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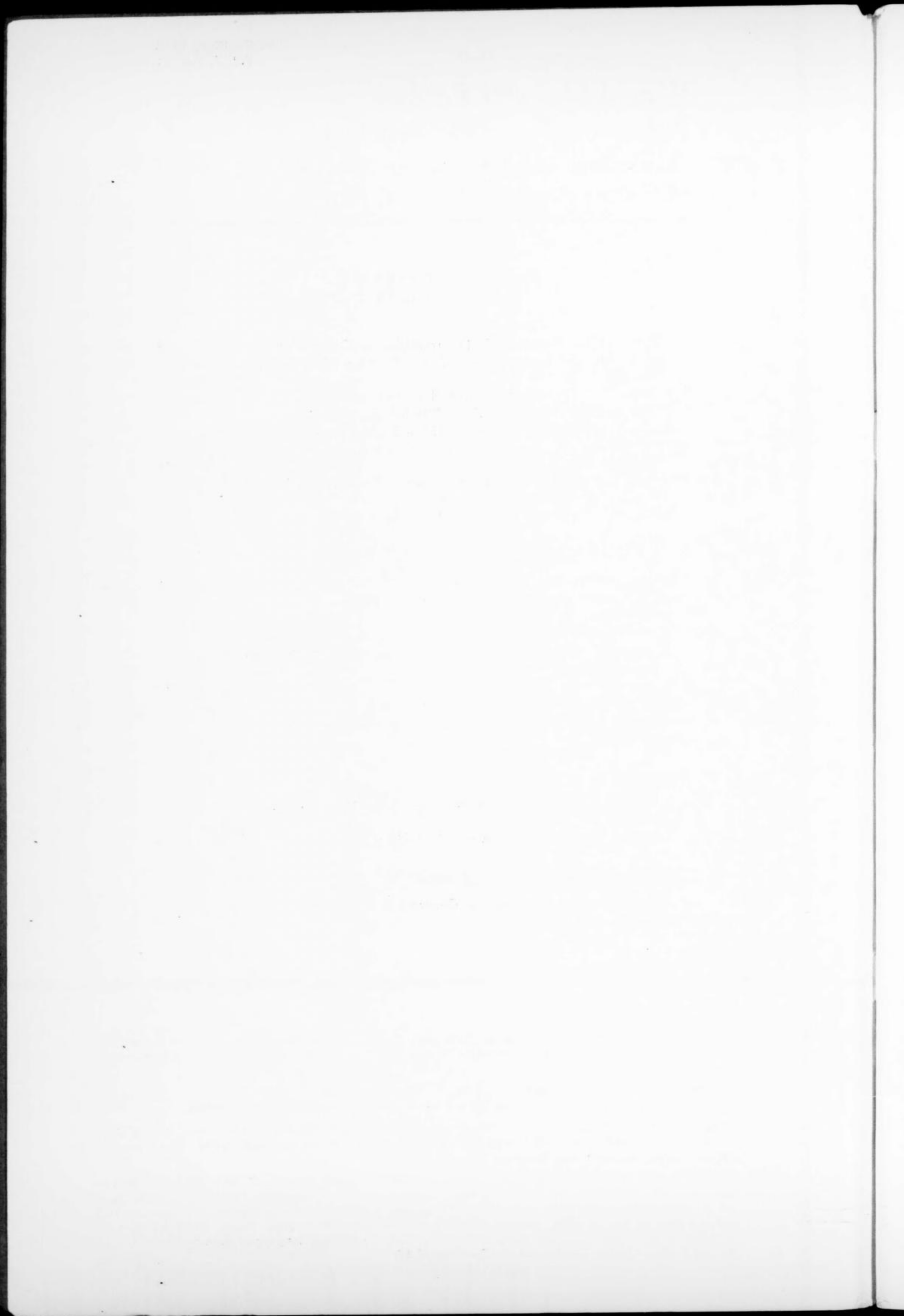
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The Main Link in the Transition to Communism

A. Sobolev

SOCIALIST society is still very young; fifty years have not yet passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution ushered it in. And while history assigned to the Soviet people very little time in which to carry out their socialist tasks, it lavishly piled up the difficulties in their path.

But complex as the conditions have been, the Soviet people have achieved outstanding results of truly world-historic significance.

Politically the USSR is a whole historical epoch ahead of the capitalist countries. The overthrow of the exploiting classes and the establishment of Soviet power signified the setting up of the broadest and fullest democracy, a democracy knowing no restrictions, and this represents a revolutionary leap in man's political history.

Socially the Soviet Union is away ahead of the capitalist world. A progressive economic system based on public ownership of the means of production prevails in the USSR, exploitation of man by man has been ended, unemployment abolished for all time and social equality established.

The USSR has outstripped the capitalist countries for *rates of economic development*. The average annual rate of growth of industrial output has been 10.1 per cent in the Soviet Union and 3.3 per cent in the United States.

The Soviet Union has caught up with the capitalist countries in *the scientific and technological spheres* and surpassed them in a number of key branches of science and technology.

It has overtaken and outstripped the capitalist countries in *the cultural sphere*. Thanks to socialism, education and culture have, for the first time in human history, been brought within the reach of the masses. Not only has the Soviet Union become a country of 100 per cent literacy, it ranks first in the world for number of students and graduation of specialists with a secondary or higher education.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is complete and final, and new and

boundless opportunities have opened up for further rapid advance. The development of socialist production and socialist relations has created the objective and subjective prerequisites for the transition to the next stage—the building of communism.

This is something entirely new. The founders of Marxism-Leninism formulated only the more general laws of the transition from socialism to communism, and outlined only the basic features of the communist system. Building communism poses many new and highly complex matters of an economic, political and cultural order before the Soviet people and the Communist Party. These problems can be solved successfully only if they are subjected to a thorough Marxist-Leninist study.

Revisionists and opportunists of all shades claim that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is superficial in its treatment of theoretical questions, that it adopts a narrow utilitarian attitude. The mendacity of these allegations is only too obvious. There would be no point in refuting them were it not for the fact that it is not just a question of slander. The problem has another side to it. Those who cast such aspersions either do not understand, or consciously distort, the entire process of the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in general, and in the present epoch in particular.

In the view of these "defenders" of theory, social science is developed by abstract juggling with dialectical concepts and quotations, armchair ruminations and the thinking up of abstract conceptions. Such "theory" has nothing viable about it, it is dogmatic and cannot be a weapon in the struggle for communism.

Marxist-Leninist theory has developed as a theory which scientifically generalizes the revolutionary-transforming activity of the masses, and it is particularly important to take this into account now that socialism is growing into communism, that the unity of theory and practice is being elevated to a new stage. In the process of building com-

munism the working people become increasingly conscious of the purpose of their labor, and this purposeful labor, increasingly and intrinsically linked with the theoretical activity of society, develops and deepens scientific thinking.

All the major economic, political and cultural changes effected by the CPSU during the past few years have been scientifically substantiated. Each measure has been widely discussed by the builders of communism who, on the basis of their knowledge and experience, help to find the quickest and best ways of solving the problems. Some of the measures were preceded by a sort of social experiment in the course of which theoretical conclusions were verified and enriched, and practical suggestions given concrete expression. Thus, for example, the theory held by some economists that the Machine and Tractor Stations would under all circumstances play the leading part in collective farm production was disproved by a number of farms which had been given the opportunity to acquire their own machines. Having studied the state of affairs on the collective farms, the CPSU worked out the lines along which further development of the collective farms should go and sponsored the transfer of the machines to the farms. The highly beneficial effect this has had on the growth of collective-farm production is now common knowledge.

