucratic centralism in administration aimed at strengthening the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and consolidating the reactionary forces against the liberation movement. An advocate of autonomy and of extension of powers for the local bodies as an important step towards the democratization of public life, Mariategui at the same time warned against the separatist tendencies of some sections of the ruling classes, especially the landowners, anxious to cling to the feudal survivals.

The conclusion drawn is that Peru's problems can be resolved only on a national scale, in the course of the liberation movement led by the revolutionary working class. And the present situation in Latin America enables the author to demonstrate the fruitfulness of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Bui Gong Trung, *Mien bac Viet-Nam tren con duong tien len chu nghia xa hoi (Northern Vietnam on the Road to Socialism)* Hanoi, 1958, 132 pp.

THE Democratic Republic of Vietnam is now carrying out an important task — the transition from a multi-sector economy to the socialist system of production. How this is being done is the subject of the book by the economist Bui Gong Trung.

The economic policy of the Republic, the author explains, derives from the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the transition to socialism in the specific conditions of a former colonial country in which small commodity production and the private capitalist sector still predominate. With the advance of socialist construction these sectors disappear: the state sector grows rapidly, while the co-operative sector — the basis of socialism in the countryside — is expanding. The author adduces statistics on the economic achievements in the postwar period (1955-57) and shows why state capitalism did not develop during these years.

The book notes the tremendous importance of the agrarian reform as a result of which the peasants received over 800,000 hectares of land confiscated from the landowners. Much space is devoted to the pressing economic problems, above all to co-operation in the countryside, to the growth of the mutual-aid teams based on the lower forms of co-operation and their developing into producer co-operatives. There are also inter-

esting data pertaining to the state sector in industry, to socialist reconstruction in the private sectors in industry and trade, and in domestic crafts.

By the example of socialist construction in Northern Vietnam, the author shows convincingly that the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the transition to socialism is fully applicable to the underdeveloped countries.

K. Seliger, *Albanien—Land der Adlersoehne*. Wien, "Globus", 1958, 238 S, (*Albania—the Country of the Sons of the Eagle*), Vienna, "Globus," 1958, 238 pp.

THE author of this book is a progressive Austrian journalist who modestly describes his book—an account of two fruitful visits to Albania—as "travel notes." It is illustrated with photos which he took himself. The book is not only reportage with all its merits — lively narration, striking factual material, etc., — but also a useful aid in understanding the problems facing this small socialist country.

The book deals with two main questions: What is the explanation for the former economic, social and cultural backwardness of this ancient nation? How to build socialism in these conditions?

Answering the first question Seliger shows that for over five hundred years the Albanians fought against the Turkish yoke, then against Austro-Hungarian imperialism and Italian fascism. He draws rich material from various publications and gives his impressions of talks with Albanian historians.

In answer to the second question the book demonstrates that the Party of Labor, guided by Marxism-Leninism, has enabled Albania, with the support of the fraternal socialist states, to make the "leap from a primitive to a modern social system."

The author takes the reader through this remarkable country, explains its numerous contradictions and points to the tremendous changes: from such conditions as vendetta, abject poverty, ignorance, enslavement of women, epidemics, to well-developed modern industry, health services and numerous social and cultural establishments.

Citing facts and relating talks with workers, peasants, intellectuals, government leaders and trade union officials, the author helps the reader to understand the specific political, economic and cultural problems confronting the people of Albania and their Party. For this reason the book can be regarded as a valuable contribution to the literature on Albania, which is still all too scarce.

Ошавков Ж. Историческият материализъм и социологията. София, БАН, 1958, 294 стр.

Zh. Oshavkov, *Historical Materialism and Sociology*, Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1958, 294 p.

THIS work traces the relationship between historical materialism as a component of Marxist philosophy, and sociology as an independent science. It substantiates the thesis widely spread in Marxist literature that historical materialism is the science of the general laws of social development and, as such, is part of the Marxist philosophical teaching on nature, society and thinking. But Marxist sociology, which deals with particular problems of social life, is, in the author's view, a special, non-philosophical science. On the one hand, its aim is a critical analysis of the social relationships under capitalism, and on the other, it is the science of the building of socialism and communism, and thus it coincides with what is usually called the theory of scientific communism. Oshavkov, scathingly criticizes modern bourgeois sociology, exposing its pseudo-scientific and pseudo-objective nature, which serves as an unashamed apology for imperialism.

