

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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CONTENTS

N. CEAUSESCU: When the People Are Masters of Their Destiny	3
A. RUMYANTSEV: The Economic Groundwork of the Advance of Soviet Agriculture Towards Communism	7
J. WILLIAMSON: Contradictions in the Anglo-American Alliance	15
A. SATTler: Revisionist Distortions of the Co-operative Theory	21
THE PEOPLE AND WAR	
E. BOLTIN, G. DEBORIN: The Character of World War II	27
A. NEKRICH, V. TRUKHANOVSKI: The Truth About 1939	35
J. DIENNE: Peace Does Not Come, It Has to Be Won	42
A. KUZIN: Ten Million Victims in One Generation	48
IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES	
P. COURTIEU: Some Aspects of the Congress of the French Communist Party	52
Joint Action by Communists and Socialists	55
The Class Struggle in the Hungarian Countryside and Party Work	59
M. LAB: A Factory Conference on Problems of War and Peace	59
A. MISHRA: The Growing Influence of the Communist Party of Nepal	61
SHORT NOTICES	62
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS	
H. JOURDAIN: Ideological Moves of Latter-Day Colonialists	66
P. ALBERDI: Classes and the Liberation Struggle in Argentina	68
A. OUAHRANI: Independence—Our Immediate Goal	70
ESKANDARI: What Do We Mean by the National Bourgeoisie?	72
R. SCHULZ: Some Remarks on Bourgeois Nationalism	73
M. ACHUFUSI: Nigeria on the Road to Independence	74
G. LEVINSON: Two Tendencies in the National Bourgeoisie	75
I. COX: New Features of the National-Liberation Movement	77
W. MARKOW: West German Neo-Colonialism Is the Enemy of Freedom-Loving Peoples	79
Summary of contributions of H. MESSOUAK, J. KHATTAR EL-HELOU, V. TEITELBOIM, I. UESUGI, KIA-NOURI, L. GRUPPI and E. RAGONERI	80
REVIEWS	
E. BROWN: Common Sense Versus "Massive Nonsense"	82
D. SOKOLOV: Poland's Place in the World Economy	83
SHI TUNG-HSIANG: The History of a Factory	85
F. STROBL: "Weg und Ziel"	86
REVIEWS IN BRIEF	89
LETTERS AND NOTES	
G. HUNT: Events in Kerala	90
Annul the Outrageous Verdict!	92

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When the People Are Masters of Their Destiny

N. Ceausescu

FIFTEEN years have passed since the armed uprising and the abolition of the fascist dictatorship in Rumania, but this comparatively short period has seen radical changes in the country. On this glorious anniversary—the national holiday of our people—I cannot but recall Lenin's words that the fundamental reconstruction of society is possible only if the masses take part consciously in its re-making, that "unless new sections of the people are drawn into public work, unless the still slumbering masses are awakened from their sleep, there can be no talk of revolutionary changes."

Rumania is an example confirming the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the role played by the masses in social life and showing that the scale of social transformations grows in the measure that the people are drawn into the making of history.

The Marxists alone clearly saw the way to the liberation of our country, they had faith in the people, and spared no effort to awaken, organize and educate them. The outstanding feature of the twentieth century is unprecedented acceleration of the historical process all over the world. The October Revolution electrified the working people everywhere, and particularly so in the countries bordering on the Soviet Union. The spread of the liberating ideas of socialism was furthered, objectively, also by the capitalist system which supplied irrefutable evidence for its own indictment. After Rumania had been enslaved by German imperialism and embroiled in the criminal war against the Soviet Union—a war which was to bring the country to the brink of national catastrophe—popular indignation with the Nazi invaders and the Antonescu clique had reached such a pitch that the situation was fraught with revolution.

The objective conditions created by the victories won by the Soviet Army favored the development of the struggle. Among the subjective factors was the growing anti-fascist feeling both among the people and in the army. In these circumstances the Communist Party began in 1943 to prepare for an uprising. Its aim was to overthrow the fascist clique, turn the arms against Hitler Germany

and bring the country at once into the anti-Hitler coalition.

The united working-class front rallied the anti-Hitler patriotic forces and contributed to the success of the uprising. Armed groups of patriots, primarily workers, were formed in many places under the leadership of the Party. Their aim was to seize the key military establishments. In June 1944 the Party formed a military committee consisting of patriotic officers, including generals.

When the defeat suffered by the Hitler armies on the Southern Front and the rapid advance of the Soviet Army on our territory sent the military-fascist dictatorship reeling, the Party decided that the time was opportune to start the uprising. On August 23, 1944, armed units arrested the Antonescu government. In response to the call of the Party, thousands of workers, peasants, intellectuals, young men and women, joined the patriotic forces. The army turned its arms against fascism—the real enemy of the people. Thus, with the fall of the dictatorship the armed forces linked up with the liberating Soviet Army.

While the Soviet troops were on the offensive on Rumanian territory, the armed groups jointly with army units seized the key government offices in Bucharest and other cities, cut the communication lines of the Hitler troops and drove them out of the capital. Heavy fighting took place in the Prahova Valley, in Ploesti, Turnu-Severin, Brasov and in other towns. In the battle fought jointly with the Soviet Army the Rumanian Army was inspired by the understanding that it was taking part in a just war of liberation. In this war the determination of the people to put an end to fascism merged with the desire for national independence and a new democratic way of life.

Marching over one thousand kilometers, Rumanian troops liberated some 3,800 towns and villages and inflicted losses on the enemy of about 120,000 men. A brotherhood of arms was cemented between the Soviet and Rumanian armies; Rumanian-Soviet friendship, the sure guarantee of the independence and national sovereignty of our country, was forged.

The participation of the masses in the uprising under the leadership of the working class made it possible not only to abolish the dictatorship. Conditions for establishing worker-peasant rule were also created. The uprising and the liberation marked the beginning of the popular revolution. The conquest of power by the people was placed on the agenda. The country entered upon a period of profound revolutionary changes in the course of which the people, led by the Party of the working class, won, for the first time, genuine national independence, established the people's democratic system and began to build socialism.

This process was, of course, far from being a smooth one. Our experience has once again confirmed the Marxist thesis that during a revolutionary crisis the exploiting classes do not voluntarily leave the scene. Both immediately after August 23 and later these classes made repeated attempts to reverse the course of events, to force a return to the capitalist-landlord system. These attempts failed because the Communist Party, although it was a minority party in the first post-liberation government, stood guard over the interests of the people and relied on the working masses in town and countryside.

Of great importance for the revolution was the establishment of united trade unions based on unity of the working class. This further consolidated the role of the working class as the leading force of the people. The trade union committees, which followed the line of our Party, were so powerful that capitalist sabotage in industry failed.

An important part in the revolution was played by the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. While the Communist Party insisted on expropriation of the lands held by the landlords, both the monarchy and the reactionary parties tried to postpone the agrarian reform until after the war. The Party thereupon rallied workers and peasants to carry out the reform over the heads of the reactionary elements in the government. When the agrarian reform law was enacted—under the people's democratic system—it merely consolidated what the peasants, led by the working class, had already carried out in a revolutionary way.

The Party's persistent struggle for a democratic solution of the national question won for it the warm support of the national minorities.

In this way the Party rallied the peasants, patriotic intellectuals and national minorities around the working class, and mobilized their

revolutionary energy in order to establish people's rule. On March 6, 1945, a new government came to power, in which men of the working class in alliance with the peasants were in the majority.

The subsequent changes in the balance of forces in the country made it possible to remove the last representatives of the bourgeoisie and the monarchy from the government. Rumania became a People's Republic. Thus, the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants grew into the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the final stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution evolved into the socialist revolution. These two stages formed a single, uninterrupted revolutionary process in the course of which the democratic measures adopted gradually brought the people to a realization of the tasks of the socialist revolution. Socialist reconstruction can be initiated only when the working class has won power and established, in one form or another, the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is exactly what was done in our country.

When imperialist circles say, and revisionists repeat, that the rise of the People's Democracies signified the export of revolution, this is but an expression of the hatred of international imperialism for the liberated nations, which it can no longer oppress and plunder. The facts prove that our people's-democratic system is the fruit of the labors of our people, the system for which they fought against home and foreign reactionaries.

* * *

Since the liberation the one-time impoverished Rumania has grown into a country with a powerful industry and an agriculture developing along socialist lines. The face of the country has changed as a result of the revolutionary transformation of the economic and social structure, the abolition of exploitation and the striking successes achieved in laying the economic foundations of socialism. In our country, too, the Leninist teaching on socialist industrialization has revealed itself as a great force. The Party and the Government have ensured priority development of heavy industry and its backbone—machine building. This has paved the way to the technological re-equipping of the other branches, to the mechanization of agriculture, expansion of the consumer-goods industry, a steady growth of the national income and rising living standards.

Under the bourgeois-landlord regime the imperialist countries had reduced Rumania to the position of a supplier of raw materials

and a market for big monopolies. Its backward industry was controlled by Western trusts who owned 91.9 per cent of the oil industry, 74 per cent of iron and steel, 95 per cent of gas and electricity and 72 per cent of the wood-working industry. But when the people became the masters of the country, industry grew at an unprecedented rate. In the current year industrial output will be four-and-a-half times the 1938 figure, and five times greater than in 1948. This means that more goods are being produced in each quarter of this year than for the whole of 1938. The annual growth in the past decade has averaged somewhat more than 16 per cent. The structure of industry has changed substantially. The old Rumania had to import 95 per cent of her industrial equipment, whereas today the main needs in this respect are covered by home industry, while some branches are exporting part of their machinery.

Consumer-goods output, too, is steadily rising, surpassing the 1938 level four-fold for light industry and 3.8-fold for the food industry.

Among the rural population about 75 per cent were poor peasants owning 28 per cent of the total cultivated land; 17 per cent were middle peasants with holdings ranging from five to 10 hectares and owning 20 per cent of the land, and 7.2 per cent were wealthy peasants (10 to 50 hectares) who owned 19.8 per cent of the land. The greater part of the land under crops—over 32 per cent—was owned by 25,000 landlords. The latter together with the wealthy peasants owned more land than two million peasant households.

The Lenin co-operative plan has opened up broad vistas to the peasants. Now almost 2.5 million peasant families out of the total number of 8.6 million are members of collective farms and agricultural associations. The socialist sector accounts for over 67 per cent of the total agricultural land.

Co-operation and technical re-equipment have gone hand in hand. By the end of this year there will be 50,000 tractors compared with 4,800 in 1938.

The advantages of large-scale socialist farming are now making themselves felt. If we take the total crop harvest of 1938 as 100, in 1957 the harvest of corn was 154.9, sunflower seeds—416.2, sugar-beet—421.7, potatoes—229.7. And if we take into account the decline in the numbers engaged in agriculture, the growth of labor productivity is even more striking.

This year has seen further progress in reconstructing the countryside. In the past

few years the Party has adhered to a policy of restricting and gradually ousting the rural capitalist elements. The rapid expansion of the socialist sector in agriculture and its growing role in production, together with the deepening consciousness of the peasants and the growth of the economy as a whole have made it possible to do away with all forms of exploitation of man by man. Leasing land for rent and sharecropping are prohibited. The unused land held by wealthy peasants has been transferred (with compensation) to the co-operatives and other socialist organizations. But the land which these peasants till by their own labor has not been touched and they are given every opportunity to join in the work of building socialism.

Thanks to the socialist reconstruction and the successful development of the economy we have solved the national question. In our country non-Rumanian nationalities account for slightly more than 14 per cent of the population (according to the 1956 census). All enjoy equal rights with the Rumanian people in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life. Sixty-seven deputies to the Grand National Assembly (15.5 per cent) represent the national minorities. In the Hungarian Autonomous Region 80 per cent of the deputies and 78 per cent of the workers in local government bodies are Hungarians. The languages of the national minorities are used not only in the general and vocational schools but also in the higher educational establishments, something unknown in the old Rumania. Industrial development in the formerly backward national areas has led to a growth in the numbers of workers and technicians from among the national minorities. This has become possible only as a result of socialist development.

The social and technical reconstruction of the national economy was designed to secure a substantial rise in the standard of living. In 1937 only 1.5 million pairs of shoes were bought. In 1938 annual consumption per head of the urban population was: sugar—5.5 kg., fats—3.4 kg., meat—21 kg. In the countryside the consumption was lower still. These figures demonstrate the appalling poverty in the recent past. Today, when social production has only one aim—to meet the growing requirements of the people—things are improving year by year. Between 1948-59 the national income rose more than three-fold, with real wages rising 60 per cent between 1950 and 1958. Cash incomes of the peasants, obtained from the sale of produce to the state and co-operatives, have risen four-fold in the past eight years. Highly indicative is the growth

of consumption. By the end of 1956 consumption of meat and sugar had doubled and that of fats had risen 3.5-fold as against 1938. Compared with 1948 the families of industrial workers now consume 2.4 times more meat, 3.3 times more fats, 4.7 times more butter, 2.8 times more sugar, 1.6 times more bread.

In Rumania, as in the other socialist countries, the standard of living is measured not only by individual earnings. The Government annually allocates increasing funds for public health, education, child welfare, accommodation in holiday homes. In 1959 these funds were 3.5 times higher than in 1950, and amounted annually to over 3,000 lei per worker's family.

The higher labor productivity and lower production costs ensure a steady improvement in the conditions of the working people. And this link between improved personal well-being and the general success in the country's development is felt by everybody. The Central Committee of the Party, meeting in July this year, decided on a number of measures designed to raise the living standard. Wages have risen, the income tax has been lowered (for workers and office employees earning less than 500 lei a month it has been abolished). Pensions have been raised and consumer goods and food prices reduced. All in all these measures will add 4.7 billion lei to the annual income of the working people, almost one-seventh of the overall annual wages and pensions.

According to statistics compiled by the pre-war League of Nations when it examined levels of literacy in 56 countries, Rumania was last but one on the list. At the end of the Second World War there were at least four million people who could neither read nor write. In less than ten years this social ulcer has been removed.

The successful building of socialism makes imperative the raising of cultural standards. The country is experiencing what is best described as a veritable cultural revolution. More than 156,000 pupils attend the secondary schools compared with 29,000 in 1938-39. The number of students enrolled in technical and vocational schools is three times greater, and the same can be said about the enrolment in the higher educational establishments.

Our country, which ever since the liberation has been extending its international contacts, now has economic and cultural relations with more than 70 countries. It enjoys growing

prestige on the international arena and is steadfast in its pursuit of peace.

When the people become the masters of their destiny, they establish with other countries relations of comradely co-operation and mutual aid, relations of a new type. For the success achieved by our country we are indebted to the fraternal help of the Soviet Union and the co-operation of the other socialist countries. With the benefit of these relations and this help it will be possible to raise the economic levels of all the socialist countries to that of the highly developed countries so that, as Khrushchov said at the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, all of them will reach communism more or less at the same time.

The people of Rumania are doing their utmost to further strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, for this is in keeping both with their national interests as well as the interests of the international working-class movement, of socialism and world peace.

* * *

We rejoice when we see how the efforts of the Soviet Union to improve the international climate are bearing fruit and are supported by people everywhere. The forthcoming exchange of visits between Khrushchov and Eisenhower testifies to the effectiveness of the Soviet peace policy. The Rumanian people are at one with world public opinion in regarding the meeting of the leaders of the two Great Powers as an historic event which will benefit not only U.S.-Soviet relations, but will contribute to clearing the international atmosphere. The visits are a triumph of common sense, of the idea of peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy steadfastly pursued by the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries. This policy opens before the people new prospects, prospects that rule out the catastrophe of war.

* * *

Today, 15 years after liberation from the fascist yoke, our people know that they owe their achievements to the leadership of the revolutionary working-class Party whose strength lies in unity and iron discipline, in its close contact with the masses, in its policy of creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching to our conditions and enthusiastically carried out by the people. Led by their tested Party, the people of Rumania are marching forward to new victories in socialist construction, to the dawn of communism.

The Economic Groundwork of the Advance of Soviet Agriculture Towards Communism*

A. Rumyantsev

AS the collective farms grew stronger their members were able to put their experience and abilities to better use; the sense of responsibility for their common labor grew. In this connection it was necessary to review the methods of agricultural planning, to give free rein to the initiative of the collective farms and their members. Thus in 1955, on Khrushchov's initiative and in accordance with the program of rapidly developing agriculture, the Party and the Government, brushing aside the "doubts" of the anti-Party elements, decided to change the system of planning from the center. This system had answered the needs of the early stages of collective farming, when as yet there was little experience of running collective enterprises and insufficient understanding of the interdependence of local and national interests, when skilled personnel had not yet been trained. But in the new conditions it hampered the further progress of agriculture.

Now, under the new system, the collective farms were charged with the current planning of crop areas, crop distribution, the working schedule, regulation of livestock raising and other matters. The farms were now in a better position to take into account the local conditions, and planning acquired greater flexibility. The local and central agricultural bodies were to provide advice on questions of planning and labor organization. The national economic plan envisaged only the overall volume of deliveries of all agricultural products. The State Planning Committee was entrusted with: the elaboration of long-term plans; zoning in accordance with the economic and geographic divisions of the country for the development of agriculture and increases in the volume of production; establishing a balance between agricultural development and the other branches of the economy, and also to supervise the fulfilment of the plan. The basic efficiency index is now the output per 100 hectares for the particular farm. This index is supplemented by cost of production which, far from being an end in itself in

socialist enterprises, is an important means of planning, expressing the socially necessary expenditure of living and congealed labor per unit of production.

At the same time the previous system of providing technical aid and machinery continued to function as it had at the beginning of collectivization. The bulk of the machinery was concentrated in the machine and tractor stations which, on the basis of agreements, worked practically the entire crop area of the farms.

The machine and tractor stations played an important role in the development of collective farming. The first farms organized by the poor peasants and later joined by the middle peasants had neither experience in large-scale collective farming nor skilled operatives for the machines. The early farms did not have the capital with which to buy equipment or to replace it with newer machines when the need arose. The machine and tractor stations were a form of the organizational, technical and political aid rendered by the working class to the peasants and designed to remove the above difficulties. They helped the peasants to complete the process of collectivization, to appreciate its advantages. As the machine and tractor stations grew and improved their services, the collective farms, too, grew stronger. All the collective farms, regardless of their economic position, were able to use the machinery more or less uniformly and thus increase their output with the aid of these stations. At the same time they learned to run the large mechanized farms along planned lines. The machine and tractor stations helped to introduce up-to-date farming methods on a mass scale. This was the base for re-equipping agriculture, training mechanics and for scientific farming. Therein lay the progressive role of the machine and tractor stations which won universal recognition on the part of the collective farmers.

Interesting in this respect is the view of a veteran collective farmer, M. Posmitny, chairman of the Budyonny Farm (Odessa Region).

*Continued from No. 8, 1959.

He witnessed the birth of these stations. It was on the fields of his farm that there appeared for the first time in Soviet practice a team of tractors from a neighboring state farm (later reorganized into the first machine and tractor station). "I shall never forget," writes Posmitny, "the day this tractor team came to our collective farm . . . With its aid we steadily increased our output and transformed the face of our village and the traditional customs of rural life. The machine and tractor park was supplemented by repair workshops, trucks, electric power supply and, later, by a network of auxiliary industrial enterprises. Industrial craftsmen came to the village: engineers, tractor and truck drivers, electricians and fitters . . . We are most grateful to the mechanics and the entire personnel of the Shevchenko Machine and Tractor Station for their aid in boosting production."*

The development of collective farming and the accumulation of funds by the farms were retarded by the last war. Mention has been made of the devastation caused by the invader. After the liberation a new start had to be made. It should also be recalled that during the war vast expenditures had to be met by the farms in the Eastern regions of the country. Without government aid, the collective farms would not have been able to make good the damage in such a short time.

The new program called for increased government allocations to supply the countryside with the new machines and to erect farm buildings. Thus in five years (1953-58) capital investments in agriculture amounted to more than 97 billion rubles—50 per cent more than in the 18-year period encompassing the second, third, fourth and the better part of the fifth five-year plan periods. The Party devoted close attention to improving the work of the machine and tractor stations, ensuring more effective use of the machinery. The stations were put on a self-supporting basis, and labor organization substantially improved.

The results were good. Output increased and the collective farms became stronger organizationally and economically. The ynow had skilled personnel. Amalgamation into larger units, conducted on a voluntary basis, was completed.** The non-distributable fund of each collective farm increased with the growth of its output.***

*See *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 4, 1958.

**Whereas in 1932 an average collective farm cultivated 434 hectares, in 1958 the figure was 1,954. The enlargement has resulted in more effective use of machinery.

***In 21 years the non-distributable funds (in money terms) increased nearly fifteen-fold—from 4.7 billion rubles in 1932 to 69.8 billion by the end of 1953. By 1958 the sum had risen to 102 billion rubles.

Economic accounting was now universally practiced in the collective farms whose incomes greatly increased. They have thus reached the stage when, in addition to improving the well-being of their members, they can add—in ever-increasing amounts—to the non-distributable funds, which consist of the basic means of production and the capital with which to replenish the used-up means of production and to expand it. *Thus the rapid progress being made necessitated a new system of technical services to the farms.*

In seeking new ways to raise labor productivity the farms were handicapped by difficulties caused by this outdated system of technical services. In effect the fields were being cultivated by two separate enterprises—the collective farm and the machine and tractor station. The collective farm planned the production process, while the machine and tractor station planned the technical servicing of it. On one and the same field there were two supervisors—the leader of the farm's work-team and the man in charge of the tractor team from the machine and tractor station. Much time was wasted when co-ordinating the schedules of the two teams. But even with plans agreed upon it was not always possible to achieve co-ordinated work. Machines were often idle, tilling procedures were violated and labor was squandered. In the Korenovskaya Machine and Tractor Station (Krasnodar Territory), for example, the tractor drivers in the past few years had been idle half the time. This duplication affected the productivity on collective farms and the yield per hectare. Where cost accounting is practiced and where each minute of labor is estimated through such accounting, the reserves for increasing production can be properly utilized.

Many of the farms began to think in terms of new forms of technical services. For instance, the Rodina Collective Farm (Altai Territory) had, as early as 1953, come to an agreement with the manager of the neighboring machine and tractor station for joint tractor and field teams under one leader. In the spring of 1957, in the Stavropol Territory, unified leadership was established for 12 machine and tractor stations and the collective farms for which they worked. Each collective-farm chairman became, as a rule, director of the machine and tractor station. An example of such unification is the Rossiya Collective Farm.

On the basis of this experience and the successes achieved in carrying out the agricultural program, the Central Committee

arrived at the conclusion that the time was ripe for switching over to a new system of technical services for the collective farms, a system which had already been in use on the advanced farms. On the proposal of Khrushchov, the Central Committee meeting held in February 1958 discussed the question of the further development of the collective-farm system and the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations. It was proposed to sell the machinery to the collective farms and to reorganize the machine and tractor stations into repair and servicing stations. After a nationwide discussion in which about 50 million took part, the USSR Supreme Soviet enacted a corresponding law.

In the course of the discussion two extreme viewpoints had to be overcome. One poured scorn on the machine and tractor stations generally, asserting that the machines should have been sold to the farms long ago, in the early fifties at least, as suggested by some economists at the time. In criticizing this view Khrushchov rightly said that in the conditions of the early fifties the proposal to sell the machinery to the collective farms was sheer adventurism. Stalin had rightly rejected this proposal when it was submitted to him. At a time when the collective farms were relatively weak and their non-distributable funds comparatively small, the sale of the machinery would have undermined the mechanization of agriculture, would have ruined many of the farms and, eventually, would have retarded the rate of development. The overwhelming majority of the farms were not in a position to purchase the machines and to employ them effectively. First, it was vital to overcome the difficulties of that particular stage of development. This was done only in recent years when the program for the rapid development of agriculture began to get under way.

The other extreme view—linked with outdated concepts and actually based on statements made by Stalin—boiled down to the fact that the sale of machinery of the machine and tractor stations to the farms would mean turning aside from the high road of collective-farm development towards communism, since the machines instead of being state property would become collective-farm property. This measure, it was claimed, contradicted Marxist-Leninist theory. Khrushchov, criticizing this attitude, proved its erroneousness. It was necessary to get rid of the conservative concept (widespread prior to the reorganization of the machine and

tractor stations) that the collective farms should advance towards communism by increasing the quantity of state-owned means in collective-farm production and that this would eventually lead to the merging of the machine and tractor stations with the collective farms into a unified form of communist property.

The sale of the machines to the collective farms was opposed by those who were divorced from everyday reality and who failed to see that the new developments necessitated a theoretical generalization to enrich and advance Marxist-Leninist theory. These people were blind to the fact that the character of the collective-farm property had already changed. The view in the past had been that collective-farm property consisted chiefly of products, since the basic means of production—the land and the most important machines—were state property. This concept corresponded to the early stages of collective-farm development when the non-distributable funds were small and the value of the products sold on the market exceeded, or was the equivalent of, the non-distributable funds.* But when the funds at the disposal of the average farm were valued at nearly 1.5 million rubles, exceeding the cash income, it was obviously wrong to regard the products as the main component of collective-farm property. The centre of gravity in collective-farm property shifted more and more to the *non-distributable funds*.

Take, for example, the Rassvet Collective Farm in Byelorussia. At the beginning of the collectivization its non-distributable fund (as was the case with the other farms) consisted of a few dozen horses and primitive implements, worth in all several tens of thousands of rubles. In 1957 this fund included: over 30 trucks, a power station, 70 electric motors, a repair shop, farm machinery, thousands of head of livestock, farm buildings, an orchard, and other means of production. The fund was valued at 23 million rubles, while the cash income was 17 million.

At the same time the non-distributable funds of the farms changed not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. These funds, depending on the type of production, consist mainly of investments in land, i.e., investments that can be used only with the land, plus investments in other means of production. Investments in land are designed to improve it through irrigation, draining marsh-

*In 1932 the average value of the non-distributable fund per collective farm was 22 thousand rubles, with the cash income amounting to 22 thousand rubles.

lands, digging ponds and reservoirs, afforestation and anti-erosion measures. They cover also road building, farm buildings, workshops and so on. The more rational the investments, the better the land and the higher the level of farming. The rising collective-farm production is accompanied by bigger investments. Prior to the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations this part of the non-distributable funds, for the Ukraine, for instance, comprised 48 per cent in 1957. The share of the collective-farm investments in land approaches that of the state farms, whose share is likewise considerable. As to the other means of production of the collective farms (to say nothing of livestock) we can see that they are becoming increasingly mechanized and identified with the state production facilities.

The non-distributable funds of the collective farms today are not unlike the production funds of the state farms. Both farms in fact are large-scale mechanized agricultural enterprises and cannot be qualitatively different. At the stage of collective-farm development when their members had learned to use the machinery rationally and effectively, the use of the latter through the machine and tractor stations became a hindrance to the growth of productivity. One could no longer justify on any economic or political grounds the severance from the non-distributable funds of one type of power units (such as tractors and combines) when the farms already had other types of power units (electric motors, trucks, power plants, etc.).

The sale of the machines to the collective farms accelerates the identity of the collective-farm funds and the state production funds, thereby bringing their structures more into line. Thus the collective farms are evolving into enterprises equipped with all kinds of machinery and are approaching the level of industry in respect to production methods and technology. Experience has shown that the greater the degree of mechanization of a collective farm the more rhythmical is its work throughout the year. Long before the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations a number of highly mechanized collective farms (as, for instance, the Zdobutok Zhovtnya Collective Farm in the Cherkassy Region) had abolished the seasonal fluctuation in the employment of labor. The work of the farmers is being transformed more and more into a variety of industrial work with a high level of discipline. The ways of distributing the collec-

tive farm income among the members are changing. Guaranteed monthly cash payments are practiced on an increasing scale, with payment in kind gradually being abandoned. At the same time, far from diminishing, the leading role of industry as a model of socialist organization of mechanized labor and as a supplier of equipment to the collective farms is being stressed.

As the funds become more and more identical in structure they draw closer to one another also in their social and economic content. This is determined primarily by the fact that socialist ownership of the means of production prevails in the national economy. Both the non-distributable fund and the state production fund are, in character, commonly-owned funds; they cannot be turned into private or personal property and used for the exploitation of man by man.

The growing identity of the funds is determined also by the fact that in the Soviet Union *only the working people* can be parties to economic transactions and other undertakings. The workers supply the collective farmers with manufactured goods, while the farmers supply the workers with raw materials and the entire population with food. There are no middlemen in Soviet society, nor are there market fluctuations which would affect the economic relations between the workers and the collective farmers. Both the non-distributable fund (operated by the collective farmers) and the production fund (operated by the workers) serve one and the same purpose: to satisfy—to the maximum possible in the present conditions—the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the people, not the amassing of profit. *Neither is opposed to the other, nor does it compete with the other; both function as links of a single association of the Soviet working people for production and consumption.* The people as a whole, irrespective of their relationship to any form of socialist property, are concerned with the development of the funds. The collective farmers are concerned with the development of the state production funds, which belong to them as they belong to the other Soviet people. The latter are concerned with the development of the non-distributable funds of the collective farms and they always render aid to the farms when conditions call for it.

Under the Rules of the Agricultural Artel elaborated by the farmers themselves the non-distributable fund can neither be distributed, even in part, for work-day units,

nor contracted or used as circulating resources. In the event of a collective farm ceasing to exist the fund would not be distributed, it would be transferred either to another collective farm or to society as a whole as embodied in the socialist state. And this is understandable, because the initial contribution (draft animals and primitive farm implements) made to the non-distributable fund by the individual peasants, who either organized or joined the farm, has long been used up and now constitutes a tiny figure (less than 3 per cent of the non-distributable fund) and has been returned to the collective farmers many times over in the form of common income. The non-distributable funds of today are completely new funds accumulated by the labor of the collective farmers, with the help of the industrial workers, scientists and the people as a whole who helped the farms to develop into socialist enterprises.

Hence there is no essential distinction between the non-distributable funds of the collective farms and the state production funds—both are socialist in character. The distinction is only in the *degree of socialization* of the means of production. The non-distributable funds are classed as group, collective-farm property, while the production funds are classed as national property. They become increasingly identical as the collective farms step up the degree of socialization of non-distributable funds—the basis of their collective economy.

The non-distributable fund is increasingly covering property beyond the framework of a single farm. This can be seen from the following: state control over the use of the non-distributable funds established at the request of the farmers; the growth of investments by the collective farms in land, which is national property; participation of the working people, through the state, in the accumulation of the non-distributable funds and, finally, the emergence of property owned by several collective farms.

The expansion of production and the growth of incomes have enabled the collective farms to take joint measures for production purposes. Numerous farms have jointly built, or are building, power stations, irrigation canals, reservoirs, roads, hospitals, schools and clubs. Some are setting up joint auxiliary enterprises: brickworks, tileworks workshops, canneries, factories processing agricultural raw materials, particularly industrial crops. For these and other purposes the farmers are forming joint building asso-

ciations. In the Ukraine, for example, there are 600 of these, with approximately 70 per cent of the collective farms of the Republic taking part. In 1958 their building operations were valued at over 800 million rubles.

Can it be said that the selling of the machines to the collective farms, which means the consolidation of collective-farm property, is detrimental to state property and that it is retarding the advance of the countryside towards communism? Clearly it cannot.

The collective farms have not yet exhausted their potential for developing the productive forces of agriculture. When this is done, it will eventually lead to the natural merger of collective-farm, co-operative property with state property. *The reorganization of the machine and tractor stations and the sale of machinery to the collective farms, which were effected in the new conditions, in the course of overcoming the difficulties in agriculture, have accelerated the growth of farm output and the merger of collective-farm and state property.*

Only a dogmatist would assert that the transfer of the machinery from the machine and tractor stations to the collective farms is turning away from the general line of building communism. The sale of machinery to the collective farms at this stage, far from weakening the socialist system, strengthens it. With the strengthening of collective-farm property the degree of socialization of the means of production is increased. In the life of the farmer, too, the significance of the collective economy becomes greater, while that of his subsidiary personal plot decreases.

The progress made by agriculture in the 1953-58 period, and stimulated by incentives for the farmers, has resulted in the collective economy becoming the *main* source of income for the farmer. Thus the cash income from the farm (excluding income in kind) had more than doubled in 1957 compared with 1952, while income from the personal plot remained unchanged. The farmer now finds it unprofitable to spend much time on his personal plot and to waste time in selling his surplus products on the market. And indeed, as the number of work-day units earned by each collective farmer grows* the products on the market are sold chiefly by the farm and not so much by the farmer. Even the collective farms now find it more profitable to sell their products wholesale to the state and co-operative stores,

*In 1957 the average annual number of work-day units per farmer was 335 compared with 250 in 1945.

all the more because both state and co-operative trade bodies are selling greater quantities of farm products. This is stimulated by the new system of procurements which promotes economic accounting on the farms. To aid the growth of collective-farm production the Government in 1958 abolished compulsory deliveries and introduced the system of purchases at uniform prices for the particular zone. This tendency is reflected in the diminishing share of collective-farm trade in overall retail trade from 12 per cent in 1950 to six per cent in 1957, for foodstuffs from 18 to 10 percent.

In the leading collective farms many of the farmers are giving up their subsidiary personal husbandry as a source of income. (This does not mean that the personal plot is taken away.) Some of them have sold their cows to the farms and have found it more advantageous to procure milk and dairy produce from the commonly-owned dairies. The farmers are using their personal incomes not so much for the production needs of their subsidiary husbandry but for buying consumer goods, particularly durables. Along these lines the distinctions between the collective farmers and the workers in satisfying their personal needs are gradually fading away. Individual earned incomes are not the only source for satisfying these needs—they are being augmented more and more by state allocations for social and cultural measures, which Marx termed the fund for the joint satisfaction of needs. As the aggregate social product grows the conditions are being created for the transition to distribution according to needs, not according to personal income.

The selling of the machines to the farms has accelerated this process. The non-distributable fund is being consolidated and the machinery is used more efficiently. In view of this the share of marketable products is being enlarged and with it the income of the farm and, consequently, the share of each member in this income. The farmer sees that his subsidiary personal husbandry is becoming less profitable than participation in the common work of the farm. This explains the voluntary abandonment of the subsidiary personal husbandry. Gradually, the productive activities of the farm members are being concentrated on the common economy. Thus in its social character the non-distributable fund of the collective farm is approaching that of the state production fund. Here, too, the distinctions between

town and countryside are beginning to disappear.

The rise in social production engenders shoots of communism in culture and in everyday life, and these shoots are sprouting more and more in village and town, as can be seen from the large-scale construction of boarding schools, kindergartens, hospitals, maternity homes, service establishments, homes for the aged, etc., in the rural areas. Thus in the village, too, as Khrushchov recently pointed out, conditions are being created which will enable "our citizens from birth to old age to enjoy all the blessings of society."

* * *

The role of the Party and the Government in ensuring the rapid development of agriculture cannot be overestimated. And this role is being fulfilled with success because the Party and the Government are carrying out a thoroughly-grounded plan in keeping with the requirements of practical experience.*

*In this connection it will not be amiss to mention an article by Jankovic in the Yugoslav journal *Nasa stvarnost* No. 2, 1959, on the agricultural policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. One of Jankovic's main assertions is that our agricultural measures are not an expression of conscious planning, that they do not derive from clear concepts of development but are simply a series of measures engendered by the clash with practice (page 200 and others).

Like many other revisionists, Jankovic either refuses, or has no desire, to see the link between theory and practice, between a comprehensive program and separate measures. It is undeniable that practice provides a stimulus for the adoption of measures, and that new measures emerge in the course of practical development. Theoretically generalized practical experience forms the basis for the adoption of one or another measure. **Such a method presupposes a comprehensive policy and program deriving from the unity of theory and practice.** It is perfectly obvious that in the decisions adopted at its September (1953) meeting the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had a clear perspective of its agricultural policy: developing collective-farm production and strengthening the socialist relations in the countryside on the basis of consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of incentives. This policy has brought the country to the stage of large-scale communist construction.

The measures set forth in the program are interrelated and constitute a single whole. Naturally, they could not be implemented simultaneously. The merit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is that in a brief space of time it took stock of the situation, charted and carried out a series of **consistent measures** theoretically grounded and designed to meet the requirements of the day.

The article gives a distorted picture of CPSU policy in agriculture, assessing it as a retreat from the **principles** on which it was based earlier, as the negation of all that was positive at the previous stage. It claims that a series of measures had been unjustifiably delayed, including the sale of the MTS equipment to the collective farms. There is hardly need to waste time on these assertions—a detailed criticism of this viewpoint can be found in Khrushchov's report to the December (1958) meeting of the Central Committee. In passing we will note only the futility of the attempt to substantiate these assertions by such arguments as: under the system of machine and tractor stations "the means of production were separated from the producers, and the state, taking advantage of its monopoly ownership, selfishly used these means and, through administrative pressure, dictated the economic relations with the collective farms" (page 200).

The author, apparently, is not clear about the fact that since the machine and tractor station park was **state property**, it could not be separated from the collective farmers who are co-owners of this property **together with all the people.** Moreover, it was precisely this circumstance which gave birth to this particular kind of technical service to the collective farms. This system was superseded in 1958 not because of any renunciation of principles but rather by

The measures for developing the collective-farm system and reorganizing industrial management are, as Khrushchov put it, not only of immense practical importance, but also of great theoretical and programmatic importance for the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

The new agricultural program has already yielded a considerable increase in output and has cleared the way for an even higher rate of progress. The growth of socialist production testifies also to the continued perfecting of the socialist production relations. Thus conditions are being created for an accelerated accumulation of those elements (in the socialist production relations) embodying the growing identity of collective-co-operative and state forms of property, the crowning point of which will be their ultimate fusing and the appearance of communist relations.

Such elements have already appeared and are making headway with the growth of agricultural production. But this does not mean that the changes in socialist production relations are developing spontaneously, automatically. This process, which is in keeping with the national interests, is directed by the Communist Party. In summing up the experience of the millions of workers the Communist Party takes cognizance of the laws of development, makes them serve the interests of the people, and rallies the masses for conscious fulfilment of the plans. And

strict observance of them, because of the growth and consolidation of the collective farms and the evolution of the social character of their production. The conditions for the change had matured, as mentioned above, during the 1953-57 period.

Proceeding from this biased view the article claims that the operation of the law of value and the use of incentives in the USSR at the present stage are exactly the same as in Yugoslavia. The point is, however, that, whereas in the USSR the question is one of **planned** incentives for the collective farms, in Yugoslavia it is a matter of the **spontaneous** operation of the law of value and of incentives mainly to private producers.

In speaking of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture it should be pointed out that Marxist-Leninists have never objected to anyone using incentives or showing a preference for one or another way of reconstructing society (as the author in question complains). On the other hand what amounts to the virtual abandonment of the **basic** tenets of Marxism-Leninism cannot but evoke principled criticism. The article is all for spontaneous development of agriculture in the direction of socialism and, in substance, ignores collectivization. It claims that one cannot "gauge the socialist transformations in the countryside **solely** by the degree of formal collectivization" (page 204). But it is silent about the question that without collectivization socialism simply **cannot be built** in the countryside, that voluntary collectivization is **impossible** without guidance and material aid from the working class and its state **power**.

The most ridiculous attempts are made in this article to depict the thorough analysis of Soviet agriculture made by the C.C. of the CPSU at its meetings in 1953-58, an analysis of the positive and the negative, a critique of past mistakes and shortcomings, as the renunciation of principles tested by practice and the adoption of Yugoslav revisionist recipes.

The said article is right in only one thing, namely, that the development of Soviet agriculture and indeed of the entire national economy and, consequently, the perfecting of organizational forms, will not remain constant at the level already reached. In vain are the expectations of some of the revisionist theorists, for Soviet agriculture will develop along lines contrary to their "prognostications."

the people, led by their vanguard, are the masters of their conditions and, consequently, of their future. That is why they are confident that their plans will be fulfilled and their targets, even the boldest, reached.

The XXIst Party Congress, having assessed the results achieved, set the principal tasks for the period of all-round communist construction: creation of the material and technical base of communism, further strengthening of the economy and the defensive power of the USSR and, simultaneously, the maximum satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the people.