Generalizing the experience of the conscious revolutionary-transforming activity of the Soviet people in all spheres, the CPSU enriches and develops Marxist-Leninist theory, and equips man with a teaching, scientifically substantiated and verified in practice, on the laws of the transition from socialism to communism, on the organizational forms of communist society.

I

Socialism and communism are the two phases of a single communist formation. They have a common socio-economic basis and in large measure are governed by the same economic and sociological laws. This does not mean that they differ from one another only in the quantitative sense. There are important qualitative differences between them.

The transition from socialism to communism is accompanied by important changes in the economic basis, by deep-going changes in technology, organization of production, and the political and cultural life of society. This

is a leap from one qualitative state of society to another.

The salient features of the growth of socialism into communism is that there are no class forces in socialist society interested in preserving the social forms and principles that are on the way out, and this makes it possible to resolve the contradiction between the old and the new in the most painless and effective way.

Socialism develops into communism within the framework of a single social formation. Communism is the direct continuation of socialism, it arises and develops on the basis of socialism. The shoots of communism conceived in the womb of socialism and begot by socialism are the logical *development and consummation* of socialist relations, laws and principles. That is why the transition to complete communism does not call for the destruction of socialist relations, on the contrary, they should be strengthened in every possible way; the principles of socialism need not be combated, on the contrary, they should be given free rein.

These, then, are the factors that make *gradualness* a specific feature of the transition to communism. No sharp break in social relations occurs during the transition. The elements of communism naturally accumulate and become established, while those forms and principles that have outlived their day gradually depart from the scene. The maturing of the new can, of course, be accelerated. This depends on correct guidance and on the activity of the masses. Experience has shown, however, that incomplete stages cannot be skipped; it is harmful and even dangerous to carry out measures that have not matured, and for which the way has not been paved by the progress of time. In the final analysis this slows down the tempo of socialist development. No less harmful is tardiness in effecting the socio-economic transformations for which the conditions have ripened, ignoring the urgent demands advanced by the times, and fear of the new; this always leads to unhealthy contradictions.

Gradual transition to communism does not, of course, imply a slowing down of the rates of development. On the contrary, the birth of the new without the tortuous breaking down of the old, makes for an accelerated forward movement; hence, the growing of socialism into communism is accompanied by extremely high rates of development in all spheres.

And, lastly, another feature of the growing over is its harmonious and planned nature,

which is objective in character. Using objective economic laws, the Soviet people led by the CPSU are developing all aspects of communist construction according to plans drawn up by the Party and the Government. At present the Soviet people are successfully fulfilling their seven-year plan. And a long-term plan now being drawn up will provide for the solution of all the fundamental problems of communist construction.

II

The transition from socialism to communism poses a whole complex of tasks and problems.

Creatively developing the theory of scientific communism and generalizing the rich experience accumulated by the Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries, the CPSU has advanced and substantiated the proposition that *the main link* in communist construction, *the decisive prerequisite* for the transition from socialism to communism is the creation of a powerful material and technical base. All other questions—big or small, those having a close bearing on the material base or those relatively independent of it—will be settled either in the process of laying the material foundation or on the basis of it. This conclusion flows logically from the laws governing economic development and the Marxist-Leninist concept of the essence of communism, and is therefore the only correct and genuinely scientific conclusion.

Under communism the good things of life will be enjoyed by all, man's needs will be fully satisfied on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." For this an abundance of consumer goods is necessary.

Marxism-Leninism stresses that under communism relations between man and society will be based on labor, which in all sections becomes creative, the vital need of the healthy man, *the supreme manifestation of the communist mentality*, and an indispensable condition for the all-round development of his personality.

From this it follows that communism can establish itself only on the basis of the rapid expansion of the productive forces, which are the material foundation for satisfying the needs of all members of communist society, and create the conditions for full flowering of the personality and development of the creative character of labor.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that we will really appreciate communism when it is *substantiated economically*. The sole economic substantiation of communism is a powerful material and technical base and all-round development of the productive forces.

This proposition is fundamental in drawing up the program of communist construction and in determining the tempos and the time needed for the transition to communist principles and standards. It is important to have a correct scientific conception of the essence of communism in order to wage struggle against the various vulgar concepts of communism, concepts which the CPSU has had to combat and which it is still combating.

One of these is the *equalitarian-ascetic* view according to which the main link in the transition to communism is distribution, the introduction without delay of communist principles in this sphere, irrespective of the level of production. Those who hold this view reduce the communist ideal to equalitarian distribution.

Equalitarian-consumer views—the idea of the "kitty"—were fairly widespread in the Soviet Union during the early years of socialist construction. Communes were set up both in the countryside and in the towns. Each member of the commune, irrespective of whether he was a skilled worker or an apprentice, put all his wages into the "kitty" and each received the same share. These views reflected a *narrow consumer* outlook at a time when *the productive forces were insufficiently developed* and there were not enough consumer goods to go around; they minimized the role of material incentive in the matter of improving skills and raising labor productivity. The introduction of these principles of distribution was an attempt to by-pass stages of development, and this always gives rise to negative phenomena. These views—naively romantic in some instances, engendered in others by the limited resources, but all of them erroneous—were criticized by the Party. Having proved impracticable, these equalitarian forms of distribution gradually died away. Nevertheless in one form or another equalitarian sentiments are now and again still encountered among some people in the Soviet Union.

There is yet another utterly wrong view on the essence of communism. According to this view communism signifies all-round pleasure and amusement, an easy and care-free life in which man will have no respon-

sibilities to society. This point of view, too, is a reflection of the narrow consumer approach to communism, but *in the conditions of rapidly expanding production*. It is a view that gives rise to parasitic sentiments, and engenders the desire to enjoy all the benefits of a society that is becoming rich, without giving anything in return. Strict implementation of the motto of socialism, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," is a powerful antidote to all varieties of the utilitarian, parasitic conception of communism.

Resolutely combating the narrow consumer interpretations of communism, the CPSU has developed and substantiated the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the rapid and all-round development of the productive forces is of decisive significance for the victory of communism.

To reduce the entire process of the growing of socialism into communism to the material base alone would, of course, be vulgarization at its worst. This is a complex and many-sided process. It is bound up with important changes in the economic basis and in the political and cultural life of society. An integral function of this process is to mould the communist man, to overcome all survivals of views alien to communism, all the morals and customs engendered by the thousand-year domination of private property.

But the development of the productive forces is the material base on which these qualitative transformations take place.

III

The material and technical base of communism may be examined from a variety of standpoints, and the process of building it has a number of aspects. Let us dwell on some of these, bearing in mind at the same time that these aspects, as all others, cannot be regarded as static, but should be seen in their motion and in their evolution.

Of paramount importance in delineating the material-technical base of communism is its technological basis, that is, the aggregate of the instruments and means of labor making up the technical skeleton of the productive forces of the new society. "It is not the articles made," wrote Marx, "but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs" (K. Marx, *Capital*, "The Labor Process").