The author has made a profound study of the voluminous Marxist and bourgeois literature. He rebuts the bourgeois sociological theories which deny the idea of social progress and sow illusions about the possibility of classes being abolished under capitalism, about the supra-class character of the bourgeois state, and so on. He also criticizes the thesis which, identifying historical materialism with sociology, counterposes it to the Marxist philosophical teaching — dialectical materialism. This thesis, the author notes, has been echoed in a number of Marxist studies and articles published in recent years.

The wealth of material collected by the author and his scientific method make the book useful to students of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Although it does not claim to provide a definite solution of the problem of the relationship between historical materialism and sociology and contains a number of controversial points (on the subject-matter of sociology, its relation to historical materialism, etc.), it will undoubtedly be useful for Marxist elaboration of the subject-matter of historical materialism and the place of sociology in the system of social sciences.

Letters and Notes

The Italian People Protest Against Rocket-Launching Installations

(Letter from Rome)

THE Italian Christian-Democratic Party's foreign policy has always been determined by the Atlantic policy that is based on speeding up the arms drive and aggravating international tension. It was governments under clerical leadership that sanctioned the setting up of rocket-launching installations in Italy.

Preparatory work on these has already begun. Military objectives are being built in Sardinia; the Perdasdefogus military base is being enlarged; Sardinia's chief town has become a huge naval base; the Canadian air base has been transferred from Rabat (North Africa); numerous airfields are either being built or modernized. Land and naval maneuvers are conducted regularly at the NATO base in the Cape Teulada area. Similar work is under way and gaining momentum in Naples, in the Veneto, Romagna and Apulia regions (Gargnano and Salento areas). There is even talk of setting up large rocket installations—planned to be the best equipped and most effective in Italy—on the Alpine Bulge between Liguria and Piedmont.

The people are worried by this state of affairs. Their peace effort has exerted considerable pressure on government policy over the past few years, a pressure that is wholly in keeping with the glorious traditions of the Italian people's anti-war struggle.

A feature of the peace movement is its natural link (in the developing mass movement) with the struggle against fascist tendencies, for bread, freedom, democracy and socialism. This has found confirmation in the action taken by the peasant smallholders in numerous areas in Veneto, Romagna, Apulia and Sardinia, against the expropriation of land for airfields and military preparations by the NATO forces. Evicted peasants have united for joint action—submitting legitimate demands, protesting to ministries and Parliament, drawing up petitions, etc.

The decision to evict about a hundred peasant families from a region in Sardinia had the result that the peasants—nearly all supporters of the Christian-Democratic Party—fought for two years

against expropriation and eviction. In the long run they won a more acceptable compensation. It goes without saying that the peasants broadened their political outlook in the course of the two-year resistance, came to understand the situation in the country and at the last general election refused to vote for the clerical party.

One of the highlights of the 1958 election campaign was the mass struggle against rocket installations. With the start of the election campaign the National Council of the Communist Party declared its intention of submitting a bill to the new Parliament prohibiting Italy's being made available for rocket installations. A debate on the rocket issue was forced during the election campaign in conjunction with such questions as combating unemployment, more capital for industry and the socio-economic regeneration of Southern Italy and other underdeveloped regions. The election campaign thus paved the way for the Left opposition to submit a number of special bills to the new Parliament concerning development schemes for numerous towns and regions.

The effectiveness of the campaign can be gauged from the election results: the influence of the advocates of the Atlantic policy declined, while that of the Communists and Socialists, who had consistently opposed the rocket bases, grew.