The Central Committee meeting in December 1958 constituted a prelude to the Congress with regard to agriculture. After discussing Khrushchov's report on the progress achieved and the prospects for the future (in line with the theses of his report to the XXIst Congress on the target figures for 1959-65), the meeting formulated the agricultural program for the first seven years of the new period. The program envisaged the sweeping advance that will be made by the productive forces in the countryside. Suffice it to say that, compared with 1958, the power supply to the rural areas will be doubled in the seven-year period; all-round mechanization of the production processes will put an end to arduous manual labor. With this accomplished, agriculture will then be able to fulfil its main task: to satisfy in full measure the needs of the people and of industry for agricultural products. To do this the seven-year plan provides for a rise in grain output to 160-176 million tons, chiefly through increased yields (300-400kg. per hectare) and for increased output of other products.

Seventy million people discussed the theses of Khrushchov's report to the Congress. About the same number discussed the results of the December meeting of the C.C. and the decisions of the XXIst Congress. This nationwide forum endorsed the agricultural program. After carefully weighing the possibilities the people engaged in agriculture expressed the conviction that the targets could be fulfilled in five years (instead of seven) and for some items, in some zones, in even less time. The work of the Party in drawing up the program and in preparing for its fulfilment is further confirmation that the Communist Party and its leaders are able to discern and generalize the new phenomena constantly emerging from the experience of millions and, on this basis to add

new points to theory which enrich the activity of the masses.

The tremendous tasks facing socialist agriculture call for ceaseless searching out of initiative on the part of the people of the countryside, for disclosing and overcoming the difficulties, for still better forms of organization. Now that all the objective conditions are at hand, success depends chiefly on the subjective factor—the organizational work of the collective-farm leaders, Party and government bodies.

Fulfilment of the seven-year plan will consolidate the collective-farm system and raise the degree of socialization of the means of production in the collective farms to a higher level. The collective economy will play an even greater role in the life of each farmer; in time, it will become the sole source of his income, and the distinctions between town and countryside as well as between the collective-farm, co-operative and state property will steadily diminish. The material and cultural requirements of the

farmer—a convinced collectivist—will be satisfied in growing measure. There will be no restraint on his initiative, and he will be conscious of his dignity and of his responsibility for the common cause of building the new world.

This will follow from the consistent and steady fulfilment of the new plan. Accelerated accumulation of the elements embodying the growing identity of the collective-farm, co-operative and state property is characteristic of the period of large-scale communist construction in the countryside.

At a definite stage this accumulation will lead to a new qualitative change, to communism. This is the goal to which the peasantry is advancing in close alliance with the working class under the leadership of the eight-million-strong Communist Party whose ranks are being continuously reinforced by tens of thousands of advanced builders of communism in town and countryside.

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Contradictions in the Anglo-American Alliance

J. Williamson

A FEATURE of the present-day international situation is the overall weakening of the economic and military power of British imperialism to the advantage of U.S. imperialism. There is nothing automatic or voluntary about Britain and the City relinquishing their positions to Washington and Wall Street. The British ruling class plays no small part in the international relations of imperialism and still uses its many years of political and world-trading experience to hold on doggedly to its remaining economic positions. While maintaining intact the Anglo-American Alliance it is desperately "shopping around" with other imperialist nations to try to create counter-balancing forces to the never-ending extension of U.S. influence and "bossism" of the capitalist world.

The Anglo-American Alliance gives an outward appearance of harmony. Actually each of the partners in this leading combination of the capitalist world is knifing the other and maneuvering for better positions. Since the debacle of the Anglo-French Suez adventure, which the U.S. took advantage of to try to strengthen its position in the Middle East, these U.S.-British contradictions have found expression in new forms. Suffice it to recall the Commonwealth Economic Conference of 1958 and the related struggle for economic and political influence. These contradictions are also felt in the effort to combine a common imperialist front against the growing Arab liberation movement.

The relations within the Anglo-American bloc confirm the profound observations of Lenin when he declared in 1918:

"Two tendencies exist: one which makes an alliance of all imperialist groups inevitable, a second—which counterposes some imperialists to others; two tendencies, neither of which rests on a firm foundation."

The tremendous growth of the socialist world on all fronts, the existence of two world economies, the development of the Bandung independent nations that were previously colonies, have intensified each of the tendencies that Lenin singled out. The weak-

ening of world capitalism headed by arrogant U.S. imperialism, the fear of the advance of the socialist world make British and U.S. imperialists hold together. Nevertheless the Anglo-American contradictions continue as the main ones within the capitalist world today. While U.S. Ambassador Winthrop Aldrich could declare that Anglo-U.S. friendship is "too massive to be shaken," Lord Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard* could write that Canada's decision to divert 15 per cent of her imports from the U.S. to Britain was "a magnificent gesture" and urged Britain's Government to seize the opportunity that it was given and make use of it.

"Junior Partner"

While the consequences of Anglo-American rivalry have a varying impact as far as the economic, political and military aspects are concerned, the former is where the conflict expresses itself most sharply. The positions of Britain and the U.S. in the world capitalist economy show most strikingly the true relations between these two leading imperialist powers.

In 1955 the U.S. share in the industrial output of the capitalist world was 50.5 per cent while that of Britain was only 8.5 per cent. U.S. investments abroad in 1956 were greater than those of all other capitalist countries combined. They totalled nearly £18,009 million, which was four times the 1939 total. Two-thirds of this is private investment. *Fortune* magazine claimed that for 1957 total U.S. foreign investments had increased to £21,071 millions. This *Big Business* magazine stated that the above-quoted U.S. Government figures for 1956 foreign investments were greatly underestimated, and ventured the information that "total U.S. commitments overseas may well be in the neighborhood of \$75 billion" (£26,785 million).

The official estimate of profits from U.S. foreign investments in 1956 was £1,126 million or roughly 15 per cent of all corporation profits, compared with seven per cent in 1946. It is significant that the 200 largest corporations in America receive over 90 per cent of foreign investment profits. Ten cor-

porations alone control 40 per cent of the total foreign investments.

The British capitalists are pursuing a consistent policy of trying to increase foreign investments. The Bank of England in a report which admits it does not cover the entire field states that overseas investments are £2,137 million. Professor E. V. Morgan in an article in the 8th August 1958 *Financial Times* adduced facts to substantiate his claim of £4,000 million as the value of British direct investment abroad. However he immediately added the value of British holdings in foreign companies and increased the total value of foreign investments to £6,500 million. A. N. Conan, author of *The Sterling Area*, gave a total estimate of \$4,500 million in 1950, while the *Daily Telegraph* (29.10.57) reported that "our assets abroad are to be valued at something between £8,000 million and £10,000 million."

Even more difficult is to try to get an estimate of the profits the British capitalists realize from these overseas investments. Prof. Morgan gives the figure as an average of £330 million a year between 1954 and 1956. Hugo Rathbone, in April 1958 *Labor Monthly*, contends the figures add up to £645 million. Rathbone unearths other unlisted sources of profit (including net receipts from British-owned shipping; City income from merchandising, insurance and banking operations connected with foreign trade, etc.) which brings the tribute to approximately £900 million.

From the greatest trading nation in the world Britain today occupies second place to the U.S. Britain's share in world trade declined from 25 per cent in 1950 to 18.5 per cent in 1957, while in the latter year the U.S. share was 23 per cent.

The value of U.S. exports to all countries of the British Commonwealth increased from £441.4 million in 1938 to £2,506 million in 1957—nearly 5½ times. The value of U.S. imports from the same countries in the same period increased from £224.6 million to £1,736 million—or nearly 8-fold. On the other hand, Britain's proportion of exports to all Commonwealth countries fell from 49 per cent in 1952 to 46 per cent in 1957 and imports from 47 per cent to 44.7 per cent.

As a result of Britain's subordination to and dependence on U.S. imperialism, her trading position has been further distorted. To repay American loans and to try to increase her dollar reserves, Britain gears her trade more and more to the dollar market. Among the consequences are the loss of

trade with the colonies which in recent years has been taken advantage of by West Germany and Japan. Britain's imports from the colonies alone declined from 29 per cent of the total value in 1954 to 23.6 per cent in 1957.

Thus the general trend in the relations between U.S. and British imperialism shows that though trade and investment abroad of both nations are increasing, those of the U.S. are increasing far more rapidly with a consequent relative decline of the British. As a result, the weight of Britain in the capitalist world decreases and its position weakens.

Let us now consider the balance of forces between British and U.S. imperialism in the important areas of the capitalist world.

Commonwealth

Britain's policy is to put the export of capital before the export of goods. This, together with the great taxation burdens imposed by the U.S. cold war armaments program and the Tory Government's restriction of industrial production at home, creates new difficulties between Britain and the Commonwealth countries. These include questions of tariffs and trade quotas; the efforts of the Commonwealth countries to maintain the previous level of imports from the U.K. without running down their Sterling Exchange reserves in London; and the problem of regulating the prices of imports from the Commonwealth countries. All this hampers Britain's trade with these countries and facilitates penetration by U.S. monopolies.

Canada is the only Commonwealth country in which the U.S. has succeeded in taking the lead at the expense of Britain. In 1900 the British share of investment was 85 per cent while that of the U.S. was only 14 per cent. By the end of 1956 Britain's share was only 17 per cent while the U.S. had climbed to 76 per cent.

The U.S., with investments in Canada amounting to £4,322 million compared with Britain's £893 million, has a 95 per cent ownership of the Canadian motor car industry, 68 per cent of the oil industry, 50 per cent of chemical and 45 per cent of the pulp and paper. Add to this the fact that during the past seven years the increase of Canadian imports from the U.S. has been much greater than from Britain. In 1956, 73 per cent of imports came from the U.S.A. and only 8 per cent from Britain.

While Canadian capitalists resent the U.S. whip, and the *Financial Post* could write

"neither God nor mankind has assigned the United States to run the world," the effect of the U.S. investment of \$800 per capita of Canada's population, has been that the Diefenbaker Government gives general support to Washington's foreign policy. This can be changed only if all Canadians, men, women and children—who today are each being robbed of an average of \$80 every year in profits to the USA—unite and defy Washington on the basis of an independent policy that advances Canada's interests.

With the exception of Canada, Britain still dominates in the markets of the Commonwealth countries. She also possesses a large portion of foreign investments there. However her positions cannot be called stable. While the total volume of U.K. imports between 1953-57 increased by 16 per cent, there was stagnation as far as these countries were concerned.

In Australia, during the first post-war decade, foreign capital investments totalled £700 million. Britain accounted for 65 per cent while the U.S. share was 27 per cent during these same 10 years. Significantly, the growth of U.S. investments has been from £31.8 million in 1936 to £176.4 million in 1955 and has now reached £250 million.

In India foreign private investments today total 5,219 million rupees. Of these 4,022 million are British and 450 million U.S. However this represents a steady increase in the American position from 180 million in 1948.

In South Africa, U.S. direct investments are small, but the trend is upward—from £19.6 million in 1936 to £91.7 million in 1955. In the Caribbean, the competition between Britain and the U.S. is sharp. The Foreign Office encouragement in the last years to establish the West Indian Federation had as one of its considerations a political counter-move to Washington.

Present-day foreign investments in Jamaica are 60 per cent American and 20 per cent Canadian—with much of the latter actually U.S. money. While the Tory Government sent Princess Margaret to inaugurate the new Federal Parliament, during which she constantly reiterated the need for realizing that the dream of West Indian nationhood should take place "within the Commonwealth," the U.S. Government stated "that the U.S. would welcome in Washington a group representing the West Indies to discuss ways in which the U.S. Government could assist it."

While the economic rivalry between U.S. and British imperialism sharpens, it also overlaps into the political and military spheres.

In Canada the dominant position of its "good neighbor" is clear in all these spheres. In Australia, which has strategical positions in the Far East, U.S. political and military influence is decisive compared with Britain. In 1957 it was decided to equip the Australian forces with American arms, instead of British. The U.S. demonstratively excludes Britain from the Anzus Pact—its political and military alliance with Australia and New Zealand. To Pakistan, the U.S. had given special attention for obvious additional political reasons—its hope is to continue to use Pakistan as a puppet force in the Central Treaty Organization (former Baghdad Pact) as well as a counter force against the influence of India among the countries of "positive neutrality."

British Colonies

In contrast to the Commonwealth countries, U.S. investments in British colonies are very small, except for isolated exceptions. In all sterling Commonwealth countries (except Canada) between the years of 1946 and 1955, 70 per cent of the foreign capital invested came from the United Kingdom and 15 per cent from the U.S. However, as Britain's possibility for investment in the colonies encounters difficulties, it encourages other imperialist countries to invest, first and foremost the U.S. At the same time Britain stimulates the Scandinavian countries, Germany and Switzerland which have surplus capital to invest in the colonies in order to neutralize the growing influence of the U.S. there. In the colonies the proportion of exports to and imports from Britain has declined, but in this sphere it is not only the U.S. but West Germany, Japan and others which have increased their trade.

The trend towards U.S. investment and "aid" becomes greater as the British colonies attain an independent status. This is seen most recently in the case of Ghana—Prime Minister Nkrumah was received in the U.S. and promises were given. Being alert to this possible development the *London Times* commented in June 1957, when Adlai Stevenson was visiting Ghana, that "if Commonwealth sources failed" and "America eventually steps in, Ghana may be attracted out of . . . the Commonwealth orbit." Since Nigeria looks to 1960 as the date for political independence its Prime Ministers of East and West Nigeria are both looking to the U.S. for investment.

For political as well as economic reasons U.S. imperialism in recent years has taken a special interest in Africa. The late Mr.

Dulles said early in 1958 that it was "of the greatest importance that the U.S. should strengthen its activities in Africa."

There are conflicting figures about U.S. investments in Africa. The official figure for 1955 is £276.4 million, but the August 1956 *Survey of Current Business* placed it at £429 million. It is agreed however that there has been a rapid growth from £53.6 million in 1945. In either case it still represents a very small part of the total investment of £2,143 million by all foreign sources. Furthermore, of the £276.4 million in foreign investments, only a mere fraction—£43.6 million—is invested in the colonies. The great bulk is in the independent countries of Africa—Union of South Africa, Liberia, etc.

Middle East

The Anglo-American contradictions find their sharpest expression in the Middle East, which in the first place means oil. This is true despite the common front of the American and British imperialists against the Arab peoples of the Middle East in the recent Lebanon-Jordan crisis.

The battle for oil (which belonged to someone else) between Britain and the USA has been long and sharp. The Anglo-American imperialists in World War I had "floated to victory on a wave of oil," said Curzon—in this case mainly American oil, since the U.S. was then producing two-thirds of the world oil supply. But the U.S. soon realized that its domination of the world oil market was threatened. Britain and France began to divide the Middle East among themselves. The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and Socony Mobile Co. were refused the right to send exploring parties into Iraq. Senators and Congressmen thundered against Britain, and the Federal Trade Commission recommended that "all proper diplomatic support in obtaining and operating oil-producing property" abroad be used.

While 'peace' was finally restored in 1928 when the Big Seven Oil Cartel was organized which divided Middle East oil amongst its members, another battle broke out after World War Two.

By 1950 relations had been patched up again, based on concessions by Britain. Soon, however, Standard Oil moved in through the back door to take advantage of these very concessions and built one refinery near Southampton and another at Coryton. Who is coming out on top in this continuous battle for Middle East oil is seen in the

reversal of the relative positions of investment and political influence. Before World War Two, British investments amounted to 60 per cent of the total compared with 30 per cent for the U.S. In 1955, it was the U.S. that had reached 64 per cent with Britain only 26 per cent and the remaining 10 per cent divided evenly between Dutch and French interests. Today, U.S. oil investments in the Middle East total \$1,700 million contrasted with U.K. investments of approximately \$690 million.

The Anglo-American oil corporations are making phenomenal superprofits. Production costs per barrel are only 10 cents compared with 75 cents in the USA. But both barrels sell for the same price based on the U.S. production costs. No wonder that the oil trusts make an average profit of £14,285 per worker in Kuwait as compared with £1,607 a year on each worker in the USA. In 1955, their profits amounted to £400 million and were expected to reach the same figure in 1958.

Up till last year U.S. imperialism stood in the background politically and militarily and allowed Britain to spearhead the attack on the rising Arab liberation movement, while itself always striving to gain from the ultimate conflict. The mask was thrown off with the adoption of the Eisenhower Doctrine and the landing of U.S. troops in the Lebanon.

While Britain is being undermined economically by the U.S., in the Middle East it maneuvers to maintain its remaining strength and influence—and to bargain with it.

U.S. Investment in U.K.

U.S. investment in the United Kingdom is an important aspect of Anglo-American contradictions. In 1957, according to *Times* of April 22, 1959, U.S. private investment in Britain, mainly in manufacturing and oil industries, was £1,000 million.

American investment in Britain accounted for less than 10 per cent, but it represents 57 per cent of its European interests.

The British economist D. J. Dunning estimated that this huge investment is expressed in 400 British subsidiaries of U.S. companies or by the forming of Anglo-American companies. By the end of 1957 these companies employed about four per cent of the total labor force and had a gross output of 5.5 per cent of British industry. Because of the concentration of this American capital in certain branches, output in the latter reaches a substantial proportion of the total. Typical examples are in auto, rubber tires, calculating machines, oil, chemicals and pharmaceuticals,

photographic equipment and certain food products.

A substantial source of the capital investment is from profits reinvested. Between 1944 and 1953 this was true of two-thirds of it. The average return on U.S. capital invested in Britain is 19½ per cent compared with 15 per cent on all American overseas investments. "Indeed," says Labor Research Department, "as the most profitable outlet for American capital, Britain is exceeded only by the return obtained from oil and raw materials investments in the Middle East." The profits of American firms in Britain approximate £71 million annually, of which half has been returned to the U.S.

An important advantage of this U.S. investment in Britain has been the ability to extend the sale of American goods on the sterling bloc market. U.S. monopolies use the advantages of so-called imperial preference and the accompanying currency advantages in their competition with British industry.

American influence and interference are felt in the economic, political and cultural life of Britain.

Roots of Anglo-American Contradictions

The above facts clearly establish that the imperialist contradictions between the USA and Britain continue to sharpen. To appraise them correctly it should be taken in account that American policy is not aimed at destroying British imperialism, but of determinedly and consistently reducing it on all fronts to a subordinate position within the Anglo-American alliance, while maintaining for itself freedom of action with all countries in and out of the British Commonwealth. To this must be added the American monopolists' determination to occupy all key strategic positions in the capitalist world as they organize and conduct their war policies against the socialist sector of the world. This in turn means replacing the strategic position that British imperialism has continued to occupy, even after it could no longer boast of "the sun never setting on the British Empire."

Together these represent the root of the Anglo-American antagonisms and all its conflicts. British imperialism resists these changes and seeks to hold on to its privileged positions—economic, political, and military.

Throughout the entire postwar years, Britain accepted American aid but refused to be reduced to the status of other European powers in its relations with the Organiza-

tion for European Economic Co-operation, the European Coal and Steel Community and the Western European Union. British imperialism grumbles and threatens and then bargains as the U.S. puts the "squeeze" on it, cracking the whip to put Britain "in its place," when necessary. It is forced to rely on the stronger U.S. imperialism, and therefore the American domination over Britain rivets ever more tightly. American policies in Britain—the Lend Lease swindle, devaluation of the pound, bans on East-West trade, increased armaments expenditure at the expense of the economy, U.S. air and rocket bases accompanied by troops and economic penetration — nevertheless succeeded, even though the British ruling class tries desperately to maintain some independent relationship within the alliance.

These contradictions continue today around the present European Common Market which is being encouraged by U.S. imperialism, since it opens up new possibilities for U.S. goods and investments, to the disadvantage of Britain.

British imperialism is trying to neutralize the unfavorable consequences of the Common Market by establishing a so-called Free Trade Area in Europe. But the British project was rejected by the Common Market countries. Thereupon Britain intensified her efforts to create an outer zone of free trade with the participation of Britain, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, Austria and Portugal.

British spokesmen have expressed indignation at the Government capitulation to Washington on trade bans with the socialist countries. Walter Toubkim, director of Industries Group Sales Ltd., said Britain should have "an agonizing re-appraisal" of American imposed trade restrictions. The London monthly *Eastern World* declared that U.S. attitude to China "may prove to be the most historic false step yet taken by the State Department."

In establishing its strategic position in the capitalist world, the U.S. cuts across British influence. The incorporation of Canada, Australia and New Zealand into the direct strategic plans of the U.S. is well known. The interference of America in the Middle East assumed an open character with the landing of troops in the Lebanon. The U.S. is now the main naval power in the Mediterranean, the Pacific and the Atlantic, a position long held by Britain. And the British Isles are now viewed as a missile rocket base serving as America's first line of defense.

Although U.S. imperialism is on the offensive against its British partner, their growing contradictions, the consolidation of the socialist world, the upsurge of the liberation movement in colonies and dependent countries—all complicate and weaken the position of U.S. imperialism.

While the British ruling class dislikes the new and commanding position of U.S. imperialism, the great majority of the Tory Party see the continuation of the Anglo-American Alliance as indispensable for the endurance of the British Empire. The Liberal Party and even the majority leadership of the Labor Party do not have substantial disagreement with this concept. At the 1958 Scarborough Conference Gaitskell openly defended and defends now the American sponsored NATO. None of these parties challenges the huge arms expenditure bills in Parliament. Further, they all see the Anglo-American contradictions as unfortunate rifts endangering the alliance, with which they basically agree.

* * *

Anglo-American co-operation is, in Lenin's words, "one of birds of prey, each trying to get something at the expense of the other." However, it would be wrong, as things are at present, to think that Britain is about to break the alliance with the U.S. or enter into open conflict with it, because of the intensification of these contradictions.

The Anglo-American alliance, while favoring British capitalist interests, runs counter to the interests of the British people. Britain's participation in U.S. military plans spear-

headed against the socialist nations endangers the well-being and lives of her people.

The armaments production bill for Britain in 1957 was £1,525 million. For seven years this totalled £10,213 million. In 1957, she spent 9.3 per cent of the national income on defense, a larger proportion than any of the other European partners in NATO. The result was the Tory attack on wages, the curtailment of new house and school construction, the refusal to increase old-age pensions, increases in the cost of national health insurance and a host of other ways of passing the burden on to the workers.

The Communist Party and, in a less clear form, a current in the Labor Party and the labor movement generally, see the policies of imperialist America as the major danger to world peace, to the independence of Britain, and to the well-being of the working people.

They believe that in contrast to the Anglo-American alliance and the subordination of Britain to America, the future of an independent and peaceful Britain (even within the framework of capitalism) can be realized only by establishing equal and co-operative relations with the socialist and Bandung nations. This would make Britain an influential and positive force in the world, with a foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence and economic co-operation. This policy is in keeping with the sentiments of the majority of the rank and file of both the Labor and Conservative Parties, with the ten million members of the Trade Union movement, with all working people.

Revisionist Distortions of the Co-operative Theory

A. Sattler

I
THE Leninist theory of the transformation of small-peasant farming into large-scale socialist agriculture has found striking confirmation in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In keeping with Lenin's co-operative plan the Communist and Workers' Parties maintain that, irrespective of the specific differences in the approach to peasant co-operation, the essence of socialist co-operation consists in the socialization of small-commodity peasant production with decisive political and economic support to the peasant co-operatives by the Socialist state.

But the question of socialist agriculture was approached in a totally different way by Eduard Kardelj in his speech at a recent meeting of the Federal Board of the Socialist Union of the Working People of Yugoslavia.*

Kardelj's main thesis was a virtual denial of any regulating influence being exerted by a socialist state on the processes taking place in the countryside. He is all for a spontaneous development of the co-operative movement, for its subordination to the laws of free market relations. In his view, state intervention in the matter of transforming the countryside can be effective only through preparing the new economic relations for an "independent life without Government tutelage." Any other intervention can only "deform the economic process."

Rural co-operation, according to Kardelj, should develop "out of the very nature of the technological process dictated by modern production technology." He cites the Marxist thesis concerning the dependence of the relations of production on the productive forces and concludes that labor productivity in agriculture depends not on the degree of socialization of production, i.e., the character of the relations of production, but only on technology. Having arrived at this conclusion he criticizes "the Soviet method of collectivization which has also been adopted in the other socialist countries." Collectivization, he

alleges, consists in "abolishing private property in favor of general collectivization of the Stalinist type," which causes stagnation and lower output by virtue of the fact that agriculture does not meet the technological requirements of large-scale farming. "In this case," Kardelj tells us, "socialism could have been introduced in the Middle Ages simply by 'nationalizing' or 'collectivizing' the artisans."

No Marxist-Leninist can accept these assertions. The Marxist concept concerning the dependence of the relations of production on the character of the productive forces is certainly correct, but it should be applied not to the separate parts of the national economy but to the general level of development of a particular country. There is no doubt that the average level of industrial development which is required to start the socialist reconstruction of the countryside is present in all European countries, including Yugoslavia. That being so, the point is to allocate and correctly utilize the resources of the national economy with state support, and to further the socialist reorganization of agriculture, without waiting for the economic prerequisites for socialism to ripen spontaneously in the countryside.

Scorning simple co-operation, Kardelj underestimates the importance of socialist production relations, and makes a fetish of the role played by technology. The fact is that even simple co-operation, the pooling of farming implements on a socialist footing and with comprehensive state support, leads to a higher level of labor productivity than that of most of the peasant farms. This is confirmed by facts. Thus, in the Soviet Union 20.8 man-days were spent in 1922-25 to till one hectare of land on the individual peasant plots, while in 1933 on collective farms not yet fully equipped with machinery the figure was 12.3 man-days. Whereas in 1922-25 individual peasants produced 31.1 kg. of grain per man-day, in 1933 the collective farmers produced 57.8 kg. per man-day.

What is more, neither the Communist Party of the Soviet Union nor the Communist

*See *Borba* May 5 and 6, and *Komunist* May 7, 1959, Belgrade.

and Workers' Parties of the other socialist countries have ever conceived socialism in the countryside without mechanization. The socialist state which owns the large-scale industry supplies the agricultural co-operatives with all kinds of machines.

Finally, and this is most important, socialism does not develop automatically from the technological process alone. On the contrary, when the productive forces develop on the basis of small-commodity production they can only lead to capitalism. Kardelj, however, holds that the reverse is true. "The establishment in 1953 of a ten hectare limit in land ownership," he claims, "has in the main abolished capitalist development in the Yugoslav countryside." True, he makes a reservation, saying that this limit does not completely rule out capitalist tendencies in the countryside. But is it simply a matter of tendencies? For a Marxist it is absolutely clear that small-commodity production developing spontaneously, no matter how it is restricted by the law, can only lead to capitalism. Small production, Lenin pointed out, engenders capitalism daily, hourly, and on a mass scale. And this is borne out not only by theory but also by facts. S. Komar admits that in Yugoslavia "many peasants either till their land with the means of production owned by others or lease it for rent. About half the peasant households have no draft animals".* Surely this proves that, even with holdings limited to 10 hectares, social differentiation is taking place in the countryside, the section of wealthy peasants is growing and is increasingly exploiting the village poor. Only socialist co-operation of the peasant households can take the countryside to socialism and rid the village of the yoke of the rich peasant.

But this is a proposition that Kardelj cannot accept. "It is absurd," he says, "to measure socialism in the village by the percentages of collectivized land, since its strength lies in its socio-economic effect, and in the role it plays in production and in raising labor productivity." He also claims that productivity in the socialist sectors in the USSR, Czechoslovakia and some other countries is lower than that attained by the individual peasants on their personal plots.

Kardelj counterposes productivity to "percentages of collectivization." But it is in the nature of things that productivity in the agricultural co-operatives of the socialist type should be, and is, higher than on the indivi-

dual plots. In Bulgaria, for example, the co-operatives usually obtain harvests which are 25-30 per cent higher than those obtained by the individual peasants. In Czechoslovakia the amount produced per man in the co-operatives in 1957 compared with the pre-war level of capitalist and small production was respectively: for grain crops — 1,626 kg. against 863 kg.; for potatoes — 4,352 kg. against 3,086.; sugar-beet — 5,714 kg. against 1,434 kg.

In the Soviet Union, although the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture has fallen almost by half compared with pre-revolutionary times, the volume of products sold on the market has grown several-fold. As against 1913—the peak year for pre-revolution crops—the marketable output of all grain crops has risen almost three-fold, while that of wheat—five-fold; raw cotton, sunflower and vegetables—six-fold; sugar-beet and potatoes — nearly three-fold. It should be noted, furthermore, that the increase in marketed products has been accompanied by increased peasant consumption. That is how matters stand with respect to labor productivity in socialist agriculture.

As for measuring the socialist successes in agriculture by collectivization percentages, it would obviously be wrong to strive for higher percentages only and not to pay due attention to the economic and organizational strengthening of the co-operatives. This practice—a leftist deviation—was condemned as such by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union way back in the early thirties. But at the same time it is clear to every Marxist that the percentage of collectivization, i.e., of socialization of the peasant means of production, indicates the ratio of individual, small-peasant and socialist production, and in the final analysis, the relation of the forces of capitalism and socialism in the countryside.

Why, then, does Kardelj try to discredit the co-operative movement in the socialist countries? Evidently, with a view to substituting a revisionist concept for the Marxist concept of co-operation, a revisionist plan of rural development for Lenin's co-operative plan.

II

One doesn't need to go deeply into Kardelj's propositions to see that to the Lenin co-operative plan, the underlying feature of which is socialization of the peasant means of production economically backed by the socialist state, he counterposes the plan of

*Cf. "The Position of Agriculture and Co-operation and Prospects of Their Development," Belgrade, 1957, page 122.

establishing the so-called "co-operatives of the general type" based on free market relations.

These co-operatives, officially recognized in Yugoslavia as the basic form of socialist reconstruction of agriculture, are engaged primarily in supply and marketing operations. They have small production capacities for processing raw materials, and in part render services to the individual peasants by supplying on a commercial basis machines, implements, means of transportation, fertilizers, seeds, etc. But their chief function is trade. They buy agricultural products and handicraft goods and sell them both to the state and on the market. Nor do they scruple to profit from the market ups and downs. In these circumstances the co-operatives of the general type can hardly have any effect in shaping socialist production relations in the Yugoslav countryside.

In addition to trading, some of these co-operatives engage in production, but again in a specific way. Using the co-operative funds and the funds received from the state, they establish special farms which are supplied with machinery, and which employ hired labor. In 1957 the co-operatives had 2,213 farms of this kind with an area of 171,000 hectares. Part of the income is set aside for expansion and part distributed among the members in accordance with the means contributed and work done.

This co-operation is as yet very far from socialism, as Kardelj had to admit in his report. "This," he stressed, "is only the adaptation of a specific economic practice in conditions of socialist construction—a practice to which the peasant in a capitalist country resorts." Even earlier the Yugoslav theorists had admitted that their co-operatives could not be unconditionally listed among socialist enterprises. Thus, addressing a conference of the Central Co-operative Union in January 1958, Kardelj said: "We all agree that our *zadruga* (Yugoslav co-operative—A.S.) is not the classical form of agricultural co-operative."

What is it then, that impels the Yugoslav theorists to regard the "*zadruga*" as the basic form of co-operation? Is it because other forms are impossible in Yugoslavia? No, this is hardly the answer, because in Yugoslavia, alongside the general-type co-operatives, there are the so-called labor co-operatives with production relations on a different basis, a basis which is more in accord with socialist forms of economy. On joining this particular kind of co-operative,

the peasant places at its disposal a considerable part of his property, keeping for himself only a few head of cattle and a personal plot ranging from 0.25 to one hectare. The bulk of the income (70 per cent) is distributed in cash and in kind in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done, while the remainder is shared in accordance with the amount of land pooled, since private ownership of land is preserved.

But co-operatives of this type are not widespread in Yugoslavia. In 1958 they numbered only 548, uniting 1.4 per cent of all the peasant households and 3.2 per cent of the total cultivated land. The Yugoslav leaders try to justify themselves by saying that the peasants are not interested in these co-operatives. The facts, however, testify to the contrary. The peasants favor this type of co-operatives, but artificial obstacles are placed in the way of those anxious to join them. Thus, during the discussion of Kardelj's report the spokesman of the Zrenjanin District said that out of 900 peasants who had applied for membership in the labor co-operatives in 1957, only 150 had been admitted. In 1958, of some 1,600 peasant families who expressed their readiness to join, only half were admitted.

In his report Kardelj focussed attention not on the labor co-operatives but on the general-type co-operatives. The reason is that the former presuppose systematic economic guidance from the socialist state, while the latter are adapted to the free market where the law of value operates in much the same way as it does in the capitalist countries where production develops on the basis of competition, with the stronger besting the weaker, a factor, which according to Kardelj makes for "sound economic relations."

According to him agriculture should be re-organized along the following lines:

First, by expanding the general-type co-operatives by means of purchasing and renting privately-owned land, so that machinery can be used. For Kardelj the problem of transforming landownership is essential not from the standpoint of changing the social relations, but from that of using machinery. Thus the above-mentioned method of concentration of land is designed not for the purpose of socializing the land under cultivation but for expanding the special farms of the co-operatives at the expense of the land of the individual peasant farms. Land purchase enables the co-operative to become a big landowner, to operate in conformity

with market conditions, and to employ more and more laborers.

Second, Kardelj points to the production co-operation between the general-type co-operative and the individual peasants on the basis of mutual interest. This is the main point in his report. "Essentially," he said, "the peasant co-operative of the general type is more of an agricultural estate engaged in specific co-operation with the peasant."

By mutual interest of the co-operatives and the individual farms is meant that the former supply the peasants with credits and machines (for temporary use), while the latter pay for these services on the basis of an agreement with the co-operatives. Kardelj stresses that this helps the peasant to accumulate the means needed for his farm. Thus, the claim goes, the economic and social processes in the countryside are channelled in the direction of socialism.

The facts enable us to see the actual direction in which these "economic and social processes" are channelled. The aid of the co-operatives is sought mainly by the wealthy rural sections. The co-operative machines are used on their fields, while they rent their draft animals to the owners of small plots where machinery cannot be used. Credits advanced by the co-operatives are not given to the poor peasants because they go to the big farmers. It is obvious that this kind of co-operation is not of a socialist character, since it benefits only the wealthy.

We should bear in mind that the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and raising its output constitute the *economic* problem of developing a large-scale, highly productive agriculture capable of raising the living standard of the peasants and of satisfying the needs of the industrialized town, of industry. At the same time it is also the highly important *political* question of strengthening the positions of socialism in the countryside. One cannot be serious about strengthening socialism in the country when, with the existence of socialist relations in the towns, capitalist elements in the countryside tend to grow. The overall strengthening of socialism requires that the state should reconstruct the countryside along socialist lines.

Yet this is lacking in Kardelj's theses. Co-operation, he says, should above all be seen through the prism of our desire to raise production. It is a purely economic undertaking and should not be regarded as a general political campaign. From the standpoint of transforming the countryside, its

role can be justified only if it is understood as an economic measure.

This revisionist approach is permeated through and through with contempt for the organized building of socialism. This explains the easy-going approach to the processes taking place in the countryside. It is not the broad view of socialist construction in the countryside that prompts Kardelj to speak about reconstructing agriculture, but only immediate economic needs.

Third, for his rural reconstruction Kardelj recommends the "regulating measures of society." One would think that here he would pass over to the question of the leading role of the state in the socialist reconstruction of the countryside, of the social measures aimed at encouraging the socialist economic forms and restricting the capitalist tendencies. But nothing of the kind. For him the "regulating measures of society" signify the regulating force of the market, while to the people's committees, which represent the state, is allotted the wretched role of influencing agriculture by issuing instructions on how to combat diseases of plants and animals, to combat pests. Generally speaking this is a purely local activity of the kind which in tsarist Russia was carried out by the Zemstvos (district councils), and which, as Lenin ironically put it, does not extend beyond "enamelling the basins." It is true that the people's committees are entrusted with an important function—that of supervising the investments of public funds in agriculture. But in this they are restricted, being obliged to allocate funds only where "they can produce the best results." These "results" must be understood to mean capitalist profitability regulated by the market and not results brought about by the planned activity of the organs of the socialist state which are directed to the strengthening of the socialist sector in agriculture.

III

Much space in Kardelj's report is taken up with a polemic against the Communist and Workers' Parties, arising from their assessment of modern revisionism. But Kardelj misleads the Yugoslav public when he speaks about the criticisms of revisionism in the Marxist-Leninist press.

He affirms, for example, that the Yugoslav theorists have been criticized because of their ideas for decentralizing industrial management on the basis of workers' councils; because they based their socialist practice in the countryside "not on pressure exerted by

the state but on an economic and political alliance with the peasant masses;" because they based the Yugoslav economic system on the principle of incentive in contrast to the patronage and control exercised by the state in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. "There are two entirely different concepts in the approach to the problems of socialist construction, one deriving from the stimulating role of economic relations in which the producer—the worker—works and lives, and the other—from the leading role of state control." This is how Kardelj formulates his differences with the socialist countries, seeing in these differences "the basic contradiction of the development of socialist practice and socialist thought."

This evaluation of the attitude of the Communist and Workers' Parties does violence to the facts. These parties have never counterposed "the leading role of state control" to "incentives" in organizing socialist production. Nor have they ever insisted on "pressure exerted by the state on the peasant masses." This is not the crux of the differences. The Communist and Workers' Parties have criticized the Yugoslav revisionists for their distortion of the vital question of the economic role of the socialist state, and for their "theory" of the withering away of the economic and organizational function of the socialist state during the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Truth is also wanting in Kardelj's claim that the Communist and Workers' Parties blame the Yugoslav revisionists for championing incentives or decentralization of industrial management. The Communist and Workers' Parties have criticized the Yugoslav revisionists because they reduce organized and planned socialist construction to "free economic relations" by which is meant freedom of commodity and money relations; because they associate incentives not with the socialist economic forms, not with the socialist mode of production, but with advocacy of freedom of commodity relations in conditions of a transitional economy, when the capitalist elements are still fairly strong both in town and particularly in the countryside, and when the question, "who will win," is not yet finally decided in favor of socialism.

In these conditions the struggle between socialism and capitalism is waged around the law of value. The socialist sector, directed by the socialist state, uses the law of value, the market, money and other categories of value in order to curb the spontaneity caused by small-commodity production, to bring it

under socialist control, and to restrict and oust the capitalist elements. The latter also make use of the law of value, only they do so with a view to encouraging the market to the utmost and expanding capitalist relations.

The theoretical views of the Yugoslav revisionists lead to a recognition of the need to give free rein to the market, inasmuch as they reduce the economic relations between producers to free market relations (which they call socialist) and regard the market fluctuations as the main regulator of the economic relations between the enterprises.

Kardelj, however, does not confine himself to advocacy of his revisionist concepts. In spite of the obvious facts, he tries to make it appear that life has refuted the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism, and as if the USSR and the other socialist countries had gone over to the Yugoslav position in building socialism. "For a long time we have not been alone," says Kardelj, "because a number of concepts or methods of socialist construction which in our country have acquired rights of citizenship and for which we have been violently attacked, are, at present, in greater or lesser degree, in one or another form, being used in some of the countries from which the attacks come."

To strengthen his point, Kardelj refers to recent measures of the Soviet Government such as the abolition of the compulsory delivery of agricultural products by the collective farms and its replacement by state purchase, the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations and the sale of the machines to the collective farms. He tries to palm off these measures, and even the formation of economic areas, as a turn towards Yugoslav economic policy.

His assertions, as is only too obvious, do not hold water. It is common knowledge that incentives, democratic centralism in industrial management and other principles of economic management carried out in the USSR were proclaimed long ago by Lenin. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has steadfastly adhered to these principles, and has not shunned disclosing mistakes and defects. But in carrying out these principles the CPSU has always linked them with the socialist economic forms and with struggle against the capitalist elements and tendencies. There is no analogy at all between the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Yugoslav economic policy of encouraging free enterprise in conditions of a transitional economy, a policy which leads

to revitalizing bourgeois tendencies and to strengthening the positions of the wealthy farmers in the countryside and of the capitalist elements in the towns.