Capitalism in its day registered not inconsiderable achievements in developing produc-

tion. Now, however, it has become the main obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Of course, in their pursuit of profits, or from military considerations, capitalists can develop separate industries, but moribund capitalism is no longer able to make full use of the latest scientific and technical discoveries.

Mankind is on the threshold of an immense scientific and technological revolution which in the near future will completely transform production. Only communism opens up boundless opportunities for perfecting the instruments of labor, for the steady expansion of the productive forces.

The CPSU, having carefully and thoroughly studied the basic trends in the development of production, has established that for the foreseeable future the principal component of the *technical base* of communism should be:

- complete electrification of all branches of the national economy and everyday life;

- automation of production, which, as the resolution adopted by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU (June 1959) points out, is the principal lever of technical progress and, in addition to its economic significance, is important socially, because it radically changes the character of labor and creates the conditions for eliminating the essential differences between mental and manual labor;

- introduction of chemical processes which will make it possible to accelerate technological processes ten-, a hundred- and sometimes a thousand-fold; all-round development of the synthetic materials industry, that is, industry producing materials with pre-set properties.

Having fixed the basic lines along which technological progress should now go, the CPSU at the same time seeks the quickest way of resolving urgent scientific and technical problems and is involving the working people in their solution.

The Party and the people are disclosing unused reserves in order to accelerate electrification. Since the October Revolution electric power production has risen nearly 150-fold compared with 1913, and twenty-two times as much electricity has been made available per worker. But this is not enough; to build up the material and technical base of communism far more is needed, and additional reserves are being sought in order to increase power capacities as speedily as possible. The problem of electrification can be solved by correctly combining all sources

of power—water, thermal and nuclear—and using them efficiently. The Soviet Union was first to use atomic energy for the production of electricity. Intensive research is now being conducted to find ways for harnessing thermo-nuclear energy. When this has been done mankind will be in possession of an absolutely inexhaustible, and the cheapest, source of power—hydrogen, a component of water.

Under the guidance of the CPSU, important theoretical and practical work is being carried out in the sphere of automation. The lines along which automation can be developed, the time-span in which it can be carried out, and the possibility of its acceleration, are the subjects of serious discussion.

The Soviet Union now holds first place in the world for scale of automated production, but the prospects are even grander, and the matter of higher-type automation is the subject of special attention.

As we know, there are several trends in automation. Automated lines, shops and plants now function under the direct control of operatives who supervise production and regulate it, largely through push-button control systems that place the worker in a somewhat passive role. Technological development, however, is opening up new perspectives. The general trend of automation is towards self-adjusting machines capable of regulating the production process, i.e., with electronic computers included as technological components. Only this type of automation will ensure the higher labor productivity needed under communism, radically change the nature of labor and transform it into truly creative labor in all fields.

It is in this direction that automation is developing in the Soviet Union.

The Seven-Year Plan envisages the comprehensive mechanization of industry and agriculture and large-scale automation.

In the next ten to fifteen years, it can be assumed, automation will hold the leading place in all branches of Soviet industry. And in 15 to 25 years' time, the over-all automation of industry and agriculture will be completed, which will mark the completion of the greatest technological revolution in history.

Introduction of chemical processes in production, the third important trend in technological advance, is making good progress.

An ever-growing role in building the material and technical base of communism is played by science, which, as Marx foresaw,

has become a mighty productive force. The CPSU carefully follows the state of affairs in science and creates for the scientists all the conditions necessary for the advancement of all its branches. Not only has the Soviet Union made good the lag in this sphere, it has, in some branches, considerably surpassed the capitalist countries. Its achievements in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and rocketry is proof of this. The launching of the first sputniks, the first space rocket and the Lunik, the first rocket to reach the moon, photographing the other side of the moon, and the launching and returning to earth of a spaceship with animals on board—all add up to a genuine triumph of human thinking, a new chapter in the book of world science and engineering. Socialism opens up infinite opportunities for the further rapid development of all branches of science and for scientific discoveries to be quickly applied in production; this equips man better technically, deepens his knowledge of the laws of nature and helps him to use them more effectively.

Such, then, are the main contours of the technological side of the material and technical base of communism.

Another feature of this base is the high level of labor productivity which it ensures; this, so to say, is the *socio-historical* feature of the material and technical base, for labor productivity is the most general and precise index of the progressive nature of a social system and, in the last analysis, the most important, the decisive thing for the victory of the new social system.

By its very nature socialism opens up limitless opportunities for the growth of the productive forces. "The economy of time," wrote Marx, "like the planned distribution of work-time in the various branches of industry continues to be the primary economic law of collective production" (Marx and Engels Archive, Vol. IV).

The Soviet people have accomplished much in this sphere. The gap between the level of labor productivity in the Soviet Union and that in the economically advanced capitalist countries was extremely wide. Labor productivity in Russian industry in 1913 was about one-ninth of that in the United States. Between 1913 and 1959 it rose almost eleven-fold in the Soviet Union per year per worker. The rate of growth of labor productivity in the capitalist countries was much less. The Soviet Union has now overtaken and outstripped many leading capitalist countries in labor productivity, but is still behind the

United States level, which is 2-2.5 times as high.

Scientific and technological progress and high labor productivity ensure the creation of the material and technical base of communism only in organic unity with the scale of production. There is, therefore, a third feature of the material and technical base of communism — *the scale of production*, the yardstick of which is the volume of production of the major items of industrial and agricultural output per capita.

Per capita output is one of the most important indices of economic strength. Socialism, which has demonstrated its superiority in practically all spheres, has not yet surpassed the leading capitalist countries in this respect. For this reason the Party has put before the Soviet people the basic economic

task of overtaking and outstripping, as quickly as possible, the leading capitalist countries, first and foremost the United States, in industrial and agricultural output per capita. The Soviet people note with pride that each year brings them nearer to this goal. An exact calculation of results achieved and an analysis of the perspectives of development show that this task can be carried out within the next ten to twelve years.

That this estimate is a realistic one is borne out by the fact that the USSR has overtaken the USA not only in rates of growth of production but also as regards absolute volume of increase in the output of all basic industrial items with the exception of electric power and gas. The following figures indicate this:

Average Annual Rates and Absolute Increase in Output of Major Industrial Items in the USSR and the USA for 1954-59.

	Average increase in % for 1954-59		Average annual absolute increase for 1954-1959	
	USSR	USA*	USSR	USA*
Total industrial output	11.3	2.4	—	—
Pig iron	7.8	—3.6	2.6 mill. tons	—2.3 mill. tons
Steel	7.8	—2.9	3.6 " "	—2.7 " "
Iron ore	7.9	—10**	5.8 " "	—10.2** " "
Coal	8.0	—2.2	26.9 " "	—9.4 " "
Oil	16.1	1.5	12.8 " "	4.8 " "
Gas	29.2	5.0	4,900 mill. cub. meters	13,600 mill. cub. meters
Electric power	11.9	7.5	20,200 mill. kwh.	46,700 mill. kwh.
Cement	15.9	3.9	3.8 mill. tons	2.0 mill. tons
Cotton fabrics (unbleached)	3.3	—1.3	148 mill. sq. met.	—117 mill. sq. met.
Woollen fabrics	7.8	—1.7	19.8 mill. linear meters	—5.1 mill. linear meters
Leather footwear	8.5	3.1	25.2 mill. pairs	18.0 mill. pairs

*The minus sign signifies a drop in U.S. output of the particular item.