The fight against rocket installations is accompanied by mass action by the working people in town and countryside for the annulment of the Common Market agreement. The struggle for peace and against the rocket bases finds expression in specific demands advanced by the working people. This has not interfered in any way with the direct struggle for peace. During the Middle East events, for example, the movement against rocket-launching sites was accompanied by a mass campaign of solidarity with the Arab peoples and protests against the use of Italian airfields for transporting the aggressors' troops to Lebanon and Jordan. In the final analysis these acts were all directed against the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. The same thing is happening in Sicily where, together with the opposition to rocket bases, there is a growing mass protest against the U.S. Sixth Fleet being switched from Malta to Catania. In both cases the government has retaliated by savage reprisals: beatings, arrests, trials, etc.

Democratic freedoms are being trampled underfoot. Meetings of solidarity with the Arab peoples and of protest against Anglo-American aggression were banned throughout the country. The same state of affairs is to be observed in Catania today where open opposition to the stationing of the U.S. Sixth Fleet has been prohibited.

Numerous meetings and rallies have been held in the past few months on the rocket issue alone.

Thousands of resolutions have been adopted, and hundreds of thousands of signatures collected. It is noteworthy that the collection of signatures is usually made from house-to-house and among intellectuals and small employers.

Two big demonstrations were held in Alessandria and Rome. The Alessandria demonstration was preceded by hundreds of gatherings in Liguria and Piedmont which, in the aggregate, attracted masses of people. During the demonstration a delegation was elected to go to Geneva with the demand to stop nuclear tests. The Alessandria gathering was also marked by increased activity on the part of the peace organizations in Liguria and Piedmont.

The Rome demonstration, too, was the culminating point of hundreds of rallies and meetings. Young people organized the collection of medical supplies for the Algerian freedom fighters and made flags of the Arab countries. These flags bore the signatures of tens of thousands of young men and women who in this way expressed their solidarity with the Arab peoples. The spokesman of 34 youth delegations from all over the country announced at the Rome demonstration that they had collected medical supplies to the value of over 50 million lira. Young people presented the signature-covered flags to the demonstration committee and, through their leaders, declared their intention of fighting resolutely against installing rocket weapons in Italy.

The movement for making "the Adriatic a Sea of Peace" is gaining momentum, and nationwide rallies and meetings have been held in its support.

After the general election the Communists honored their pledge by submitting a bill to the Chamber prohibiting any rocket installations on Italian soil. Even if the bill is rejected, the parliamentary debate and the public discussion now under way will expose the Christian-Democratic Party's foreign policy and aggravate the crisis within that party.

Events are shaping in such a way that even the architects of the country's policy are forced to put their cards on the table. One of the most influential bourgeois magazines in the country, which usually reflects, unofficially but correctly, the views of the Christian-Democratic leaders, has for the past several years been advocating the so-called "balance without power" (?) theory. According to this view, the atomic stockpiles in the USA and the USSR have reached such dimensions that war is unthinkable: the United States cannot attack first without risking defeat, neither can the Soviet Union be the first to attack without running the same risk (these gentlemen, of course, insolently distort the facts by ascribing aggressive intentions to the Soviet Union, and representing matters as if the West was concerned solely with

defense). And inasmuch as nuclear war is now out of the question, the struggle can be waged only in the sphere of propaganda and economics. It would appear that logic, pure and simple, convincingly dictates the need, in these circumstances, to accept the Soviet Union's oft-repeated proposal for peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition and, what is most important for Italy, to abandon all atomic weapons. Our country could then invest its meager means in industry instead of wasting them on arms. Our foreign policy "experts," however, have another view. While they speak of the impossibility of prosecuting an atomic war, they have decided that it is necessary to step up the preparations for it; while they speak about the need to intensify anti-Soviet struggle in the sphere of propaganda and economics, they conclude that the best propaganda argument would be to increase the number of rocket-launching sites in Italy. Their conclusions, they argue, are backed by tactical considerations: the need to disperse the enemy's forces (the enemy is, of course, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries) by enlarging the number of rocket bases. In the event of Soviet aggression, these "experts" argue further, the blow will, in all probability, be directed first and foremost against the rocket-launching bases on the territories of the

so-called free world. It follows, therefore, that there should be as many of these bases as possible so that the Russians would use up their stocks of missiles at the first attack. When this happens, the American land bases, equipped with intercontinental missiles, and the U.S. mobile bases, will counter-attack. Thus, their criminal designs are obvious: as many countries as possible will have to be destroyed so that the Soviet Union will exhaust its stockpiles in the first attack, and then the Americans will deal their blow.