Unfortunately for Kardelj, experience, far from refuting the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism, is proving to an increasingly greater extent, how right the Communist and Workers' Parties were when they opposed the Yugoslav revisionist concepts. Experience has shown that Yugoslav practice is confounding the theoretical "discoveries" of the revisionists. Consequently Kardelj's attempt to identify the economic policy of Yugoslavia with that of the socialist camp can only be taken as an attempt to mislead the working people of Yugoslavia.

But he is attempting something more than this—he is trying to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Khrushchov, he boasts, calls for incentives, but in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria these methods are denied and supplanted by

commands from the top. He finds his "proof" in *Rude Pravo* which urges the co-operatives to publicize the results of the best farmers, to verify fulfilment of the production obligations, etc.

But one does not contradict the other. Socialism is based not only on material incentive but also on socialist labor discipline and revolutionary enthusiasm. These are two sides of one and the same process. Socialism cannot be measured only by economic interest, ignoring the role of conscious labor discipline.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have no differences on the question of socialist construction and particularly on co-operative policy in the countryside. But they have very pronounced differences with the Yugoslav revisionists who zigzag along the road to socialism and supplant socialist methods of rural co-operation by methods which by no means lead to strengthening socialism in the countryside.

THE PEOPLE AND WAR

The Character of World War II

E. Boltin, G. Deborin

- *Instigators of the war* • *Its specific features* • *The peoples decided the outcome of the war* • *The role of the Communists*
- *The lesson of the two world wars*

WHAT was the character of World War II—this is the central point of the controversy that has raged around the origin of the war, its conduct and consequences. The heat generated by the controversy is explained by an obvious (and instructive!) fact: a reactionary war, hatched by capitalism and designed to destroy socialism, turned, eventually, into a heavy defeat for the old social system.

Seizing upon the extreme complexity of the war and its contradictory history, bourgeois propaganda has had a measure of success in confusing the public about the objective character of the war and the forces which decided its outcome. Playing on nationalist prejudices and on the fact that nation opposed nation in the great battle of the two camps, reactionary writers draw upon its history for "material" and sow suspicion and hatred. The twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war has been used as a pretext for fresh broadsides against the Communist parties and the Soviet Union. The old, hackneyed arguments are refurbished, and fact and fiction appear in new combinations.

We should also bear in mind that in the past there were differences in a number of Communist parties on questions of policy and tactics in relation to the war. And although these differences were resolved in the course of the political and armed struggle against fascism, they are still being dug up not only by the outright reactionary press but also by revisionists and deserters of varying hues.

In view of this we would like to examine a problem—a fairly general one—but which, nevertheless, is of cardinal importance to an understanding of the associated questions, namely, the basic features and the character of World War II.

I

Lenin fully shared the viewpoint of Marx and Engels, who regarded "every war as the continuation of the politics of the given countries and the various classes in them at a given time."* World War II was the direct continuation of the politics of the imperialist powers responsible for its outbreak.

In this sense there is a similarity between the two world wars. But whereas World War I was the first manifestation of the maturing general crisis of capitalism, World War II broke out at a time when this crisis had led to profound changes in the world balance of forces. The rise and development of the Soviet Union—which became the center of attraction for all revolutionary and national-liberation movements — switched the basic trend of world politics to the sphere of struggle of the old capitalist system against the growing socialist society. This basic contradiction of the times weakened capitalism and aggravated all other internal and external contradictions of the world capitalist system. In those countries where imperialist rule proved to be weakest, the bourgeoisie resorted to fascist methods of preserving its power.

The tendency of the capitalist world to combine against the "source of all the evil"—the Soviet Union, the vanguard of the revolutionary movement—engendered a situation in which German fascism was regarded as the shock force which, it seemed, could resolve the basic contradiction of the times in favor of capitalism and restore its former stability.

Hence, the lavish stream of dollars and sterling for the restoration of Germany's military and economic potential; hence, the first secret and later overt revision of the Versailles

*V. I. Lenin, *The Collapse of the Second International*.

les system; hence, the conniving at expansion and aggression both in the heart of Europe and in the Far East; and hence, Munich.

However, the objective laws of social development, including the laws of capitalism, operated also against the architects of the anti-Soviet line in world politics. This line actually accelerated the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism and, what is more, accelerated it in favor of the aggressor powers and to the detriment of British, French and U.S. imperialism.

By the mid-thirties Germany had advanced to second place after the U.S. for volume of capitalist industrial output: in 1938 she produced 22 per cent of the pig iron, 24 per cent of the steel, 17 per cent of the coal, 14 per cent of the products of the engineering industry. She occupied first place in the capitalist world for output of aluminum, metal-cutting machines, and a number of synthetic goods. She outstripped the United States in export of machines (26 per cent of the world export), chemicals, optical instruments, non-ferrous metals (21 per cent of the world export in 1937), steel (22 per cent of the world export in 1937).*

The following table shows the changes that had taken place in Germany's volume of industrial output:**

	(1929=100)			
	Germany	U.S.	Britain	France
1924	68	80	89	78
1929	100	100	100	100
1932	53	54	83	72
1936	103	88	116	78
1938	126	72	115	76

Industrial growth was accompanied by a rapid restoration of her military potential, which enabled her to switch to realization of the Nazi slogan of struggle for *lebensraum*. Hitler skilfully used the anti-Soviet foreign policy and the anti-communist blindness of his imperialist rivals. "I shall have to play ball with capitalism," the Fuehrer said before he seized power, "and contain the Versailles powers by invoking the specter of Bolshevism, by convincing them that Germany is the last bastion against the red flood. There is no other way if we are to withstand the critical period, get rid of Versailles and set about rearming."***

Hitler, of course, never contemplated solving the tasks set by German monopoly capital

without defeating the Soviet Union, and not merely because of economic reasons but also because the USSR was the backbone of the world revolutionary movement, the main obstacle in the way of any imperialist vulture seeking world domination. But the German monopolists had no intention of entering the lists against the Soviet Union in a way that would bring victory into the lap of their imperialist rivals.

The persistence with which the British, French and U.S. rulers incited Germany against the USSR enabled Germany, in alliance with fascist Italy and militarist Japan, to consolidate her economic and military potential to the extent (particularly by means of direct or indirect enslavement of a number of small European countries) that she felt there was a good chance of vanquishing her rivals before taking the last and decisive step to world domination through war against the Soviet Union.

It is in the opening up of this possibility that we find one of the reasons which determined the first specific feature of the Second World War, namely, that it did not immediately acquire world dimensions, that in the initial phase it was only indirectly linked with the basic contradiction of the times.

Let us go into the details: why did the war begin as a war between the imperialist powers?

Fascist propaganda about the "weakness" of the Soviet Union played quite an important part, being designed to lull the vigilance of the men of Munich. But Hitler and his associates were well aware that a war against the powerful socialist country would be a grave undertaking, spelling danger to capitalism. It could only be a war between the two social systems, ruling out any compromise. They knew, moreover, that the Soviet Union would have the sympathies of the people of the world. It is true, of course, that the German monopolists and their generals underestimated the strength of the Red Army and the immeasurable material and spiritual resources which imparted to it both real and potential fighting ability. Still, they needed a surer guarantee of success in a decisive war against the USSR, and this they saw in seizing all the resources of Europe and in defeating, or at any rate weakening, their Western rivals so that none could recover until the Soviet Union had been finished off.

Thus the war that broke out between the capitalist countries was an imperialist war on both sides. For Britain and France it was

*Cf. N. Inczemtsev, *American Imperialism and the German Question*, Moscow, 1954, p. 26.

**Cf. M. Dragilev, *General Crisis of Capitalism*, Moscow, 1957, p. 114.

****History of Diplomacy*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, Vol. III pp. 480-481.

an imperialist war for extending their domination over the peoples of the world, because their rulers had prepared it as a war of Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union with a view to consolidating their positions in the world economy, with a view to subverting and defeating the international working-class and liberation movement.

Yet, the war that broke out in September 1939 was not simply a war between two imperialist blocs. As distinct from the First World War the role of aggressor was played by a bloc of fascist countries whose aims differed and could not but be different from the aims of the belligerents in 1914. In the article "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'" Lenin wrote: "Britain, France and Russia are waging war to preserve their colonies and to rob Turkey, and so on. Germany is waging war in order to win colonies and to plunder Turkey herself, and so on. Let us assume that the Germans will even capture Paris and Petersburg. Will this change the character of the present war? By no means. The aim of the Germans and, what is more important, the realization of their policy in the event of the Germans being victorious will be seizure of colonies, domination in Turkey, and annexation of other national areas, for example, Poland, etc., but not the establishment of an alien yoke over the French or the Russians." It follows, then, that during the First World War the inter-imperialist antagonisms had not reached the stage that they did in the late thirties, so that the question of colonies and spheres of influence could be decided without abolishing the sovereignty and national independence of the Great Powers. During the Second World War, on the contrary, the fascist countries not only set themselves this aim, they felt that it could be achieved, as it was in relation to France. Moreover, the point was not simply a possible loss of national independence, but the establishment—in the event of Germany, Italy and Japan being victorious—of an utterly reactionary, naked occupation dictatorship and the enslavement of the peoples in the literal sense of the word. *It is here we see the second, and main, difference between the war that began in 1939 and the 1914-18 war, and, simultaneously, the latent possibility of it evolving into a just war of liberation against the fascist countries.*

And that this possibility turned into reality, i.e., that at a definite stage the war developed into a just war, is another fundamental feature of the Second World War.

What were the reasons for this? In 1939 the peoples of Britain and France clearly recognized the reality of fascism. In bringing this about a truly historic role was played by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The Congress revealed the essence of fascism, summed up the experience of the anti-fascist struggle, and provided a political platform for rallying the popular forces and all democrats for the main task of the day, i.e., to safeguard democracy, uphold the bourgeois democratic freedoms and halt the fascist aggression. The selfless work of the Communists in the second half of the thirties played a big part in preparing the peoples ideologically and morally for the anti-fascist war into which the new world war prepared by the imperialists was bound to develop.

The heroic resistance of the Spanish people to the international fascist invasion was aided by anti-fascists all over the world — both Communist and non-Communist. It acted as a powerful factor in awakening world public opinion to the fascist danger. Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1939 opened the eyes of even those who had trusted the men of Munich and who had tended to see in Germany the last bastion against the "red flood."

In short, by the time war broke out the peoples of Europe had discovered that fascism could be halted only by force of arms. The peoples of France and Britain knew this also from their own experience, from the struggle against "their own" national fascism.

But France and Britain comprise not only the people of these countries but also the ruling classes and governments who embody the will and policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Even when the war had begun, the British and French governments displayed no real desire to oppose Hitler Germany with real force. The "phoney war" signified the continuation of the Munich policy in a different way. This was an imperialist war on the part of the rulers of Britain and France, a war in which the people of these countries were denied the opportunity seriously to fight against fascism.

But "war is not only the continuation of politics," said Lenin, it is "also the summation of politics; it is an education in politics . . .".* Clearly with the outbreak of the Second World War the imperialist character of the policy underlying it was bound to become more concentrated, more pronounced and obvious to the people. This policy exposed

*V. I. Lenin. Report at the Seventh Congress of Soviets.

itself in the growth of internal reaction, in the absence of virtually any military operations against Germany, in giving aid and comfort to the Mannerheims and even in preparing hostilities against the Soviet Union during the Soviet-Finnish war. This latter, a particularly striking fact, was fully in keeping with the logic of the men of Munich. The rulers of Britain, France and the United States were eager to provide Hitler with yet another "practical" demonstration of whom they regarded as the real enemy.

It goes without saying that many in France and Britain did not immediately grasp the true meaning of the "phoney war," while others never grasped it at all. Yet it was precisely the people of Britain and France who played an important role in changing the character of the war. The fact is that Hitler Germany spelled danger to the ruling classes of Britain and France not only as an imperialist rival but also by the influence it exerted on the internal situation in these countries. And not only because a sizeable part of the British and French bourgeoisie feared fascism and rejected it as a political system, but also because the British and French workers, in the course of their mass political struggle in the thirties, had demonstrated their inflexible determination to prevent anything in the nature of a Hitler regime in their countries. In 1939 the people of Britain and France were deeply mistrustful of their governments—the architects of Munich. For the people Munich signified not only sacrificing the national interests and prestige to the fascist powers and conniving at their aggression, but also indirect support for the reactionary forces at home. The people owed their realization of the internal political danger emanating from Munich to the persistent and selfless work of their Communist parties.

Among the French and particularly among the British ruling circles there were political groupings which, in the light of the bitter experience of 1939, realized the danger of ignoring the popular hatred of Munich. To go against the people openly at a time when increasingly threatening symptoms testified to the impending collapse of the Munich policy, would gravely endanger the independence of their countries. Moreover, these groups of the ruling circles found it useful to take advantage of the popular hatred of fascism and, under the banner of democracy, to lead an open fight against their deadly rival in imperialist expansion; they found it useful to uphold democracy which, of course,

they understood as preserving the traditional forms of domination by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Be that as it may, a situation arose—and this should be underlined—in which the imperialist bourgeoisie of the non-fascist countries were no longer in a position to counter the aggression and expansion of their fascist rivals and maintain their rule at home without invoking democratic slogans. The British bourgeoisie—stronger and more experienced—grasped this in more or less good time and made the necessary changes in the country's leadership; the French bourgeoisie failed to do this and paid a terrible price for their failure.

And so what was done was not simply to unfurl the banner of democracy as a cover for the Munich line. The British people displayed confidence in their government headed by Churchill only when they had proof that it was really determined to wage war against Hitler Germany, that it was intent on organizing the defense of the country and upholding her independence. It was precisely for this reason and precisely from this time on (May-June 1940) when in the main and basically (i.e., in the matter of defending the country) the interests of the British people and the British government coincided, that for Britain as a whole (country, people and government) the war began to turn into a just war.

Although in the struggle against Hitler Germany the British people were headed by an imperialist government (with colonialist, expansionist, anti-Soviet and anti-democratic designs), the total effect of Britain's participation in the war was a major contribution to the defeat suffered by the center of world reaction—German fascism.

As to the French government, it seized upon the outbreak of the war to reinforce the class rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie and resorted to essentially fascist methods of "mobilizing" the people and bringing them under the sway of imperialist policy. For this reason it reeled and collapsed under the first blows of the German military machine. The French people (under the terrible conditions of military defeat and occupation) were forced to wage an underground war both against German fascism and "their" Vichy government. It is this popular war headed by the Communists that is generally meant whenever mention is made of the just liberation war "waged by France" against Hitler Germany. The stand taken by de Gaulle at the time of the defeat and his subsequent activity un-

doubtedly played a positive role in the Resistance Movement. But he was not the organizer or leader of the liberation struggle of the French people.

In this way, the war waged by Britain and France turned into a just war only when it was joined by the people of the two countries as an independent force having their own demands and vital interests. But, with power still in the hands of the bourgeois state, the turn took place only when the imperialist contradictions with Germany reached their climax, and the means of resolving them acquired a form mortally dangerous above all to the national independence and freedom of the non-fascist powers, a circumstance which made it easier particularly for the people of Britain to influence government policy.

The fact that the peoples were now in a position to influence the character of the war waged by a number of capitalist countries reflected the profound changes that had taken place in the balance of forces since the October Revolution, and testified to the enhanced role played by the people in the life of society. Here, too, we see another essential distinction of the Second World War in contrast to the First World War.

The entry of the USA into the war and the nature of its participation also have their specific features. The responsibility borne by the United States in the preparation of Hitler's imperialist war against the USSR has now been proved to the hilt and is beyond doubt. The U.S. rulers, however, had not only anticipated a possible thwarting of the policy of "channelling" the German aggression to the East, they also had secret information about Hitler's plan, adopted late in 1938, to finish first with his Western rivals. In the event of Europe being seized by Hitler, a real threat would arise both to the imperialist and national interests of the United States, particularly in view of the activization of the "fifth column" at home and in the neighboring countries. Yet the United States made no haste to enter the war, calculating, on the one hand, that by means of the "phoney war" Britain and France would still be able to win success for the Munich line and turn Hitler to the East (which U.S. diplomacy actively furthered) and, on the other hand, it had in mind using the European conflict for the purpose of seizing the key positions in the colonial sphere in the Pacific and Indian oceans. But it was in this sphere that conflict between American and Japanese imperialism had long been ripening. The Japanese attack on Pearl

Harbor brought the U.S. into the war in the Far East.

The U.S. entered the war against Germany when the character of the war had changed. Everything that now contributed to the victory of the peoples, including the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, simultaneously served the cause of progress. It should be stressed, however, that the U.S. ruling circles, to an even greater extent than the ruling circles of Britain and the other capitalist countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, tried to use the world war (throughout its duration) for their own imperialist ends, and, what is more, had better opportunities for realizing these ends.

II

The attitude of the Communists to the war was based on a scientific analysis of the forces that had unleashed it and the prospects of its development. In the pre-war period the Communists alone had fought persistently and actively against the war danger, linking it with the danger of fascism. In this struggle the Communists of the Soviet Union, who completely agreed with the Communists of other countries in assessing the growing war crisis, relied on the strength and prestige of the only socialist country in the world. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union provided a realistic platform for organizing collective resistance to the aggressor, but this platform was not to the liking of those who wanted to use Hitler against the Soviet Union and the communist movement.

The outbreak of the war did not change the basic anti-fascist trend of communist policy. The events that led to the war had confirmed the soundness of the analysis of the international situation made by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. And the means by which the war could have been averted, had they been brought into action—unity of the working class backed by all the national-democratic forces, the pooling of efforts of the nations—fully retained their significance in the new conditions. But the conditions in which the Communist parties of different countries had to work were by no means identical.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was forced to conclude the Soviet-German non-aggression pact in order to frustrate the treacherous designs of the Munich plotters, mobilized the resources of the country and the forces of the people in order to prepare a rebuff to the fascist aggression. It will be appreciated, further, that though their

assessment of the war as an imperialist war both in origin and in aim was identical, the policy of, say, the Communist Party of France could not but differ essentially from that of the German Communists who, from the beginning of the war to the end fought for the defeat of "their" government.

This difference in tactics (with a single general line—struggle against fascism) was linked with the fundamental feature of the Second World War mentioned above.

When the war became a fact the French Communists quite correctly sought to turn it into a popular anti-fascist war, using for this purpose the bourgeois government which had accounts of its own to square with Germany. In so doing the French Communists proceeded from the possibility of uniting all the democratic forces to wage an anti-fascist war, that this unity could exert a decisive influence on government policy. They also took into account the fact that the government had to uphold the interests of the ruling class, which made it possible (although within narrow class limits) to combine its war effort with the anti-fascist struggle of the people.

On August 30, 1939, the French Communist Party as represented by its parliamentary group declared that the Communists were ready to defend the country might and main, to work for national unity and uphold national independence, democratic and republican freedoms. On September 2, the day after Hitler launched the attack on Poland, the Communist Deputies voted for military credits.

"The Nazi regime is enemy number one and objective number one!"—such was the slogan of the French Communist Party during the first weeks of the war. But when the designs of the architects of the "phoney war" came to light (on the Western front 110 French and British divisions stood motionless against 23 German divisions at the time Hitler's armored hordes were ravaging Poland and advancing rapidly to the borders of the Soviet Union), when an unprecedented anti-communist campaign was unloosed, and when, in the guise of "anti-fascist" war, fascism began to be implanted—the Communist Party spearheaded its struggle against the internal reaction. The ruling classes, by dividing the people and weakening the forces of the nation, led the country along the highroad to catastrophe, left it helpless in the face of real military danger from foreign fascism. And when in May 1940 Hitler invaded France, the Communist Party organized and headed the nationwide struggle for the freedom and independence of the country.

All the Communist Parties condemned the "phoney war" as imperialist, which was reflected in the appeal issued by the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the occasion of the twenty-second anniversary of the October Revolution.

But the change in the character of the war for the separate countries (in connection with the fundamental feature of the war) naturally brought with it a change in the attitude of the respective Communist parties, as well as in the attitude of Communists all over the world to a war waged by an aggressor who had attacked one victim after another.

The stand taken by the Communists was directly linked with the character of the war waged by their country. Everywhere they were selfless patriots who never wavered in performing their international duty and, in determining their tactics, they always had in mind the general trend of world events.

Now we approach another important aspect of the subject. During the First World War there were a number of centers of just war (Serbia, Belgium), which had practically no effect on the general character of the war. In the Second World War the rivulets of the liberation struggle against fascism made headway right from the start and, finally, merged into the powerful torrent of the anti-fascist struggle of the peoples and states, radically changing the character of the war.

In determining the character of the war waged by the capitalist countries which became the object of fascist aggression, it is necessary strictly to distinguish between the struggle waged by the people and the policy of the governments, which at times was anti-popular and essentially imperialist.

The Czechoslovak Republic was the first to fall victim to the fascist aggression in Europe (if we disregard the armed annexation of Austria). The people of Czechoslovakia, led by their Communist Party, fought against fascism—both the German and home brands—and became an active member of the anti-fascist coalition. Following the popular uprising in Slovakia (August 1944) this struggle developed into a nationwide war.

The war in which Poland had become embroiled was the result of the anti-national and imperialist policy pursued by the prewar Polish government. The people, leaderless and betrayed by their government, heroically defended their country. And this just war waged by the people, and in the first weeks also by the army and navy, was not the continuation but the negation of the anti-democratic policy

of the ruling classes, and signified the bankruptcy of that policy.

The war had also a just and liberation character in relation to Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. But here, too, we must see the difference in attitude of the governments and the people, as well as the scale of the struggle in the particular country. For example, it is hardly possible to speak about war in relation to Denmark which was occupied by German troops. Its government capitulated, and the people, demoralized by the sudden attack and the treachery of their rulers, could not put up any serious resistance. Later, however, the progressive forces of the Danish people fought against the fascist invader.

The situation was different in Norway. The popular resistance contributed greatly to the formation of the elements which gradually imparted to the war its anti-fascist, just character.

To a still greater extent is this true of Albania where the people fought valiantly against the Italian invaders beginning with April 1939; of Greece whose army, backed by the patriotism and enthusiasm of the people, successfully repelled the Italian invasion in the autumn of 1940 and courageously fought against the Hitler army in the spring of 1941. During the occupation the just liberation war was continued by the partisans led by the Communist Party.

A big contribution in developing the liberation trend of the war was made by the people of Yugoslavia who were attacked in April 1941. The partisan units, led by the Communists, engaged large forces of the Hitlerites. And when the victorious Soviet Army brought Germany to the brink of defeat, the partisans began to clear the invaders out of the country and took part in the final destruction of the Hitler forces in Yugoslavia by the Soviet troops.

The logic of the war unleashed by the imperialists, a war that developed out of the contradictions of capitalism in its period of decline, linked with the growth of socialism in one-sixth of the world, led inevitably to the fascist attack on the Soviet Union. This is not the place to argue as to where, when and why Hitler "made a mistake" in launching war against the USSR. We wish only to stress that all the talk about possible "more effective" variants of this war suffers from a major defect: it ignores the concrete situation, the objective laws of a war for world domi-

nation,* as well as the specific features of the Second World War which affected both its character and its conduct.

To the German attack the Soviet people retaliated with the Great Patriotic War. Fighting for their socialist country, they at the same time played the role of the shock-brigade of the international working-class and communist movement, defending the motherland of the international proletariat.

At the recent Hamburg Congress of the Socialist International the Austrian Social Democrat Pollak, speaking in defense of "democratic socialism," made an aside (surprising in its absurdity) to the effect that the Soviet Communists had revealed the non-socialist character of their country by the fact that they fought the anti-Hitler war "not for communism but purely for national defense." It will not be amiss if we ask: where would Mr. Pollak be now, and would he be able to talk about "democratic socialism," or socialism of any other kind, except, of course, national socialism, if the Soviet people in 1941-42 had not remained steadfast "as a nation," if they had not destroyed Hitler's "new order?" The Soviet people were able to do this precisely because they had a socialist state and a socialist system—the greatest and most decisive achievement of the international working-class movement at that stage.** In the Great Patriotic War and indeed throughout the existence of the Soviet state the national and international tasks of the Soviet people merged and fused organically.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war completed the process of the transformation of the war into a just, liberating war against the fascist bloc. The decisive role of the USSR in finally affirming the just character of the war was not only that its struggle gave renewed strength and confidence to the other peoples fighting against fascism, but also that the capitalist governments and states, above all the Great Powers, were forced to enter into alliance, into a coalition with the USSR and aid its efforts (although

*There is now documentary proof (see, for example, Klee K. Das Unternehmen "Seelowe", Goettingen, 1958) that in the summer of 1940 Hitler gave up the idea of invading the British Isles not because the operation had not been technically prepared, but for political reasons: he maintained that a premature defeat of Britain (before the defeat of the Soviet Union) would benefit primarily Japan and the United States. Consequently he wanted a "truce" with Britain in order to reinforce the guarantee, which he thought he had secured in 1940, of a successful war against the USSR.

**Mr. Pollak lacks originality, because from the tribune of the international Socialist congress he merely repeated the stupid thesis of Hitler's generals, invented to justify their defeat: if only Hitler hadn't hurt the national feelings of the Russians, they lament, if he had fought "only" against the communist regime, the Russians would never have displayed the courage and self-sacrifice which they always do when called upon to defend "Mother Russia."

preserving ideological and, in some respects, political hostility to the socialist state which had become their ally). They had no choice in the matter, for their victory was inconceivable without the victory of the Soviet Union. The Soviet victory signified the victory of progress over reaction, although heavy losses were incurred owing to the imperialist character of most of the members of the anti-Hitler coalition.

In speaking about the heavy losses and unnecessary sacrifice which could have been avoided had, say, Britain and the USA pursued a different second-front policy, we should bear in mind that these powers were hoisted with the petards of their own reactionary political tendencies. For a situation arose in which the Soviet Union found itself in a position alone to deliver the knock-out blow to Hitler Germany, to prevent the U.S. and British imperialists from installing reactionary regimes in many of the liberated European countries.

This "miscalculation" however—a consequence of the wrong conception of the strength and potential of socialist society—was inevitable. Such is the ultimate end of all reactionary designs in the epoch of rising communism and declining capitalism.

The war of China against the Japanese invaders was, from beginning to end, a just war of liberation and played an important role in preparing and, afterwards, in developing and affirming the progressive character of the world war. The brunt of the war was borne by the people's revolutionary armies led by the Communists, and it was these armies that brought the liberation struggle to victory.

The liberation struggle in other Asian countries (Korea, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China, the Philippines, etc.) against the Japanese invaders was also an important component of the just war waged by the anti-Hitler coalition.

For a number of countries — allies and satellites of Germany — the character of their participation in the war changed. For example, when Italy withdrew from the fascist bloc and joined the anti-Hitler coalition the war for that country became an anti-fascist war. It should be said that the Italian people had begun an armed struggle against fascism and the alliance with Germany even before the new government formed in July 1943 officially broke with Hitler. The Communist Party acted as leader and inspirer of the Resistance Movement of the Italian people.

In Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria the policy of the ruling classes and governments was reactionary and predatory both before the war and during their participation in the Hitler aggression. But the degree of their participation was not the same and depended on the scale of the resistance put up by the masses in each country, which, in turn, was determined by the influence of the Communist parties among the people, the militancy and skill of the Communists before the war. The Communist parties of these countries had long been waging a heroic fight against fascism, and when the war broke out they, like the Communists of Germany, Italy and Japan, called for the defeat of their reactionary fascist governments. Thanks to this selfless activity of the Communists, the Rumanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian peoples were able to join the anti-fascist war when the victorious Soviet Army liberated these countries, and the reactionary fascist regimes were smashed by popular revolutions.

III

Thus, the question of the character of the Second World War, while being of great theoretical and tactical importance, requires that it be examined in each particular case and for each particular country, but it can be answered correctly only when account is taken of the international situation as a whole and of the main, decisive tendencies in the development of the world war.

This question is of paramount importance for world policy of today, because in essence it is the question of the outcome of world wars in the epoch of the revolutionary replacement of one social system by another.

The First World War could not, and did not, develop by itself into a just, liberating war, but it was accompanied, as the Bolsheviks predicted, by a series of revolutions and civil (just, liberating) wars which ended the unity of the capitalist system and ensured the victory of socialism over the vast territory of the former Russian Empire. This marked a radical turn in human history.

The Second World War — begun by the imperialists in an attempt to solve the contradictions of capitalist society in the new stage characterized by the existence of a socialist state, although it was alone and isolated but nevertheless mighty and viable—evolved into a just, popular war against the bulwark of imperialist reaction of the day. In the socio-historical aspect the war was

a heavy blow to the capitalist system as a whole because the outcome was the rise of the world socialist camp.

It is clear, bearing in mind the present balance of the forces of socialism in the world, that if the ruling classes of the im-

perialist countries refuse to solve their economic and political contradictions along the lines of peaceful coexistence and again resort to war, this will be the last war, a war which will end, once and for all, the society of exploitation and coercion.

The Truth About 1939

A. Nekrich, V. Trukhanowski

How the war was prepared • The British and French Pacts with Hitler and Mussolini as steps towards war • Could the war have been averted? • The logic of facts and reaction

PEOPLE throughout the world often, and for different reasons, refer to 1939. As they reflect upon the events which led to World War II, progressive people make a point of drawing all they can from its lessons in order to wage a more successful struggle for peace. Reactionaries, on the other hand, seek in the events that preceded the outbreak of war justification for their present actions and regret the "mistakes of 1939," which caused the wheels of war, despite long and tenacious efforts, to run not along the road charted by London, Washington and Paris, with the result that the war ended not in the way that those who prepared it had hoped it would. They are simultaneously using 1939 to work up a systematic and all-out slander campaign designed to shift the blame for the world war from the Western imperialists to the Soviet Union and the communist movement.

In the light of the new documents now made public, a study of the international situation in the 'thirties leads us to conclude that Nazi Germany and fascist Italy could have been prevented from unleashing the Second World War. The Japanese aggression in the Far East, too, could have been halted. With the exception of land forces, the economic and military potential of Britain, France and the United States was superior to that of the fascist bloc countries. And if to this we add the potential of the Soviet Union we will get a clear idea of the overwhelming superiority over the aggressive bloc in all respects. Joint action in the defense of peace by the Soviet Union, the

United States, Britain and France would have cooled the ardor of the gamblers then in power in Germany, Italy and Japan; and had they remained obdurate and persisted in their efforts to spark off a war, the aggression could have been halted at the outset. Even bourgeois statesmen have admitted this. "Supposing," said Anthony Eden in 1944, "that before this war we four (USA, USSR, France and Great Britain) had been in close harmony and agreement, the Germans would never have been able to launch their offensive against the world."*

The aggressive nations were able to launch the Second World War with all its dire consequences simply because those who possessed the means did not use them to avert the war and thus prevent the death of 50 million people.

Who will go down in history as bearing this terrible responsibility before the people?

The Aggressors and Their Protectors

The war threat stemmed from the aggressive policy pursued by Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan. Monopoly capital sought to satisfy the interests of these countries by attempting to establish a fascist order throughout the world. To this end various theories of race superiority were preached and the war cult flourished. How did it come about that Germany, which had been heavily defeated in the First World War and had experienced the hardships of the post-war period and the economic crisis of the early 'thirties, succeeded in a short space

*W. P. and Zelda K. Coates. *A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations. 1943-1950.* London, 1958, Vol. II, p. 51.

of time in building such a powerful war machine?

The answer is to be sought in the policy pursued by Britain, France and the USA. Beginning with the Dawes Plan (1924), this policy became one of appeasement and concessions to Germany. She was granted favorable trade terms, reparations were gradually cut and then buried in oblivion, and, the main thing, foreign capital began to flow into German industry. Between 1924 and 1929 long-term capital investments were in the neighborhood of 10-15 billion marks, while short-term investments were to the tune of 6 billion. Seventy per cent of these were American. The political idea behind reviving Germany's military and industrial potential found expression in the Locarno Treaties (1925): by guaranteeing only the Western frontiers of Germany, the authors of these notorious treaties broadly hinted in what direction Germany should seek satisfaction of her claims if she wished to keep in the good graces of the victor powers.

The big U.S., British and Dutch monopolies, such as the Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon, Royal Dutch-Shell and Unilever groups, continued to supply financial, military and technical aid to Germany after Hitler seized power. Britain, herself acutely in need of aircraft, sold Germany war planes and aerial engines. And although these sales were made by private firms, the British Government was not only aware of them, it actually encouraged them.

"If the day of reckoning ever comes," wrote the economist Paul Einzig before the war, "the liberal attitude of the British Government in this matter may well be responsible for the lives of many British soldiers and civilians. War material, which will eventually be used against this country, could never have been produced but for the generosity with which Great Britain is giving her enemy free exchange for the purchase of raw materials."* In those years the British Empire and the United States were supplying Germany with from 60 to 70 per cent of the materials needed by her war industry.** As the danger of war drew nearer, still bigger supplies of strategic materials poured into Germany.

The political backing given by Britain, France and the United States to the Nazi regime from the outset was no less important. On July 15, 1933, Britain, Germany, Italy

and France signed a "Pact of Concord and Co-operation," which met with approval in Washington. Although this "Pact of Four" was never ratified, the very fact that the Western Powers had subscribed to it gave Italian fascism and the newly-established Nazi regime great moral and political support. *This was the first pact between the Western Powers and the aggressor fascist states.*

The encouragement thus given to the fascist powers bore immediate fruit. Germany demonstratively withdrew from the League of Nations, unilaterally abrogated the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty, introduced conscription and began openly to arm. A bare three months later, Britain signed a Naval Agreement with Nazi Germany under which, in direct violation of the Versailles Treaty, she was permitted to build naval craft, including submarines. *This was the second pact Britain signed with Nazi Germany.*

At first glance there appeared to be no sense in these acts. The Western powers encouraged Germany to arm, encouraged her aggressive plans, although they knew full well that Germany's striving—and that of Italy and Japan—for world domination represented a threat not only to the Soviet Union but also to them. The explanation for this "irrationalism" on the part of Britain, the United States and France, is to be sought in the fact that they hoped to use Nazi Germany armed to the teeth as capitalism's shock force, as the vanguard of imperialist reaction in the struggle against the Soviet Union, at that time the only socialist country in the world.

In November 1937, Lord Halifax, Deputy Prime Minister of Britain, was sent to Berlin to negotiate with Hitler. Halifax went out of his way to praise Hitler for having blocked the spread of communism in Western Europe by destroying it in his own country, so that Germany could rightly be regarded as the West's bulwark against Bolshevism.* On behalf of his government Halifax told Hitler that Britain would raise no objection to Germany's absorbing Austria, Czechoslovakia and Gdansk (Danzig) provided this were done quietly and in consultation with London.

The efforts of the British government were followed closely in the U.S. It was not because these efforts might lead to war between Germany and the USSR—such an event would be in accord with Washington's desires. What worried it was that a deal of

*Paul Einzig. *World Finance, 1938-1939*. London, 1939, pp. 119-120.

***The Economist*. May 20, 1939.

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

this kind would strengthen Britain and Germany as the competitors and imperialist rivals of the USA. About this time, therefore, (October 1937-February 1938) the American government made plans to convene an international conference under U.S. auspices at which the fascist powers were also to be present. The Soviet Union was not listed among the countries it was intended to invite.* There was no doubt that the conference was intended to be the center of anti-Soviet collusion. The conference, however, did not take place, because of action by Britain who at that time was negotiating directly with Germany and had no wish to concede to the USA any political advantage she hoped to obtain out of a direct Anglo-German agreement.

France, too, was zealously seeking an agreement with Nazi Germany. In their anxiety to reach agreement with the Nazis, the French rulers were ready to go back on the Mutual Aid Pact with the Soviet Union and to revise their alliances with the East and South-East European countries. In this spirit Prime Minister Chautemps and other French ministers had unofficial talks with Hitler's representatives in Paris between November and December 1937.**

With the Western powers' blessing, Hitler seized Austria and soon a shameful and unprecedented campaign was launched against Czechoslovakia, culminating in Munich. Hitler had carried off a coup. "The Munich agreement," wrote Herbert Feis, the American historian, "had allowed Hitler to tear Czechoslovakia apart, leaving Poland and the Soviet Union exposed to German assault."***

*And so Britain and France signed yet another pact with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. On that same day Chamberlain and Hitler signed an Anglo-German declaration to the effect that never again would Britain and Germany go to war against each other.**** This was the fourth pact between Britain and Nazi Germany, a non-aggression pact. A little later France signed a similar declaration—the third pact between France and Hitler.*

Washington approved the activities of the head of the British government. "Good man," he was called, succinctly and significantly.***** Sumner Welles, U.S. Under Secretary

of State—one of the most consistent "appeasers" of the fascist powers, a man upon whom much in the State Department depended, said in a broadcast on October 3, 1938, (a few days after Munich): "Today, perhaps more than at any time during the past two decades, there was presented the opportunity for the establishment by the nations of the world of a new world order based upon justice and upon law."* And two months later, William Bullitt, U.S. Ambassador in Paris, explained to Secretary of the Interior Ickes the idea behind the policy of the Western Powers: "Germany in due course will try to take the Ukraine, which is the richest wheat area of the Soviet Union. In the process Germany will extend herself to such a degree that she cannot stand the strain. She will break under it in the end. Similarly, Japan will conquer or attempt to conquer Siberia, and she in time will break under that strain. But by leaving Russia to her fate, England and France will be diverting the threat of Germany from their own lands."**

Such, then, was the Western Powers' policy on the eve of 1939, a policy which became known as the policy of "appeasement" and "non-intervention."

Alone in the Struggle for Collective Security

In the period before the storm broke, the Soviet Union did everything in its power to halt the drift to war.

It advanced what was to become the well-known idea that peace is indivisible, the idea underlying its policy of collective security. This policy envisaged all nations in a given geographical area joining to preserve peace in that area. So that collective action by peace-loving powers against the aggressor would be automatic, the Soviet Union proposed in 1933 that a Convention be adopted on defining the aggressor.*** But British and French efforts buried this proposal somewhere in the Disarmament Committee.

From the end of 1933 onward the Soviet Union had been working to establish a system of collective security in Europe. In 1934 it joined the League of Nations in the hope that it would be possible to use this organization for the purpose of collectively rebuffing aggression. At that time the USSR, jointly with France, put forward a proposal for a collective security agreement in Europe, known as the Eastern Pact. But Britain, Germany and Poland wrecked this proposal.

*William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason. *The Challenge to Isolation. 1937-40.* N.Y., 1952, pp. 20-26.

***Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, Series D, Vol. I, No. 22, pp. 41-45.

***Herbert Feis, *Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin. The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought.* Princeton, 1957, p. 4.

*****Documents and Materials*, Vol. I, No. 39, pp. 319-320.

*****W. L. Langer and S. E. Gleason. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

*Cordell Hull, *Memoirs*, N.Y., 1948, Vol. I, p. 596.

***The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*. N.Y., 1954, Vol. II, p. 519.

****Symposium of Documents on International Policy and on International Law*, Moscow, Sixth Series, No. 12, pp. 61-62.

When it became clear that the bourgeois-democratic states were not prepared to set up a system capable of collectively curbing the aggressors, the Soviet Union decided to ally itself with individual nations and in 1935 signed Mutual Aid Pacts with France and Czechoslovakia, the countries most likely to be the object of an attack by Nazi Germany.

The steps taken by the Soviet Union in connection with Italy's aggression against Ethiopia, the occupation of the Rhine Demilitarized Zone by Germany, the German-Italian intervention in Spain, and the Austrian "Anschluss" — steps which did not have the desired result because they were sabotaged by the Western Powers—testify to the consistent struggle waged by the USSR to restrain aggression, to its will to co-operate with all peace-loving powers with the object of averting another war. At the time of the Czechoslovakian crisis, the USSR frequently voiced its readiness to come to Czechoslovakia's aid in honor of its commitments under its Pact.* And although it contained a reservation making Soviet aid dependent upon France, the USSR declared its decision to carry out its allied pledge even if France refused to do so.** Dozens of Soviet divisions, all in battle trim, armored units and aircraft were drawn up on the Soviet Union's western frontier.*** But the Czechoslovak government adopted a defeatist position, and, under the combined pressure of Germany, Britain, France, the United States and Italy, capitulated, thereby betraying the national interests of the Czechoslovak people. The Soviet Union's aid to China which in 1937 was the object of Japanese aggression, and the firm rebuff delivered to the Japanese imperialists when they tried, by attacking the Mongolian People's Republic, to find out how true to its word the Soviet Union was, are also well-known facts.