**For 1954-58.

With the completion of the seven-year plan, which envisages an 80 per cent rise in industrial output, a decisive contribution will have been made to creating the material and technical base of communism, and we will be close to the solution of the basic economic task.

Thereafter, the prospects for the development of the productive forces will be even grander. Let us take only a few indices. U.S. economists take comfort in the thought that the Soviet Union still lags considerably behind the USA in electric power output. And it is true that the Soviet Union produced

264,000 million kilowatt hours of electric power in 1959 as against the USA figure of 785,000 million. But what will the picture be in the near future? According to the Seven-Year Plan between 500,000 and 520,000 million kilowatt hours will be produced in 1965. As Khrushchov has said, an output of 900,000 million kwh is expected in 1970, some 1,500,000 million kwh in 1975 and about 2,300,000 million kwh in 1980. Such rates of electrification are without precedent. American economists estimate that the United States will be producing about 1,400,000 million kwh in 1980. In the next ten years, therefore, the Soviet Union will overtake the

USA in electric power output and will then go on to produce nearly twice as much.

In steel production the USSR will outstrip the USA even sooner. Already this year, with an estimated output of 65 million tons, the Soviet Union will draw very close to the American level. What is more, for some months of 1960 the two countries have been producing approximately the same quantity of steel. The *New York Times* reported that U.S. steel output in July was about 6,300,000 tons, that of the Soviet Union about 6,000,000 tons a month. Thus, the newspaper comments, the U.S. lead over the Soviet Union in steel production has been the narrowest in modern times.

By the end of the Seven-Year Plan the Soviet Union, producing about 100 million tons of steel, will have drawn level with the USA. In the following years it will move ahead of the USA. The Paley Committee has estimated that by 1980 U.S. steel output will be about 136 million tons. Even if the Soviet Union only maintains its absolute increase in steel output (and this increase will, of course, become higher), the socialist country will by that time have considerably surpassed the U.S. level.

The development of the other branches of the national economy in the USSR and the USA shows that Soviet calculations are realistic, that the basic economic task of the USSR will be carried out within a historically brief span of time. Fulfilment of this task will give communism complete and final victory in a decisive sphere of human activity—the sphere of material production.

In the course of building up the material and technical base, qualitative changes take place in the relations between man and nature. For ages man has either adapted himself to nature or has imitated it in his production operations, and he has always been dependent upon geography, natural sources of raw materials and power, the limited assortment of materials to be found in nature, etc. With the transition to communism we enter the era when man truly becomes the master of nature and really begins to compete with it in bold and creative undertakings, overcoming the limits imposed by nature on production and abolishing its dependence on nature.

As the material and technical base grows and gains in strength, production relations will develop to a higher level, and the two forms of socialist property — property belonging to the people as a whole and co-

operative and collective-farm property — will draw closer. The distinctions still existing between the two friendly fraternal classes—the working class and the peasantry — are, on this basis, overcome, and the essential differences between town and countryside broken down.

Building up and developing the material and technical base of the new society will create the conditions required for the final elimination of the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor. This process, a rapid one, is already underway. But there are still discussions in the USSR as to the lines it should follow in the future. Some hold that the solution of the problem lies in raising the cultural and technical level of all workers and peasants to that of certified engineers and agricultural specialists. This level must, of course, be raised, and this is being done. But experience shows that the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor cannot be overcome in this way alone. Even if a man with a higher education works as an unskilled laborer, the difference between mental and manual labor is preserved. Other participants in this discussion see the way out in making it obligatory for all to engage in physical labor in some form or another. But if scientists, artists, certified engineers and designers are made to do manual work, this will not get rid of the distinctions between the two types of labor. Furthermore, using highly qualified people for low-efficiency work runs counter to the needs of the economy and is of no benefit to society, because it will receive fewer material and cultural values.

To overcome the essential distinctions between mental and manual labor two conditions are necessary. First, the scientific and technological revolution and above all, comprehensive automation of production, as a result of which labor itself is transformed. Manual labor will be made easy and the monotony of some kinds of mental work eliminated. Second, the carrying through of a new stage in the cultural revolution, as a result of which the people's consciousness will be deepened and all will be in a position to acquire a higher education.

The measures taken to develop the productive forces and to perfect production relations in the USSR are carried out on behalf of the citizen. The welfare of the people has always been, is and will remain the supreme aim of the Communist Party and the Government. And this aim is being realized. Living

standards are constantly rising. Citizens benefit from the non-contributory social insurance, from the paid holidays, free health services and free education. Prices are falling steadily. The wages of lower paid workers have been raised in recent years. Pensions, too, have been raised considerably. The transition to the seven-hour day, without wage cuts, is now being completed; there are plans for a still shorter working day. The day is not far distant when the Soviet Union will have the shortest working week in the world. Gradually, all taxes are being abolished. The Soviet Union now holds first place in the world for the number of apartments under construction per thousand of the population.

Soviet society is marching towards abundance. And this necessitates further perfection of distribution. There are now two main channels through which the needs of the people are satisfied: public funds (free health services, education, social security, etc.) and personal property, which consists of the share of the social product the worker receives in accordance with the quantity and quality of his labor. Collective-farm households have subsidiary husbandries which are their own personal property. In the advance to communism personal property will be transformed. Personal ownership of means of production will disappear because it is, in fact, a hangover from small-scale production. Personal ownership of articles of personal use and consumption will, of course, remain, but it, too, will undergo change.

Public funds and the social forms of satisfying requirements, especially in public utilities, cultural services, etc., will continue to grow. In the near future society will gradually increase the funds assigned for the upkeep of children and, eventually, will bear the whole expenditure involved. Exactly how this will be done has not yet been decided. In all probability, however, it will be done partly by extending the network of boarding schools, partly by making available food, clothing, footwear, and textbooks to children at the expense of society. The network of free kindergartens and creches will fully meet the needs of the people. At the same time social outlays for food, clothing and footwear will steadily increase.

With every advance of society more and more material benefits will be available through the social channels, and needs will be satisfied more fully and comprehensively. Given these conditions the sphere of personal property, naturally, will shrink.

Thus, as the material and cultural benefits increase, there will be a gradual transition to the communist principle of distribution — according to needs. Simultaneously with the laying of the material foundations of communism, educational work is being expanded in the USSR with a view to moulding the communist man.

* * *

The developments under way in the Soviet Union are of tremendous social significance. Each bears within it the germ of the future, brings this future nearer and exerts an influence on the progress of world history.

Transforming society along communist lines, the Soviet people are blazing new paths of social progress, thoroughly substantiating the laws of the growing of socialism into communism, and elaborating the basic features of the communist organization of society.

With each step of society towards communism the merits and the superiority of socialism stand out in bolder relief and its progressive character becomes more obvious. The successes achieved in building communism in the Soviet Union and in socialist construction in the fraternal countries is helping the peoples to make their choice more quickly in favor of communism and is weakening the positions of capitalism.

And, finally, it is worth noting that, in the competition between the two social systems, the balance of political, economic and military forces is changing rapidly in favor of socialism. This is of paramount importance for the destiny of all humanity and of each nation in particular. World socialism, curbing the predatory tendencies of imperialism, is the material basis for averting war, a real force in the struggle against aggression and the only effective ally of the people in their struggle against colonialism and, especially, in the winning of economic independence by the former colonial countries.