Our foreign policy "experts" hold out just one prospect to the Italians and other peoples whose countries are destined to be outposts of American aggression, and that is the prospect of dying for the Wall Street monopolies. This is what the Christian-Democratic and the Social-Democratic parties promise Italy, and that is why the Italian people, resolutely rejecting this horrible prospect, will continue their struggle against the rocket-launching bases, against clerical governments and their policy. While the socio-economic struggle must be regarded as the primary cause of the fall of the Fanfani-Saragat government, it is necessary to stress also the great importance of the peace efforts engendered by the public alarm at the location of rocket-launching installations in Italy.

Velio SPANO

Artists of the Socialist Countries Exhibit in Moscow

ARTISTS in the socialist countries have a mission of honor — that of portraying the birth of the new world. Everything that moves and gladdens the hearts of forward-looking men and women should be reflected in the true-to-life, inspiring art of our times.

True art and life are indivisible. Hence, the new reality now making its appearance and gaining in strength all over the world engenders a new and optimistic art that finds its inspiration in the socialist ideals. The art exhibition, first of its kind in Moscow, in which artists from Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are represented, testifies to the breadth of creative work in the socialist countries. The exhibition is organized on the basis of full equality of all the countries participating — each selected its particular exhibits.

The exhibition was visited by tens of thousands and attracted the attention of the delegates from

the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties during the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU.

The Exhibition Hall, not far from the ancient walls of the Kremlin, opened its doors shortly after the 29th world art exhibition in Venice. The two exhibitions reflected the two trends in contemporary art.

The feature of the Venice exhibition was a predominance of formalist works — cold and lifeless — in which the beautiful and the noble in life and in man were deformed into meaningless shapes. The sponsors, for reasons known only to themselves, did everything possible to exclude the work of artists who are seeking to solve the problems of contemporary art along the lines of realism, which opens up new horizons to the artists of capitalist countries as well. Thus the exhibition gave a one-sided, false impression of modern art, in the development of which many gifted artists, who are far from the abstract trend, are playing their part.

At the Moscow exhibition of the fraternal socialist community of artists of the twelve coun-

tries the appeal is to life, to man, reflecting faith in his future. Here the underlying elements are truth and humanism; the world we live in is represented in its tangible onward movement.

Altogether there are nearly three thousand paintings, sketches, engravings and sculptures. Among the exhibitors are outstanding artists of all generations. In the Chinese section, alongside works by Chi Pai-shih who died recently at the age of 94, the 22-year-old Wang Kuang-yi displays his sculpture of a "boy fighter." In the Soviet section the aged S. Konenkov and the Latvian sculptor T. Zalkaln—pupil of the world-famous Rodin—were to be found together with talented young people—recent graduates of the art colleges. Co-operation in creative work unites the older masters with the promising young men and women.

Many of the works reflect the hard life of the past, the downtrodden position of the working people, the drudgery of their labor and their miserable conditions. The wide range of true-to-life pictures and portraits represents, in a live and realistic way, the new life being built by millions of free people.

The hero is the man of labor, the master of his destiny and of his country. It is he who is the subject of the topical paintings, sculptures and portraits in the various sections. No matter who he or she may be—Soviet metalworker, Chinese woman tractor-driver, Czechoslovak horticulturist, Vietnam fisherman, Hungarian peasant or Bulgarian miner—each expresses the dignity of humankind, proud of the fruits of labor and confident of the morrow. In industrial scenes, in impressive canvasses depicting the construction of iron and steel plants, huge hydro-electric power stations, mines and mills, the authors have expressed the romanticism and enthusiasm inherent in socialist society. The range is wide but I shall mention only such exhibits as the painting "Wind and Snow are No Handicap" by the Chinese artist Wei Tzu-hsi, which is noted for the labor enthusiasm reflected in it; "Peasants," a painting by the Rumanian Corneliu Baba; a portrait of Julius Fucik by the Czech M. Svabinsky; "Fraternity" — a sculptural group—and a bust of a miner by the Czech sculptor K. Pokorna; sculptures by the Hungarian master Kissfaludi Strobl; a large panel by the Hungarian E. Domanovszki.