This, then, was the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in relation to the acts of aggression and the growing danger of another world war. "Soviet diplomacy," wrote Herbert Feis, "had at some previous intervals professed the wish to share in collective action for the restraint of Germany and Italy. But the Western European governments had not been eager for this companionship."† There were, hence, three main trends in international politics before the Second World

War: that pursued by Germany, Japan and Italy, orientated towards a world war with the aim of gaining world domination, the Western powers' policy of complicity with the aggressors aimed at destroying the socialist country and weakening their imperialist rivals, and, finally, the policy of the peoples who, by 1939, had acquired enough experience to foresee the consequences of fascist aggression in any direction. This policy of the peoples was reflected not only in their direct, including armed, struggle against fascism, it was incorporated into the foreign policy of the only socialist state at that time, the Soviet Union, which, relying on the will of the peoples, did everything in its power to win over the non-fascist countries to the cause of jointly defending peace and curbing the aggressors.

The Men of Munich Remain True to Themselves

After Munich there was in the capitals of the Western powers an air of feverish expectation of a German attack against the USSR. But early in 1939 the Nazis occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia. On March 21, Hitler demanded Gdansk and the Polish Corridor. On March 22, Germany forced Lithuania to cede Klaipeda. On March 23, Germany imposed an economic agreement on Rumania which inevitably meant that that country would become an agrarian and raw-material appendage to the Reich and, finally, on April 6, fascist Italy occupied Albania.

The political, military and strategic situation in Europe was changing rapidly in favor of the fascist Axis. There was no longer a first-class Czech army in Central Europe which, in the event of war, could threaten Germany's southern flank. After Franco triumphed in March 1939, France's frontier along the Pyrenees could no longer be considered safe. The establishment of a fascist regime on the Iberian Peninsula and the seizure of Albania by Italy were a threat to the British and French lines of communication in the Mediterranean and to the strategic defense system of these nations both there and in the Middle East. The Munich men in London and Paris had clearly not calculated on this. They were being given a view of the other side of the Munich medal. Popular indignation at this conniving with fascism became increasingly formidable. A number of influential people in the Conservative Party (including Churchill) began to insist on an agreement with the USSR, so that a strait-jacket could be put on the Ger-

*New Documents on Munich, Moscow, 1958, No. 6, pp. 24-25.

**The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Freedom of Czechoslovakia, Moscow, 1951, p. 88.

***New Documents on Munich, No. 53, pp. 139-140.

†Herbert Feis, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

man dictator who had no desire to reckon with Britain.

In this situation the governments of Britain and France switched to another policy. Britain introduced universal military service, gave guarantees safeguarding the independence of Poland, Rumania, Greece and Turkey in the event of an attack on them and asked the Soviet Union what its attitude would be in the event of new acts of aggression in Europe. This policy of "guarantees," as it very soon developed, was not aimed at establishing a real front against the fascist aggressors, but at scaring Germany with the possibility of this, at forcing her to act in agreement with the Western Powers and on their terms. In view of the policy of "non-intervention" and Munich, this "change" in the attitude of Britain could not but arouse grave mistrust in the USSR (for which, as subsequent developments showed, there were good grounds), but the Soviet government had hoped nevertheless that the experience of the early months of 1939 would not be lost on Britain and France. That was why, when on March 18, 1939, the British government asked what the Soviet position would be in the event of Germany attacking Rumania, the USSR proposed that a meeting be called of the countries interested (Britain, the USSR, France, Poland, Rumania and Turkey).^{*} Britain rejected this suggestion and a few days later went back on its own proposal to the Soviet Union to sign a joint declaration on convening a conference of the governments concerned in the event of the independence of any European country being threatened.^{**}

But Hitler was becoming increasingly aggressive, and public opinion in both Britain and France was insisting on immediate talks with the Soviet Union. In those days a London newspaper commented: "Russia is the key. A steel-strong military alliance between Britain, France, and Russia is the only hope for peace."^{***}

On April 15 the British government made a proposal to the Soviet Union which, in effect, meant that in the event of aggression against any European neighbor of the USSR, the latter would render that country aid, should this prove desirable.^{****} The "wise men" in London thus proposed that the Soviet Union should fight the aggressor without any

undertaking of support from Britain and France.

On April 17, 1939, the Soviet Union made counter-proposals to Britain and France, suggesting that Britain, France and the USSR undertake to render each other every possible aid, including military aid, in the event of aggression in Europe against any of the signatory nations, and to render similar aid to the Eastern European states between the Baltic and the Black Seas and bordering on the USSR, in the event of aggression against them.^{*} These proposals were entirely in harmony with the main task—that of barring aggression in any direction.

Meanwhile the situation in Europe continued to deteriorate. On April 28 Germany denounced the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935 and the Polish-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1934. Under the impact of these developments the British government made some new proposals to the Soviet Government on May 8. But, as hitherto, they did not pay regard to the principle of reciprocity.

A secret Foreign Office memorandum of May 22, 1939, explains why the British and French governments endeavored to impose unilateral commitments upon the Soviet Union. It examined the advantages and disadvantages for Britain of a Mutual Aid Pact with the Soviet Union. Among the disadvantages was recorded the participation of Britain in a war that meant "the support of the Soviet Union against Germany." At the same time it was considered desirable to "secure Soviet assistance in the West in all circumstances."^{***}

On July 23 the Soviet Union suggested to the Western Powers that talks between military missions should start in Moscow. The pressure of world public opinion was so great that Britain and France were compelled to agree, but they were not sincere in this. The British rulers acted perfidiously and played a double game.

Records show that in June 1939 the British government, on its own initiative, had begun secret negotiations with German representatives for a broad Anglo-German agreement.^{***} A division of the world into spheres of influence was proposed to Germany. Among the countries against which there should be joint action, mention was made of China and

^{*}Izvestia, March 22, 1939.

^{**}Documents on British Foreign Policy (IBFP). 1919-1939, Third Series, Vol. IV, No. 484, p. 461.

^{***}News Chronicle, 10, IV, 1939.

^{****}Falsifiers of History. Historical Reference. Moscow, 1948, p. 42.

^{*}Ibid., p. 43.

^{**}DBFP, Vol. V, No. 589, pp. 644, 646.

^{***}See DBFP, Vol. VI, Nos. 354, 370, 42, 443 and others, Appendix III, pp. 736-742; Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, IX, pp. 457-497; "Documents and Materials Relating to the Eve of the Second World War," Vol. II, Nos. 13, 22, 25, 29 and others.

the Soviet Union with whom the British government was then carrying on negotiations. Britain agreed to recognize German domination in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe; she was prepared to denounce her guarantees to Poland and undertook to take steps to get France to denounce the Mutual Aid Pact with the Soviet Union and to sever all French ties in South-Eastern Europe. This meant placing Poland at Hitler's mercy and showed a readiness to assist Hitler in reducing France to a second-rate power. The British representatives also proposed a number of advantageous economic agreements to Germany. In the event of the German government agreeing to Britain's proposals, Britain promised to cut short her negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The talks between Britain and Germany continued up to the outbreak of war. On August 7, as the British Military Mission was leisurely making its way by sea to Moscow, British delegates were listening with growing anxiety, in the home of the Swedish industrialist Dahlerus in Schleswig-Holstein, to the new German claims, the acceptance of which would be tantamount to Britain capitulating to the Reich and to the end of the British Empire. Britain's representatives, it goes without saying, could not agree to this, in spite of the "spread of communism" with which the Nazi representatives sought to intimidate them, and under the guise of which they conducted their talks.* Anglo-German contradictions had reached their peak.

The British government nevertheless decided to protract the talks in Moscow and continued to seek an understanding with Hitler. In the conditions that obtained in the summer of 1939 this policy was, objectively, one of unleashing a war.

The British and French military missions finally arrived in Moscow on August 11. It immediately became clear that the British mission had no written powers authorizing it to conduct negotiations, while both missions had no idea whether the Soviet armed forces would, in the event of war, be granted passage across the territories of Poland and Rumania, the allies of Britain and France. In point of fact it had been decided, before these missions left for Moscow, to take advantage of the anti-Soviet attitude of the ruling cliques in Poland and Rumania in order to drag out the negotiations. Before leaving Paris General Doumenc, head of the

French Military Mission, was warned that he "should avoid letting this question be posed by the Russians."** According to top secret instructions to the British Military Mission on its departure from London "... the Delegation should ... go very slowly with the conversations."*** There was only one idea behind this: things had to be "dragged out" until such time as Britain had reached agreement with Germany against the USSR and at its expense. The "British Government," the instructions pointed out, "is unwilling to enter into any detailed commitments which are likely to tie our hands in all circumstances. Endeavors should therefore be made to confine the Military Agreement to the broadest possible terms."**** The Military Mission was instructed not to discuss the defense of the Baltic states and to avoid discussion on the attitude of Poland and Rumania on granting passage to Soviet troops across their territories. The British Mission, furthermore, was given instructions of a purely intelligence nature—it was required to ascertain the military potential of the Soviet Union. This was all so much against the national interests of Britain that even Sir William Seeds, British Ambassador in Moscow and well-known for his anti-Soviet views, was astonished. It was with profound anxiety that he wrote on August 13 to Foreign Minister Halifax: "Under such conditions I consider that military talks are likely to produce no result beyond arousing once again Russian fears that we are not in earnest, and are not trying to conclude a concrete and definite agreement..."*****

The entire course of the negotiations in Moscow shows that the Soviet Union exerted every effort to conclude a military alliance with Britain and France with the aim of restraining the aggressor. It was prepared to undertake very important commitments. Whereas Britain, if war broke out, was ready to send only six divisions to the Continent, the Soviet Military Mission declared the USSR's intention of engaging against the aggressor 120 infantry and 16 cavalry divisions, 5,000 heavy guns, 9,000 to 10,000 tanks and 5,500 fighter and bomber aircraft.*****

By August the Soviet government no longer had any doubts that Britain and France were endeavoring to trap the USSR, to involve it

*DBFP, Vol. VI, pp. 756-761; B. Dahlerus, *The Last Attempt*, London, 1946.

*Leon Noel, *L'agression allemande contre la Pologne*. Paris, 1946, p. 423.

**DBFP, Vol. VI, p. 763.

***Ibid., pp. 763-764.

****Ibid., No. 647, p. 682.

*****For Record of Negotiations, see *International Affairs*, No. 3 1959, p. 106.

in a war with Germany, unaided and alone, and were least of all interested in establishing a united front of the powers against German aggression.

A Forced Decision and Its Significance

The world situation, however, made an urgent and carefully weighed decision imperative. The slightest imprudent step could have involved the Soviet Union in a war which might easily have turned into a war by the entire capitalist world against the socialist state. This had been the objective of Western reactionary circles for many years. The Soviet Union was in danger not only in Europe, but also in the Far East where, in the summer of 1939, there had been heavy battles with the Japanese invaders in the area of Khalkin-Gol. At the height of this fighting Britain signed the Craigie-Arita agreement with Japan, which became known as the "Far Eastern Munich." In effect this agreement guaranteed the Japanese rear in China in the event of Japan taking part in war against the USSR. The danger of a war on two fronts, with the Soviet Union in complete isolation, or at best, with the Great Powers benevolently neutral towards the aggressor, and the whole capitalist encirclement hostile to the USSR, — this danger loomed ominously. The Soviet government had now to do everything in its power to remove this threat.

Germany, since the spring of 1939, had repeatedly approached Moscow about the possibility of improving German-Soviet relations. The Soviet government had expressed its deep mistrust of German policy in no uncertain terms. On August 4, 1939, Schulenburg, German Ambassador in Moscow, reported to Berlin that the Soviet government was ready to sign an agreement with Britain and France.* And this was true. It was then that Germany proposed a Mutual Non-Aggression Pact to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet-German negotiations took place when it was already clear that Britain and France did not desire an alliance with the USSR. In these conditions, the inevitable result of non-acceptance of the German proposal would be an attack on the USSR from two sides by two aggressors, Germany and Japan. The Pact was signed on August 23. Only after it had exhausted all possibilities of reaching agreement with Britain and France did the Soviet Union conclude the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. It was, therefore, the policy pursued by the Western Powers

that compelled the Soviet Union to take this step.

The Western Powers' refusal to enter into an alliance with the USSR to avert aggression enabled Hitler, by attacking Poland, to unleash the Second World War. Had Chamberlain and Daladier not betrayed the national interests of their countries (the direct outcome of their policy of isolating the Soviet Union) Britain and France would not, shortly after, have found themselves alone against the powerful German war machine, the Soviet Union would have been with them.

By concluding the pact with Germany, the Soviet government won time — nearly two years — in which to prepare for the inevitable German attack. Much was done to strengthen the defenses of the country. The pact gave the Soviet Union an opportunity to improve its strategic positions and establish the so-called "eastern" front from the Baltic to the Black Sea by advancing its troops from 200 to 300 kilometers in anticipation of the coming Nazi assault. In this connection the cold-war propagandists and the emigré yes-men are still talking loudly about Soviet "aggression" against Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in 1940. It should be clear to every sober-minded person, however, that it was a question of saving these countries from enslavement by Nazi Germany, of creating more favorable conditions for those prosecuting the war, for those who could do this with hope of success, of making it possible for the Baltic peoples to occupy a place among the anti-fascist nations, and thus to determine their destiny and safeguard their future.

By signing the pact, the Soviet Union cancelled all the promissory notes which the British and French imperialists had handed Hitler in the hope that he would put an end to the socialist state and that, eventually, they would remove Germany from their path, a Germany weakened by war with the Soviet Union. The contradictions between them and Germany sharpened, and they were, in the long run, forced to uphold their interests by force of arms.

The pact also aggravated the contradictions between the aggressors. The ensuing discord weakened the aggressive camp and the Soviet Union was relieved of the need to wage war on two fronts. The Soviet-German agreement upset the operative and strategic plans of Japan, and thanks partly to this, Britain, France and the USA were not obliged to fight in the Far East until December 1941. These factors enabled the Soviet Union to

*Documents on German Foreign Policy, Series D, Vol. VI, No. 766, p. 1062.

withstand the immediate impact of the German war machine and contributed to the formation of the anti-fascist coalition, when the march of events had convinced the U.S. and British governments that they could hold their ground only by waging the struggle together with the Soviet Union. Such was the significance of the Soviet-German pact in securing victory over the aggressive powers in the Second World War.

When it decided to sign the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, the Soviet government and the Communist Party were guided by the need to carry out their international duty to the working people of the world. The Soviet Union was at that time the world's only socialist state, and the future of mankind and the fate of socialism were bound up with its existence. The destruction of the land of socialism under the blows of international reaction would have greatly retarded man's advance. It would have been an act of unpardonable irresponsibility on the part of the

Soviet leaders if, in the situation that obtained, they had run the risk of war.

Developments have proved that the Soviet Union's foreign policy on the eve of the Second World War was an essential contribution to the future victory over fascism and, consequently, an important factor in humanity's advance to socialism.

No matter what those who have something to conceal about 1939 may write or say, the truth is clear and simple—it is that, first, the combined efforts of the USSR and the Western Powers could at that time have prevented the outbreak of war, and that it was Britain, France and the USA who hindered this; second, that the Soviet Union's foreign policy up to 1939 and during 1939 pursued one aim—to bridle the aggressor and, in the event of the aggression nevertheless taking place, to destroy the aggressor. Thus this policy was in the interests of mankind as a whole, the interests of progress and socialism.

Peace Does Not Come, It Has to Be Won

J. Dienne

Birth of the biggest mass movement of today • World Peace Movement gives rise to other anti-war forces • Success of the international campaigns • United action by the people will compel the warmakers to retreat and will impose peace on them

THIS year, the World Peace Movement celebrated its tenth anniversary and summed up the results of its work. The movement has drawn new strength from its experiences and has confidently set about the solution of problems which have arisen in conditions which, though vastly different, are much more favorable than when it was founded. It will, therefore, not be amiss to study the experience of this struggle and to recall its basic principles.

I

Origin and Beginning of the Peace Movement

The struggle for peace does not date from today, neither does the contribution which Communists have always made to it. In the

first issue of our journal, Antonin Novotny recalled that Marx raised the question of the attitude of the Communists to war nearly 100 years ago in the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association. It is common knowledge that the first act of the October Revolution, the act of the first socialist state, was to promulgate the famous Decree on Peace. Nothing could better stress the fact that Communists have always regarded the fight for peace as one of their cardinal tasks.

The struggle for peace was particularly sharp in the thirties, when the fight was against fascism and its attempts to embroil the world in war. A large-scale anti-war campaign was launched both within separate countries and on an international scale. This

campaign found strength in the Soviet Union's efforts for a Mutual Assistance Pact between France, Britain and the Soviet Union, efforts which were backed by vast masses of the people, by different political trends, and first and foremost by the Communist Parties. Broad movements inspired by workers, liberals and progressives grew out of this anti-war campaign. The names of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland who waged a magnificent fight against war are still fresh in the memory of many. Their voices were heard not only in the Communist Parties. The movements of that time, such as the Brussels Congress in 1936 and the International Peace Campaign, have left their imprint on the history of the struggle for peace.

In the long run, however, the forces of the working-class movement and the popular movement were not strong enough to prevent the unleashing of the Second World War. They proved capable of organizing powerful demonstrations, of launching big propaganda campaigns, of alerting the people to the war danger and of inculcating hatred of fascism. But they were unable to organize a *sufficiently powerful* rebuff by the masses, or by the working-class and other organizations. The success in achieving unity among the leaders was not reinforced by adequately organized unity from below. In most countries, with the possible exception of France, the social-democratic leaders succeeded in preventing working-class unity.

After the Second World War a new situation arose. With the rise of the socialist camp, which unites a number of states around the Soviet Union, and the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle, the imperialist sphere of action was greatly narrowed.

In the hope of reversing the march of events, the imperialists made a joint effort to destroy the socialist world before it had become too strong. Imperialism's industrial, economic and military might was harnessed to this end, particular importance being attached to the A-bomb.

From 1948 onward the United States took its stand at the head of the other imperialist powers in preparing for a new "trial of strength."

Scarcely four years had passed since the end of the Second World War when humanity was again confronted with the threat of a new conflict. There is nothing more dangerous in such a situation than passivity and peoples divided. A certain amount of doubt on their part was understandable: they simply could

not believe in the possibility of another war. At the same time, paradoxical though it may be, the warmongers' propaganda, the torrent of lies and the spirit of hatred cultivated by the imperialists, contributed in some measure to fostering a feeling of resignation: some became resigned to the "inevitability" of war.

It was in these conditions that the peace movement came into being, a movement of a new type without precedent in history.

Distinctive Features of the Peace Movement

In August 1948, people of good will, among them prominent intellectuals, writers, scientists and artists—both Communist and non-Communist—who felt the urgent need to warn the peoples of the danger, convened a Congress of Intellectuals for Peace in Wroclaw. It was at this Congress that the International Liaison Committee of Intellectuals for Peace was set up. Some months later, in December, an International Congress of Women was convened on the call of the Women's International Democratic Federation. Early in 1949, these two movements issued a joint appeal to all democratic organizations and peace supporters to call a World Peace Congress. This was held in Paris in April 1949. (Delegates who were refused visas to France met in Prague.) Thus it was that the World Peace Movement was initiated.

It was not mere chance that people of all trends regarded Frédéric Joliot-Curie as a worthy leader of the movement he headed until his death. His name was a symbol, and we Communists are proud of him. An outstanding scientist and a true Communist, he ardently served the cause he had made his own. Frédéric Joliot-Curie represented all that was best in man.

From the first day of its inauguration, the aims of the World Peace Movement have been quite simple: to bar the way to war, to secure lasting peace, to achieve peaceful coexistence and to unite the peoples of all countries in *joint struggle* for these aims.

Numerous forces—some of which already existed and others that had just come into being—were there to be united: the Soviet Union and the socialist countries with their strength dedicated wholly to peace; the Communist Parties in all countries; the masses of working people and their democratic organizations—trade unions, co-operatives and peasant associations—the national-liberation movement in the countries under imperialist rule, people belonging to the social-democratic, liberal and radical parties; members of the

free professions and university and religious circles.

The conditions in which the movement was born, and the nature of its forces have imparted a specific character to it. Its main feature is that it represents the people, not any one class or even compact social groups, but the people. It is not, nor can it be, a movement with the mission of dethroning capitalism and establishing socialism. Right from its inception the movement has had the democratic objective of preserving peace. Being a democratic, not a socialist, movement, its aim is not to investigate the basic causes of war. In the conditions of the post-war period the peace movement has sought to prevent the outbreak of another war.

These conditions are not static. They change and the changes necessitate a new approach.

Ten years ago, for example, the urgent task was to bar the road to war. Today it is possible to go farther—to *impose peace*. In 1956, at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov emphasized that war was no longer inevitable, adding: "Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans. To be able to do this all anti-war forces must be vigilant and prepared, they must act as a united front and never relax their efforts in the battle for peace. The more actively the peoples defend peace, the greater the guarantee that there will not be a new war."

These points have been confirmed by the experience of the last three years—the failure of the Suez, Lebanon and Jordan adventures, of the gamble in the Taiwan area. They are even more valid today. That is why the XXIst Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union drew the conclusion that, with the fulfilment of the economic plans of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe and Asia, "there will be a real possibility of eliminating war as a means of solving international issues."

Forms of the World Peace Movement

The methods and forms of activity of the peace movement have, throughout its history, always been in tune with its specific character.

On five occasions the peace movement has summoned the representatives of the peoples

to world assemblies: the Paris-Prague Congress (1949), the Warsaw Congress (1950), the Vienna Congress (1952), the Helsinki Assembly (1955), and, lastly, the Stockholm Congress (1958). The Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation testified to the further growth of the peace forces, brought about in part by the rapid consolidation of the strength and prestige of the movements for national liberation and independence.

Despite considerable dissimilarity in the form of their proceedings and in circumstances in which they were held, these vast assemblies had one thing in common: they were not simply meetings of people, but rather the result of massive world campaigns which had roused the public to go into the fundamental problems of peace at hundreds of thousands of meetings, conferences, door-to-door talks, workshop discussions and street corner meetings. The men and women who participated in these world assemblies were delegated by the most diverse political, religious and other circles and groups, and the money for their fares was, in the main, collected at public meetings; and so it was that the splendid efforts of thousands of people, who wished to send their representatives to the Congress, established the link between the struggle of ordinary people and the work of the congresses.

Big International Campaigns

Convened as a result of public activity on a world scale around the major problems of peace, the peace congresses, in their turn, acted as a stimulus to mass action. During the formative period of the movement one should single out the campaigns for the collection of signatures in response to simple appeals—which became ultimately world petitions, popular resolutions of a new type. The Stockholm Appeal for Banning the Atomic Bomb and the Berlin Appeal for a Peace Pact between the Great Powers played a particularly important role in strengthening the movement and in bringing masses in all countries into the fight for peace. Kissinger, an American writer on political and military matters, deplored the effectiveness of this struggle.

The First World Peace Congress (1949) told the people about the objectives of the struggle and appealed to them to forget their differences and to act together. In their efforts to *organize* action for peace, the leaders of the movement quickly came to the conclusion

that it was absolutely necessary to focus attention on the problem which was at that time of decisive importance and which could bring about unity of the peoples. In each case it was necessary to discover the means of translating this unity into a simple form of joint action.

The Stockholm Appeal, published in March 1950, was the solution sought for. The simple demand to prohibit atomic weapons once and for all focussed attention on the major problem of the day. It expressed the general and profound desire of people of different views and convictions. The warning that those who first used atomic weapons would be held responsible by the people, clearly demonstrated the importance of public sanction. The appeal to subscribe to a short and concise text, was the appropriate way to reach the ordinary people.

At that time, when the World Peace Movement (together with the Communist Parties in the different countries) was practically alone in calling the people to action and the efforts to arouse public opinion against nuclear weapons in many countries were not infrequently regarded as acts of "betrayal," in the capitalist world the Stockholm Appeal campaign became a real battle—against those who wished at any cost to retain weapons of mass destruction as the basis of their policy and to enlighten the people who were being subjected to a continuous barrage of hate and war propaganda.

About a quarter of the world's population signed the Stockholm Appeal. *For the first time people had taken action for peace in an organized way and on a world scale.* This campaign brought out the contrast between the World Peace Movement and the prewar pacifist organizations. Instead of leaving the solution of problems to leaders, or resting content with oral declarations, the movement really united the peace supporters, the ordinary people, in action. The need to find thousands of defenders of peace who are prepared to sacrifice their time, jeopardize their jobs, were not afraid of being imprisoned or persecuted for distributing peace appeals, engendered new forms of organization: peace committees in the localities, in factories, universities and institutes, or according to profession. The forms differed from country to country, from region to region, but their fundamental content remained the same. It was this that constituted the main strength of the movement, which lent it a specific character.

The Stockholm Appeal was a heavy blow

to the designs of the imperialists. It created a moral climate which made it more difficult for them to maneuver and which they could not disperse.

Of equal importance was the campaign for signatures to the Berlin Appeal for a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers. This appeal hit hard at the ideological base of the war forces: at the idea that the two camps in the world cannot negotiate agreement, that the sole guarantee of security for the "free democratic and civilized West" lies in smashing, or at least subordinating the "tyrannical, barbarian and uncivilized East," to be implemented, naturally, by such "noble" and "dignified" methods as atomic blackmail, economic blockade (even to banning trade in medicines) and napalm. By appealing for a Five-Power Peace Pact the peace supporters went over to the counter-attack, declaring that, on the contrary, *only negotiations, only the re-establishment of contacts and agreements between the Great Powers can save the world from catastrophe.*

In 1951-1952 this was an important political battle. Efforts were made to get all the peace supporters to participate in this campaign. This explanatory work posed a major question: was peaceful coexistence feasible? An inadequate understanding of this sometimes resulted in the Berlin Appeal being regarded as mere wishful thinking in view of the imperialist policy. Even today these reservations continue to provide us with a lesson. Did they not reflect a lack of faith in the strength of the masses, in the perspectives of the struggle for peace? Did they not show a failure to understand that the growing strength of the socialist countries was creating conditions for a durable peace and, consequently, that the balance of world forces was tipping more and more in favor of those who by virtue of their social and economic nature were dedicated to peace? Did not these reservations reflect a lack of understanding of the concept of peaceful coexistence? Too often the idea of peaceful coexistence was regarded merely as a tempting ideal, and such passive approval not infrequently concealed inability to appreciate that it really signifies a *constructive* policy in international relations, and that this policy, which the capitalist world is reluctant to accept, can, and should be, *imposed upon* it through the pressure of the world peace forces. This passive attitude, which is still met with, ignores a fundamental Leninist idea, which can be found in a speech by Lenin in connection with the Decree on Peace—the idea that the peoples should *impose peace*.

More than 600 million people signed the Berlin Appeal. But its significance does not end with this: the main ideas behind the campaign were taken up by other peace-loving political, social and religious forces.

The third campaign—the action to end the war in Korea—was likewise an important event; it showed that it was possible to organize united action at a time when the peoples were divided by suspicion and mistrust.

At first the propaganda of the American imperialists had a certain measure of success; they succeeded in getting a large section of public opinion in the capitalist countries to believe that the war in Korea was due to aggression on the part of North Korea, an aggression secretly “incited” by the Soviet Union. At the beginning of the war there was grave danger of a split on this question—not only among the peace forces generally, but inside the World Peace Movement. But the will for unity and effective measures to defend peace gained the upper hand. Communists and other far-sighted democrats in all countries gave their immediate support to the Korean people in their struggle against American aggression, and worked might and main to bring the truth to the working class and the people. They recognized, however, that considerable sections of the working class and the population in many countries, although they sincerely desired an end to the war, had been taken in by the war propaganda.

The peace supporters came to the conclusion that joint action to stop hostilities was possible, despite the fact that opinions varied as to who was to blame for starting the aggression. This idea was advanced by Joliot-Curie at the Second World Peace Congress: “Even if different opinions do exist among us regarding the reasons for this war, our primary concern must be to support any initiative that can be taken to end this conflict.” This attitude resulted in a large-scale joint effort, which subsequently went beyond the confines of the World Peace Movement.

The experience proved most beneficial to the movement, which later encountered similar difficulties. It surmounted them, however, and remained faithful to this principle. A problem of this kind arose during the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary. By virtue of the circumstances in which the counter-revolution took place and which led up to it, many people were sincerely troubled and even baffled. Striving at all costs to prevent an effective rebuff to the Anglo-French-Israeli

troops in Egypt, the imperialists made great efforts to smash or paralyze the peace movement at this decisive moment by utilizing the provocation in Hungary. But although in a number of capitalist countries there was a decline in peace activities, the desire for unity nevertheless gained the upper hand. Frankly admitting that there were, and could be, different opinions in the peace movement on the Hungarian events, the movement succeeded in maintaining the unity established around its main slogans.

The World Peace Movement has campaigned vigorously for the principles of the United Nations; it works to give the UN the opportunity to play its real role and insists that the Chinese People's Republic be allowed to take its lawful place in the Security Council. In his speech at the Second World Peace Congress (Warsaw 1950) Joliot-Curie showed how far the imperialists' policy was in conflict with the principles of the UN Charter, and he called upon the peoples to defend the UN from those who were leading it to ruin. “The UN Charter,” he said, “is an expression of the principle of coexistence of different regimes.”

The struggle for a genuine United Nations Organization acting in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and representing all peoples, continues to be one of the aims of the peace movement. And this goal is becoming more and more within reach as the balance of forces in the world arena changes—the voting in the General Assembly is proof of this.

In recent years the World Peace Movement has worked for peace in Algeria. The efforts of the French colonialists to depict the events in Algeria as a “rebellion” stirred up by a few “leaders” can no longer conceal the facts: a bitter war is taking place there, a war that is taking a toll of more and more lives both in the armies and among the civilian population. The incidents on the Tunisian and Moroccan borders show that there is every risk of this war spreading to the whole of North Africa and jeopardizing world peace.

The World Peace Movement is conducting an unceasing campaign to win over the masses to the idea that national independence for Algeria is the only way to end the hostilities and establish new relations—voluntary relations between France and Algeria. It is campaigning indefatigably for the French government to begin negotiations on this basis—in conformity with the interests of both peoples. This struggle is of significance

for the whole national-liberation movement. The Algerian uprising, the campaign launched by the peace forces for the rights of the Algerian people, the long struggle waged by the democrats and first and foremost the Communists against French imperialism and colonialism — this has helped the African peoples under French rule to join the struggle for self-determination. Substantial forces are waging the struggle jointly with the World Peace Movement—the democratic forces of the French people and, above all, their vanguard — the French Communist Party; the Arab countries; the forces brought into motion by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Accra Conference; and the peoples of Latin America who are fighting for genuine independence. The demand for peace and independence for Algeria has become so insistent, that it is reflected in some of the UN resolutions.

The Results

In the course of the big campaigns the peace movement has succeeded in getting some of its major ideas on peace approved and adopted by the masses. For this it has been essential, *as it still is*, for the peace movement in conjunction with other democratic forces persistently to combat the propaganda with which the imperialists seek to befuddle the masses and impose their dangerous policy upon them. This propaganda is being stepped up, and we cannot afford to ignore the fact that sometimes the imperialists get their lies across. It is, however, becoming increasingly difficult for them to do so. This is one of the most important results of the activities of the peace movement. Public opinion today is definitely against nuclear weapons. The idea of negotiations and coexistence is becoming widespread, and there is not a single statesman, who does not agree with it, at any rate, in words; the people regard the cold war as a curse; the desire to remove barriers, expand trade and cultural relations has, in effect, become a universal one; the national-liberation movements now occupy a decisive place in international relations, it is no longer possible to ignore them or openly to oppose the right of the peoples to independence. These ideas have penetrated to the minds of the masses, and, because of this, they are becoming a material force. Their importance is now such, that the enemies of peace are trying to make capital out of them,

distorting and utilizing them for anything but peaceful purposes.

Take, for example, the principle of negotiations. At a certain stage the chief aim of the peace struggle was to convince the masses that negotiations were necessary and possible, that they constituted the only road to peace. But it is easy to conceal preparations for war behind a semblance of negotiations and thus make people disappointed, despondent, and discouraged at the very idea of negotiations: "Nothing can be done!" Thus the principle of negotiations can be distorted and turned against peace. The procrastinations of the Western Powers at Geneva are an example of this.

So, it appears, we must clearly define what is understood by negotiations, explain the spirit in which they should take place, try to get a real will for agreement and show that in the struggle for genuine negotiations — a component of the struggle for coexistence—popular pressure must always be exerted, and kept up until complete success has been achieved. One of the contradictions of the struggle for coexistence is this: with the present balance of forces war is a hazard for the capitalists; the perspective of peaceful coexistence is more in line with their interests; but at the same time they fear coexistence, inasmuch as it strengthens the popular forces in all countries still more quickly and first and foremost consolidates the strength of the socialist world. The capitalists will not, therefore, conduct a policy of peaceful coexistence of their own free will; the masses must force them to do this and, having done so, keep them on this path.

The fact that vast numbers of people have been enlightened—and the peace movement has contributed in large measure to this—means that the movement as a whole, and *as an organization*, can now formulate its ideas far more clearly and concretely than it could in the past. It was in this concise form that it laid the responsibility for delaying agreement on stopping nuclear tests at the door of those who are to blame for this. It was equally resolute in condemning the aggression in Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and in the Taiwan area. This shows that it is now becoming increasingly difficult for the aggressors to make others shoulder the responsibility for their activities, to conceal them behind shameless intrigues, lies and the laboriously drawn up UN resolutions.

(To be continued)

Ten Million Victims in One Generation*

A. Kuzin

THE scientists of the world are making strong representations for the cessation of A- and H-bomb tests. In the final analysis these tests lead to the perfecting of weapons of mass annihilation, to increased international tension and to atomic war. Hence it is imperative that the question of banning nuclear tests be solved. But there are still people who fail to appreciate the danger which has arisen from the tests already made, a danger which will become still greater unless the tests cease.

Advocates of continuing the tests, chiefly U.S. imperialist circles, are inducing scientists to write articles for the press to the effect that the tests are harmless. That is why misleading statements on this matter are being published. Citing "average" figures, and, at times, simply concealing facts which only an expert would know, these scientists are obliging their bellicose masters by trying to prove that black is white. But how do matters really stand?

When an efficiently combined A- and H-bomb (the equivalent of 20 million tons of TNT) explodes, we find that, in addition to the destruction caused by the blast within a radius of 20-30 kilometers, and the heat, which burns everything, vast quantities of radioactive substances are released. These are caught up by the ball of fire which results from the explosion and are carried to the upper strata of the atmosphere.

The radioactivity of these substances is the equivalent of 100 million tons of radium. Many are short-lived, decay rapidly and lose their radioactivity. But a number of radioisotopes such as Strontium-90 with a half-life period of 28 years, or Caesium-137, with a half-life of 33 years are produced. So that, although the sum of radioactivity falls rapidly, ten years after the explosion it will still be at the tremendous figure of eight million curies (1 curie is equal to the radioactivity of one gram of radium).

The radioactive substances, which in the temperatures of millions of degrees obtaining at the time of explosion, are in a gaseous state, cool once they reach the upper layers of the atmosphere, condense and form particles suspended in the air, the origin of the radioactive cloud.

The larger particles begin to fall earthwards soon after the explosion (within a few hours or days), forming so-called local fall-outs. These usually contaminate the surface of the earth to a radius of 100-200 kilometers from the explosion site. The degree to which the soil is contaminated in the United States is largely due to these local fall-outs, the result of the dozens of explosions carried out in Nevada. The smaller particles remaining in the atmosphere (aerosols) are taken up by the air current and begin to move rather quickly from west to east, mainly in the latitude of the explosion site. The radioactive products from these clouds fall onto the earth's surface over a period of years chiefly with rainfall or snow. The speed at which these clouds move can be judged from the following example: Radioactive fall-out from an atom bomb exploded in Nevada on March 1, 1955, was registered in Britain over March 8-10, in Greece and West Turkey on March 11, in a number of places in the European part of the Soviet Union over March 13-14 and in its Eastern part over March 16-19. There have been cases of the cloud going round the globe (taking about a month) and a second fall-out has been registered in exactly the same places. As most of the bombs were exploded in the medium latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere, it is these places that are most contaminated.

Measurements now being made in all countries show that the earth's surface is from year to year becoming more and more contaminated with radioactive fall-out. Data collected by British scientists at the Milford Haven station and published this year, enable us, for instance, to trace, over a period of years, how the level of contamination has been affected by Strontium-90. We observe

*This article was written by the Soviet scientist Prof. A. Kuzin at the request of the Editorial Board.

that up to 1957 there was a steady yearly rise in the quantity of strontium fall-out. This made it possible to compute what the future levels of contamination would be if tests continued with the same frequency. The United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation which conducted this work reached the conclusion that by the beginning of the next century Strontium-90 contamination may rise to 272 mc/km² (mc= millicurie, or one-thousandth of a curie). But as the observations in Britain show, measurements for 1958 showed a considerable, and unforeseen, increase in the fall-out. In place of the expected 10 mc/km², the records showed 12.5 mc/km² in mid-1958.

The works of the Japanese scientist Kobayashi (Niigata University) show that the fall-out in 1958 was more than one and a half times higher than in 1956 and 1957, and that contamination in the town of Nagaoka reached 28 mc/km². Reports by Swedish and American scientists, too, show that there was a considerably larger fall-out in 1958 than one would expect from previous computations.

This increase might be due either to a more rapid fall-out than was calculated previously, or to the atmosphere being much more contaminated than was earlier assumed. Consequently, unless tests are stopped immediately, the surface of the earth will continue to be contaminated at an increasingly rapid rate and by the end of this century maximum contamination will exceed the estimated figure by at least one and a half times (i.e., it may be in the neighborhood of 400 mc/km²).

It should be emphasized that we are talking about the average contamination, but as we know, radioactive fall-out is not distributed uniformly over the earth's surface even in latitudes close to each other: 12.5 mc/km² in Milford Haven (Britain) and 28 mc/km² in Nagaoka (Japan). Thus, while radioactivity will be below the average in some areas, in other, quite extensive areas, with dense populations, it may be two-three times above the average figures.

Deposits of Caesium-137, another long-lived radioactive isotope, are accumulating at the same time as Strontium-90, and as measurements show, there is even more of it than of Strontium. In mid-1957, for instance, there was a fall-out of 13 mc/km² of Sr⁹⁰ in Chicago as against 17 mc/km² of Cs¹³⁷. Unless tests are stopped, therefore, the quantity of Cs¹³⁷ in many parts of the world may be expected to increase to 400-500 mc/km² by the end of this century.

How does this endanger the population and, first and foremost, children who are beginning their lives in an environment already polluted with radioactive isotopes? So that we may answer this question correctly, let us see what happens to a fall-out of Sr⁹⁰. Strontium is chemically similar to that more common element in nature—calcium. Together with calcium it passes from the cell into plants, and from them to domestic animals, into the milk of cows and goats and thence into the human body. During these transitions (food-chains) the body absorbs far more calcium than strontium, in view of which the ratio of strontium to calcium is reduced at each transition. Advocates of the theory of the harmlessness of nuclear explosions emphasize particularly that, thanks to the long food-chains from soil to man (soil-plants-animals-milk-man), only an insignificant quantity of strontium finds its way into the human body. They deliberately ignore the fact that shorter food-chains are far more common. Strontium falling on cereals, vegetables and fruit first comes into contact with the leaves which absorb it—and so their protective mechanism fails to work.