Socialism is the reliable guarantor of peace, the mainstay of democracy and social progress. That is why the peoples of the world want to see the tempos of communist construction in the Soviet Union and socialist development in other countries accelerated. That is why both friends and enemies are keenly watching developments in the USSR. In turn the Soviet people regard their work of building communism not only as the fulfilment of their national tasks but as a supreme international duty.

The Responsibility of the Working Class in the Struggle for Peace

Palme Dutt

THE fight for peace is the common concern of all peoples in all countries, equally in the socialist countries, in the countries of national liberation and in the countries of imperialism. A special responsibility falls on the peoples in the imperialist countries. From the nature of class relations the center and focus and leader of opposition to the policies of the ruling monopolists in the imperialist countries is the working class. It fulfils the most active role in the fight against the cold war and for peaceful coexistence.

Experience in every country bears out the truth that the fight for peace, while embodying the interests of the widest and most varied strata of the population, has today become at the same time the supreme immediate task of the working class. In Britain it is noteworthy that the most intensive battle of policy in the history of the Labor Party, which has threatened the domination of the Right-wing pro-imperialist leadership more sharply than ever before, is over nuclear disarmament and NATO. In France, the political center of the fight develops over the issues of the Algerian war and the economic-political-military alliance with re-armed neo-Nazism. In West Germany the heart of the fight is the fight against the revival of militarism and the alignment of NATO. In the United States the assault on the working class and democratic rights is conducted in the name of the requirements of the cold war and the military program.

"The Communist parties," as affirmed the Bucharest Communiqué, "regard the struggle for peace as their paramount task." This statement has been endorsed by the Communist and Workers' parties in all countries.

And this is not accidental. The international working-class movement has always placed in the forefront the fight for peace. This fight for peace has moved through many stages and forms in accordance with changing historical conditions, the strength and preparedness of the labor movement and the balance of forces in the world.

In the 19th century Marx and Engels delivered many penetrating judgments in relation to the successive wars of their epoch and the tactics to be adopted by the working class in each particular situation. Especially significant was their treatment of the successive phases of the Franco-German war of 1870-71. In his later years Engels already with remarkable prevision foreshadowed the general character of the future imperialist world war. But these judgments of Marx and Engels, penetrating and enlightening if studied in their historical context, could by themselves give no automatic guidance for the entirely new problems of the following era. It was characteristic that when the first world war broke out in 1914, the opportunists, who aligned themselves with their various imperialist masters to call on the workers of the European countries to slaughter one another, sought to justify themselves by tearing out of context isolated quotations from Marx and Engels arising in 19th century conditions, such as when Marx and Engels might have referred on a given occasion to the possibility of a defensive war of Germany against Tsarism. Lenin poured scorn on this method of professing to find the answer to new world problems by parading scraps of quotations from Marx and Engels.

"Marxism is an unusually profound and many-sided doctrine. It is therefore not to be wondered at that scraps of quotations from Marx — especially when the quotations are made *inappropriately* — can always be found among the arguments of those who break with Marxism" (Lenin, *Letter to Comrades*, October 29-30, 1917).

The conditions of the imperialist era required from Marxists a new analysis of the working-class struggle for peace. This Lenin accomplished with audacious creative strength in complete contrast to the opportunist and chauvinist social democrats.

The old Socialist International before 1914 had placed in the forefront the fight for peace, and devoted the main debates of the Stuttgart Congress in 1907, the Copenhagen

Congress in 1910 and the Basle Congress in 1912 to this theme. In the famous resolutions adopted at these congresses the Social Democratic parties pledged themselves "to use every effort to prevent war by all the means which seem to them most appropriate" and in the event of war breaking out "to intervene to bring it promptly to an end and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to arouse the masses of the people from their slumbers and to hasten the downfall of capitalist domination."

The working-class movement before 1914, organized in the parties of the Second International, was not yet able to prevent the impending imperialist world war. The reasons for this are manifest. Imperialism still ruled the entire world. In no country was the working class in power. Although the Parties of the Second International had already achieved a voting strength of twelve million votes by 1914, the International was in practice confined almost entirely to Europe and America (and Japan), to the minority sector of the world. The colonial majority of mankind, however, struggling, were unable to play any decisive active role. The dominant opportunist leadership in the majority of the Social Democratic parties openly betrayed socialism and lined up with their imperialist masters.

In this crisis of the international working-class movement the Russian Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin saved the honor of socialism and faithfully fulfilled the decisions of the Congress of the Second International. In the revolutionary battles of the Russian working class culminating in the victory of the socialist revolution in 1917 the struggle for peace was throughout in the forefront of the issues of the battle. The Decree on Peace was the first decree of the newly established Soviet Power.

From this moment of the establishment of the first working-class Socialist State a new world situation followed. The violent offensive of imperialism to destroy the Soviet Republic by the wars of intervention was defeated by the united resistance of the Russian working class and people and the international working-class movement. This victory already demonstrated a new higher stage in the fight for peace.

A new balance was created in the world situation. This new balance could not be measured by past parallels, and represented an even more profound change from previous

conditions than 1914 had from the conditions of the 19th century. In these conditions once again the task of Marxism required a bold new approach to chart the path forward. In the first years of this new era Lenin was able to initiate the charting of this path, that is, in the conditions of 1917-23.

On the one hand socialism had consolidated itself over one-sixth of the world. On the other hand, working-class revolts had been defeated elsewhere, and imperialism had succeeded in maintaining its power for the time being over five-sixths of the world. Nevertheless, stimulated by the victory of the Russian Socialist Revolution and the accompanying national liberation of the peoples previously subject to Tsarism, the revolutionary struggle rose to new heights in all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Within the countries of capitalism the experiences of the war and of the revolutionary upsurge following the war, and the example of the victorious October Revolution had opened a new era in the working-class movement, with the foundation of Communist parties in all the major countries. These were the conditions within which the objective of peaceful coexistence — a term previously unknown to Marxism — was formulated.

What was the conception of peaceful coexistence as formulated by Lenin in this first phase following 1917? A new world situation had opened with the parallel experience of socialism and capitalism. The relations between these could either be relations of war or of peace. It was obviously in the interests of socialism, of the Soviet people engaged in the arduous tasks of socialist construction and of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries, that the relations between the states of differing social systems should be the relations of peace. This objective was not unrealizable. The factors to make possible its realization were clearly defined. First, the existence of the socialist state and its peace diplomacy. Second, the support of the working class in the capitalist countries, and of wide sections of the population, and of the colonial peoples struggling against imperialism. Third, the divisions within the imperialist world, between the imperialist powers, between larger and small capitalist countries, or between different sections of the ruling monopolies at a given moment. In presenting this conclusion Lenin emphasized two conditions affecting the prospect. First, that the parallel ex-

istence of socialism and capitalism in the world could not continue indefinitely. Second, that it was necessary (this was said in 1919) to be prepared for "frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states."

The "frightful collisions" which Lenin in 1919 warned would inevitably take place, revealed themselves, not only in the immediately following offensive of the wars of intervention in 1919-20, but above all in the subsequent gigantic onslaught of the fascist war machine, built up by the entire strength of Western capitalism.