The painters and sculptors have reflected the new world, which has been created and is developing in the struggle against the forces of the old. The wrath felt for the oppressors of the people is expressed in a work by the Korean sculptor Cho Won Son, entitled "Mass Murder at the Ragen Mine." The Bulgarian painter Ilya Petrov portrays the conviction and courage of a revolutionary in his picture "Shooting." Memorials to the victims

of fascism in Buchenwald by the German sculptor K. Dunikowski have a deeply emotional touch. A number of works portray the builders of the new society in sharp conflict with the enemies of socialism. There are many other excellent works.

The richness of life in socialist society is expressed in the bigger topical pictures and in everyday scenes, in multi-color panels and in tender, poetical landscapes, in expressive portraits and in still-lives, in monumental works and in fine miniatures.

Ideologically united, the artists of the socialist countries, in addition to preserving the national features of their art and the traditional national forms, develop and enrich them.

Although a new content has been imparted to "Kuohua," the ancient Chinese school, the national peculiarities and the fascinating and fresh colors of its unsurpassed national setting have been preserved. Before the rise of the Chinese People's Republic this wonderful school, with its tradition of artistic achievement, was on the decline. People's China has given this ancient art a new lease on life, the vistas of portraying industrial life and the remaking of nature.

Vietnam artists, noted for their skill in painting in gold on polished varnish, have painted highly original and unique works. The younger artists have acquired this skill. Together with the older painters they convey the new content, visually and convincingly, in the traditional way. Vivid expression characterizes recent works showing the return of the partisans, railroad repair work, the first day in a co-operative, a mine, sowing of rice by a mutual-aid team.

National limitation is alien to progressive realistic art. Visitors will remember the types of Vietnamese peasants created by Rumanian artists, and the Korean sketches by painters from Vietnam. The sculptural portrait of Chapayev, the Russian national hero, by a Czechoslovak artist, the Bulgarian illustrations to Chinese folk-tales, sculptures of Marcel Cachin and Chou En-lai by a Hungarian, and in the GDR section engravings depicting Japanese fishermen—all attract our attention. A truly progressive art, inspired by love of people and expressing their aspirations, cannot but be international. The striking thing about the art of each country is the variety of talented, individual styles.

Here and there one can see works which, while reflecting the formalistic trend, have some claim to originality. Perhaps it is not a bad thing that against the background of the new art some tasteless works should be exhibited. The comparison brings out more convincingly the significance of the young art of the socialist countries.

It is clear that claims to being original can hardly compete with realistic art that is true to life. It is

only in creative competition that the principles of socialist realism and the new art emerge victorious.

The new world is giving birth to a new art. This art, young and growing, acquiring fresh forces, is not yet mature in all its aspects. The exhibition will help to develop the skill of the artists, further the exchange of creative experience, and overcome weaknesses.

It will, moreover, help to overcome the biased and often slanderous views to the effect that socialist art is "all of a piece" and "monotonous." It will help the creative searching of those talented and sincere artists in the capitalist countries who want their art to serve the people, to bring them truth and beauty.