It is a fact that the Sr⁹⁰ content in the soil per one gram of calcium (so-called strontium units—S.U.)—the quantity of strontium measured in micro-microcuries per one gram of calcium—differed, as the Soviet scientist Kurchatov and others have shown, from 0.5 to 157 Strontium Units, this being due mainly to the varying calcium content in the soil. In 1957 the turf-meadowland soil in the Sverdlovsk Region, for instance, contained 5.6 S.U. while there were 71 Strontium Units in the wheat from that region. Rye and wheat had an average content of 69 S.U., but against this there were some regions (Kuibyshev and Amur, for example), where the wheat had a strontium content as high as 120-140 S.U.—much more than is contained in the soil (an average of about 50 S.U.). In the United States the wheat harvested in 1956 contained an average of about 107 S.U., while the 1958 yield contained as much as 155. Japanese scientists also write of the accumulation of Sr⁹⁰ in cereals. They give 154 S.U. as the average figure for rice. In some regions of Japan radioactive contamination was as high as 250 S.U. (data given by United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation).

Other protective co-efficients are far from always being effective in view of the fact that human diet consists of a considerable

quantity of vegetables and cereals. This is particularly true of Asia where people get most of their calcium from their rice diet.

In Britain a person gets some 370 mgr. of calcium per day from the vegetables and cereals he eats, i.e., about 39 per cent of his calcium intake from all food. In India a vegetable and cereal diet provides people with up to 49 per cent of their calcium intake, in Turkey with 63 per cent, in Portugal 70 per cent and in Japan 82 per cent.

In *Our Nuclear Future*, the American authors E. Teller and A. Latter base their calculations on the wrong assumption that milk is the body's main source of calcium, deliberately ignoring the fact that vegetables and cereals form the staple food of over half the world's population.

It should also be stressed that the "protective" ratios change considerably in view of the greatly varying calcium content of the soil. Plants and animals will absorb strontium much more readily if the soil is poor in calcium than if it is there in abundance. Analyses made in Britain and the United States in 1956 of the bones of animals provide a good illustration. Whereas the average Sr^{90} content was 6-8 S.U., in some areas of Wales (Great Britain), where the soil is known to be poor in calcium, the strontium content in the bones of animals was as much as 25 S.U. in Talgarth, 40 S.U. in Vyrnwy and 180 S.U. in Gwmystwyth.

Considerable divergences from the average figures mean that over extensive areas of the world the strontium content in the bone tissue may be dozens of times higher than the average, thus representing a grave danger to the people in these regions.

In assessing the quantity of Sr^{90} which finds its way into the body, we should not forget that the human organism needs a small amount of strontium and obtains all it wants from the food intake during growth. Thus, should there not be sufficient strontium in the environment, radioactive strontium fall-out will make good the shortage and in this event will be absorbed much more readily. The skeleton of an adult usually contains about 7 grams of strontium to 1,200 grams of calcium. Before 1950 human bones contained no radioactive strontium at all.

Analyses of the bones of children who have died between the ages of one to five, have, since 1950, shown a rapid increase in radioactive strontium content. According to U.S. data the average content expressed in strontium units was 0.28 in 1953, 0.57 in 1954, 0.61 in 1955 and 0.69 in 1956.

A considerable number of the bones examined in 1956, however, had a Sr^{90} content of up to 2 S.U. According to the British scientists F. Bryant, E. Henderson, G. Spicer, M. Webb and T. Webber, in Britain in 1957 the average strontium content in children up to five years was measured at 1 S.U.; in many cases it was 2 and sometimes as high as 3.2.

Data published by Japanese scientists showed a strontium content of 4.1 S.U. in the bones of children. According to Soviet scientists, the average Sr^{90} content in the bones of children in 1957 was 2.3 S.U. The analyses of the bones of children of one to five in 1957 thus showed a strontium content of 1 to 4 S.U. We should recall that these were children born between 1952-56, and that their parents had not as yet any Sr^{90} in their bodies. Before 1955, the Strontium-90 content, even in the United States—the most contaminated country—was under 0.89 mc/km². In 1955 it was equal to 2.1 mc/km². And it was only in 1956-57 that the contamination level rose to 6 mc/km². We can consider that the average contamination during these years was of the order of 2 mc/km². With contamination at 2 mc/km², children's bones contained on the average 1.5 S.U.; in future, when radioactive contamination reaches the level of 300-400 mc/km², we may expect bones to contain from 225-300 S.U.

The International Commission on Radiological Protection has placed the maximum permissible level of Strontium-90 content in the bones at 100 S.U. Unless nuclear tests are stopped immediately the whole population of the Northern Hemisphere will reach this level in the next 30 to 40 years.

It will be reached even sooner in places where climatic conditions (abundant rain and snow) are conducive to heavy Strontium-90 fall-outs. According to the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, maximum fall-outs have been registered in the U.S.A. (New York, Pittsburg, Salt Lake City, Nevada), in Britain (Liverpool, Snowdon), the USSR (Black Sea coast and the Caucasus), in Japan (shore of the Sea of Japan) and on islands in the Pacific. Unless tests are stopped, the people living in these places will be the first to suffer.

What are the effects of radioactive strontium in the bones?

The accumulation of Strontium-90 in the bone tissue means that both bone tissue and marrow are subjected to constant irradiation. The bone marrow, as is known, is one of the most radio-sensitive tissues in the human organism. If it undergoes irradiation for any

length of time, this will result in malignant cellular alterations which lead to leukemia. Long observation of the dependence of the appearance of leukemia on the irradiation dose has shown that here we have a direct linear relationship. The average chance of developing leukemia under an irradiation of the order of 1 rem/year (equivalent of roentgen for human tissue) is equal to $2.6 \cdot 10^{-6}$. It is known that one strontium unit in the bone tissue gives 2.7 mrem/year (millirem). The bone marrow adjacent to the bone tissue will receive the same amount. In view of the partial absorption of radiation, the average dose in the big bone cavities will be less, approximating 0.6 mrem/year.

The average amount of irradiation of the bone marrow will be $\frac{2.7+0.6}{2}=1.6$ mrem/year.

The following formula will enable us to calculate the number of possible cases of leukemia:

$N = K \cdot D \cdot M \cdot P \cdot R$, where K, the average chance of becoming ill, is equal to $2.6 \cdot 10^{-6}$. DM — marrow bone dose of irradiation per one strontium unit a year—1.6 mrem/year. M—average span during which irradiation accumulates, taken for average span of 70 years, is equal to 35 years. P—the number of people in the world and R—the number of strontium units in the bone.

Unless the tests cease, then in 25 years' time, i.e. by 1984, the number of people suffering from leukemia caused by radioactive strontium will be $(N = 2.6 \cdot 10^{-6} \cdot 1.6 \cdot 10^{-3} \cdot 35 \cdot 10^9 \cdot 100) = 43,000$.

This means that as a result of the tests up to 40,000 people annually will die of leukemia during the next generation.

At the end of the century, when the radioactive contamination of the earth will be in the neighborhood of 300-400 mc/km², and the Strontium-90 content in the bones will be of the order of 200-300 S.U., leukemia will take a toll of 100,000 to 200,000 victims annually (taking into account the growth of world population).

But it is not leukemia alone that will be the hazard for our descendants if the disastrous nuclear tests are not stopped immediately. Prolonged chronic irradiation of the bone tissue causes tumors of the bone—sarcoma of the bone.

Calculations show that there will eventually be some 40,000 cases a year of sarcoma of the bone. But yet more lies in store for humanity as the result of the tests.

As radioactive fall-out in the environment increases and deposits of Strontium-90 and Caesium-137 in the human body accumulate, irradiation of the embryonic cells which give life to progeny increases. Such parents may give birth to children suffering from incurable, so-called hereditary diseases. In most cases these are diseases of the central nervous system (schizophrenia, idiocy, microcephalia), of the blood-forming system (haemophilia), or the offspring may be either abnormal or incapable of surviving.

Only minute quantities of irradiation are required for these diseases to appear. The frequency with which these diseases occur is in direct relationship to the degree of irradiation of the gonads of men and women. This means that the as yet not very big quantity of radioactive fall-out will cause a certain percentage of defective children to be born into the world. The percentage of abnormal children and of those suffering from hereditary diseases will grow from year to year and, if tests are not stopped, the figure will rise to 100,000-200,000 annually by the beginning of the next century. Continued tests will thus mean that by the dawn of the new century $(150,000 + 40,000 + 150,000) : 30 = 10$ million people will die of leukemia, sarcoma of the bone and hereditary diseases during the life-span of one generation (30 years).

Ten million deaths in a generation—that is the terrible price humanity will have to pay for the nuclear tests. We should emphasize that this is a minimum estimate. The calculations are based on the assumption that the tests will continue at the 1956-57 rates.

It is absolutely clear that unless agreement is reached to stop the tests at once, and unless the atomic arms drive is halted, a number of other countries (among them France and West Germany) will soon be producing and testing nuclear weapons. The earth will be still more contaminated with radioactive substances and still greater numbers of people will die.

In the name of the health and happiness of our children, nuclear tests must be ended at once and for all time.

*In the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

Some Aspects of the Congress of the French Communist Party

THE XVth Congress of the French Communist Party was held June 24-28 in Yvres—a suburb of Paris where the Communists usually win the majority vote in the municipal elections. It was a major event in the political life of the country.

The preparations for the Congress were based on the draft theses elaborated by the Central Committee. In the course of three months the draft was discussed at tens of thousands of branch meetings, by hundreds of conferences and in numerous Party papers and journals. This shows that the membership actively participated in formulating Party policy. Sympathizers also took part in the discussions at special meetings. On the basis of thousands of suggestions and amendments to the draft theses the federation conferences worked out 400 proposals, many of which were adopted by the Congress. The preparations and the Congress itself testified to broad inner-Party democracy.

The Congress also showed the ideological strength of the Party, its unity, identity of views and the resolve which inspires all Communists. Both the work of the past three years and the estimate of the current situation as well as the aims for the future met with the unanimous approval of the membership. This unity is largely explained by the fact that experience has confirmed the correctness of the Party's line and its tactics. Having correctly assessed at its previous Congress (July 1956) the threatening situation then developing in the country, the Party launched a militant campaign to thwart the onslaught of the reactionaries. During the events of May 1958 the Party was the main force opposing the reactionaries, and this opposition enabled it to win the confidence of the masses during the municipal elections last March. Everyday experience has refuted the arguments of those who voiced disagreements at the very moment when the coming of de Gaulle to power aggravated political difficulties.

The Congress, a living expression of proletarian internationalism in action, was attended by representatives of more than 30 Communist and Workers' Parties; more than 20 messages of greeting were received from fraternal parties, including the Communist Party of China. The delegates applauded the message from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, read by Comrade Suslov. All were

moved by the noble words of the Algerian Communists. In these difficult days for the French Party, its members deeply appreciated the fraternal solidarity manifested by the Communists of the whole world.

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The two documents approved by the Congress—M. Thorez' report on behalf of the Central Committee and its Theses—contained a profound analysis of the current situation in France and have enriched Marxist-Leninist theory. They outlined clear perspectives for the struggle of the democratic forces and defined the tasks of the Communists.

The Congress dwelt on the meaning of the changes in France during the past year: the abolition of the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy; the establishment of a one-man rule relying on the extreme obscurantist militarist and colonialist circles of the big bourgeoisie; the greater power of the monopolies and the financial and industrial magnates; the continuation and intensification of the war in Algeria with its atmosphere of persecution; the growing influence exerted by the reactionary army on the life of the state, and the poisoning of the minds of the youth with chauvinism, racism and the cult of violence.

The monopolies and their authoritarian regime are incapable of solving any of the vital problems facing the people. On the contrary, they are aggravating these problems. In the eyes of the people the monopolies appear more and more as the worst enemies of their well-being, as enemies of peace and freedom. Conscious of the growing resistance of the people to their policy, the monopolies are threatening France with fascism. Thus the situation leaves no room for complacency. The vital interests of the working class and the nation call for the early abolition of the one-man rule.

This is precisely the task which the Communists set themselves in the present conditions. "The chief task," say the Theses, "is the re-establishment and regeneration of democracy in France." A resurgence of democracy is in the interests of the nation, it is necessary for the solution of problems confronting France, problems which the reactionaries cannot solve; it is necessary for the prospects of the struggle for socialism. The struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism are, without

doubt, two different stages. But they are not separated by a Chinese wall. Today there cannot be any long historical interval between democratic and socialist changes. "Democracy is a developing phenomenon which will be accomplished under socialism." (M. Thorez.) Things should be considered in their development. The struggle for democracy is led by the working class and its Party, and this brings the two stages closer together.

The Congress showed that the only way to end the one-man rule with its contempt for the will of the people and its desire to remain in office at all costs, is the mobilization of the masses for struggle. In order to succeed a mass movement is needed, a movement of unprecedented scope and power. As with the winning of socialism, the democratic and national resurgence of France cannot be achieved by one party alone. What is required is a sincere and firm alliance of the working class, peasants, intellectuals and urban middle sections, an alliance between the Communist and other democratic parties. Thorez expressed the resolve of the Communists to devote themselves to the cause of uniting the democratic and national forces: "A united front of the working class is of paramount importance; a union of the working class and the middle sections is vital—such is the slogan of the Communist Party."

Our Party and people are faced with hard struggles. But the Communists look to the future without a shadow of pessimism, because they have faith in the people. The Congress noted that changes were taking place in the positions of the social groups, that a mass movement was developing. It summed up the first quite impressive results of the struggle against the monopolies. Noteworthy is the fact that the movement is attracting even those who politically do not follow the Left. These successes should not be attributed solely to the fact that the one-man rule has helped expose itself in the eyes of these elements. They are the result, first of all, of the efforts of the Party. The Communists were the main force in the struggle against the one-man rule; in uniting the workers and all the supporters of the Republic against the onslaught of the reactionary and fascist forces the Communists worked tirelessly to enlighten and organize the masses.

The change in public opinion manifested itself during the municipal elections. The masses refused to be intimidated by threats or deceived by demagoguery. The working class launched the struggle for higher wages and against the ordinances of de Gaulle. The first to act were the vine growers; over a million war veterans conducted a big campaign in defense of their rights; the movement in defense of secular education is gaining momentum; the fight for peace in Algeria and for relaxing international tension is also making headway. In these struggles unity of action has made considerable

gains and in many cases the results of the fight for economic demands have been the most significant since 1948.

However, the scale and weight of these actions are not yet sufficient to end the one-man rule, to restore democracy and regenerate it. The task is to develop the movement into an invincible force. The basic condition for extending the actions and fusing them into a single powerful movement is working-class unity and the alliance of all the supporters of the Republic. How to achieve unity, how to organize joint mass action—these were the main topics discussed at the Congress.

The Congress pointed out that the main obstacle in the way of working-class unity and of fusing all the democratic forces was anti-communism, which has class roots. For the bourgeoisie anti-communism is the nub of its policy. As to the leaders of the parties of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, of the vacillating intermediate sections who fear both the domination of the monopolies and the victory of socialism, their anti-communism derives from their policy of class collaboration.

In these conditions mass action is decisive for unity. That is why the Communists are determined to intensify their work for unity of action at lower levels, among the rank-and-file Socialists. This unity must become sufficiently strong and effective to overcome the resistance to an alliance for the common struggle.

At the moment many Socialist workers are hostile to the policy pursued by their leaders and with growing frequency are participating with the Communists in the struggle for economic demands, for secular education, for freedom and peace. The contradiction between the will of many rank-and-file Socialists and the policy of their leaders, who are instruments of French and foreign reactionary circles, has become so deep that this party, for the first time, finds itself confronted with such a serious crisis.

The striving towards unity has an objective basis. A community of interests of the various social sections which have become victims of oppression on the part of monopolies—the working class, the urban and rural middle sections and the small industrialists—really exists. The middle sections are at present undergoing a process of differentiation thanks to which the opportunities for unity are greater.

In order to provide a definite platform for an alliance of the working class with the middle sections, for an alliance of the Left-wing parties, the Congress elaborated and submitted for consideration to the other Republican forces a program for democratic regeneration in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres. This program which opens clear prospects before the democratic forces can play a tremendous mobilizing role. Its keynote

is restoration of the principles of the democratic freedoms through a truly democratic system of government. In the economic sphere it considers it important to provide a material base for the independence and grandeur of the country, to ensure rapid development of the national economy and utilization of all the resources of the country. It proposes that the economic power of the monopolies be restricted through nationalization, controlled state investments and democratic management of the state-owned enterprises with a view to safeguarding the state from monopoly interference; in the spheres of culture and social life it envisages a series of measures aimed at raising the standard of living, at promoting culture, education and science.

The program calls for new relations with all peoples already free or fighting for their liberation, relations that are based on the recognition of their independence, equal rights and the principle of mutual benefit. It calls for an independent foreign policy which would recognize the principle of peaceful coexistence, work for disarmament, against rearming Germany, and for all-round cooperation with all countries without discrimination.

This program is in keeping with the objective requirements of French society, with the great democratic traditions of the French people and the basic interests of the country.

The Communists are making every effort to organize and unite the masses on the basis of this program: struggle for the demands of the working class and the middle sections, for democratic freedoms and secular education, for peace in Algeria and relaxation of international tension.

Our Party has always displayed concern for the development of the mass movement. However, the deeply-rooted parliamentary traditions have at times hindered the growth of this movement. Large sections of people expected much, if not everything, from their representatives in Parliament. Ordinary people often saw the Communist deputies as the only link with the Party, as the symbol of its struggle. In some Departments Party branches succumbed to this general feeling and this was not without consequence for their political activity. The curtailment of Communist representation in Parliament to 10 deputies and the extreme restriction of parliamentary prerogatives confront the Party with finding new ways of mass struggle.

In this connection the Congress focused the attention of the membership on the role of the Party as *the organizer of the action of millions*. The further intensification of Party work by the branches and the active members should be the main concern of the groups, sections and federations. Closer contact with the masses is the tested means for exposing all the provocations and attacks against the Party, from which it cannot be immune.

The Congress subjected to severe criticism shortcomings in the work of the Party branches (the concentration in a number of enterprises on purely economic issues, reducing all activity to agitation alone, etc.). In mobilizing the masses on the basis of their demands the Party branches should display more initiative, a greater feeling of responsibility and should try to bring every single action into the great struggle which is mounting against the authoritarian regime.

In extending the movement for a powerful alliance against the rule of de Gaulle a considerable role is played by the mass organizations of women, war veterans, supporters of secular education and particularly by the peace movement, whose importance was stressed by the Congress. This obliges the Communists to take an active part in these movements, to steer a correct course while working in them and to recruit as many non-Communists as possible into these mass organizations.

The winning of the youth is another condition for the success of this struggle. While noting the progress made by the Communist youth movement since the previous Congress, the last Congress stressed the need to work harder to rally the youth and to help the four organizations affiliated to the democratic youth movement.

At present the Party has about 20,000 branches. But neither the membership figure nor the number of branches is satisfactory. Young people and peasants comprise only a small part of the membership. Recruiting is not always seen as a permanent task of the Party. Fluctuation is considerable, especially among the new members. The Congress called for consolidation of the Party ranks and linked this with improving the work for uniting and organizing the masses. It also called upon the membership to overcome the incorrect view still to be found in the Party that quality is preferable to numbers when admitting new members, to see that all members are active and that more attention is paid to party education.

Considerable attention was devoted to ideological questions. Marxism, which is now spreading among the masses, is opposed by the servants and defenders of the old world, by the general staff with its doctrine of "psychological action," and the Jesuits; by Social Democracy which is now leading a modern crusade against all socialist conceptions, and the revisionists. The Congress dealt a crushing blow to the opportunist and revisionist attempts of the champions of "neo-capitalism" and also to those who, declaiming against the noble Communist ideal, assert that "Marxism, in studying economics, has forgotten all about the individual."

Our Party proclaims its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This loyalty is a vital condition for ensuring effective leadership of the work-

ing class and for upholding the interests of the nation. The Party knows that it is confronted with difficult and complex tasks, and it will solve them, by its persistence and patience, by its faith in the people; the Party derives renewed strength from the solidarity of the peoples of the world. Its enthusiasm is growing, because it is conscious that the cause for which it is fighting is just and invincible: the life of one-third of humanity is already developing along socialist lines, while the Soviet Union has

already entered the phase of all-out communist construction.

Equipped with the decisions of its XVth Congress, overcoming all obstacles, no matter how difficult they may be, the Party is fully resolved to live up to its tasks.

Paul COURTIEU,
Alternate Member of the
Central Committee of the
French Communist Party.

Joint Action by Communists and Socialists

(Based on Articles in "Akahata")

THE struggle for peace was the basis on which the Communist and Socialist Parties as well as a number of trade unions resolved upon joint action in Japan. *Akahata*—the Communist Party newspaper—regularly reports this action.

Joint action by the democratic forces is a feature in nearly all the prefectures. Thanks to this 40 municipal councils have declared their districts non-nuclear zones: the building of nuclear weapon sites is prohibited in these areas.

The Communist Party has actively supported the proposal of the General Council of Trade Unions (in which the Socialist Party plays a leading role) to organize on a nationwide scale popular demonstrations, rallies and strikes against revising the Japanese-American "security treaty" (aimed at binding Japan more closely to U.S. imperialism) and also against the reactionary bill for extending the powers of the police. According to *Akahata*, these joint Communist-Socialist actions were highly effective. Four-and-a-half million people took part in the strikes and protest rallies. Close to four hundred public organizations—workers', peasants', cultural, religious, peace, women's, students'—with an overall membership of ten million, forwarded petitions to the government. Joint organizations for action against revision of the "security treaty" have been set up in Tokyo, Yokahama, Nagoya and Osaka and in other places. The Kishi government was forced to withdraw the police bill and to suspend the talks for revising the "security treaty."

In calling the workers to remain on the alert, the Communist Party warned that the government might assume the counter-offensive at any moment. And indeed, in addressing Parliament, Kishi repeated that if the government wanted to keep "Japan out of the communist camp" it should not pursue a policy of neutrality. Thus, it would seek revision of the "security treaty." He again said he favored an extension of powers for the police and deplored the fact that on a previous occasion his government "failed to pay due attention to this matter."

The Premier's statement evoked indignation among the working people and the democratic organizations. The Communist Party immediately responded with a statement emphasizing that the real aims of the government were to retain the American bases and troops in the guise of revising the "security treaty," to give up the fight for the return of the islands of Okinawa and Ogasawara, to step up the militarization of the country, to abolish the Constitution and direct the country along fascist lines.

On April 6 during talks with Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party, the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Asanuma, said that his Party would work for a policy of active neutrality, for a collective-security system with the participation of Japan, China, the United States and the Soviet Union and for an "atom-free peace zone" in Asia and the Pacific. He agreed with Miyamoto's viewpoint that between the Socialist and Communist Parties unity on a number of questions was possible.

Expanding on this in an interview with Zanei, Communist Party journal, Matsumoto, a Socialist M.P., said: "The attitude of the Socialist Party towards joint action has undergone a considerable change. Previously in the localities a strict policy of sharp division with the Communist Party was pursued; Socialist participation in movements with Communists was prohibited. However, in the localities joint action on various questions began to be practiced. This could no longer be denied, whereupon it was decided that if joint actions benefited the Socialist Party then participation in them was permissible."

There are still rather influential groups in the Socialist Party who refuse to take an active part in the struggle for peace and national independence, urge the membership to collaborate with the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, oppose united action with the Communist Party and even demand the removal of the present leadership of the Socialist Party. However, most rank-and-file Socialists endorse the policy of peace and seek to cement the unity of the

patriotic forces and to join in the struggle side by side with the Communists. This policy is yielding results.

Akahata reports the following facts. During the "spring campaign" mass meetings, demonstrations and strikes took place throughout the country. Two marches were organized under the slogan: "Against unemployment and war!" These marches, initiated in the town of Fukushima and Fukuoka, converged on Tokyo. Hundreds of rallies were held en route. Over four million people took part in the campaign. Joint-action committees for peace and democracy were set up in many places. The Communist and Socialist Parties together with many trade union and other democratic organizations are represented on these committees.

Among the forty delegates who attended the meeting of the Tokyo committee in June were delegates from the Communist and Socialist Parties, the city trade union council, the commercial council, the students' association, the council for combating military bases, the council for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the "Matzukawa case" committee and the district committees of action against revising "the security treaty." The meeting made recommendations to the local organizations and groups to urge other organizations to join in the struggle. It was decided to strengthen the committee by including more representatives from the trade unions and other organizations. Jointly with the National Council of Action Against Revising the "Security Treaty" it organizes brief strikes, factory meetings and demonstrations. The committee meeting decided to organize a rally in defense of those who were convicted in the "Matzukawa case" and in support of the decision of the Tokyo district court on the "Sunakawa case;" to organize in the capital a group of lecturers on questions of joint struggle; "to continue the struggle for social security, against price-raising by the monopolies and to link these actions with the struggle against revising the 'security treaty'."

The Communist and Socialist members of the Kyoto city council together with trade union representatives and other democratic organizations have likewise sponsored a committee for joint action. This committee decided to submit to the heads of government of the countries taking part in the Geneva talks and to the Japanese government the

following demands: prohibit all nuclear weapons tests, no nuclear arms for the Japanese army and an atom-free zone in the Far East.

By decision of the National Council of Action Against Revising the "Security Treaty," joint measures were undertaken in 32 prefectures in July. July 25 and August 6 were proclaimed "Joint Action Days." All organizations, the Socialist and Communist Parties, and the General Council of Trade Unions in the first place, sent speakers to the local branches.

The publication by the U.S. authorities in Okinawa of a new criminal code providing for capital punishment for those guilty of endangering the security of Okinawa and of the terms of imprisonment for "slandorous statements" against the U.S. military authorities evoked nationwide indignation. Protesting against this code the Communist Party stated that Okinawa was an inalienable part of Japanese territory and that the inhabitants of the island are fully entitled to demand re-unification with their homeland and to fight against Okinawa being turned into an atomic base. It characterized the action of the United States authorities as fascist reprisals in respect to the Japanese people; the Central Committee of the Party demanded the immediate withdrawal of the code. The Party called on the patriotic forces to fight for the independence of Japan and freedom for Okinawa. The Socialist Party also protested. It is obvious, it said, that the object of the new code is to suppress the democratic movement in Okinawa and Japan which is fighting against turning the islands into atomic bases, is defending their fundamental rights and working for the restoration of Okinawa to Japan. A similar statement was published by the General Trade Union Council.

Akahata underlined the statement made by Asanuma — very important for joint Communist-Socialist action — to the effect that American imperialism is the common foe of both the Japanese and Chinese peoples; it also emphasized the importance of the Socialist Party's support of the demand for the repatriation of Korean citizens from Japan.

In the struggle for democracy, for peace and national independence, the class consciousness of the workers is growing stronger and the unity of the democratic and patriotic forces is being consolidated.

The Class Struggle in the Hungarian Countryside and Party Work

THE co-operative movement is making rapid headway in the Hungarian countryside. In the course of six months the proportion of socialized land rose from 15 to about 35 per cent. The socialist sector in agriculture—state farms and co-operatives—accounts for 50 per cent of the cultivated land. In some areas the socialist reconstruction of agriculture is nearing completion. In these conditions the problems of class struggle in the countryside have become more complicated, posing many new questions.

The Agricultural Commission of the Central Committee of the Party, having collected up the questions encountered by the local Party workers, has worked out answers which help them in the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and are designed to forestall any repetition of past mistakes. The materials of the commission have been published in *Partelet (Party Life)*, the Central Committee journal. Presented in the form of questions and answers, they are straightforward and make no attempt to evade the problems; on the contrary, they seek to clarify them. The document convincingly shows that the point at issue in the class struggle in the countryside is the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Workers' power in Hungary is now stronger than it was before the counter-revolutionary putsch. The spread of the co-operative movement this year has strengthened the worker-peasant alliance. A big segment of the working class has actively helped in the reconstruction of agriculture. Among those peasants who have not yet joined the co-operatives the idea of socialist construction in the rural villages is becoming increasingly popular. At the same time there are forces that are obstructing the advance. Among them we find in the first place the exploiting elements. Most of the latter, although in the main defeated, have not been completely abolished and enjoy the support of reactionary circles in the capitalist countries; they are still resisting socialism. To this there is only one solution—the resistance of the exploiters, present and past, must be broken. There are, however, other obstacles—the contradictions which arise in the course of socialist construction. These are the contradictions between the way of thinking, customs and habits of the peasants and the socialist relations of production in conditions of people's democracy. They can be resolved only by patient educational work, by discussion. The ability to draw a line between the natural vacillations of the peasants who in the majority continue to live and think as small owners and the resistance of the exploiters is a

vital condition for the success of the work of the Party organizations. This line can be drawn correctly only if no concessions are made either to Right or "left" views.

Right views among Party members find expression in disagreement with the accelerated rate of co-operation. In the guise of "Marxist" concepts the advocates of these views say that the socialist reconstruction of agriculture can be achieved only as a result of a considerable growth of the productive forces, that this process cannot be accelerated by political work and education. They maintain that until all the material and technical conditions have been created no rapid progress can be made. Acceptance of these views would mean a wait-and-see policy, which would retard the co-operative movement and throw it back. The most widespread manifestation of "left" views is underestimation of the voluntary principle in the co-operative movement and of the role of education. Some consider "appropriate" a lesser or greater pressure on the peasants in order to draw them into the co-operatives. Such people are not against using wrong methods in winning co-operative members, i.e., the methods that had been practiced before 1956. In some localities carelessness is displayed at times and wrong methods practiced regardless of the fact that they are likely to cause discontent among the peasants and thereby weaken the worker-peasant alliance.

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Can one talk about class struggle in one hundred per cent co-operative villages? Many functionaries have raised this question. A special section of the document provides the reply. It would be wrong to think that in a hundred per cent co-operative village socialism has been fully achieved and that there are no longer elements of class struggle or remnants of bourgeois or small proprietor mentality. There are, for instance, contradictions between the peasants who upon joining the co-operative pooled different amounts of property (the contribution, as is known, is compensated for). The poor peasants think that the wealthier members of the co-operative are being paid with money from their pockets. Then the wealthier peasants, who are obliged to return from 20 to 30 per cent of the compensation to the co-operative for its development, are not too friendly to those who upon joining made smaller contributions. The farm laborers who have joined the co-operatives grumble because part of the distributable income is paid out in the form of ground-rent to the members who contributed land.

In some localities there are differences of views between the old and new members as well as between peasants who during the counter-revolutionary putsch remained loyal to the co-operatives and those who abandoned them and rejoined later. In the arguments on these questions the survivals of the small-producer relations are manifested; these survivals will gradually be overcome in the course of the consolidation of the co-operatives. Much depends on the way the political work aimed at rallying the peasantry and strengthening the co-operatives is carried out, on how wrong views are corrected and how Party policy is explained.

Since the peasants when they enter the co-operatives are not all of the same mind—some being burdened with a greater load of petty-bourgeois notions than others—the vital task is to strengthen unity among the members, to change their outlook and cement collective thinking and action. It is necessary to overcome a number of retarding factors, above all the individualist and egoistical ideas of the former small producers. This egoism should be combated through drawing the peasants into social activities, and chiefly by patient persuasion and education. The peasant who has just joined a co-operative is not always aware of either his rights or duties, is unable to take in the socialized husbandry as a whole, and wonders just exactly what his income will be. If not aided promptly he may lose confidence and become disappointed, and this may hamper his rapid assimilation in the life of the co-operative.

In educating the co-operative members and strengthening their unity, the Party organizations should not make distinctions on the basis of what they used to be—poor peasants or middle peasants. This would be a great mistake. All those who help to advance the common cause, who strengthen the co-operative and take part in socialist construction should be supported in every way. The task is to build a sound co-operative life so that the large-scale socialized husbandry will organizationally unite the former individual peasants and be a school of political education for hundreds of thousands of peasants. The chief task of the Party organizations in the co-operatives is to educate a new peasantry.

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The question of the wealthy peasant appears in a new light in the co-operative villages. With the rapid progress of the co-operative movement this year the working peasants themselves decided whether or not to admit former rich peasants to the co-operatives. Most, however, were admitted on the condition that for the next two years they would not enjoy the right to be elected to leading posts in the co-operatives. It sometimes happens that a poor peasant who formerly worked for the wealthy peasant now works with him in one and the same team in the co-operative. This gives rise to many

complicated situations among the peasants.

The document unequivocally states that admission to the co-operatives of some of the formerly wealthy peasants is both possible and correct at this stage. Most of them have for a number of years been deprived of their economic base and have lived by their own labor. The success of socialism at home and abroad has induced a considerable portion of the one-time wealthy peasants to adapt themselves to a society of workers. The co-operatives can employ them, re-educate them and make them into useful members. But this cannot be done all of a sudden—it calls for constant political education.

The correct line for the Party organizations in the co-operative villages with regard to the formerly wealthy peasants is, essentially, the following: no difference should be made between the one-time wealthy peasants and the other members, except that the former are denied the right to be elected for two years and that a maximum level of ground-rent be established for them. When a rich peasant acts or speaks in a capitalist manner he should be checked, and in case of direct anti-co-operative infringements, the appropriate measures should be taken; this goes, by the way, not only for the formerly rich peasants but for all who stand in the way of co-operative development.

Apart from these things there are in the co-operative villages manifestations of the basic antagonism of the transitional period. Here we find people who have not been admitted to co-operatives because of active hostility towards people's democracy as a system. Among these are ex-capitalists, landlords and a few wealthy peasants. Their activity is aimed chiefly at disrupting the co-operatives from within. They are the main circulators and initiators of all kinds of rumors, they are always trying to create tension in the village. While giving them the opportunity to run their farms, work should be conducted in order to prevent them from profiteering and engaging in hostile activities.

The success of the co-operative movement has influenced the character of the class struggle among the peasants who have not joined the co-operatives. A considerable number of the individual peasants are ready to join, but most of them are still hesitant. Then there are those who even now are against the co-operatives. Some cling more than ever to their individual plots. Moreover, one should not overlook the fact that exploitation and profiteering still exist in the villages. But these tendencies, while they are a danger, must not be exaggerated, for it should be borne in mind that they will diminish with the accelerated rate of socialist construction in the rural areas. It should be said that the hostile elements have now recovered from the first defeat caused by the rapid growth of co-operation early this year; they are now becoming more active. Their influence is greater than their num-

bers. They work mainly by means of whispering propaganda. They often provoke antagonism between individuals and also between the different social strata. The village Party organizations are not always alert enough in combating these tendencies.

The document exposes the main ideological methods used by the hostile elements. They slander socialism, trying to belittle its advantages; they laud individual farming, exaggerate the significance of the independence of the peasants and play on their pride.

Religious ideology also exerts an influence among the working peasants. In a number of places clergymen and the various sects do everything they can to combat the co-operative movement. They exploit the religious feelings of the peasants, collect money, organize free dinners and resort to other ruses in an effort to regain their influence. The Party organizations, while not interfering in any way with religion, expose the obscurantist sermons and idealism; they speak not against the clergy in general, but concretely against those who use religion in their efforts to subvert socialist construction.

With regard to other hostile views influencing the working peasantry, for instance, nationalism, the document points to the need for painstaking and

persistent struggle against them. In order to spread doubt among the peasants the hostile propaganda claims that the advance of the co-operative movement is due to a change in the Party policy in respect to the peasantry.

The document underlines that in respect to the individual peasant the Party will continue to pursue the patient, helpful and friendly policy of the past two and a half years, which has justified itself. However, the present situation calls for greater activity. The Communists should constantly work among the working people of the village, supplying detailed replies to their questions, resolving their doubts, refuting hostile arguments and giving the lie to rumors. In popularizing the co-operatives there is no need to get the peasants to join the co-operatives immediately; the object is to acquaint them with events at home and abroad, to talk frankly with them about the future of the co-operatives and show the advantages which they offer.

Party leadership is effective when it relies on a sound knowledge of life, on a sound analysis of the relationship of forces. The merit of the document published in *Partelet* is that it takes cognizance of the developments and shows how to act, depending on the conditions, to accelerate the victory of socialism.

A Factory Conference on Problems of War and Peace

THE idea of organizing a conference on problems of war and peace originated in the Party organization of the Gottwald Motor Works in Prague almost simultaneously with the opening of the Geneva meetings. The workers are keenly interested in international affairs and the fight for peace. The twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War reminds many of the sufferings of the recent past. In short, it was decided to provide answers to questions of vital concern to the workers.

The conference started with reports delivered in the shops. The quiet that set in at the machine shop where 500 workers listened to Comrade Cibus—a former worker and now deputy manager—was most unusual. The subject of his report was "The Possibility of Averting War Today." The main idea of the report was that with the radical change that has taken place in the international situation the people are now in a position to thwart the designs of the warmongers; the socialist camp and the peace supporters throughout the world are strong enough to achieve this aim. The fight for peace is not only one of words of indignation and protest, it is work, work to strengthen the might

of the socialist countries. Similar reports were delivered in a number of shops and the total attendance was over 3,000.

A good speech always evokes the desire to express oneself; however, in view of the conditions at the plant, it was impossible to open the discussion on the same day. It was held over the next two weeks. Workers met in groups of 20-30 so that each could have his say, ask questions and make suggestions. Altogether there were 200 of these talks. They were opened by speakers supplied by the Party committee. For instance, there were 12 speakers in the tool shop. One of them, Comrade Musil, pointed to the need for a better understanding of current developments so that no one could be indifferent to them, so that each would be aware of the link between his work and the common struggle to prevent war. He then invited the audience to express their views.

The talk was informal. One of the workers who had just returned from the German Democratic Republic gave his impressions of what the German workers felt and told how they were contributing to the struggle for peace. Another worker spoke about the hypocrisy of the Western politicians who

paid only lip service to peace; he recalled the old saying: "In words he goes here and there, and in deeds nowhere." People spoke about the Bonn revanchists and their American sponsors, about the dangerous policy pursued by de Gaulle, the need to strengthen the camp of socialism, to educate people in the spirit of internationalism, and, finally, about the work of the plant.

The various points of view were summed up by the Party committee. The next discussion was a more thorough one and it was necessary to read much and meditate on the material beforehand. The topic was the same: "The Possibility of Averting War Today." In addition to the main speech, contributions were prepared on the following topics: "The Growing Might of the Socialist Camp—the Main Condition for Preserving Peace," "The Struggle Against Atomic Armament is a Struggle to Save World Civilization," "The Significance of the Soviet Peace Proposals for Mankind," "The Sudetenland is the Inalienable Territory of the Czech People," and "The Struggle of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Against the Fascist Aggression in 1937-39."

A special display "It is not simply the question of Berlin, but rather of preserving peace" was arranged for the conference. The eight stands of the display showed what war meant to the people, the destructive power of atomic weapons, and the strength of the forces fighting for peace. Photos of West German militarists with smiling American politicians shaking their hands brought forth sarcastic rejoinders from the audience.

The factory journal *Gottwaldovec* and radio broadcasts devoted to the conference stimulated interest in it; the speakers, naturally, were conscious of their responsibility. Individual consultations were held and on the eve of the conference a group consultation was held for the speakers.

The conference was attended by approximately 300 people. The audience was pleasantly surprised with the progress made by the speakers. The designer Houdek, who spoke on the democratic solution of the German problem, had gathered much interesting material, for which purpose he made use of the archives. He quoted an unpublished speech by Klement Gottwald delivered shortly after the proclamation of the German Democratic Republic. Even then the Communists were confident that the Republic represented the future of the new Germany. The stronger the economy of the German Democratic Republic becomes, the sooner the solution of the German question will be achieved, and with it the question of European security. Vesely, deputy-manager of the plant, spoke on international co-ordination and specialization of production within the socialist world system. He shed light on a

number of theoretical problems and referred to the role played by the factory in socialist economy. The designer Prajzler stressed that there are no social classes or groups in the socialist countries interested in war, and that socialism offers boundless opportunities for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The Party organization had invited to the conference Comrade Lvova of the Staff of the Institute of History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. She reviewed the policy pursued by the Communist Party in the period preceding the Second World War and its struggle for peace. Experience has shown that under capitalism the struggle should be spearheaded above all against the reactionaries at home, the militarist circles who for the sake of profit and in fear of the people are ready to join with warmongers even at the expense of the loss of national sovereignty.