The world peace forces had not yet been strong enough to prevent the Second World War, although they came very much nearer to this objective than could have been the case on the eve of the First World War. The peace movement of those times through the role of the Soviet peace policy and of the working class and democratic forces in all countries, very nearly thwarted the Munichite war plans of the imperialists and brought within close view the alliance of Britain, France and the Soviet Union and other non-fascist countries which could have barred the way to Hitler's aggression and prevented the Second World War. This is now historically recognized by all. But this opportunity was lost due to the treachery of the opportunist leadership of the Western labor movement.

When the Soviet Union in alliance with other nations of the world emerged victorious from the war ordeal a new situation took shape on the world arena, demanding further development of Marxism. The outcome of the Second World War and its sequel during the past decade and a half has brought a new balance of the world situation, which has profoundly and favorably affected the conditions for peaceful coexistence. While the general objective of peaceful coexistence remains, so long as the parallel existence of socialism and capitalism in the world continues, the situation is no longer the same as that in which Lenin made his original formulation. In place of a single Socialist state comprising one-twelfth of mankind there is now a world system of Socialist states comprising one-third of mankind. In place of fiery but unsuccessful revolts of the colonial peoples, such as took place after the First World War, the national-liberation movement has now triumphed in the majority of the colonies, and established new independent states on a rapidly extending scale so that the complete downfall of colonialism is closely drawing into view. Imperialism now di-

rectly dominates only a diminishing minority sector of the world. The organized working class in the capitalist countries has greatly advanced in strength, both with the development of powerful mass Communist parties in a number of countries, and with the vast extension of trade union organization, as in Britain, or the advance of the organized workers to very much greater numbers and a significant political role exceeding that on the eve of the Second World War. At the same time the strategic superiority of imperialism is ended for ever, while the vastly increased destructive character of modern nuclear weapons has drawn new strata of the population in all capitalist countries into the struggle for peace.

All these new conditions have created a situation in which it was possible for the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 to lay down the new formulation, reaffirmed by the representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties at Moscow in 1957, and by the Communiqué of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries at Bucharest in 1960, that, while the drive to war is still inherent in imperialism, war is no longer inevitable because the forces of the peoples for peace are sufficiently strong to be able to prevent it.

The fulfilment of this objective depends on the unity, vigilance and action of the whole alliance of forces which can be mobilized today for peace, drawing in the mass of the population in all countries. In this alliance the working class in the capitalist countries has a special responsibility. The fact that the socialist countries and countries of national liberation now constitute a majority of mankind does not mean that it is sufficient for the peace movement to be based upon these countries. Certainly the strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries is the most powerful force on the side of peace. But it is precisely because the drive to war arises from the aggressive ruling circles in the imperialist countries that the development of the fight for peace against aggressors is above all essential in the countries of imperialism. This experience of recent years has increasingly demonstrated the truth of this analysis.

* * *

At the present time especially significant lessons can be drawn from the experiences of the struggle for peaceful coexistence in the British Labor Movement, the dominant sector of the Socialist International. There are

two main reasons why the present experience of Britain and of the British Labor Movement is of special significance.

The first arises from the situation of British imperialism in the modern world. Britain, formerly the principal imperialist power and still the largest colonial power, is today the center of all the contradictions of the disintegration of the imperialist system. Britain has had to yield primacy to the United States, and is today overtaken in its world economic position by West Germany and Japan as well as threatened in Europe by the economic-political role of the Common Market. All this gives rise to contradictions and dilemmas in the policies of British imperialism. On the one hand, Britain is traditionally from its position the supremely conservative power, the old fortress of counter-revolution as Marx used to emphasize, from the wars of intervention in Russia onwards backing all anti-Soviet and anti-communist combinations and attributing all convulsions in the world to the machinations of communism. No wonder that the cold war was officially inaugurated, not directly by the United States, but by the British statesman Churchill speaking in the United States (in Fulton, March 5, 1946). Britain is still aligned in the closest alliance with the United States in the military combinations of NATO and the rest. On the other hand, the U.S. is the principal imperialist rival of Britain, and the alliance is full of antagonisms. The British ruling class, the most politically experienced bourgeois class in the world, as Lenin emphasized, has been the most ready to adapt itself to the new forces in the world, as shown in the relative skill of its colonial policy to endeavor to protect its interests and establish alliances with new strata when the inevitable moment of the victory of independence arrives. According to the classic diplomacy of Britain, when faced with the dominance of a strong rival power (Louis XIV, Napoleon, the Kaiser's Germany) the invariable course was to build up alliances with the alternative next strongest power. The fulfilment of this classic diplomacy in the modern situation would mean the establishment of close co-operation with the Soviet Union, thus maintaining peace in Europe, checking the menace of a new German aggression and ensuring Britain's independence in relation to the United States. On the other hand, fear of the advance of socialism and national liberation in the world leads to hesitation in approaching such a course. From this situation follow constant conflicts of policy within the British ruling class. Such

conflicts were very visibly shown in the preceding period over India, between Baldwin and Churchill, and over the entire Munich policy leading to the Second World War, between the adherents of Neville Chamberlain and of Churchill.

Today also the conflicting trends of foreign policy within the British ruling class can be discerned, as was evident at the time of the Suez War. Thus favorable conditions exist for the intervention of the Labor movement and popular opinion to exercise a crucial influence on the outcome in policy and especially on questions of war or peace.

The second factor giving special significance to the experience in Britain arises from the character of the British Labor movement. The working class is the majority of the population in Britain. The trade unions, numbering nine millions, are over one-third of the employed population, including all decisive sections of the productive workers, and potentially dominating the Labor Party. Thus the British working class has special opportunities and responsibilities in the fight for peace. The Labor Party is at the same time the largest and leading social democratic party today, yet it differs from the majority of other social democratic parties in its organization and structure and consequent functioning. It is not primarily based on independent membership, but on the mass organizations of the trade unions, which provide five-sixths of the membership and the bulk of the central finance. In Britain, the trade unions represent the older sovereign bodies, and the Labor Party is their child, traditionally regarded by them as subordinate to them. Further, the tradition of trade union unity and solidarity is deeply based in Britain; there is a single united trade union movement, irrespective of political or religious differences. From this follows the latent contradiction within the Labor Party which is expressing itself very markedly today. On the one hand, the Labor Party rigidly excludes Communists and bans all relations with the Communist Party, Communists or organizations associated with Communists. On the other hand, the trade unions, the decisive force in the Labor Party, include all workers irrespective of political affiliation; and in all but a few the Communists have full and equal rights at all levels, except in direct representation to the Labor Party. The policy questions arising in the Labor Party are discussed in the trade union basic organizations, trade union national conferences and executives, with active participa-

tion of Communist trade unionists; and mandates are given on this basis for the voting of their delegates at Labor Party Conferences.

Hitherto, this situation has not produced irreconcilable dilemmas, because the main bulk of the trade union vote has faithfully followed the Right-wing leadership of the Labor Party; and opposition has been mainly expressed by individual Labor MP's or constituency Labor parties with very weak voting power. Hence the sections of the Left, based on individual MP's and constituency parties, have tended to regard the trade unions as the conservative brake on progress. The Communist Party never shared this view. The Communist Party understood from the outset, since its foundation 40 years ago, that the basis of the organized working class in Great Britain lay in the trade unions, and with the development of militant class politics in the trade unions, acting in alliance with individual Socialists in the Labor Party, would open a new situation in the Labor Party. This is what is beginning to happen today.