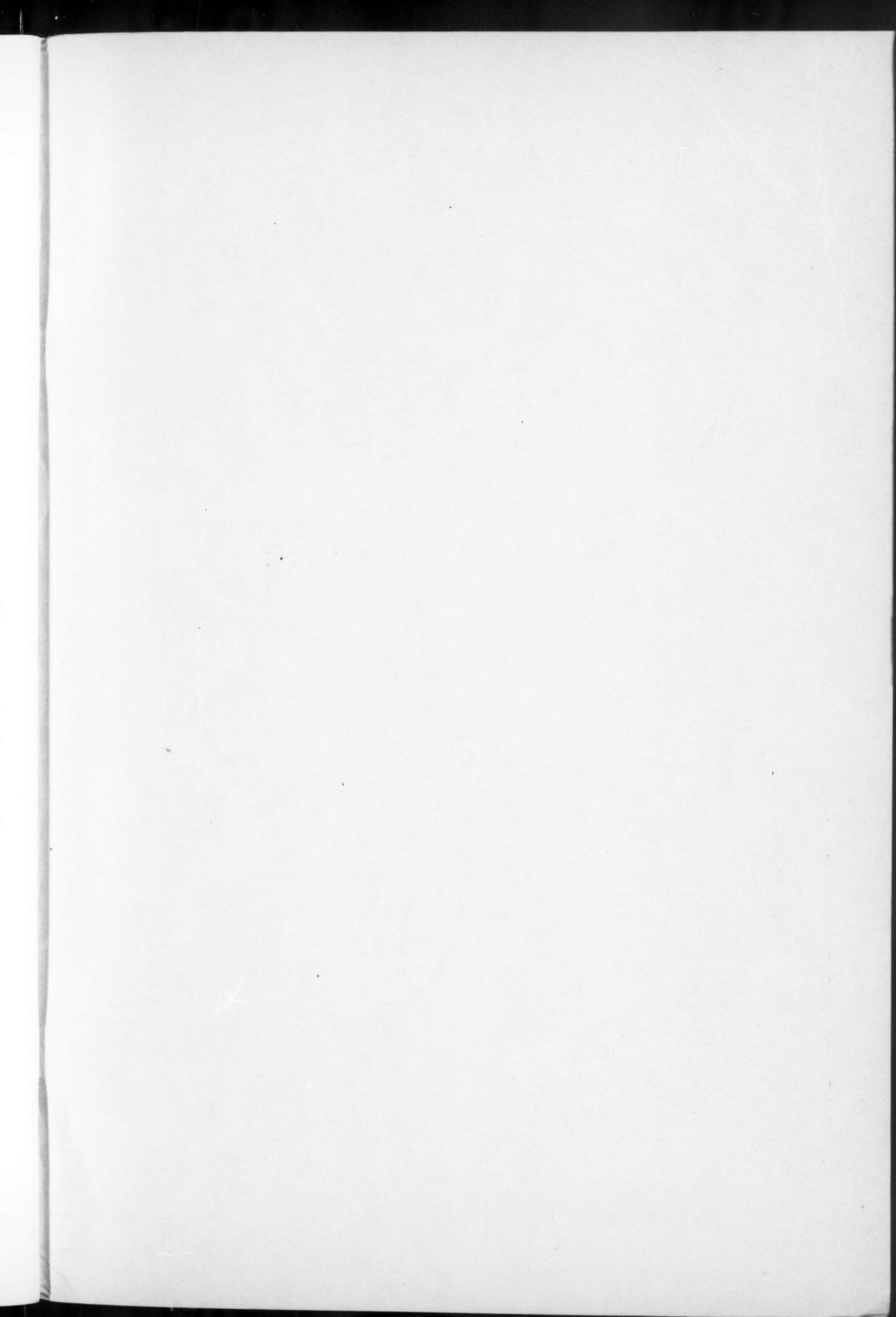
N. ABALKIN

NEW BOOKS

Below are listed a few of the many interesting Marxist works that have been published recently. The list will be continued in forthcoming issues of the magazine.

(Titles in other languages are given in English)

- Ali Yata. *Dossier of an Exile*. Geneva, 1958, 134 pp.
- Five Hundred Years of German-Czechoslovak History*. Berlin, Ruetten und Loening, 1958, 432 pp.
- A. Banfi. *School and Society*. Rome, Ed. Riuniti, 1958, 286 pp.
- M. Sh. Bakhitov. *About One of the "Latest" Social Utopias*. (Critical notes on microsociology.) Moscow, Socekgiz, 1958, 150 pp.
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