The conference exposed the lies of the militarists who claim that Germany has a right to the border regions of Czechoslovakia. The Munich deal under which these regions and later the entire country were handed over to the Nazis merely hastened the outbreak of the Second World War. The lesson of history is that no concessions should be made to those who infringe on the integrity of the republic.

The speeches evoked a warm response from the audience.

Sorrow for the tragic fate of his country was expressed in the moving words of worker Ean Nikos, a Greek who has resided in Czechoslovakia for the past ten years. Nikos spoke with indignation of the disgraceful treatment to which Manolis Glezos, the national hero, had been subjected. "In our factory I have never met anyone that wanted war," said Nikos. He concluded with a story that aroused laughter. During the visit of a Greek parliamentary delegation to Czechoslovakia one of the M.P.s asked to be invited to the home of this Greek worker. Having visited the apartment the guest, with a smile, said: "Tell me, as one Greek to another, how long did it take them to prepare you to make an impression on me? Who loaned you your suit, whose apartment is this? Surely they've done this for propaganda purposes."

"Well," replied Nikos, "I rather think that every worker in Greece would be grateful to the government for engaging in propaganda that would give each worker a good apartment and enable him to be housed and to dress and eat like any worker in Czechoslovakia."

All the speeches were imbued with the spirit of friendship among nations, of proletarian interna-

tionalism. Closing the conference, the chairman of the Party committee, Comrade Duben, said: "Everyone of us is convinced that lasting peace

depends primarily on the popular masses and that the best contribution to peace is our success in labor." *Miroslav LAB*

The Growing Influence of the Communist Party of Nepal

THE Communist Party of Nepal, which will be ten years old this year, has traversed a glorious though difficult path. Shortly after its founding the Party was subjected to brutal persecution, culminating in its being outlawed in 1952. But it continued to grow and maintained close contact with the people. In 1956 the government was forced to recognize it as a legal party; a year later it convened its Second Congress which adopted the program, rules and issued the call for a Constituent Assembly and a Constitution.

Eight years have passed since something in the nature of a constitutional monarchy was established in the country. During these years a series of partially or completely appointed "parliaments" and governments have succeeded one another. None of these governments did anything to realize the aspirations of the people. What is more, the people were fraudulently deprived of the rights which they won after the insurrection of 1951. In most cases the party leaders, chiefly embroiled in court intrigues, wrangled with one another over office and money. True, thanks to the constant pressure exerted by the people, some progress has been made in foreign and home policy; still, the basic problems remain unsolved.

Medieval backwardness is still prevalent in Nepal. The vast majority of the peasants are subject to feudal exploitation, being forced to surrender to the landlord about half of their wheat crop and often up to four-fifths of their rice crop. Forced labor, debt, hunger and epidemics—such is the lot of the peasantry of Nepal.

There has been no industrial development. The country has only a few small enterprises—jute, textile and rice cleaning. Working conditions are bad in the extreme. With an overall area of 140,000 square kilometers and a population of 8.5 million, Nepal has only two narrow-gauge railways with 80 miles of track and less than 300 miles of motor roads.

After the overthrow of the Rana tyranny in 1951, schools were opened in many localities. However, many of them have been closed owing to financial and other difficulties. Literate adults comprise only a tiny percentage of the population. The country is still without a university, although nearly five years have passed since plans for one were drawn up.

Due to lack of employment many intellectuals are forced to seek work with the Americans in their network of so-called "development organizations" or with the missionaries who do not scruple to interfere in the internal administration of the country. Britain still maintains recruiting centers for Gurkhas whom she uses for colonial wars in Malaya and elsewhere.

It will be appreciated how necessary it is in these circumstances to work for the progress of the country. The demand for a general election, first proclaimed by the Communist Party, soon won support among the people. However, because of lack of unity among the democratic forces and because of the attitude taken by the leaders of some of the parties, the general election was postponed. At last, because of the popular pressure, the date for the election was fixed.

The Communist Party held that, notwithstanding the restricted Constitution, the election campaign would give an opportunity to the democratic forces to awaken political consciousness among the people. The Communists did not indulge in lavish promises nor did they woo the tribes with vote-catching calls as practiced by some of the other parties. The Communist Party laid before the people a program showing how to solve the basic problems of the country. The main points were agrarian reform, abolition of all forms of feudal relationships and land to the tillers. To overcome the backwardness of agriculture the program stressed the need to develop industry in every way, without which the country will never be really independent and will never make progress. The Communists advocated economic planning which is possible provided the basic branches of industry are in the hands of the state. At the same time they maintain that the national bourgeoisie should be supported, since they are desirous of developing industry, and that they be guaranteed a definite profit. Workers should be guaranteed minimum wages, their conditions improved and trade union rights ensured. The Party submitted practical proposals for developing transport and communications, foreign and home trade, education, culture and the arts and a public health system. The Communists urged the people to fight for the recognition of the right of Parliament to amend the Constitution, for the

abolition of the upper chamber, wider powers for the local authorities, independence of judges and a series of other measures.

Concerning foreign policy the program said that Nepal should pursue a policy of peace and friendship with nations and oppose military alliances. It also suggested the annulment of the humiliating articles in the treaties with other states, such as the right granted to the British imperialists to recruit Gurkhas.

The Communist Party declared that its program was not a purely election program but one for the reconstruction and the social development of the country. The initiative and the creative activity of the people—these are the main conditions for its implementation. Despite the difficulties the Party made every effort to acquaint the people with its policy. There are only a few thousand radio sets in the country, and total newspaper circulation is about 5,000 copies. But even these limited means of propaganda were largely closed to the Communists. The Party popularized its program at meetings and during demonstrations and also by way of door-to-door canvassing and talks.

The general election, the first in the country's history, was of an unusual nature. The moment the date was announced, about 90 parties, both

new and old, registered for the purpose of nominating candidates. Ultimately, only 9 parties contested, with 780 candidates for the 109 seats. This situation, understandably, tended to confuse the electorate. It was not possible to form a nationwide alliance of the democratic forces against the reactionaries. The Communist Party put forward candidates in the constituencies where it enjoyed considerable support. Elsewhere it supported the democratic candidates.

The results showed that only four parties commanded voting strength. The Nepal Congress Party won 74 seats. This party claims to be democratic, although in the past eight years most of its leaders have pursued an opportunist policy of compromise. The Right-wing Gurkha Parishad Party won 19 seats. The middle-of-the-road United Democratic Party secured five seats.

The Communist Party which polled 7.4 per cent of the votes got four seats. As things are, this is a notable success. Combining their efforts with those of the other democratic forces, both inside and outside Parliament, the Communists will continue to fight for the economic, social and political progress of their country.

Anup B. MISHRA

Short Notices

Denmark

AGAINST THE MILITARIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

THE Communist Party is intensifying its struggle against the proposed installation of rocket bases in Denmark and against the joint Danish-German military command. The Communist group in Parliament has suggested that the government should announce its rejection of the plans for installing foreign military stores and bases on Danish territory, the location of nuclear weapons and the equipping of the Danish armed forces with these weapons, and, likewise, the plans for establishing a joint command or extending military co-operation with West Germany. The Communist Party has also suggested that the government should support the Rapacki plan for an atom-free zone in Central Europe (which would also include Denmark).

A resolution passed by a recent Central Committee meeting says: "The people should define the direction of the military policy of the country. Let the people say their word, let the generals be silent!" The attitude of the ruling circles has disturbed the public, and resolutions, letters and petitions are flowing into the government and Parliament on the subject. A letter from women's organizations, bearing 1,148 signatures, refutes the assertions of the government pertaining to NATO control over West German militarism. The printers' union has appealed to Prime Minister Hansen not to allow atomic bases in Denmark. A similar appeal was adopted by the laborers' union in Olborg whose membership is 8,000. The conference of the amalgamated trade unions representing 720,000 members protested against the policy of militarization.

The struggle is not confined to appeals and protests. The Communist Party held a public demonstration culminating in a big rally against the so-called "symbolic" transfer by the U.S. government of the first of four atomic missile installations intended for the defense of Greater Copenhagen. The resolution reads: "We demand that the plans for rocket bases be abandoned. All military instal-

lations should be removed from the capital. Copenhagen should be an open city."

The mass movement is reflected in the attitude taken by the political parties. A recent National Conference of the Radical Party (which participates in the government) expressed disapproval of the plans for West German bases and for increased military expenditure.

Canada

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

THE Seventh Convention of the Labor-Progressive Party will be held in October. The National Committee has submitted the following draft resolutions for discussion both by the membership and the public: on strengthening the Party in the struggle for peace, independence and socialism; the Party program—Canada's Road to Socialism; on Party work among the nationalities; and on changing the name of the Party to Communist Party.

The National Committee meeting passed the drafts unanimously. All the documents are imbued with the idea of struggle against revisionism as the main danger, against dogmatism and sectarianism, with the need to strengthen contact with the working class and the people as a whole, and to work for united action by all the democratic forces.

Founded in 1922, the Party was repeatedly outlawed and forced to change its name. The National Committee considers that the time has come to resume the glorious title—the Communist Party. At present the Party's prestige, thanks to the growing political struggles of the workers and farmers and to the success of the world communist movement, has grown considerably.

The draft of the first resolution dwells on the struggle for peace. Despite the growth of the peace forces, it says, the danger of war should not be underestimated because it is being aggravated by the reckless action of the U.S. imperialists who consider war inevitable. This situation is fraught with grave consequences for Canada where American missile launching sites are located. The very existence of Canada and of its population depends on whether the people will be able to prevent the country from being embroiled in war. Canada should adopt a policy of positive neutrality, which would make it possible to step up the struggle for the security of the nations of the world and universal disarmament, for ending the cold war and removing the threat of an atomic war.

Morocco

BEFORE THE FIRST ELECTIONS

SEPTEMBER will witness the first local elections in Morocco. The Communist Party assesses the elections as an important step towards a representative democratic regime, towards the election of a Constituent Assembly, and later of a National Assembly.

A statement issued by the Communist Party says: "The elections and the bodies due to be elected should be regarded as a means of political, economic and social emancipation of the masses, as an instrument for uprooting the survivals of colonialism and abolishing its consequences, for putting an end to feudalism. The municipal and communal bodies are called upon to make a big contribution to the building of an independent national economy; to improving the conditions of the working people; to improving sanitation which is an urgent need in the country; to combating illiteracy and spreading advanced national culture."

These bodies should enjoy wide powers and considerable autonomy. They should be granted "widest powers which would enable them to carry out measures urgently needed in the constituencies. Interference by the central authorities should be reduced to the minimum."

The Communist Party maintains that all the national groups in the country should take part in the elections without any discrimination in respect to sex, religion, property or social status. Only traitors who collaborated with the enemy should be denied electoral rights.

The Party will exert every effort to raise the level of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, to ensure withdrawal of foreign armed forces, the liberation of the territory still under occupation and the winning of independence by the fraternal Algerian people. The Communists want the election campaign to help create a National Front which would serve as a firm barrier against colonialism, as a force for the complete liberation of the country from the imperialist yoke.

Israel

FOR UNITY WITH THE ARAB PEOPLE

THE recent Communist Party conference discussed the line to be followed in the forthcoming Knesset (Parliament) and municipal elections scheduled for November. The Party's election platform is peace and neutrality and ending the dependence on American and West German monopolies.

Considerable space is devoted to the Arab question. Israeli ruling circles are hostile to the liberation movement of the Arab people. They pursue a policy of national oppression and racial discrimination in respect to the Arab minority. Anxious to break the unity of the Arab population the government foments strife among the different Arab groups and asserts that the strife is the result of the struggle between the Communists and their opponents.

The Communist Party stands for a just and peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, for the right to self-determination and recognition of the Arab refugees' right to return home.

In its election campaign the Party is calling on the voters to unite around a program which expresses the national interests of all the Israeli people, including the Arabs. In calling for fundamental changes in home and foreign policy the Party is fighting for better conditions for the people, for democratic freedoms and an end to the regime of military government. The Party is steadfast against discrimination and national oppression in respect to the Israeli Arabs; it demands full equality for all ethnic groups and economic aid to the Arab villages. The conference resolution states that a turn towards peace between the Arabs and Israel is the immediate aim which the Party places before the people.

The Communist Party has always stressed that it regards the Arab population as the immediate ally of the working class in the struggle against imperialist policy because the Arabs more than others suffer from national oppression and the regime of military government.

A Central Committee statement points out that the national interests of Israel demand its participation in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Arab peoples in the Middle East. Israel should be an ally, a friend and brother of the neighboring Arab peoples and not an outpost of the Western imperialists.

EXPOSING THE POLICY OF DECEIVING THE PEOPLE

United Arab Republic

ELECTIONS were held recently in both territories of the United Arab Republic for the "National Union," established in Egypt two years ago. According to the design of its founders, this body is to be something in the nature of a single party for the country. Its aim is to ensure the peaceful coexistence of the various classes. From ten to twenty people in each town and district center and from three to ten representatives in each village are elected to its local committees.

A manifesto issued by the Communist Party of Syria declares that by staging these elections the government aimed at diverting the attention of the working people from the issues arising from the worsening conditions: growing unemployment and terror, with thousands of patriots in prison, with freedom of the press and elementary democratic rights abolished. "Despite the wall dividing the leaders of the United Arab Republic from the people," the manifesto continues, "they are conscious of the popular indignation. That is why they are trying to deceive the people and to lull their vigilance by means of elections to the 'National Union'."

In reality this body does not exert any influence on the policy and actions of the authorities. It is merely a screen which thinly conceals the despotic rule. It is used as a cover for the Egyptian monopolists who are being joined by their foreign counterparts. The Communist Party urged the people to boycott this election farce. Prominent political figures in Syria and patriots of all political views refused to stand as candidates.

The July elections and the composition of the elected body have fully confirmed the assessment made by the Communist Party.

PARTY COMMITTEES FORM COMMISSIONS

Poland

THE United Workers' Party of Poland acquired useful experience in drawing the activists into the work of the commissions formed by the Party committees. Proceeding from this experience the Third Congress of the Party added to the Rules an article designating these commissions as "auxiliary bodies" of the regional and district committees.

The significance of these commissions has been considerably enhanced by the fact that the number of full-time Party functionaries has been cut. Most widespread are the organizational, ideological, industrial and agricultural commissions. The composition of a commission is approved by the particular Party committee. Members are drawn from the committee and the activists. Among the members of the industrial commissions we find factory managers, technicians, innovators and economists; the ideological commissions usually include lecturers, teachers, journalists and writers.

The main function of these commissions is to study the local situation and help the Party committees in drawing up measures for improving the work. As a rule, no important decision is taken by a Party committee without it being studied by the appropriate commission. For in-

stance, the organizational commission of the Koshalin town committee studied the work of the primary Party organizations and the methods of work among the non-Party people. The industrial commission in the same town took part in studying questions connected with workers' management in the enterprises.

The agricultural commission of the Gdansk regional committee carries on a great deal of work. Its 40 members are subdivided into five sections: producer co-operative and machine and tractor station section; consumer co-operative section; peasant local-government section; state farm section. The fifth section devotes itself to a study of the economic and political conditions

in the village. The commission maintains contact not only with the district Party committees and the appropriate state and agricultural bodies but also with the United Peasants' Party. As an example, the commission worked jointly with the representatives of this Party in drawing up the directives for long-term agricultural planning in the region. The documents prepared by the commission dealing with the possibilities for agricultural development and producer co-operatives, with the profitability and structure of peasant holdings were of great use to the regional committee of the United Workers' Party.

Thousands of activists are taking part in the work of these commissions.

The National Bourgeoisie and the Liberation Movement

(Continuation of the exchange of opinions begun in No. 8, 1959, of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW. The contributions are slightly abridged.)

Ideological Moves of Latter-Day Colonialists

H. Jourdain

THE French imperialists feel instinctively that their defeat in Algeria will signify the last lap on the road to the collapse of their colonial system.

The struggle waged by the Algerian people and their National Liberation Army, the weight of public opinion in France and the world, and the activities of our Party and the democratic forces in France have forced the imperialists to mobilize not only their military and police apparatus, but also their political and ideological resources in an attempt to prolong their colonial rule, if only for a time. To this end they are endeavoring to utilize the experience of world imperialism, including American.

While concentrating on military operations in Algeria, the big French monopoly bourgeoisie have also stepped up activities on the political and ideological fronts both in France and, especially, in the countries and territories still under their sway. In the enslaved countries their political and ideological pressure is orientated in the main towards the classes and social forces they believe to be most susceptible to their propaganda, among whom it will be easier to find "good company." They are carrying out their propaganda first and foremost among classes and sections of society which, by virtue of their position in social production, their standard of living and their specific ideology, tend to waver between the need to wage unrelenting struggle for national liberation and the possibility of entering into a compromise with the imperialists. We should bear in mind that the most rabid colonialist representatives of big finance capital in France now have new and considerable possibilities. Indeed, it was precisely to protect

their interests that de Gaulle has concentrated in his own hands the direction of the State and established one-man rule not only in the French Republic but in all the countries of the so-called French Community.

Experience has taught the French imperialists that the "Eisenhower doctrine," the doctrine of "filling the vacuum," is untenable. It has obviously failed, and the French imperialists, continuing the war in Algeria and inciting clashes in Africa similar to the recent ones in the Congo, have been forced to seek the support of new social classes and sections in the colonies. That is why they are putting their stake, in the colonial countries, on the national bourgeoisie and those sections which, although they cannot yet be regarded as belonging to the national bourgeoisie, may, in future, form part of them. What kind of an ideological campaign is imperialism conducting in these conditions? If we are to believe its ideologists, there is no national problem in Algeria; only a few problems of an economic and social character, which the Constantine Plan will help to solve. The Socialist Party leaders, and chiefly Guy Mollet, are widely propagating the idea that interdependence between nations has become the rule, that therefore national sovereignty is on the wane and consequently the granting of independence to Algeria is no longer on the agenda. And so, allegedly, the Algerian people's struggle for liberation is not in line with the tasks of the day.

Each of us knows how life has refuted these theories. Never before has the national-liberation movement assumed such dimensions. And the fact that the Algerian nation exists requires no corroboration. I should like to recall the words spoken

by the Secretary-General of our Party in Algiers 20 years ago, words which still retain their validity: "There is an Algerian nation which is being established historically . . . on the basis of the mingling of twenty peoples."

Guy Mollet and his followers, it should be observed, have gone further in developing their ideas. There is, they affirm, something of greater importance than national independence, and that is the liberation of man, the complete liberation of each individual. De Gaulle has used some of these ideas in his recent speeches.

To talk of the complete liberation of the individual before national liberation and independently of it, and before the abolition of colonial relations, is to adopt the stand of bourgeois liberalism which toys with abstract concepts of individual freedom and equality of people. Historical experience has shown that a man suffering under the yoke of colonialism and national oppression will never feel himself free as long as these continue to exist. As for the talk of "aid" to the underdeveloped countries, if we are to believe de Gaulle, disinterested aid from the developed countries will, as if by magic, replace colonial plunder and imperialist rule in the relations between the economically advanced and the underdeveloped countries. De Gaulle seeks to conceal the fact that aid in the real sense of the word, aid without any colonialist and imperialist strings, cannot be negotiated unilaterally. Only between free peoples and countries can there be genuine aid, and the conditions under which it is granted should be discussed by equal partners, whose mutual interests will be taken into account. In vain does de Gaulle try to make out that "aid" of this kind can be given without colonial and national oppression necessarily being abolished. His intention is to drum this into those social classes and sections which tend to vacillate and, hence, might be led to believe that if "aid" is given, an anti-imperialist struggle will no longer be historically inevitable.

When they discourse on man in general, on providing for his needs in general, the ideologists of French imperialism ignore the fact that antagonistic classes exist, that the oppressed nations are waging a national-liberation struggle, that there are in the world different political regimes and ideologies. Their purpose is to show that imperialism has reached such a point in its development, and has such great economic and technical resources at its disposal that it is in a position to aid both the underdeveloped countries and their peoples, as well as the working class in the mother country. All this, they declare, can be achieved with the help of technology, without struggles to do away with national and class oppression.

Our Party is doing everything it can to expose this ideology, with its neo-colonialist ideas. We would be harming the creation of a united front of struggle for independence if we were to affirm beforehand that these ideas could not find a response among certain bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections and intellectuals in the dependent countries, that is, among the sections that play an important part in the anti-imperialist struggle. In our view, these ideas are most dangerous, if only because technology has acquired such prestige in our age that it may well prevent many from seeing that in the hands of the imperialists technology is utilized to exploit the riches of this or that country in the interests of those same imperialists. It is noteworthy, too, that the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders are helping the capitalist class to disseminate these ideas. The Socialists still exert a more or less considerable ideological and political influence on the elected deputies from the countries of Black Africa and Madagascar. I have in mind people like Houphouet-Boigny, Apithy and Lisette. Recently Lisette opposed the Chad people's desire for unity, while Houphouet-Boigny and Apithy conducted a violent campaign against Federation for Mali. They opposed, furthermore, the idea of a United States of West Africa advanced by Sekou Touré and Kwame Nkrumah, and are seeking to retain under direct imperialist domination important areas of the Sahara, so that the imperialists can exploit their riches unhindered.

The ideology and practice of the French imperialists can have even graver consequences if they, feeling such a necessity, would unhesitatingly invite to their dependencies those of their imperialist rivals who are less compromised in the eyes of the people of the dependencies. I should like to quote from an article which appeared early this year in *L'Usine Nouvelle*, a journal published by big industrialists: "The infiltration of Standard Oil into the Sahara, as well as the German capital which is expected to flow in shortly, not to mention financial and technical aid, are advantageous to us, mainly because they contribute to the consolidation of the presence of the French in the Sahara and hence, in Algeria, for they oblige our partners to help defend our positions." That, it may be said, is the French imperialists' usual approach to all the countries of the French Community. Under the Common Market agreement, furthermore, the six countries will participate in the exploitation of overseas possessions. That is why, under the auspices of government circles and the National Council of French Industrialists, deputies, officials and representatives of big banking and industrial capital from the Federal Republic of Germany have of late been frequent visitors to Black Africa and the Sahara. With the same aim, official circles and

the National Council of French Industrialists are arranging for political leaders, intellectuals and other people from Black Africa and Madagascar to visit Federal Germany.

It is noteworthy that the German and Italian monopolies are making efforts to penetrate into North Africa (apart from Algeria), the United Arab Republic and other countries in the Middle East. In these countries some sections of the new generation believe that the new German imperialism presents less danger to them than French imperialism, which has discredited itself by prosecuting colonial wars in Vietnam and Algeria, and by its part in the aggression against Egypt. The people and the various sections of the national bourgeoisie in these countries have little conception of the economic essence of imperialism, but are sensitive to manifestations of its colonialism. This makes it incumbent upon our Party and all the national-liberation movements to be on their guard against joint moves by the French imperialists and their ally-rivals, particularly as the former are building their "new" ideology on certain economic foundations. What we mainly have in mind is the Constantine Plan. Its advocates claim that the plan aims at industrializing Algeria and raising the living standards of the people.

What it chiefly envisages is the exploitation of the gas and oil in the Sahara, of the coal, magnesium, phosphates and other deposits. Monopoly capital, it goes without saying, reserves these highly profitable undertakings for itself. *Entreprise*, a journal of capitalist circles, comments on this plan: "The home market is restricted and will continue to be restricted for some time, particularly if heavy industry is built which will not be able to give a quick return . . . The important

thing is to produce mass consumption goods which can be used at once. The plan gives too little attention to this."

In addition to the Constantine Plan, there are other big projects for Black Africa.

These plans and projects are adapted to imperialism, which can no longer rest content with agrarian and feudal exploitation of the underdeveloped countries, but is obliged to switch over to the industrial exploitation typical of capitalism. In point of fact, however, all these plans do not go beyond the usual colonial exploitation, with its plunder of mineral deposits and development of certain extractive industries, with its export of raw materials and semi-manufactures and its refusal to build a manufacturing industry. French imperialism continues to pursue a policy of plundering the natural resources, and reserves for itself the exclusive right to industrialize the country, thus hindering the creation and expansion of the home market in these countries.

No matter what efforts the big French bourgeoisie make, in our day imperialist plans will, in the final analysis, merely aggravate the contradictions between the oppressed peoples on the one hand, and imperialism on the other, between the national bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries and the big capitalists in the oppressor countries.

In the present conditions of revolutionary struggles for national independence and democracy, the social and economic development of the national bourgeoisie can neither be halted nor retarded. Neither should it be thought that the national-liberation movement can slow down the working-class movement, or weaken independent action by the working class.

Classes and the Liberation Struggle in Argentina

P. Alberdi

IN 1890 the bourgeoisie of Argentina (industrial, rural and trading) felt strong enough to start a revolt against the landlord government, and a bourgeois party, which came to be known as the Civil Radical Union, emerged out of the revolutionary movement. And although the revolution was suppressed, the growing popular and working-class movement eventually brought this party to power in 1916.

Although the governments formed by the Civil Radical Union carried out a number of progressive

measures, they failed to solve any of the country's major economic problems, the economy continued to be subordinate to imperialism, and there was no agrarian reform. The result was they lost popular support and, as economic power continued to be held by their enemies, the conditions were created for a reactionary coup d'état, which was carried out on September 6, 1930, and which removed the Radicals from power.

The working class was not yet sufficiently mature ideologically and politically, neither was it suffi-

ciently organized to lead the struggle of the broad democratic sections of the people including the national bourgeoisie, who expected important reforms from the Radical governments.

Two groups operated among the bourgeoisie and their party. One, representing the big bourgeoisie, sought and still seeks to come to terms with the imperialists and the landlord oligarchy in the struggle against the working class and the people as a whole. The other, despite its vacillations and confused thinking, rather favors the idea of a united front against the imperialists and the landlord oligarchy, of which the working class would form part.

On February 23, 1958, the Civil Radical Union again assumed office. Frondizi was elected President. This party won an electoral victory owing to the support given it by the masses—from the working class to the national bourgeoisie—because its program envisaged anti-imperialist measures and agrarian reforms. But a split in the working-class ranks provoked by Peronists in the trade unions, some Socialists and Right-wing union leaders, prevented the necessary pressure being brought to bear to force the government to fulfil its pledges. Under the influence of reactionary military circles, the bourgeois circles who favored agreement with imperialism and the landlord oligarchy, Frondizi betrayed his program. This act of betrayal and the break with the working class and popular masses ended in the representatives of the national bourgeoisie losing their key posts in the government, which the Civil Radical Union no longer controls.

Thus we see that without a united front with the working class, the national bourgeoisie are unable to retain power, and that anti-communism and an anti-working class policy bring about its defeat.

So that we may have an idea of the class composition of the population of Argentina, let us examine the figures in "Argentina's National Income for 1951," published in 1954 by the economic sub-committee set up by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina.

These figures, which still retain their validity, show that of a gainfully employed population of 6,744,399, nearly three million are workers (two-thirds of whom are employed in industry, building and transport, and one-third in agriculture), while two million are clerical and office employees.

Of the gainfully employed population 1,654,636 comprise the so-called "middle sections;" 900,000 of these are employed in agriculture; this figure includes 600,000 tenants, sharecroppers and small owners whose conditions are very hard. For the most part they consist of poor peasants and the lower sections of the middle peasants. This total of 900,000 also includes the rural bourgeoisie (rich

farmers and the upper sections of the middle peasants), as well as small and medium cattle-breeders. The interests of the rural bourgeoisie suffer at the hands of the imperialist monopolies, who control the harvest-purchasing enterprises, the meat-packing plants and dairies, the purchase and export of cattle, and the factories processing oil-bearing crops, etc.

The Agrarian Federation of Argentina—a peasant organization—is headed by rich farmers who, on the one hand, organize the peasants for struggle when they want to win concessions from the government, imperialist monopolies and landlords, and, on the other, put a brake on this struggle when it is on the point of turning into mass action for agrarian reform, or when the peasants show a desire to ally themselves with the proletariat. They are particularly fearful of Communists participating in the peasant movement, and see to it that they are expelled from the Federation.

The small and medium cattle-breeders have taken vigorous action against the foreign meat-packing "pool."

The middle sections include 100,000 small and medium manufacturers and 50,000 handicraftsmen or small proprietors who cater to the big enterprises but hire wage-workers. The latter, as a rule, work at home.

These middle sections also include 350,000 small and medium shopkeepers, 35,000 employers in transport as, for example, bus owners and members of transport co-operatives. There are, too, about 110,000 professional workers—doctors, engineers, lawyers, architects, etc.

Industry was developed with the help of government protectionist measures. The imperialists, mainly the North American, as the various Pan-American conferences show, are demanding the annulment of measures aimed at safeguarding the national industry, building a national merchant fleet, etc.

These factors have impelled the national bourgeoisie to fight imperialism for control over the government. But their fear of the growing working-class movement, and their dependence on foreign credits, supplies of equipment, raw materials and fuel tend to make them waver.

Small and medium industrialists are, on the one hand, beginning to understand that intensified exploitation of the workers restricts the home market for the sale of their goods and they cannot compete on the foreign market. On the other hand, the competition of the big enterprises, particularly the better-equipped ones owned by the imperialists, compels the small and medium industrialists to step up the exploitation of their workers so as to be able to stand up to competition.

The rural bourgeoisie (with the exception of privileged groups connected with the meat-packing plants or grain-exporting firms) are losing as a result of the lower prices paid by the British imperialists for agricultural produce and they are suffering still greater losses through dumping of U.S. "agricultural surpluses."

At the IVth National Conference of the Communist Party, Victorio Codovilla analyzed the profound contradictions obtaining between the actively developing capitalist mode of production on the one hand, and the semi-feudal forms of ownership in the countryside and the activities of the imperialist monopolies, on the other. The fact that the country had no heavy industry of its own, he noted, that the raw material resources were not being adequately exploited, that there were not enough transport facilities and that fares were high, that the home market was small and the country technologically backward, was due to the imperialist monopolies who hindered the selling of Argentine goods on the foreign market. He also pointed out that some regions lagged behind the general level of development.

The struggle to overcome these contradictions opens up broad vistas for organizing a united front of all sections of the population—from the working class to the industrial, trading and rural bourgeoisie. The masses are demanding trade relations

with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries.

But the upper sections of the national bourgeoisie are drawing closer to the landlords and to the imperialist monopolies. The draft program to be discussed by the XIIth Congress of the Communist Party states: "More and more representatives of the older landlord oligarchy, as well as the big industrialists and merchants who exhibit their goods at agricultural fairs are to be seen on the boards of the industrial companies." The draft theses for the XIIth Congress speak of "mixed companies" in which U.S. monopolies and big Argentine capitalists or the state are participating. Some of the big state-owned enterprises are gradually coming under imperialist control, either by sale or through "mixed enterprises."

The draft theses point out that by means of "patents, trade marks, technical aid, banks and financial companies, the foreign monopolies, particularly the North American, are, without making any initial capital investment, or very little, gaining control over growing numbers of big and medium-sized national enterprises in the footwear, chemical, metallurgical, textile and other industries."

Thus we see that whereas considerable numbers of the bourgeoisie can and must be won over to the national front, others seek to collaborate with imperialism and the big landlords.

Independence — Our Immediate Goal

A. Ouahrani

FOR nearly five years now the Algerian people have been waging a fierce struggle against French imperialism. It is not "separate armed bands," as official French propaganda slanderously affirms, but all Algerians who are taking part in this struggle, which is an expression of their will. The people are deeply conscious that if they are to win independence and sovereignty, they must be prepared to make sacrifices. And that is why, no matter what efforts the French Army makes, it is not meeting with any success.

Our people reject the "solutions" proposed by the French rulers: the "skeleton-laws," the "Constantine Plan," and so on. They do not believe in the theory of the "liberation of the individual" invented by Guy Mollet, nor in de Gaulle's highfalutin speeches about "fraternization." Our people are fighting for a democratic Algerian Republic.

Before resorting to revolutionary action in retaliation against colonialist violence, the people of

Algeria did everything they could to secure their rights by peaceful means. The Emir Khaled movement, the Congress of Moslems in 1936, and others, provide ample testimony of this. With the growth of the national liberation movement, which neither the mass reprisals nor massacres by the colonialists (recall the events of 1945 when 45,000 Algerians were killed on de Gaulle's orders) have succeeded in arresting, the French government has made minor concessions of the type of the Order of March 7, 1944, or the Statute of Algeria of 1947 in the hope of breaking up the national movement. But even these have not been implemented. As a result all the political parties of Algeria, including the moderate ones, came to the conclusion that national liberation could be achieved only by way of rebellion, and it was to this that a group of patriots resorted on November 1, 1954.

The French colonialists tried to divide our people early in the revolution and they succeeded in

winning over a handful of traitors. But no class as such supported them. Whereas in some countries the big bourgeoisie and feudalists sided with the oppressors in the course of the revolution, no class in Algeria sided wholly with the enemy. Never in their history have the people been so united.

All social sections are under the colonialist yoke. Suffice it to say that of the total value of agricultural products, which in 1955 was assessed at 145 billion francs, 100 billion went into the pockets of 22,000 European owners (6,000 of whom grow crops worth 80 billion francs) while a mere 45 billion fell to the share of 600,000 Algerian peasant households.

Algerians own only eight per cent of the 450 billion francs in privately invested capital; and of the yearly turnover of 900 billion francs only 69 billion go to the Algerians; 90 per cent of industry and trade are concentrated in the hands of some 26,000 Europeans employing 305,000 workers. There are only 7,224 Algerian employers and they employ 23,314 workers.

These figures enable us to understand why there is such broad unity among the people who have rallied not only around the political program for national independence, but also around the social program which calls for agrarian reform.

All social sections are participating in the revolutionary struggle. Who are they and what contribution are they making to the national revolution?

The peasants who constitute the vast majority of the population are the most brutally exploited section. They can barely eke out an existence on the barren land left to them by the colonialists. They place great hopes in the agrarian reform. That is why they, as the most numerous class, form the main core of the revolutionary movement and bear the brunt of the war. It is thanks to the peasants that the National Liberation Army has been able to build such a solid base throughout the country, while the few feudalists have either been neutralized or forced to support the national revolution in one way or another.

The working class, although numerically small, is making an important contribution to the liberation movement. It suffers under the double yoke of colonial and capitalist oppression. Distinguished by a high fighting spirit, it has become steeled mainly in the struggle against the French colonial bourgeoisie, not against its own national bourgeoisie who are its ally in the national-liberation movement.

Algeria is poorly industrialized and this fact as well as the poverty have forced many (about 400,000) to leave their country in search of work and to settle in France.

The political consciousness of the Algerian working class is higher than in other Arab countries

thanks to the influence of the French working-class movement and to the activities of an independent working-class party — the Algerian Communist Party.

The organization of the working class and its high political consciousness have enabled the National Liberation Army to recruit good cadres.

The vanguard role of the working class has exerted a favorable influence on the national movement as a whole and has helped in working out the political and social objectives of the movement in keeping with the interests of the masses. It is the petty and middle bourgeoisie, however, not the working class, that lead the national movement.

There is practically no big bourgeoisie in Algeria. Their growth has been stultified by the colonialist bourgeoisie. The middle bourgeoisie are not numerous and consist mostly of merchants and owners of small handicraft enterprises. This section has been given little scope under the colonial regime.

The petty bourgeoisie, the most numerous section, is made up of handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, public utility employees, students, intellectuals, professional workers, etc. Their standard of living differs according to profession, but for the most part they differ very little from the semi-proletarians.

It should be emphasized that most of the intellectuals have felt the impact of revolutionary ideas; many advocate Arab regeneration; some are adherents of Marxism.

The petty bourgeoisie, having experienced national oppression, have drawn closer to the poor people, to the masses. Their economic position, educational status and numerical strength have enabled them to take their place at the head of the national movement, and they have provided most of the leaders of the revolution.

The unity of the people did not come about spontaneously. Linked with the history of the national movement which gained great impetus after the Second World War, it was achieved in the course of mass action. To achieve unity our Party advanced, as early as 1946, the slogan of forming a national-democratic Algerian front, and sought to unite the national movement around a common program.

The people took the idea of unity to heart, and experience taught them how necessary it was. Thus in 1951, on the initiative of the Communist Party, the "Front for the Defense and Respect of Freedom" was set up. The people hopefully welcomed the idea of a National Congress that was advanced by some of the leaders of the "Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms."

The urge for united action led, in the first phase

of the liberation struggle, to the people rallying around a group of patriots from the "Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action," which became the nucleus of the National Liberation Front. It was these patriots who performed the historic service of preparing and carrying out the national uprising.

The National Liberation Front became the leading force of the revolution, because it expressed the common aspirations and the common interests of the people. Most of the nationalist organizations dissolved voluntarily to enable their members to join the Front. At the same time workers, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and students formed their own organizations which co-operated closely with the NLF.

When this specific form of popular unity was created, the Communist Party did not agree to disband its organizations; it is, however, doing everything it can to further the revolution.

First, taking into account the urgent need for struggle, which called for equal discipline for all, our Party dissolved its own armed groups and integrated them into the National Liberation Army

and signed an agreement to this effect with the NLF leadership.

Second, to achieve trade union unity, our Party appealed to its members and sympathizers who were previously organized in the General Trade Union Center, to switch over to the General Union of Algerian Working People.

Third, the Communist Party, as an independent organization participating in the liberation struggle and supporting the NLF, is strengthening the political unity of the people around the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

Fourth, the Communist Party, as a national Marxist-Leninist Party, seeks to raise the level of the national movement and to widen its horizons; it explains its policy which conforms to the present and future interests of the vast majority of the people and, first and foremost, of the workers and poor peasants.

I have tried here to state briefly why it is that the Algerian people have, for five years, been so successful in rebuffing the superior forces of the colonialist army. There is every reason for saying that Algeria will shortly be among the countries which have got rid of the colonial yoke.

What Do We Mean by the National Bourgeoisie

Eskandari

MANY speakers, citing their countries as examples, have shown that there is a section of the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries which can, and not infrequently does, play a progressive role in the anti-imperialist revolution. But it is not enough, I think, simply to state this fact. It would be interesting to find out what section of the bourgeoisie plays this progressive role. In other words, we should define as precisely as we can, what section of the bourgeoisie we call the national bourgeoisie. Politically this question is most important.

We have experienced great difficulties in our activities, and have made not a few mistakes, just because we have not had a sufficiently clear concept of the role and character of the national bourgeoisie. During the struggle for the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry, for example, we did not support Mossadegh, who, undoubtedly, represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie. We thought along these lines: Mossadegh is fighting for the nationalization of Iranian oil, but the American imperialists are backing this

movement, which means that they are guiding it. And so we drew the incorrect conclusion that the Communists should not support the nationalization movement, thereby isolating ourselves from the masses who followed the bourgeoisie, and not our Party.

Some comrades have pointed out that there are no national bourgeoisie in some of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. That may be so. It may be that in these countries the bourgeoisie have not yet developed and their various groups or sections have not yet taken distinct shape. But the question of the character and nature of the bourgeoisie is of extreme importance for these countries too, inasmuch as capitalist relations are developing there and a capitalist class is in the process of formation.

Some countries fell under imperialist rule when they were at a very low level of development. The imperialists did all they could to prevent the formation of the national bourgeoisie. But a working class was emerging and growing at the foreign-owned enterprises. Hence the working class in

these countries is more experienced than the local bourgeoisie. I say this in order to emphasize the distinctions and the specific features inherent in the different countries. But despite these distinctions, we can accurately determine whom we should regard as the national bourgeoisie.

The best criterion for a definition of the concept of national bourgeoisie is the national, home market. We could say that the national bourgeoisie are that part of the bourgeoisie which struggles against the imperialists, for a national industry and a national, domestic market. But this yardstick alone does not suffice to define the national bourgeoisie. We should establish more concretely who is linked with the home market and what the nature of these ties is.

In Iran, for instance, there are merchants who handle imports of motor cars, refrigerators and so on. They are linked with the home market and are interested in seeing it develop. But can we regard them as the national bourgeoisie? I think not, inasmuch as it is they who help the foreign monopolies to gain access to our home market.