The growing crisis which is at this moment developing within the Labor Party, threatening the dominance of the old leadership, has developed especially on the vital question of peace, expressed in the issue of nuclear disarmament, NATO and the American bases in Britain.

Already during the years before the Second World War this significance of the role of the labor movement in relation to the fight for peace was rapidly shown. It was shown in the most positive fashion in the Councils of Action which were organized to end the British intervention against Soviet Russia in 1920.

During the fateful years before the Second World War the labor movement could have frustrated the policy of connivance at aggression pursued by the British Government. But the criminal hypocrisy of "non-intervention" in Spain was officially supported by the Labor Party Executive and the Labor Party Conference in 1936; meanwhile the agitation of the Left, led by the Communist Party, became so strong that this decision was reversed by 1937. The British Battalion of the International Brigade was organized through the initiative of the Communist Party, and reached such wide support that finally also the Labor Party Executive had to endorse it, and Major Attlee as leader of the Labor Party paid a visit to Spain to salute the Battalion. In the critical struggles for a combined front to stop Hitler's aggression, the volume of

support for this agitation, in which the Communist Party played the leading part, arose to such strength both within the labor movement and among the broadest sections of the people as to bring within close view the prospect of the fall of the government of Neville Chamberlain and the formation of a new government for a policy of alliance with the Soviet Union and resistance to Hitler. Only the action of the extreme Right wing of the TUC leadership, which at the critical moment made a gesture of support to Neville Chamberlain, saved the Government. At the moment of Munich it was only the Communist M.P. William Gallacher who denounced it while the Labor Party MP's were shouting "God Speed" to Neville Chamberlain.

Since the Second World War the questions of the fight for peace have been increasingly in the forefront. It was the victory of the anti-fascist coalition of peoples over Hitler, and the mass enthusiasm for the heroic record of the Soviet Union in the war, which led to the downfall of Toryism and the first absolute parliamentary majority of the Labor Party in the General Election of 1945. But the dominant Attlee-Bevin-Cripps leadership of the resulting Labor Government destroyed and squandered this advance of the organized working class by turning to the policies of the cold war, extreme hostility to the Soviet Union, concentration on nuclear strategy, subjection of Britain to the United States, acceptance of American atomic bomber bases in Britain and heavy burdens of rearmament for the purposes of colonial wars and NATO.

At the outset at its 18th Congress in November 1945, the Communist Party was alone in warning that this policy would wreck the social gains which the workers were trying to achieve through the Labor Government and destroy the victory won in 1945. With the experience of the succeeding years the truth of this warning was demonstrated, as the policy of the cold war and rearmament brought increasing hardships on the people. By 1950 this situation resulted in a split in the Labor Government with the resignation of Aneurin Bevan and other Ministers. The discredit of the Labor Government and the continuing subservience of the dominant Labor Party leadership to American and Tory cold war policies have resulted during the past decade in successive and increasing defeats of the Labor Party at each election.

In these conditions the revolt of the mass of the Labor movement against the policies of the cold war and nuclear strategy has

markedly grown. Issues which were initially taken up by the Communist Party in almost complete isolation have now won increasing support on all sides and even majority support within the Labor movement.

This new balance of forces within the Labor movement was first shown in the battle over German Rearmament in 1954. In face of the official support for German Rearmament by the Labor Party and Trades Union Congress leadership a tremendous campaign was conducted by the Communist Party and by all those in opposition to reverse this decision. At the Labor Party Conference a situation had been reached in which the majority of mandated votes were against German Rearmament. The Right-wing leadership were compelled to have resort to the very dubious maneuver of inducing the representatives of a medium-sized Union to switch the vote against the instructions of that Union's Conference, as the only way by which a narrow majority was secured in favor of German Rearmament.

By 1956 over the Suez War a still higher tide of popular opposition to the war policies was registered. In August 1956 the Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party — Gaitskell and Herbert Morrison — had in Parliament declared official support for the military preparatory measures of the Eden Government, and proclaimed in advance the necessity to be ready to support any measures the Government might find it essential to undertake. Once again the Communist Party was at first almost alone in opening the agitation against this drive to war. Rapidly the support extended among all sections. A keen battle was conducted in every Trade Union. By the time of the Trades Union Congress an overwhelming majority had already been won against the adventurist Suez policy of the Government, and a resolution was unanimously passed calling for reference to the United Nations. In consequence when the Eden Government launched the Suez War, the Labor Party leadership had to come out in official opposition. This is the first time that any of the major modern wars of British imperialism had to be conducted against the official opposition of the leading opposition Party, reflecting the wide opposition of the majority of the Labor movement. This was one of the factors weakening the stability of the Eden Government and helping to compel the sudden collapse of the Suez adventure.

A higher level of the battle has been reached over the question of the H-bomb and nuclear strategy. In 1955, when the British

Government announced the intention to manufacture the H-bomb, the Communist Party was the only political party in the election to proclaim its opposition to this decision. Once again in the subsequent development support for the opposition initially taken by the Communist Party began to extend to wider and wider circles. In October 1957, the Sputnik demonstrated to the world the end of the illusions of Western nuclear superiority. In January 1958, the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament was formed in Britain, with the participation of leading representatives who had previously been advocates of an atomic war against the Soviet Union. This campaign won extensive support among young people, in middle-class circles and made headway in the trade unions. In 1959 the decision of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, one of the largest unions, and not normally noted for Left-wing policies, in favor of the abandonment of nuclear weapons by Britain created a crisis, as a result of which the Labor Party Executive tried to solve the situation by coming out with the abortive proposal of a "non-nuclear club."

This battle has risen to its greatest height this year. The question of nuclear disarmament has become the central issue. The recorded votes at trade union conferences during the spring and summer revealed a majority for the policy of what was called "unilateral nuclear disarmament," that is, immediate abandonment of nuclear weapons and repudiation of nuclear strategy by Britain.

At the Trades Union Congress in September a resolution declaring "complete rejection of any defense policy based on the threat of the use of strategic or tactical nuclear weapons" was carried by a majority of 1,143,000. This resolution, moved by the largest union, the Transport and General Workers' Union and its General Secretary, Frank Cousins, was carried against the opposition of the General Council. At the same time, however, this significant victory was partially obscured, because a further resolution endorsing the statement of the General Council and Labor Party Executive in favor of nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy was carried by a considerably smaller majority of 690,000. This smaller majority was only obtained by certain unions switching their votes or voting in support of both resolutions, in defiance of the mandates of their members. The second resolution accordingly carried no democratic authority, but served to throw some confusion over the issue in preparation for the Labor Party Conference.

At the Labor Party Conference in October the victory of the majority opposition against the nuclear policy was, though a difficult one, decisively established. The Conference not only adopted once again the resolution of the Transport Workers, already adopted by the Trades Union Congress. It also adopted an additional resolution, moved by the third largest union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which went further and demanded not only the repudiation of nuclear weapons and strategy, but also the removal of American nuclear bases from Britain, calling for "the unilateral renunciation of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and basing of all nuclear weapons in Great Britain." This resolution was carried by 3,303,000 votes to 2,896,000. The Labor Party Conference rejected the official "defense statement" by 3,339,000 votes to 3,042,000.