In Iran, as in certain other countries in the Middle East, there also exists a group of businessmen who act as representatives of foreign capital-

ist firms, the foreign monopolies. They have the exclusive right to sell certain foreign goods on the home market such as refrigerators, motorcars, wireless sets, etc. These are the direct agents of imperialism on the home market.

It has been mentioned during this discussion that the Resolution of the VIth Congress of the Communist International lumped the whole trading bourgeoisie together under the term comprador, while only the industrial bourgeoisie were regarded as belonging to the national bourgeoisie. But the experience of the past few years has shown that in many countries not only the industrial, but also part of the commercial bourgeoisie have participated in the anti-imperialist movement.

Hence, we regard as the national bourgeoisie that section of the bourgeoisie in the colonial and dependent countries whose main activities are linked with national production, with the sale of home-made goods on the foreign and home markets. Moreover, that part of the trading bourgeoisie which deals with the marketing of foreign goods, but is not directly linked with imperialist monopolies, is likewise regarded as part of the national bourgeoisie. These sections, in our opinion, are the national bourgeoisie.

Some Remarks on Bourgeois Nationalism

R. Schulz

I SHOULD like in my brief address to dwell on a question which has not been sufficiently elucidated in the course of this discussion: namely, the ideology of the national bourgeoisie and the efforts made by the Communist and Workers' parties to combat the impact of bourgeois ideology on the working people. I should like to call your attention to certain aspects of present-day bourgeois nationalism.

It has been pointed out here that the bourgeoisie resort to the "class harmony" theory in order to mislead the working people in the colonial countries. The bourgeoisie also often play on the popularity of socialism among the working masses and try to palm off capitalist relations as socialist relations. In the past few years this has been a favorite device of both bourgeois propaganda and the Right-wing Socialist theoreticians. The question arises in this connection, what role does the ideology of the national bourgeoisie play in the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial countries?

Bourgeois nationalism, as an important component of bourgeois ideology, plays a varying role, depending upon the country in question and the

phase of the national-liberation movement. Comrade Teitelboim has told us that in the conditions of today bourgeois nationalism no longer plays a progressive role in Chile. In other countries it retains its progressive role in the common struggle against imperialism.

As comrades here have told us, bourgeois nationalism plays quite an important role in the Arab and most African countries. But, it should be said outright, we Marxists must undoubtedly recognize that certain aspects of bourgeois nationalism — such as the "Pan-Arab" ideology in the forms it has assumed in the UAR — hinder the Arab peoples' struggle for liberation from the imperialist yoke.

While criticizing and condemning the manifestations of dominant-nation nationalism, we should, as far as the Arab countries are concerned, give our support at the present stage to the progressive ideas of Arab nationalism, which help to rouse and develop the national consciousness of the masses, strengthen the united anti-imperialist front and further the growth of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

In this we see the dialectical interdependence of the two aspects of Arab nationalism. It would be interesting to observe, on the one hand, the impact of the ideology of dominant-nation nationalism on the national bourgeoisie and the working people, and, on the other, the development of national consciousness among the social classes.

I should like to say in conclusion that I agree with those comrades who have said that the experience of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle, despite its specific features in the different countries, enables us to generalize and ascertain common laws which we should take into account in analyzing the strategy and tactics of the struggle waged by the working class.

Nigeria on the Road to Independence

M. Achufusi

I SHALL begin by replying to a question asked during the discussion: can we at this stage speak of a national bourgeoisie in Nigeria? I would say yes, we can.

Nigeria's productive forces began to develop rapidly after World War II. This applies primarily to the mining industry, handicrafts and agriculture. The first textile mill was built in Lagos in 1950, and another put into commission in Kano a year later.

Home trade, concentrated mainly in the hands of local merchants, has grown with industrial advance, and local banking has made headway. By 1955 Nigeria had six banks with 40 branches (and over two million pounds sterling in deposits), whereas in 1939 the National Bank of Nigeria was the only bank of this kind.

The national bourgeoisie have begun to take a bigger part also in the political life of the country. In 1944 the first mass party — the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons — was founded under the leadership of G. Macauley and Azikiwa. The Party's program called for the political and economic liberation of Nigeria at the earliest possible date.

The second party — the Action Group, came into being in 1949 as a result of a political compromise between the feudalists and the Right-wing bourgeoisie. It is a party of rich cocoa-growers, of bankers and big feudal landlords, that is, of forces which in any event are interested in agreement with Britain.

In 1951, the Northern People's Congress, the third strongest party, was formed. It represents the interests of the most reactionary defenders of the outlived social system. This party (its founder and chairman is Ahmadu Sardauna, a scion of the feudal nobility) relies on the British colonial administration and the feudal elements in Northern Nigeria. Fearing to find itself in isolation, however, the Northern People's Congress, too, is forced to speak in favor of an independent

Nigeria, particularly as, since 1955, a party called the Northern Elements Progressive Union (last January re-named the Sawaba Party) has come forward in Northern Nigeria as a democratic mass party. In coalition with the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons this party stands for Federation with a strong central authority.

A so-called constitutional conference was held in London during May-June 1957. The people of Nigeria commissioned their delegates to fix the date when independence would be granted, so that all other problems could be gone into later as internal affairs of an independent Nigerian state. The British Secretary of State for the Colonies, in agreement with the Action Group and the Northern People's Congress, changed the order of the items on the agenda, with the result that independence for Nigeria was discussed only on the last day of the conference. The Western and Eastern regions of the country were granted self-government within the framework of a single Federation, while autonomy for Northern Nigeria was postponed until 1959. It was decided at the conference that the Parliament to be elected in 1960 would propose to the British Government a time-limit for Nigerian independence, "which would receive favorable consideration, inasmuch as the technicalities connected with the transfer of political leadership required time."

In September last year 108 Nigerian delegates and advisers again came to London to attend a constitutional conference. With the delegates representing the Nigerian bourgeoisie was a group upholding the political rights of the peasants.

The delegates from the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons and the Northern People's Congress wanted this conference to be the last which their country would attend as a colony; and they wanted all other problems to be solved by an independent Nigeria. Awolowo, Chairman of the Action Group, insisted on all outstanding issues being decided before independence was proclaimed.

On the one hand, the Action Group seeks supporters among the national minorities, to whom it holds out the promise of independent government, and, on the other, looks for them among certain sections of the British public. What Britain would prefer above all, is to see a coalition between the Action Group and the Northern People's Congress. But the Ilorin issue stands in the way of this; the North has declared time and again that it would sooner go to war than give up Ilorin Province. Hence there appears to be more likelihood of a coalition between the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons and the Northern People's Congress.

The constitutional conference fixed October 1, 1960, as the date on which we Nigerians would legally be citizens of a sovereign state.

But the British rose is not without its thorns. Article 83 of the Nigerian Constitution drawn up in London, contains a strange formula concerning mutually advantageous co-operation between Britain and Nigeria in the sphere of defense; it also states that a mutual decision was reached regarding the aid each country would accord the other when the independence of Nigeria had been proclaimed. This point, which had not been discussed at all at the plenary meeting, came as a shock to most of the delegates. We hope that when the Nigerian Parliament comes to be elected it will settle this question for itself, because British troops on the territory of an independent Nigeria would act in the interests of British imperialism, and against those of Nigeria and her neighbors.

October 1, 1960, must, once and for all, write finish to the extortionate agreements which Britain has concluded with an illiterate people and put an end to the horrors of the colonial regime.

The second half of the twentieth century is a period of the rapid disintegration of the colonial system in Africa. But this process is not taking place on the same scale in all countries. When, on October 1, 1960, we take the first, political, step towards complete independence, we shall certainly have to follow it up with the second, economic step. The extent to which we succeed in abolishing colonialism will, in the long run, be determined by the extent to which Nigeria is industrialized. All the natural resources are at hand, it is technical personnel and capital that we lack. I would say in passing that a merchant usually makes a poor industrialist; industrialization requires the unhampered development of a nascent industrial bourgeoisie — this, however, has been deliberately retarded either by foreign competition or by legislation.

Primary accumulation of capital in its classical form is no longer possible in present-day Nigeria. Of course, capital accumulation would be facilitated if the home market were to grow and the state were to take over foreign trade. But foreign aid will undoubtedly be needed if Nigeria's industry is to develop. It should be made clear to the Nigerian people that they can develop their industry and, by doing so, win genuine political and economic independence only by establishing close contact with the socialist camp.

Although British imperialism continues to remain Nigeria's chief enemy, we must put the Nigerian people on their guard against imperialist states acting in the guise of "anti-colonial powers" — the United States and West Germany, to state cases in point. Neither can we break with imperialism without simultaneously waging a struggle against the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and the local feudal chiefs.

Two Tendencies in the National Bourgeoisie

G. Levinson

IN the present situation considerable political and theoretical importance is attached to the question: in what direction are the national bourgeoisie developing in those countries of the East where, having led the anti-imperialist movement of the people, they have come to power? To what extent have the tasks of bourgeois-democratic reconstruction, which form the basis of national-liberation revolutions, that is, the tasks of liberation from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism, been fulfilled?

Imperialist rule has been undermined in these countries. Their governments are by and large pursuing an independent foreign policy. Many important economic levers have been wrested from the imperialists and are now in the hands of the national governments (the former Imperial Bank of India, the Suez Canal and the banks in Egypt, big Dutch enterprises in Indonesia, etc.). Laws have been passed which partially protect national capital from foreign competition. The liberated countries are now able to establish economic re-

lations with other countries, including most advantageous ties with the socialist countries.

We should not underrate these gains, which have dealt a grave blow to the imperialist world system. It would be equally wrong to lose sight of the fact that the imperialists have retained considerable economic and — here and there — political power in their former colonies. Foreign capital has preserved strong positions in their economy. Private British investments in India and Pakistan, for instance, have actually increased compared with the colonial period, and although in Indonesia, Burma, the United Arab Republic and some other countries the former metropolitan countries are investing less, these investments are still considerable. The shortage of technical personnel and of capital resources has compelled the national bourgeoisie to compromise with the foreign monopolies. In view of the sharpening of internal class contradictions, the national bourgeoisie in some of the underdeveloped countries have, over the past few years, gradually changed their attitude towards foreign capital. In Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan decrees limiting the share of foreign capital in mixed companies have been abrogated, and the restrictions on the transfer of profits relaxed; Burma has repealed a law which prohibited foreigners from investing capital for the development of natural resources. Not only the top sections of the national bourgeoisie in India (Tata Birla and others), but some leading officials, too, are now speaking in favor of more foreign investments. They are bringing ever greater pressure to bear on the Nehru government, which is negotiating loans from the USA, Britain, West Germany and other capitalist countries, and is actually receiving them.

Thus we see that, although the liberation of many dependent countries has meant that the imperialists are now getting a much smaller total income than before from their former colonies, they are, nevertheless, still in a position to pump substantial profits out of them. It follows, then, that the anti-imperialist tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the economic sphere have not been resolved consistently in the independent bourgeois countries of the East.

To what extent have the anti-feudal tasks been solved? After coming to power in a number of countries the national bourgeoisie promised to carry out an agrarian reform. But in no country have the land reform laws gone beyond slightly restricting the property of the landlords, reducing rents and adopting measures gradually to change feudal and semi-feudal production relations into capitalist production relations. The peasants are bearing the brunt of the extremely large sums paid in compensation for the land. It is only the big feudal landlords that are affected; a some-

what highly bourgeoisified land-owning class remains, and the rich peasant section in the countryside has been strengthened. Conditions for the majority of the farmers have improved but little.

A revolutionary solution of the land problem in the interests of the peasantry as a whole would run counter to the class interests of the national bourgeoisie who, in the former colonies, have maintained a certain contact with the landlords and rural usurers and, furthermore, fear that a policy of complete abolition of landlord property without compensation would encourage popular pressure on the "sacred" principle of private property in general. Hence the anti-feudal task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the Eastern countries still awaits a consistent solution in the interests of the peasant masses.

The question arises: to what extent will the outstanding tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution be fulfilled, within the framework of the existing regime, in the independent capitalist countries of the East? In other words, how far are the national bourgeoisie prepared to go along the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal path; have they gone as far as they can in this respect?

The ruling bourgeoisie in the countries of the East will evidently continue, despite their vacillations, to combat the imperialist colonialist policy and to fight for independent economic advance since this means a struggle to preserve their class domination, a struggle for profit. It can be expected that these countries will meet with a certain measure of success in this respect, inasmuch as they can, by virtue of the unequal historical development, achieve economic progress on a capitalist basis, although on an extremely limited scale.

We cannot, however, ignore the fact that as the class contradictions in their countries sharpen, the national bourgeoisie tend more and more to come to terms with the imperialists and the feudal landowners. This tendency conflicts with the striving of the people for complete and unconditional liberation from all survivals of imperialist and feudal oppression, for a consistent democratization of political life. And the working class is the most active force expressing this revolutionary trend.

This contest between the two trends in the economic and political advance of the independent bourgeois countries in the East does not remove from the agenda the slogan for a united anti-imperialist front of the working class, peasantry and national bourgeoisie.

In these countries the national bourgeoisie still lead most of the peasants, and here and there a considerable section of the working class. But they apparently realize that their influence among the masses is uncertain and to maintain it they are

mobilizing — relying on state power — the whole arsenal of administrative and ideological weapons. They rely on the prestige gained by the anti-imperialist movement and tenaciously try to make the people believe that they are the sole champions of the national interests.

In the conditions of continued struggle against imperialism and the attempts to restore the colonial order, bourgeois nationalism, it goes without saying, maintains its positive progressive significance. But the limited and dual nature of this nationalism should never be lost sight of. "If the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights against the oppressing one, we are always, in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else, in favor," Lenin said, "for we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. But if the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism we are opposed."*

Under cover of the slogan for national unity the national bourgeoisie try to put across the idea of class peace, an idea that disarms the working people. Under certain conditions bourgeois nationalism easily degenerates into jingoism, preaching national exclusiveness and enmity towards other peoples. The ideas of Pan-Turkism and Zionism are precisely of such a reactionary nature.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. Selected Works, Two-Volume Edition, Vol. 1, page 565.

Two opposite tendencies stand out clearly in the policy now being pursued by the ruling national bourgeoisie in the Eastern countries. The first is the tendency to oppose the imperialists and their attempts to regain domination in one or another form over their former colonies, the tendency to preserve peace, to maintain economic co-operation with the socialist camp. This tendency is backed by the people who, as they gain in strength and as their organization improves, can exert an ever-greater pressure to this end on the policy of their governments. Externally this tendency has the support of and is reinforced by the growth of the socialist system, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The second tendency finds expression in the desire of the national bourgeoisie to slow down or curtail democratic and social reforms, to compromise with imperialism and the feudal landowners and, in a number of countries, to go over to open dictatorship. The imperialist powers, first and foremost the USA, are doing everything they can to ensure that this reactionary tendency gains the upper hand.

Hence the further advance of the independent bourgeois countries in the East will be decided not only by the balance of class forces in these countries, but also in the course of the competition between two systems—the moribund capitalist system and the growing socialist system.

New Features of the National-Liberation Movement

I. Cox

THE rapid advance of the national-liberation movement since the Second World War was a powerful force which contributed to the downfall of colonialism.

However, we must never forget that the main factor which made this possible was the great advance of the socialist world, strengthened especially by the victory of the Chinese people. Without this, the national bourgeoisie in a number of countries would not have been able to achieve political independence in their countries.

Some discussion has taken place on the formulations of the VIth Congress of the Communist International in 1928. It strikes me we need to be on guard against losing sight of the positive

features of the VIth Congress Resolutions, which led to the basis for a big advance in the national-liberation movement in the colonies. From our standpoint the VIth Congress was most decisive in achieving complete clarity on the impact of imperialism on the development of the colonies and made it possible since then for the British Communists to contribute to stimulating united action with the colonial peoples.

I should like to return to the main theme of my first report. We all agree that the biggest new factor is the growth of the socialist world and the advance of the national-liberation movement on a world scale. But what are the new factors in the national-liberation movement? I would say they are the following:

1. Political independence has been achieved in several former colonies under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. This has been made possible due to the growth of the socialist camp and especially the victory of the Chinese people.

2. The main strength of the national-liberation movement is not in the existing colonies (as in 1928), but in former colonies which have won political independence. This is extremely clear from the standpoint of the struggle against British imperialism. When Nigeria wins political independence in 1960 it will leave only 30 million in the remaining British colonies in contrast to 560 million people before Indian political independence in 1947. Does this mean that 530 million in the former colonies are no longer fighting imperialism? No, it does not. It means that the struggle has reached a new stage and involves an even sharper fight to achieve economic independence.

3. The countries which have won political independence serve to stimulate a rapid advance in the liberation movement in the remaining colonies. It is certainly clear that political independence in Ghana has stimulated the awakening of other African countries. Nigeria represents more than half the population of the remaining British colonial empire and when it achieves political independence in 1960 it seems clear that it will provide an even greater stimulus for the growth of the all-African liberation movement.

There is no doubt that the national bourgeoisie in the remaining colonies will have a bigger and more positive role in the coming struggles. But in the countries which have already won political independence the national bourgeoisie tend to hold back the further advance of the liberation movement. And only when the proletariat advances to the leadership of the national movement will the tasks of the national-democratic revolution be fulfilled and the basis laid for the advance to socialism.

Experience has proved in India, Indonesia and the UAR that the national bourgeoisie are unable to solve the agrarian problem fundamentally. This is not only because it involves a sharp class struggle against the feudal elements, but because the national bourgeoisie fear the growing activity of the workers and peasants, the only class forces which can carry through the change. And after the land is taken from the landowners will this not encourage the proletariat to demand the nationalization of industry? The Communists are in favor of the land being taken away from the feudal landlords and given to the poor and middle peasants.

A cardinal demand advanced by the Communists is nationalization of the big foreign firms.

The advance of the proletariat to a leading position in the national-liberation movement is essential. Imperialism never gives up the struggle. There are countries which won a certain measure of political independence, but which have since lost their position and are again under imperialist domination. This is clear in Pakistan where the national bourgeoisie isolated themselves from the masses and opposed the workers and peasants becoming a leading force in the national movement. The result is that the big landowners and feudal elements succeeded, with the aid of imperialism, in regaining political power.

While recognizing the differences in the class relations in different countries, and that there are various stages of development in the liberation struggle, I agree that we should set out the common features of the national bourgeoisie in the different countries. I would summarize as follows:

1. The national bourgeoisie taken as a whole, are still a great positive force in the national-liberation struggle on a world scale.

2. Their role varies not because they are big or small, or whether they are a trading or industrial bourgeoisie, but whether or not they have economic and political ties with imperialism. I think there is also ample evidence to indicate that if the national bourgeoisie have won political independence for their country, there are elements among them who will strive hard to prevent the workers and peasants advancing to political power. The role of the national bourgeoisie also varies according to the stage of historical development and the relation of class forces. That is why I emphasized these specific factors in Black Africa, between West Africa and East Africa, and even between different regions within Nigeria.

3. Wherever the national bourgeoisie lead the national movement it is the task of the Communists to fight to advance the working class to a leading position in the fight for political independence, and when this is achieved, to fulfil the economic and democratic tasks of the national revolution, and in this process to strengthen the national front.

4. When political independence has been won, the next step will be to win economic independence. It should be borne in mind that the world socialist system is developing more rapidly than the capitalist world and that by relying on the economic aid of the socialist countries, the former colonies can accelerate the transition from political independence to economic liberation.

West German Neo-Colonialism Is the Enemy of Freedom-Loving Peoples

W. Markow

THOSE comrades were right, I think, who emphasized that the national bourgeoisie cannot be characterized as homogeneous, although it is not always possible to draw a sharp line between their various sections and strata, and that the composition of the national bourgeoisie in separate countries always varies. And the need for a uniform terminology which would prevent our falling into the danger of imparting a different meaning to one and the same term has been correctly brought out.

In our discussion, we regarded the national bourgeoisie not in isolation, but in their relation to other classes in the countries now waging the national-liberation struggle. It seems to me that not enough has been said about the various sections close to the national bourgeoisie but which cannot be identified with the petty bourgeoisie. I think we should always bear this in mind, because if we overlook these sections it might appear that there is no half-way house between the two classes—the national bourgeoisie and the working class. When we speak of the struggle between the national bourgeoisie and the working class for leadership of the national-liberation movement, it is precisely their influence on such numerous sections in the town and countryside as the peasants, handicraftsmen and urban petty bourgeoisie that we have in mind.

Nor has enough been said about the rural bourgeoisie. It is not only in the towns that the national bourgeoisie are to be found. It may well be that they are not very important in Iran (I do not know much about the situation there), but in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Malaya, Guinea and others, the rural bourgeoisie represent a big problem.

I shall now go over to the question of neo-colonialism and of West German neo-colonialism in particular.

Classical colonialism of the 19th century has suffered a grave set-back and has been forced to retreat. The forces upon which it formerly relied in the colonial and dependent countries have also, in large measure, lost their positions. The feudal and semi-feudal landlords, the tribal leaders, compradors and the like have been obliged to give way to the national bourgeoisie. This is taking place at the time when imperialism has had to recognize the existence of the socialist world sys-

tem. In the socialist camp the national bourgeoisie of the young, independent states have found an economic and political partner, who is helping to consolidate their independence.

The imperialists have had no choice in this situation but to change their tactics and methods, to adapt themselves to the new conditions, while neo-colonialism is striving hard to use to its own advantage the dual character of the national bourgeoisie who, as has been pointed out in this discussion, on the one hand, represent an anti-imperialist force and, on the other, continue to be an exploiting class.

West German neo-colonialism merits study. By exposing West German imperialism, its neo-colonialist expansion and covert aggression, we are, at the same time, helping on the liberation struggle of the peoples still under the colonial yoke, as well as the young independent states.

Neo-colonialism does not imply only seizure of strategic bases, pacts of the NATO and SEATO type, the Eisenhower doctrine, stirring up anti-communism, speculating on religious beliefs, etc. It is, first and foremost, an elaborate system of economically subordinating the underdeveloped countries through foreign capital penetration in one form or another, of retaining the backward pattern of their economy.

The West German neo-colonialists are not acting as openly as their Wall Street teachers with whom they are, at least at present, closely collaborating. But they also have "development and economic aid" programs. They are not shooting Algerians, but they are supplying funds so that de Gaulle can do so, and the West German monopolies can sign Sahara oil deals. The past few months have shown clearly that West German monopoly capital aims at participating in the development of state capitalism in the independent countries in the East.

The neo-colonialist propaganda machine is working overtime, giving currency to the story that Germany, allegedly, dropped out of the family of colonial powers in 1919, and is the friend of colonial and dependent peoples, a device to which Hitler and Goebbels often resorted.

West German neo-colonialism relies on sympathizers among national bourgeoisie circles who during the Second World War mistakenly regarded it as an ally in the struggle against the British

and French colonialists. This was a mistake then, and it is doubly so today. And not only is it a mistake, it is dangerous, for West German imperialism is fairly strong, its neo-colonialism is well disguised and difficult to discern at first glance. I think we should lay particular emphasis on the fact that West German neo-colonialism takes many forms, in order that we may more successfully combat it.

In his *second address*, Comrade *Hadi Messouak*, speaking of a definition of national bourgeoisie, emphasized that we should proceed from the specific economic and political conditions obtaining in the given country. We should solve the problems confronting us creatively, and should not try to squeeze the multiform realities into the too narrow, tight-fitting abstract definitions which we have for them, definitions which do not take account of the specific features of the national-liberation movement in the various countries. Before the European colonialists invaded them, the African countries were at different stages of pre-capitalist development. There was naturally no bourgeois class, although a somewhat numerous section of petty traders did exist. Now, however, we have capitalism in these countries, if not as the dominant system, at any rate, as an economic form, and, consequently, we have the bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie who represent capitalism and uphold it, a bourgeoisie made up of foreign as well as local elements. The foreign elements are, as a rule, the representatives of the big monopoly bourgeoisie of the imperialist colonial powers. But all the colonial and dependent countries now have a more or less developed local bourgeoisie who are challenging the economic and political rule of the foreign bourgeoisie.

As to the comprador bourgeoisie, I do not think the definition suggested here is the right one. And for this reason. It was suggested that we should regard as comprador those of the bourgeoisie in the colonial and dependent countries who derive their basic incomes either from foreign trade or from joint participation with foreign capital in mixed enterprises. But one cannot agree with what follows from this definition. It is a fact that the countries which have recently won political independence and are striving to achieve economic independence still have to import considerable quantities of goods, including articles of mass consumption, from the former metropolitan countries. Representatives of the national bourgeoisie in our country, and in others too, cannot help establishing contact with foreign monopolies. What is more, this contact should be encouraged as a means of overcoming the economic backwardness. If we designate as comprador all those who import

foreign goods and sign agreements with foreign firms, and if we regard them as agents of foreign monopolies, we not only run the risk of retarding the advance of the national economy, but of jeopardizing our relations with the national bourgeoisie.

* * *

Comrade *Joussef Khattar El-Helou* analyzed the position of the national bourgeoisie in Lebanon. Not only the small and medium bourgeoisie in the town and countryside, but also the industrial bourgeoisie, who form part of the national bourgeoisie, are taking part in the national-liberation movement. The industrial bourgeoisie are fighting to consolidate the political independence of the country, against foreign capital control over the important branches of the economy.

Insofar as the national bourgeoisie play an important part in the liberation movement of the Lebanese people, it is impossible to resolve the political and economic tasks facing the country without building a united national front of all sections of the population, including the national bourgeoisie.

* * *

Taking the floor for a second time, Comrade *V. Teitelboim* showed why, in Chile, the proletariat is a better champion of the national interests than the national bourgeoisie. Initially, imperialism in Chile penetrated into the desert regions with their saltpeter deposits, which local capital had failed to exploit. The foreign capitalist established direct relations in his factory with the Chilean workers. The result was that the concept of capitalist exploitation merged, in the minds of the proletariat, with that of national discrimination.

That, perhaps, may be why proletarian internationalism has taken such deep root in the Chilean working class.

When, in the Chamber of Deputies, *Luis Emilio Recabarren* was reproached for his proletarian internationalism, he unhesitatingly declared that this sentiment, of which he was proud, merged with love of country. You, he said to his opponents, are also internationalists, but either feudal or bourgeois internationalists who do not think twice about opening the country's doors wide to foreign imperialism.

Thus, concluded Comrade *Teitelboim*, we counterpose proletarian internationalism to bourgeois cosmopolitanism, and real love of country to bourgeois nationalism. In our age it is only the working class which represents the common and vital interests of the nation.

* * *

Comrade *Uesugi* dwelt on some of the specific features of the economic and political advance of Japan.

Japan is neither a colony nor a semi-colony, yet it differs from the other capitalist countries in that it is a semi-occupied state, heavily dependent on the United States, both economically and militarily. And although there are Japanese-American contradictions, the economic and political interests of the ruling classes of these countries coincide on many points. The Japanese monopolies, with U.S. help, are re-arming the country, modernizing industry, investing their capital abroad and penetrating into the market of South-East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and other countries. Japanese imperialism and militarism are again raising their heads.

Comrade Uesugi pointed out that the composition of the Japanese bourgeoisie is not homogeneous. Alongside the big monopoly combines there are many small and medium employers whose incomes are steadily falling. The discontent among the petty and middle bourgeoisie with the policy pursued by the big concerns has grown during the recession.

The Communist Party of Japan is convinced that the petty and middle bourgeoisie can participate in a united popular front of struggle for democracy, better conditions, peace and neutrality.

* * *

In his *second speech* Comrade Kia-Nouri touched upon some of the questions raised during the discussion. It was necessary, he said, to study the specific features of each country, as well as the features they had in common,

Speaking of neo-colonialism, he emphasized that the era of old-type colonialism, when peoples had no degree of political independence, had passed. The colonies that still remained would, sooner or later, become independent. But even when this takes place, imperialism and its political influence will not have disappeared completely. Experience has shown that imperialism does everything it can to substitute new forms of colonialism for old.

For a country to have its own government is not yet to say that it is independent. Iran has never been a colony in the classical sense. It became a semi-colony towards the end of the last century and, since then, with the exception of brief periods, has never been really independent. And although the ruling clique boasts that the country is independent, in reality it is more dependent upon imperialism than ever.

Imperialism nowadays is not confined to the export of capital. It seeks to subordinate the entire economy of the enslaved country—its foreign trade, finance and the basic industries. And the imperialists are carrying out their plans with the help of

those sections of the bourgeoisie who betray the national interests and act as their stooges.

Comrade Kia-Nouri dwelt on two aspects of bourgeois nationalism. It is the task of the working class, he said, to utilize and support the progressive, anti-imperialist aspect of bourgeois nationalism, while relentlessly combating its reactionary features. Only a consistent struggle of this kind can prevent the reactionary ideas of bourgeois nationalism from infiltrating to the masses.

* * *

The written contributions submitted by Comrades L. Gruppi and E. Ragioneri point out the need to take account of the peculiarities of each country when analyzing the stand of the national bourgeoisie. An understanding of the economic basis of the national bourgeoisie, for example, calls for a study of the process of primary accumulation in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, i.e., we need to trace the development of the national bourgeoisie. Perhaps the specific features of this process in the different countries could help us to come to the right conclusions.

Comrades Gruppi and Ragioneri analyzed the question of an alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, the nature of which depended upon which of the classes headed the alliance. But there was yet another influential factor. Even in those countries where the national bourgeoisie led the liberation movement, the character of the alliance differed depending on the degree to which the working class and its Party were united and organized. The difference in the policy pursued by Nasser and Sukarno, for example, cannot be explained simply by the personal qualities and characters of these two political leaders, who are so different from each other. The unity and organization of the working class are important factors.

All of us recognize the progressive role played nowadays by the national bourgeoisie in upholding independence. Any underestimation of this role would lead to sectarianism. At the same time the working class can, and must, take an independent stand. It is obvious that when the main question is the struggle for freedom and independence, all other demands must be subordinate to this main demand. But it is equally true that if the class interests of the working people are not adequately taken into consideration, this can weaken their participation in the national-liberation movement. The problem is a complex one. We gained some experience in this respect during the war for our national independence. The thing to do is to combine the working-class demands with the national demands.

Common Sense Versus "Massive Nonsense"

THE title of the book *The Causes of World War Three** is one which at first glance could give the impression that the author, C. Wright Mills, a well-known bourgeois sociologist, Professor at Columbia University, regards another world war as being inevitable. But upon closer acquaintance it becomes clear that Mills is of the reverse opinion, namely, that war can be averted. The book deals with many interesting problems; it contains controversial and at times obviously incorrect concepts. But it is not these that determine the character of the book and its message. Two basic questions are posed: what are the reasons for the war danger, and how is war to be averted and durable peace assured?

"War is not inevitable" — this is the main contention. And as the reasons for the international tension and ways of overcoming it are unfolded, the author's contention is backed by an array of convincing arguments. But those behind the present U.S. foreign policy are of a different opinion. Mills subjects this policy, founded on violence, to scathing criticism. "U.S. policy is now bankrupt," he says, its doctrine of "massive retaliation" has become "massive nonsense." Indeed, when one recalls the foreign policy actions of the United States in recent years (in the Middle East, support for Chiang Kai-shek and the dictatorial regimes in some Latin American countries, its plans for "massive" and "total" war against the socialist countries, etc.) the term "massive nonsense" is certainly not inappropriate.

How to explain this ill-starred policy? The answer, according to Mills, is that the U.S. power system is based on an "economy intricately linked with a military order central to politics and crucial to money-making." The author points to the growing influence exerted by the military in the state apparatus: "The seemingly permanent military threat places a premium upon high military personnel; virtually all political and economic actions are now judged in terms of military definitions of reality. The higher military, in short, have ascended to a firm position within the power elite of our time." Military men have entered political and diplomatic circles; they have jobs in the higher echelons of the big corporations; they have taken charge of scientific and technological endeavor; they exert influences on higher education;

they are operating a truly enormous public-relations and propaganda machinery.

Mills also writes about "the permanent war economy." Since the end of World War II, he points out, many in elite circles have felt that prosperity in the U.S. is directly under-pinned by the war economy and that desperate economic — and, consequently, political — problems might arise should there be disarmament and genuine peace. The author points to a number of alarming phenomena in the U.S. which further aggravate the war danger. This, however, does not prevent him from saying that both the United States and the Soviet Union are guided by one and the same aim in conducting their policies. But Mills offers no substantiation for this statement, and in the long run is forced to admit that it is the United States which pursues the policy of brinkmanship. Nor is it fortuitous that, holding U.S. foreign policy to be responsible for the war preparations, the author declares: "... war, and not Russia, is now the enemy."

What does Mills suggest should be done to avert war? If peace is, and can be only, a peace of co-existence, the means to peace is, and can only be, negotiation, he says. His assessment of the Soviet insistence on negotiation is realistic; for him it is the basic means of solving international issues. "To establish peace is to establish peaceful means of change, to debate their direction, and to get them under way . . . Peaceful change requires that we adjust to the changed relations of power brought about in the world by the economic, scientific and military success of the Soviet Union." Mills suggests that the Soviet challenge to compete economically should be accepted, and he makes a number of forecasts with which it is impossible not to agree "Russia may well win the world struggle without firing a single missile . . ." "... The political economy of communism may very well outcompete, in their own terms of production, the political economy of capitalism."

The author suggests that the U.S. government should seek to remove from the private economy all scientific research and development directly or indirectly relevant to the military, and cease all testing of nuclear devices. "Had the U.S.," the book stresses, "agreed to suspend tests at the time the Soviets announced their unilateral suspension of tests the chances of arranging an adequate inspection system would certainly have been increased."

*C. Wright Mills, *The Causes of World War Three*. London, Secker & Warburg, 1959, 176 pp.

"U.S. spokesmen," the author recommends, "should stop repeating and repeating that all actions by the Soviets are merely 'propaganda,' for such propaganda-of-the-deed as the Soviets have put out is not merely propaganda." He suggests that the U.S. governments should at once and unilaterally cease all further production of "extermination" weapons—all A- and H-bombs and nuclear warheads included—that it should announce the size of its present stockpile, along with a schedule for reducing it or converting it, so far as is technically possible, to devices for peacetime uses. He also suggests that the government should abandon all military bases and installations outside the continental domain of the United States. "It is easy to see why the Russians consider these bases as aggressive and provocative. It is as if, from the American viewpoint, Soviet bases of similar type encircled the North American continent." The suggestions for ending the cold war also include the demand that the U.S. government should at once recognize the existence of the Chinese People's Republic and of other socialist states.

We will not discuss whether or not the program put forward by Mills is feasible in present-day America. The important thing is that a section of the U.S. public supports this program and, as the first step towards its implementation, puts forward the demand for a continuous fight "inside the U.S. power system over who is going to determine the uses of this nation's fabulous means of power and over the reshaping of these means into more democratically responsible instruments. A real attack on war-making by Americans today is necessarily an attack upon the private incorporation of the econ-

omy, upon the military ascendancy, upon the linkages between the two."

Mills holds that the war danger can be eliminated only by intellectuals, that "publics and masses fatalistically accept" this danger. With this we cannot agree. It is common knowledge that in addition to the intellectuals millions of ordinary people—workers, peasants, office employees—are taking part in the world peace movement, all of whom are doing their bit for the common cause. Anyone who wants to see a change in U.S. policy and to stop war-making—and we believe that such is the goal of the author—cannot but rely on the public.

One could cite a long list of interesting pronouncements by Mills in defense of peaceful co-existence, against the war preparations. But the foregoing shows quite clearly that the main element of the book is its realistic approach to a clarification of the aggressive role played by U.S. foreign policy, the expression of the desire of a definite (and ever-growing) section of American intellectuals to counteract the gambles of imperialism.

This book is not simply an effort of "one of America's intellectuals," it is rather the reflection of the change now taking place in U.S. public opinion. And it is not accidental that it has won popularity not only in America, where it was first published at the end of last year, but also in Europe (a second edition appeared in London early in this year). The views expressed by Mills are shared by prominent statesmen, politicians, scientists and representatives of commercial interests—all who favor a more sober and realistic approach to the issues of war and peace.

E. BROWN

Poland's Place in the World Economy

POLAND'S *Economy Against the Background of World Economy*, the joint work of Andrzej Karpinski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, has been reprinted in a second, extended, edition only two years after it first appeared.*

There are a number of reasons for the success of this work. In the first place it attempts to answer many questions of public interest. In 1956-57 public discussions took place on the country's economic position and on the many suggestions for reorganizing the system of economic management. But serious and good suggestions made during the debate were frequently drowned in irresponsible and even demagogic statements. This was partly because the level of the discussion suffered from insufficient knowledge of the economic position of the country

and of the countries with which comparison was made. Small wonder therefore that every serious publication based on facts was eagerly seized upon at the time. It was then that the first statistical year-books appeared (after an interval of some years) as well as the first edition of the book under review.

The authors do not depict the recent past (the six-year plan period) in only gloomy colors, nor do they embellish the prospects of the post-reform development, as was frequently the case during those years. They provide an objective picture of the Polish economy. And experience has proved the correctness of the concepts advanced by the authors two years ago.

It would be more correct to define the authors' method as empirical. The book is a kind of summing up of national development during the six-year plan period.

*A. Karpinski, M. Rakowski, *Gospodarka Polski na tle gospodarki swiata*. Warszawa, "Ksiazka i Wiedza." Wyd. 1, 1957, 151 pp.; Wyd. 2, uzupeln. i znacznie rozszerz, 1950, 303 pp.

This method has its merits, since the systematic elucidation first of the basic industries and then of foreign trade, national income and living standards results in a fairly complete picture of the state of production and consumption. True, it also leads to certain omissions. Thus, for example, the organizational aspects of economic management, questions of economic policy and some others are either left unnoticed or are widely dispersed. This cannot but be regarded as a shortcoming, the more so because the authors aim at reproducing a complete picture of economic transformation.

The book in the main reviews Poland's industrial development and its components: capital investments, labor productivity, etc. The authors criticize previous statistical methods which were based on gross output indices, which often distorted the actual state of the economy, since one and the same product was registered twice—as a semi-finished and finished product. The point is made that in analyzing industrialization it is essential to take into account per capita output. This index, it is true, cannot be absolutely exact, because it is influenced not only by the changes in production, but also by the growth of population. But the authors believe that it is the most reliable index for determining the level of economic development.

One of the comparisons made is between Poland in the pre-war and in 1949 (the year industrialization got under way). Another is the comparison of Poland's per capita output with average per capita world output, with output in the industrially developed socialist countries (chiefly the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia), and also with production in the highly developed, medium and backward capitalist countries. Not only whole industries but the production of separate items are described in detail, thus providing a general picture of capital investments and the prospects of industrial growth.

The figures cited indicate that the rate of industrial growth in Poland is very high. In 1937 the average per capita world output in percentages of Poland's output was (Poland = 100) as follows: steel—147; electricity—197; fuel (in terms of coal)—83; sulphuric acid—151; cement—102; yarn—103; i.e., production was far ahead of Poland. In recent

years Poland's industries have made a big leap forward. In 1957 the average per capita world output was respectively (Poland = 100): steel—56; electricity—86; fuel—41; sulphuric acid—84; cement—55; yarn—52. In this way Poland's position has changed substantially—whereas in the past her output was lower than the world average, with the completion of the six-year plan it had become considerably higher.

Poland has ceased to be an industrially backward country, and although she has not yet reached the level of the highly developed countries, this is not, the authors emphasize, the result of any "defect" in the socialist system, but the consequence of the extreme backwardness inherited from capitalism and aggravated by a devastating war.

Bourgeois economists claim that the rapid rate of industrial growth in the socialist countries is mainly the result of the low level from which they started and that highly developed production cannot continue at such a rapid rate. The table compiled by the authors, and cited here, shows the falseness of this thesis, and reproduces, from the example of Poland, a striking picture of the rates of development under capitalism and socialism.

The table shows that, with rare exceptions, the rate of development in the capitalist countries is 2-3 times slower. From this we can assume that in future, too, the rate of growth of Poland's socialist industry will be several times higher, and this will enable her, in a relatively short time, to catch up with the capitalist countries which began their industrial development much earlier and are considerably ahead. The authors stress that "the constantly growing rates should in future, too, remain the fundamental task of our economic policy." This should be seen not only as a problem for Poland alone, but as part of the general economic competition between capitalism and socialism. In the new edition a special section is devoted to this question. Proceeding from an analysis of the industrial growth in the past decade, the authors show that rapid rates of development are a feature of the economy of all the socialist countries, that this is the result of the superiority of the socialist system.

The level of per capita output equal to that of Poland in 1949 and 1958 was for the first time achieved:

	ELECTRICITY			STEEL			CEMENT			SULPHURIC ACID		
	340 kwh	832 kwh	increase achieved during	94 kg	196 kg	increase achieved during	94 kg	175 kg	increase achieved during	11.3 kg	19.9 kg	increase achieved during
Poland	1949	1958	9 yrs.	1949	1958	9 yrs.	1949	1958	9 yrs.	1949	1958	9 yrs.
U.S.A.	1915	1927	12 yrs.	1897	1905	8 yrs.	1906	1922	16 yrs.	1900	1913	13 yrs.
Britain	1929	1942	13 yrs.	1887	1915	28 yrs.	1927	1949	22 yrs.	1870	1881	11 yrs.
Germany	1926	1939	13 yrs.	1898	1910	12 yrs.	1913	1937	24 yrs.	1893	1904	11 yrs.
France	1928	1951	23 yrs.	1911	1926	15 yrs.	1926	1951	25 yrs.	1900	1913	13 yrs.
Italy	1937	1956	19 yrs.	1955			1934	1954	20 yrs.	1913	1926	13 yrs.

Many pages are devoted to theories denying the need for industrialization, which were advocated by some circles in the guise of criticism of the six-year plan. The authors stress the need

"to combat the views current among the public and based on superficial knowledge of things and of the mistakes of the preceding period." According to these views a rise in living standards

brought about by such a policy (economic competition with the capitalist countries—D.S.) allegedly will be possible only during the life of the next generation, and therefore, indeed, it is wrong “to sacrifice the life of one generation for the good of the generations to come” (p. 286).

The authors point out that the standard of living is rising, that there is “every guarantee that this standard will rise not dozens of years hence, but now, systematically, year by year, and that the conditions of the population will be substantially improved.”

In the first edition the book said that “for 2-3 years at least we will be faced with serious difficulties” arising partly from the disproportion between the various branches of production, which existed at the time in the Polish industry. Today, as the second edition demonstrates, these difficulties have been largely overcome.

Where the book falls short is in its inadequate elucidation of agricultural problems. Many important questions are submerged in the multitude of data. For example, in the chapter on agriculture nothing is said about why Poland needed a new agricultural policy, what should be the role of the producer co-operatives, etc. These problems are omitted, although there can be no doubt that they will determine the future of Polish agriculture, including its technological and production prospects, on which the authors have centered attention. This is the main drawback of the two editions.

Nor does the chapter on foreign trade satisfy the reader. Here the authors abandon their method of comprehensive documentation and limit themselves to a few general theses. No explanation is offered for the foreign trade difficulties experienced in 1956-57, or for the big leap in this trade in the subsequent two years. We are left to conclude that the authors saw the need of reforms, but they fail to show how they were carried out. Yet it is a fact that, despite the difficulties encountered in foreign trade, in the period subsequent to the six-year plan Poland rapidly became an exporter of machinery and equipment. And,

according to the plan, the export of machines in 1959-60 is scheduled to surpass their import.

The book deals at length with employment, productivity and the rising standard of living, although the data on these are incomplete.

In assessing productivity the authors compare the amount of steel produced and the number of industrial workers. In doing so they assume that steel output and overall industrial output are wholly interdependent. But while the data obtained in this way for productivity in the capitalist countries coincide, at least basically, with the generally accepted estimates, in relation to the socialist countries, Poland for example, we get a discrepancy between the figures thus obtained and the official statistics. The same discrepancy appears when this method is used to establish productivity in the pre-war period. This is largely explained by the fact that the author's point of departure—complete interdependence of steel output and overall industrial output—is not sufficiently reliable as a yardstick. In the second edition the authors have made a number of reservations concerning the degree to which their conclusions are correct.

The estimates of the standard of living, although insufficiently complete according to the authors, represent, however, a true picture of the actual situation. The recently published figures of an investigation into the budgets of some categories of workers, as well as the materials of the Third Congress of the United Workers' Party, confirm the main thesis of the authors that there is no great difference between food consumption in Poland and in the developed capitalist countries, and where a difference does exist it affects only some items. Since 1957 (the figures used by the authors mainly pertain to this year) there has been a further improvement in this sphere.

To sum up, the book poses and supplies the answers to a number of important economic problems. Among the merits of this research are the new concepts set forth and the interesting conclusions.

(Warsaw)

D. SOKOLOW

The History of a Factory

The Rise, Growth and Reconstruction of the Dalun Machine-Building Works. Shanghai, 1958, 124 pp.

ONE of the basic methods of research is a thorough selection of material, a serious analysis of a single typical phenomenon in order to know other phenomena. “Inquiry has to appropriate the material in detail,” said Marx, “to

analyze its different forms of development, to trace out their inner connection. Only after this work is done, can the actual movement be adequately described.”* Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly stressed the need to observe this Marxist style of scientific work. And many Chinese scholars are working along these lines. Although research is still inadequate in some spheres, although here and there one finds a theoretician who has not yet mastered the art of working painstakingly but is satisfied

*K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, 1956, page 19.

with "toying with ideas," more and more works are appearing which analyze considerable factual material from the standpoint of Marxism.

One of these is the book *The Rise, Growth and Reconstruction of the Dalun Machine-Building Works* published at the end of last year by the Institute of Economy of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai.

The Dalun plant in Shanghai was built in 1902 by a comprador capitalist. At first it manufactured only spare parts for ships of the foreign-owned steamship lines, and was largely dependent on the imperialists. After World War I the national industry began to expand. The owners of the plant, who had now started to manufacture equipment for the cotton mills, tried to put an end to dependence on the foreign imperialists. But in semi-feudal, semi-colonial China the national industry, particularly machine building, did not achieve any great success. This is well illustrated in the book.

Despite the fact that the machine-building industry in the old China was at a low level, the Dalun plant had marketing difficulties. The owners partially overcame these difficulties by using the method of so-called "co-ordination of iron and cotton," that is, investing capital in cotton mills. Closely associated with foreign firms, they channelled their capital into fixed property in Shanghai.

The so-called "apprenticeship system" practiced at the plant was in fact feudal exploitation of the workers. Apprentices made up about 70 per cent of the workers. The author shows that while these methods of exploitation contributed to the comparatively rapid development of the plant, they did little to overcome the enormous difficulties with which it was faced.

Over a period of ten years before the liberation the plant produced a total of 140,000 spindles, although its annual capacity was between 40 and 50

thousand. Thus, over 70 per cent of the capacity was unused.

The material cited in the book shows that in semi-colonial China the national bourgeoisie, although it sought to shake off the imperialist and feudal yoke, could not become genuinely independent. The capitalist owners subjected the workers to brutal exploitation and at the same time turned for support to the imperialists, picking up the crumbs from their table. They maintained close contact with the top officials and landlords, and, during the war against Japan, collaborated with the Japanese imperialists.

The facts adduced make it clear that it was only under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, after the abolition of imperialist and feudal rule and the completion of the democratic revolution, and particularly after capitalist industry and trade had been reconstructed along socialist lines and socialist construction had been initiated, that the machine-building industry, like all the other industries, began to develop at a really rapid rate. Since the liberation the range of goods produced by the Dalun plant has been greatly extended. In addition to textile equipment it is now making steam-hammers, gear-cutting machines, and even parts for oil industry equipment—the latter calling for a high degree of precision. Value of annual output, which before the liberation amounted to a mere three million yuan, had grown to 73,300,000 yuan in 1958, i.e. 24-fold.

The book gives a clear picture of the rise and development of capitalism, of the specific features of the national bourgeoisie in China, and enables the reader to get a better understanding of the correctness of the policy of the Communist Party in relation to the national bourgeoisie, capitalist industry and trade.

Shi TUNG-HSIANG

"Weg und Ziel"

EVER since its founding in September 1936 *Weg und Ziel** has functioned as the standard bearer of militant Marxism, a guide to the working class and to all forward-looking people in Austria in their struggle against reaction, for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism.

The issues for the current year (Nos. 1-8) featured articles which critically analyzed capitalism and showed the superiority of socialism, as well as on dialectical materialism and Marxist political economy. Problems of current policy, trade union work, working-class conditions, etc. are also dealt with. The research carried out by the journal on such matters as wages, price

structures, social insurance, the state budget, tax and trade policy, labor productivity, shorter hours, combating the crisis and the social consequences of automation helps the working-class movement in its daily struggle.

These questions are raised in the articles by Walter Stein—"Growing Exploitation" (No. 4) and "Crisis Phenomena and Economic Prospects" (No. 6); Otto Horn, Political Bureau member—"Social Policy and the Elections" (No. 5); Egon Kodicek—"A 45-Hour Week under the Keynote of 'Social Partnership'" (No. 3); Peter Alt—"The Stable Schilling" (No. 2); Eduard Massarek—"Integration and Trade with the East" (No. 3).

The journal fights persistently against the re-

*Monthly journal of the Austrian Communist Party.

building of militarist organizations, against the fascist-like "refugees from the East" who have found shelter in Austria and against all the attacks of the reactionaries.

Many articles are devoted to the progress made by the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries, to the international communist and working-class movement, the national-liberation struggle, and to the world movement for mutual understanding, disarmament and peaceful coexistence. In addition to providing information these articles help to educate the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

During the first post-war decade *Weg und Ziel* advocated the only possible way of concluding a state treaty, withdrawing the foreign troops and achieving complete sovereignty. The Communists insisted that Austria should pledge officially to observe strict neutrality in foreign policy. For years this demand was ignored, and was even described by bourgeois politicians as "betrayal of the nation." But when the state treaty came into force in 1955, the demand for neutrality, originally advanced by *Weg und Ziel*, was incorporated into the Constitution. The struggle for observance of the state treaty and of the neutrality obligation, for a foreign policy of mutual understanding, is the subject of an article by Ernst Wimmer entitled "Neutrality and Austria's Foreign Policy" (No. 5).

The liberation of the country by the Soviet troops and the signing of the state treaty on the initiative of the Soviet Union resulted in a number of important *economic changes*. Prior to World War Two a large part of the basic industries and of the mineral resources was owned by foreign capital, chiefly German capital. The consequence of this was a considerable degree of economic dependence which led ultimately to the loss of political independence. After the war extensive nationalization was carried out under working-class pressure. But it did not cover German property in Eastern Austria, which in keeping with the Potsdam Agreement had been turned over to the Soviet Union. At this stage the Right-wing Socialists launched a demagogic campaign to bring this property under nationalization. In 1955, in accordance with the state treaty, the Soviet Union returned this property to Austria. This created a favorable situation: for the first time the Austrian Republic became the owner of big factories and mineral resources, and the nationalized sector acquired dimensions unprecedented for a capitalist country. Analyzing this question in the journal, Friedl Fuernberg, Secretary of the Communist Party, reached the following conclusion:

After World War Two, in addition to the "old" state industry, such as tobacco factories, railways, post and telegraph (which together with

a large number of communal enterprises had been taken away from private capital), the state became the owner of 98 per cent of the ferrous metal industry; 98 per cent of the coal industry; 90 per cent of the rolled-metal industry; 94 per cent of the non-ferrous metallurgy; 91 per cent of oil extraction and refining; 46 per cent of the electric power industry; 31 per cent of the machine-building and steel designing; a large part of the chemical industry; the Danubian Steamship Co.; all the power stations not in the possession of the municipalities and the Federal Lands. To this should be added the three big banks which controlled the shares of about 10 per cent of all Austrian industry, and many enterprises which formerly belonged to German capital and which, in accordance with the treaty, were transferred to the Austrian state. In 1957 almost 30 per cent of the workers and office employees were engaged in the leading enterprises which were either directly owned or controlled by the state.

These facts explain why the reactionary forces are making feverish efforts to abolish the nationalized industry and to return it, in one way or another, to private ownership. They testify also to the tasks facing the Communists. In view of this it is clear why the journal evinces such a keen interest in the problems associated with the nationalized enterprises. It exposes reactionary attempts to denationalize them or sell them for a song to foreign capitalists. It fights for the right of the workers to take part in managing the enterprises, and shows how they can pursue a progressive trade and economic policy. The journal examines the policy of capital investments pursued by the nationalized industry, problems of employment and the manner in which the industry is adapted to market requirements, utilization of the profits, price policy, etc. Greater prominence is now given to the struggle against denationalization which is being masked behind such slogans as "profit sharing" and "people's shares." These problems are dealt with, in particular, in the articles by Wolfgang Brassloff on Austria's oil, and by Alfred Ruschitzka on the penetration of foreign capital into Austria (No. 4).

Lately there have been a number of discussions which have stressed, in addition to the specific economic conditions obtaining in Austria, some of her *political* features. The government coalition, consisting of the bourgeois People's Party and the Right-wing Socialists, has established a "balanced" division of power. The two parties have entered into a "coalition pact" which makes it obligatory that all questions to be submitted to Parliament should first be discussed and agreed on in the coalition committee which is formed on a party basis. Thus before any issue can be submitted to Parliament, a decision has already been taken by the

committee (operating behind closed doors), and the deputies of the two parties which hold 95 per cent of the seats merely vote on the decision taken by the committee. The debate in Parliament degenerates into a purely demagogic "rearguard" action, and the voting becomes a mere formality. *Weg und Ziel*, jointly with the daily communist press, calls on the people to fight against this, to uphold the democratic institutions.

The situation in Austria became worse after the general election in May this year. While the ruling parties received an average of one seat for every 25,000 votes, the Communists, although they polled over 142,000 votes, did not get a single seat (by virtue of the anti-democratic electoral law). An article by Karl Altmann, Political Bureau member, entitled "The Electoral Law and Democracy" (published in Nos. 7-8) explains to the people the scandalous details of the "electoral geometry" of the coalition parties, and the dangerous consequences of the absence of Communist representation in Parliament.

Another important aspect of the work of the journal is its persistent struggle against Right-Socialist opportunism. Because of specific historical conditions opportunism found fertile soil in Austria, winning for it not only a dominant role in the country but even international "recognition." It would not be an exaggeration to say that both in 1918-19 and in 1945-46 Right-Socialist opportunism was the mainstay of the capitalist system in Austria, and that struggle against this opportunism is the pivot of the country's political and economic life.

Today Austrian opportunism stems from the business boom—a result of the advantageous situation enjoyed by the country over the past decade. This has given rise to opportunist illusions among the working class. The Right-wing Socialists, gambling on the fact that the working class has managed to get some slight pickings from the boom, claim that Marxism has been refuted, that class struggle and class antagonisms are on the way out, that the capitalist state has been supplanted by the Welfare State which, gradually, can be transformed into a socialist state.

The journal tirelessly explains the real situation. Analyzing the distribution of property, profit and the rate of surplus value, it explodes the myth concocted by the Right-wing Socialists concerning the "Welfare State," the "dying away of class antagonisms" and the new "social economy." Now that the propaganda nonsense about a "capitalism free from crises and with full employment" has been shattered, and the myth that Austria is a country "with the finest social institutions" is giving way to a reactionary onslaught on the gains of the working class, many are beginning to take the arguments of the Communists to heart.

Weg und Ziel examines the terms "democracy" and "freedom" falsified and interpreted in the bourgeois sense by the opportunists. The articles on these subjects by Franz Marek (Nos. 7-8) and Ernst Fischer (No. 3), Political Bureau members, have been widely acclaimed both in the Party and outside its ranks. Under the auspices of the journal theoretical discussions were held on a number of subjects ("boom and crisis," "new elements of capitalism," etc.), which confirmed the correctness and viability of Marxist views and also provided material on burning problems of political economy.

The success of this work can be seen from the extensive discussion, in 1958, of the policy documents of the Communist and the Socialist parties, in the course of which the Communists crossed swords with the opportunists. In a number of articles the journal subjected to principled criticism the draft program of the Socialist Party. Attention was paid to this criticism. The Socialist leaders had either to omit some of the more reactionary parts of the draft or to replace others with more moderate formulations. The results of this discussion were also incorporated into the final draft of the Communist Party policy document "Austria's Road to Socialism." This document (to which the journal devoted one of its issues) takes into account the experience of the world communist movement, and generalizes many of the theoretical concepts elaborated by *Weg und Ziel* during its almost twenty-five years' existence.

Franz STROBL

Reviews in Brief

IN recent times more and more books containing the results of joint research by scholars of different countries have made their appearance. One of these works is the symposium under review which contains articles on the history of the working-class and revolutionary movement. Articles covering a wide range of problems have been contributed by historians from a number of countries: V. P. Volgin, N. M. Druzhinin, B. F. Porshnev (USSR), N. Gasiorowska (Poland), Pal Zs. Pach (Hungary), B. Balteanu (Rumania), and others.

The section on the USSR describes the industrial development of Russia, the formation of the proletariat, the growth of its class consciousness and organization, and the rise of the Communist Party. Hitherto unpublished material throws light on the struggle waged by Lenin, in 1894-97, against "Economism"—one of the first revisionist trends in the Russian working-class movement. This section is rounded off by articles on the rise of the Soviet system and the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace and socialism.

Other contributions deal with the history of the working class, agrarian relations and the revolutionary movements in Central and Western Europe. Pal Zs. Pach analyzes the similarity and differences of the agrarian development in Hungary and in Russia in the second half of the last century, and the ripening of conditions in these countries at the turn of the century, which led first to bourgeois-democratic revolutions and, subsequently, to socialist revolutions. B. Balteanu, using a wealth of factual material, traces the struggle waged by the Rumanian working class for people's-democratic rule (August 1944-March 1945). In her work Academician Gasiorowska critically analyzes the development of historical science in People's Poland.

Some of the articles deal with more specific questions such as the Berlin metalworkers during the revolution of 1848, and the reasons for the suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, etc. The reader learns more about the social and political views of Marat, until now better known as one of the practical men of the French revolution, the development of the communist outlook of Babeuf, and the teachings of Robert Owen.

An introductory article describes the life and work of Academician A. M. Pankratova (the book generally is dedicated to her), and shows how, thanks to the conditions created by the socialist

revolution, the daughter of a worker could become an honored scholar and public figure.

A. Norden: *Faelscher. Zur Geschichte der deutsch-sowjetischen Beziehungen*. Falsifiers. Concerning the History of Soviet-German Relations. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1959, 304 pp.

IN his latest work A. Norden reproduces important documents touching on Soviet-German relations. The book appeared at a time when the publication of the Soviet Note on West Berlin and the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Germany had focused attention on the espionage and forgery centers in West Berlin. It tells how the subversive activity of the imperialist agents began shortly after the October Revolution in Russia, and that to this day the imperialists, while changing the form of their provocations and sabotage, have not changed their aims. The reader learns about the methods used by the imperialists in their struggle against socialism, and that even at the time of the Weimar Republic, Germany was a center of espionage against the land of socialism. Today, these nefarious activities are conducted on a gigantic scale. West Berlin has been turned into an outpost of imperialism, a hornet's nest of spies and forgers using every means in their fight against the socialist countries.

From the first page to the last the book holds the reader's attention. Citing newly revealed documents, Norden shows that, notwithstanding its far-reaching contradictions, international monopoly was united in the struggle against the young Soviet state and the international working-class movement. The monopolists do not scruple to use any means—from propaganda to criminal and political offences. The book tells, for example, how Soviet currency was forged in Weimar Germany, and shows the link between the forgers and the Deutsche Bank and Deterding.

Throughout the book the author makes comparisons between yesterday and today. Describing the Germany of 1923, Norden states: money decided which of the imperialists would gain ground there. This statement is equally valid in relation to the government of the present Federal Republic, many of whose members are closely tied up with U.S. monopolists.

When the Soviet Union, in one of the articles of its draft peace treaty with Germany, stipulated that the latter should undertake not to admit emigre organizations hostile to one of the allies or the UN, it did so on the basis of a long experience of struggle against the espionage and forgery centers set up on German soil by imperialism.

Events in Kerala

ON July 30 the Central Government of India dissolved the Legislative Assembly in the State of Kerala and dismissed the Communist Government. A proclamation issued the next day placed the State under presidential rule.

The Central Government's intervention in the internal affairs of the State and the deposing of the elected Government constitutes a violation of the spirit of the Constitution of India and of the democratic principles to which the leaders of the National Congress, India's ruling party, have paid much lip service.

Formed in April 1957 as a result of the electoral victory won by the Communists and progressive independent leaders co-operating with them, the Communist-led Government of Kerala had been in office for 28 months.

Upon forming the Government, the Communists declared their resolve to observe the Constitution, to carry out purely Constitutional measures. The program on which the Communists came to power did not even envisage implementation of socialist, let alone Communist, ideas. There can be no question of this in the conditions of a capitalist state. The Communists wanted to tackle some of the burning problems—for example, land reform and other measures designed to develop agriculture; they wanted industrial development, work for the unemployed of whom there were some 850,000; they wanted to improve the conditions of the working people, to abolish corruption and lawlessness.

Many of the features of this program are identical with the official program of the National Congress. But the paradox of the situation that has taken shape in India is that only the Communists are able to carry out in earnest the bourgeois-democratic reforms which the National Congress leaders have repeatedly declared to be essential. The Congress Party is not carrying out these measures, whereas the Communists sought to do so.

No sooner had the new Government settled down to work than the defeated Congress representatives and other opponents of the Communist Party began to attack it. They resorted to every means to prevent the new Government from functioning normally. Countless acts of provocation, slander, sabotage of instructions issued by the Communist ministers, fomenting of disturbances, the murder of Communists and activists of the Peasant Alliance were among the acts designed to discredit and overthrow the Communist Government.

It was only natural that this hostility multiplied the difficulties experienced by the Communist Government, which the Central Government in Delhi regarded as a pariah. Numerous facts testify to the Central Government's discrimination against Kerala. Government requests for funds to build factories were either rejected out of hand or the allocations were severely cut. Delhi refused to sanction the nationalization of the foreign-owned plantations, and delayed endorsing a number of bills enacted by the Kerala Legislative Assembly.

And yet, despite the difficulties and the hostility, the Communists spared no effort in making the best of their limited possibilities to improve the lot of the working masses in the State.

The most urgent problem in India today is the agrarian problem. The National Congress has not solved it. The landowner continues to rule the roost in the countryside. He owns the land, and, consequently, lords it over the landless peasant. Feudal survivals are retarding the development of the productive forces in the rural areas.

The Communists elaborated and carried through a number of measures aimed at solving the land problem and improving conditions for the peasants who constitute 87 per cent of the population of Kerala. In the autumn of 1957 the Government passed a law forbidding the landlords to evict peasants. It followed this up by giving instructions for 750,000 acres of unused state land to be distributed among landless peasants and those with small plots. To some degree these measures alleviated the heavy lot of many of the peasants.

The Government devoted close attention to a land reform bill which, upon publication, became the subject of discussion by the population. The agrarian bill committee, which included members of the opposition, questioned many peasants and landlords, and more than 3,000 suggestions and proposals were received. The discussion was carried out on democratic lines and by the end of March this year an amended draft was submitted to the Legislative Assembly. It was adopted on June 10 and the peasants reacted with jubilation. According to the Act a family of five can own not more than 15 acres of land yielding two harvests a year. Where the family consists of more than five, it is entitled to more land, not, however, exceeding 25 acres. Surplus land is taken away from the landlords who are paid compensation, placed at the disposal of the Government and distributed among peasants who pay a corresponding price for it.

The agrarian reform was an urgent need and was a pointer for other Indian states. Without a radical solution of the agrarian problem, and without completely abolishing the feudal survivals, India will never be in a position to industrialize the country quickly, raise agricultural production or advance science and culture.

In addition to solving the agrarian problem the Communists took vigorous measures to abolish, or at least to reduce, unemployment. They managed to obtain a somewhat bigger allocation for industrial development. In two years 85 new enterprises were put into operation, and this created more employment. The Government also commissioned a number of enterprises which had been built earlier, but which had not been started because the Congress Party, on the pretext that they would not be profitable, tried to lease or sell them to private owners. Industrial co-operatives were created, and this, too, provided many with their first wages in a long time. The Government encouraged private capital, invited it from other states and sought to create favorable conditions for free enterprise.

It made great efforts to bring the administration closer to the people, to reduce administrative expenditure and abolish red tape. Every measure and practical step taken by the Communists showed far better than any declarations and words, that they regarded themselves as real servants of the people whose interests came first. The truth cannot be concealed. *And the truth is that during their two years of office in Kerala, the Communists did far more for the working people in the State than the Congress had done during the nine preceding years.*

The prestige of the Communists grew both in Kerala and other states, as the results of elections to the panchayats* in Kerala between April 1957 and February 1959 show. The Communists won 54 seats at these elections, the Congress 34.

The growing prestige of the Communist Party embittered its enemies. And when the Government began to implement the Education Act, designed to improve teaching in the private schools and to safeguard the rights of teachers, a law which had been endorsed by the President of India, the National Congress Party, together with the reactionary forces in the State, declared war on the Government and demanded its resignation. The Education Act was used as a pretext, the real reason was the desire to block the agrarian reform which weakened and undermined the foundations of landlord rule in the countryside. All the enemies of the Communist Party hastened to take part in the campaign. Conscious that they would be unable to oust the Communist Government constitutional-

ly, the reactionaries resorted to sabotage, provocations, incidents and terror.

The Government of India followed in the wake of the reactionary forces when it decided to dismiss the Government of Kerala. As the Declaration issued by the Communist Party of India justly points out, the Central Government has grossly violated the spirit of the Constitution, perpetrating a criminal act against democracy. It acted in the role of enemy of the democratic reforms for which the Indian people are fighting.

The Indian bourgeoisie and their Congress Party often boast of their fidelity to democracy, of their hatred of violence. Alas, these are only empty words. When dealing with a weak adversary, they are liberal, but let a powerful political rival appear on the scene, one who is prepared to carry out a democratic program, and who can prove that this is feasible, exposing thereby the unwillingness of the bourgeoisie to redeem their pledges, then their democracy and liberalism vanish into thin air. They lose their balance, forget their 'highfalutin' speeches about democracy and turn their back on the Constitution—the Constitution which only yesterday they had extolled as sacred and inviolable. Aware that they cannot, by relying on the Constitution, halt the growth of the proletarian and peasant forces aligned against them, the bourgeoisie, willy-nilly, are compelled to discard their cloak of legality and democracy, to resort to the violence which only yesterday they declared to be unlawful.

Confronted with Kerala, the Right circles of the Indian bourgeoisie found themselves in a quandary. They could find no constitutional outlet, and therefore resorted to violence. It cannot be said that the Congress leaders were any too jubilant about revealing their hand in this way. This, after all, was the crude way. They would have preferred the Communists to resign voluntarily, and brought every pressure to bear upon them to this end. Had they succeeded, the fig leaf of democracy would have been maintained, and the Congress hands unblemished. But the Kerala Communists refused to play their game, on the sound principle that to do so would be to act dishonestly towards the people who elected them. And so the National Congress, fearing a repetition of Kerala in other states, threw constitutional methods of struggle to the winds and ousted the Communist Government.

This action testifies to the crisis of bourgeois democracy, the inability of the Indian bourgeoisie to cope with the growing forces of the proletariat and the peasantry by constitutional means. Instead of co-operating with the Communist Party with a view to solving pressing problems and to raising the standard of living, the Right-wing leaders of the National Congress seek to divert the attention of the public by working up an anti-Communist cam-

*Local government bodies in the countryside—Ed.

paign. Yesterday's preachers of non-violence, discarding their mask, resort to force in order to overthrow a Government that is not to their liking, a government which, in keeping with the Constitution, displayed genuine concern for the well-being of the people.

The ousting of the Communist Government in Kerala is a blow to the democratic rights of the whole people, to their elementary right to elect to legislative bodies the people of their choice. It is a blow to all the progressive forces whose political program differs from that of the National Congress. It is characteristic that many bourgeois newspapers in India have condemned Delhi's anti-democratic measure. A number of important political leaders, who cannot be regarded as Communist, hold that it conflicts with the principles of bourgeois democracy.

The action of the Central Government has caused resentment and indignation throughout the country. Protest demonstrations have been held in Delhi, Calcutta and in many other places. The popular view is that the action of the Central Government plays into the hands of those who are against progress.

Reaction has won a victory in Kerala, but the struggle is not yet over. And in this struggle the forces of progress will, in the long run, triumph over the forces of reaction.

The Communist Party of India calls upon the patriotic forces to unite in order to uphold democratic liberties, to broaden their struggle for reforms, for their political and economic demands.

G. HUNT

Annul the Outrageous Verdict!

People of goodwill in all countries have denounced the act of injustice perpetrated in Greece. They have been shocked by the disgraceful verdict passed by the Athens military tribunal on the national hero Manolis Glezos and other democrats.

The framed trial was staged with a view to intimidating the patriots upholding the national interests of the country, to discrediting the EDA (the United Democratic Left Party), the Communist Party and other progressive organizations, and to sanctioning lawlessness. This trial was not so much a trial of people as it was of ideas. Thus, the British jurist, H. Moore, Q.C., stated that for the first time he had been present in a court where thinking and ideas were on trial.

The reactionaries wanted to kill progressive ideas and to uproot the last vestiges of democracy. The old Goebbels bogey of "espionage" and "subversion" by the Communists was resurrected.

But these evil designs went awry. World public opinion pilloried the reactionaries who had not hesitated to invoke fascist legal methods. The prosecution was powerless to prove any charge against the accused. And the slanders heaped on the democratic forces, including the Communist Party, were refuted.

Addressing the court, E. Vutsas, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, exposed the despicable attempt to label the Communist Party as an espionage organization. "My Party," he proudly said, "the Communist Party, is the Party that upholds the interests of the people. It expresses the aspirations of the majority of the people. And this large Party, which is active throughout the country, cannot be identified with any secret espionage group."

And though the charges failed, the unjust court, defying human rights, passed a monstrous sentence on Glezos and his comrades, whose names became symbols of selfless work for the national independence of Greece, for peace and security in the Balkans.

The Editorial Board, jointly with readers and in unison with world public opinion, resolutely protests against this outrageous breach of the law. Millions of people of different political convictions, unanimously defending Glezos and his comrades, saved them from the gallows. By carrying the fight forward, by renewed struggle in defense of truth and justice and against lawlessness, the working people and other sections of world public opinion will secure the annulment of the sentence and the release of Manolis Glezos and his fellow patriots.

“Side With Hellas, Democrats Of The World!”

Manolis Glezos has addressed the following letter, written in the Averof prison, to all people of good-will fighting for his freedom and that of the other Greek democrats:

Dear friends throughout the world,

I heartily shake your hands and thank you for what you have done for democracy in my country. Permit me, too, to regard each of you as a friend. Every day the democrats of Greece feel the fraternal bonds which link them with you, with the hundreds of millions of people who uphold freedom and peace all over the world, each in his own way and in his own place.

The trial which has just ended was a crude assault on the rights of man. This truth, like lightning, illuminated people's hearts. And we, who were on trial, know that the conspiracy fabricated against us has dampened the accumulated wrath of even our esteemed opponents.

You, our friends across the border, should never in your thoughts identify Greece with those who persecute freedom. In a country which has created such works of art as the Parthenon and which is famed for its Resistance Movement, the love of freedom can never be extinguished. And if democracy here is subject to cruel persecution, this is so only because it is deeply-rooted in the people, because tyranny realizes its impotency and is therefore filled with fear.

The trial which has just ended signifies not merely the persecution of a handful of people, but of the whole nation. In the person of the defendants, the servants of the foreigners wanted, through coercion, to silence those in our country who demand freedom, a crust of bread and—above all—peace.

Dear friends, sorrow has come to Greece—a country which has not only a glorious past, but a very promising present. But this boundless sorrow is turning into wrath, into resistance, into a relentless struggle against foreign domination, rocket bases and enslaving laws, for liberation from a handful of exploiters.

It is against this struggle, forming part of the world movement towards a better future, that those who prosecuted us aimed their blow. But this struggle imparts tremendous significance to the

outcome of the trial, because in the course of 15 days the people, including the most conservative but sincere, learned the real truth and saw once more that truth is on the side of the persecuted.

Dear friends, our trial has ended. Yet in the country which saw the birth of democracy, democracy is shackled by the fetters of the fascist law No. 375 and of all the enslaving laws of the period of the civil war (the regime of administrative exile, law No. 509, the “notes” on social views, etc.). Dozens of patriots, who have been languishing in prison for five years awaiting trial and who, like ourselves, are accused of “espionage,” are the victims of the same conspiracy. Thousands of others—resistance fighters, who in your countries occupy their place in the pantheons of national glory—have been in prison or exile from 12 to 15 years. Millions of people live without getting a glimpse of light, without work and hope, for they make no “thilosy” (i.e. have not renounced their political convictions, nor declared support for the present rulers).

So you see, dear friends, that it is not the court alone which challenges the democratic conscience of the world. It is also challenged by the entire system of tyranny in our country which is hidden behind a pitiful outward semblance of democracy.

Side with Hellas, democrats of the world! Irrespective of ideological differences there is such a thing as common responsibility for the defense of humanism and the rights of man. Spiritually, Greece has rendered inestimable service to freedom and civilization. Therefore she is worthy of having democracy restored to her soil.

From the depths of the hearts of our fighting people, we greet you, our friends throughout the world.

Manolis GLEZOS

Averof Prison,
July 24, 1959.

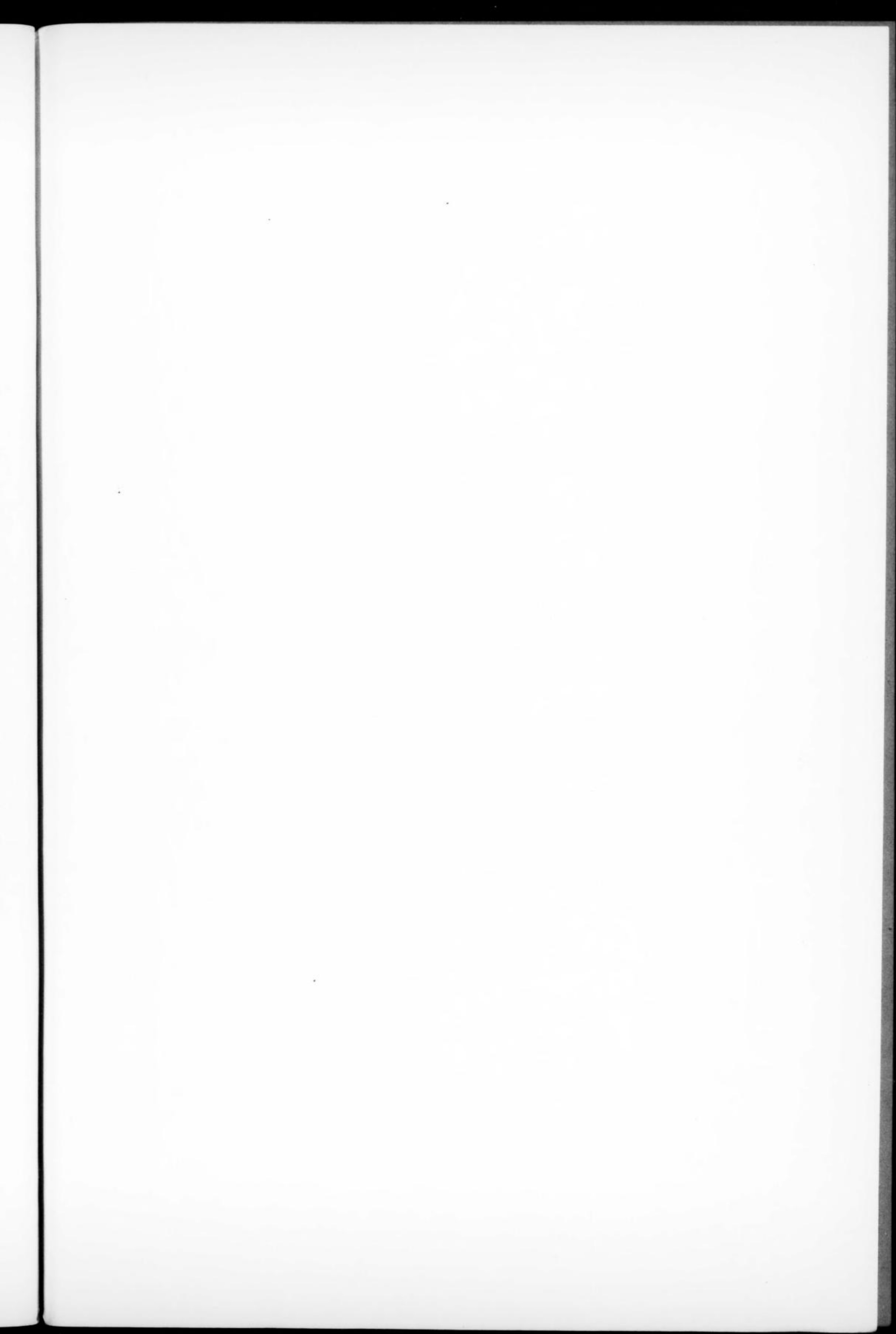
(This letter was printed in the newspaper *Avghi* on July 26.)

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 of works in other languages are given in English)

- P. Grela. *A Call from Alcorta (The Peasant Insurrection of 1912)*. Buenos Aires, 1958, 472 pp.
- Against Falsifiers of the History of World War II. A Symposium*. Moscow, Vojenizdat, 1959, 335 pp.
- Against Revisionism. A Symposium of Articles on the Fight of the Communist and Workers' Parties against Modern Revisionism*. Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1959, 424 pp.
- J. Jotov. *First Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (the "Tesnyak" Socialists) in 1919*. Sofia, the BCP Publishing House, 1959, 124 pp.
- L. Hay. *Formation of the Reproduction Cycle after World War II*. Budapest, Kozgazdasagi es jogi konyvkiado, 1959, 162 pp.
- S. Segre. *The German Question*. Rome, Ed. Riuniti, 1959, 200 pp.
- Phan Boi Chau. *History of Colonial Vietnam*. Hanoi, Van su dia, 1958, 88 pp.
- History of Imperialist Aggression in China*. Peking, Kesuje Chubangshe, 1958, 333 pp.
- P. Kiranov. *Labor Productivity in Agriculture*. Sofia, Science and Art, 1958, 266 pp.
- Land Distribution in Agricultural Producer Co-operatives*. Peking, Nunje Chubangshe, 1958, 258 pp.
- J. Fuchs. *Penetration of U.S. Trusts in Argentina*. 2nd Ed., Buenos Aires, Ed. Cartago, 1959, 444 pp.
- E. Garin. *Philosophy as the Knowledge of History*. Bari, "Laterza," 1959, 195 pp.
- R. Gradowski. *Poland in 1918-39. Aspects of Monopoly Capitalism*. Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1959, 260 pp.
- Problems of the History of World War II*. Berlin, Akad. Verlag, 1958, 513 pp.
- Problems of Socialist Economy*. Moscow, Publishing House of the Higher Party School and the Academy of Social Sciences, 1958, 288 pp.
- Gy. Hevesi. *Social Production (Industrial Policy of the Hungarian Soviet Republic)*. Budapest, Kozgazdasagi es jogi konyvkiado, 1959, 230 pp.
- Soviet-French Relations (1939-1945)*. Paris, 1959, 224 pp. ("Recherches internationales," No. 12).
- Truong Chinh. *Strengthen Unity in Order to Build a Peace-Loving, United, Independent, Democratic and Prosperous Vietnam*. Hanoi, Suthat, 1958, 91 pp.
- Kuo Hsiao-Chuan. *Symposium on Ideological Problems*. Peking, Pejtsing chubangshe, 1958, 220 pp.
- Truth about the Policy of the Western Powers on the German Question. Concerning the Responsibility of the Western Powers for Violating the Potsdam Agreement and Rebuilding German Militarism*. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1959, 135 pp.



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