This victory has opened a profound crisis in the Labor Party leading circles. The Right-wing leadership have proclaimed their determination to defy the Conference decisions and go forward with their policies of the cold war, nuclear strategy and adherence to the American military alliance. The battle is thus by no means over, but advances to a higher level.

The mass opposition has still to reach full political clarity on all the questions of a consistent peace policy. But these victories at the Trades Union Congress and Labor Party Conference have shown that the battle for a basic change of Britain's policy is rising, and that the center of this battle develops within the Labor movement.

From this survey the conclusions are manifest.

FIRST, the increasing significance of the

Labor movement in the fight for peaceful co-existence.

SECOND, the essential role of the Communist Party as the initiating force in the mobilization of the working class against the lies and deceptions of the advocates of the cold war.

THIRD, the key role of the basic organizations of the British working class, the trade unions, in making effective the full mass strength of the Labor movement on the side of peace.

FOURTH, the parallel importance of winning the widest sections of the people in the fight for peace, as shown in the role of the Aldermaston marches and similar demonstrations, in unity with the peace fight of the working class.

FIFTH, this whole experience shows that peaceful coexistence can be won by the alliance of forces which can now be mobilized for this aim. The war in Korea was brought to an end; the war in Vietnam was ended the next year; the war at Suez was rapidly ended; the invasion of Lebanon and Jordan had to be abandoned; the projects of intervention against Iraq were found impossible of fulfillment; Cuba today has succeeded in standing up against the threats and provocations of the United States. All this demonstrates in practice the new situation developing in the world. At the same time we cannot but be aware of the increasing threats and provocations of the aggressive militarist forces of the imperialist camp. Hence it is necessary to build up and consolidate the strength of every section of the alliance for peace. In this alliance the Labor movement in the imperialist countries has a decisive role to play.

The Economic Possibility of Disarmament

Vladimir Kaigl

THE world communist movement advances as its number one task the fight for peace. The kingpin of this struggle is disarmament, because without disarmament there can be no talk of preserving peace.

Disarmament, in addition to being a matter for diplomats, is a vital social problem. And the obstacles which it encounters are not only of a purely political order, they bear a socio-economic character as well, being linked with the struggle between the classes, with their clash of interests.

All the roadblocks in the way of disarmament are created by the economy and policy of the imperialist states. This article examines the economic possibilities of the struggle for disarmament in the capitalist countries.

Militarization of the Economy and State-Monopoly Capitalism

The growth of militarism is closely linked with the development of capitalism. But militarism today differs substantially from what it was in the last century. The difference, briefly, is that in addition to its political aspect it has now acquired an economic aspect. The previous century, too, had its branches of war industry, but a purely war economy is a product of this century. And a war economy presupposes a growth of war production and of military expenditure which, in effect, places the entire national economy on a military footing.

The appearance of a war economy coincided with the First World War and the birth of state-monopoly capitalism. Militarization of the economy during peacetime was typical of Hitler Germany in the years before the outbreak of the Second World War and is typical of the United States today.

The origins of modern militarism should be seen against the background of both the basic tendencies and the specific conditions of the development of capitalism. Above all we have in mind the tendency of monopoly capitalism to develop into state-monopoly capitalism.

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism is the basic feature of mid-twentieth century capitalism. It has its objective basis in the steadily growing socialization of production while preserving the capitalist production relations. This signifies that the power of the monopolies merges with the power of the state, leading to the subordination of the latter to the big monopolies. Typical of state-monopoly capitalism is the growing intervention on the part of the state in the process of production in the interests of the monopolies.

State-monopoly capitalism is manifested in different forms such as the growth of state ownership, financial participation of the state in capital investments, the export of capital through channels supplied by the state, the participation of the latter in international monopoly affiliations and, lastly, militarization of the economy.

Modern militarism is, then, an expression of state-monopoly capitalism. Militarization of the economy, though it is the most striking sign of the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, is far from being the only one. In the United States, for instance, this growth is reflected precisely in militarization of the economy. And although armaments play an important role in the economy of other imperialist states, other aspects of state-monopoly capitalism are often more pronounced there.

The different forms of state intervention depend on the conditions in which the economies of the particular capitalist countries are developing, on the position they occupy in the world economy, and on political factors. Militarization of the economy, too, has its sources in particular conditions. The circumstance that priority is frequently assigned to this particular form depends not only on the general laws of capitalism but also on the given conditions. An understanding of this is essential in order to get a clear idea of the perspectives of the struggle against the arms drive.

Let us take a closer look at the anatomy and physiology of the war economy.

The United States can be taken as the most typical example. Over six million workers are associated in one way or another with military production or services. Military expenditure absorbs more than 10 per cent of the gross national product. In the fiscal year which expired in June, out of a total expenditure of 78,400 million dollars, 45,600 million dollars (more than 58 per cent) were spent on military needs. To these should be added the expenditure for the consequences of past wars.

According to Robert W. Dunn, director of the U.S. Labor Research Association, about eighty per cent of the federal budget of 78,000 million dollars in the present fiscal year (almost 80,000 million in the next fiscal year) represents payment for wars—*past, present and future*. This means that a mere 20 per cent is allotted to the civil sector.

What is the explanation for this vast military expenditure? In examining this question a certain one-sided approach is often adopted: either attention is focused solely on the economic roots of the militarization or its causes are seen only in the political sphere. *But the reasons for the militarization are both economic and political*. Definite interests, namely, the capitalist monopolies, have a hand in it.

Militarization is *the most effective way of obtaining fabulous profits*. The capitalists operating in the civilian branch can never be absolutely sure of being able to market their products, of realizing their value, whereas the war-industry monopolies “work” for a reliable market, on contracts awarded beforehand. The state is the customer of the war-industry monopolies and, in the final count, the state is run by these monopolies. The latter dictate the character and volume of the contracts as well as the scale of the profits. The profits obtained from capital invested in war production often exceed by 50-100 per cent the profit derived from civilian industry.

Militarization is *the most convenient way of redistributing the national income in favor of the war-industry monopolies* at the expense of the working class, office employees, farmers and some sections of the bourgeoisie, a redistribution effected via the state budget.

The monopolies see in the arms drive the means with which to *obtain maximum profit by extending or at least preserving the spheres of influence, spheres of investment and realization of their capital*. The contradictions

within imperialism, the striving of the imperialist powers to secure world domination engender their policy of aggression against the socialist countries and their colonialist policy spearheaded against the oppressed and underdeveloped nations who are fighting for independence and sovereignty.

Militarization also enables the monopolies to tighten their political *stranglehold within the country*, to take reprisals against the working class and all working people. Effected under the slogan “Western unity,” militarization *strengthens the hegemony of the leading war-industry monopolies of the imperialist states over the rest of the capitalist world* and contributes to the formation of aggressive blocs.

Writing on the economic and the political significance of the U.S. armaments program, the American economist James S. Allen commented that in addition to being a dainty dish of profits free from any commercial risk, it has been used by big business to add to its influence in the Administration and undermine the structure of representative institutions. The decade of the cold war has enabled the monopolies to militarize science and dominate it, which has had grave consequences for the educational system. In contrast to the past, the top brass now occupy leading posts in the Administration and seats of honor on the corporation boards. Dixiecratism and other backward social and political ideologies reminiscent of the Middle Ages, have found fertile soil. Reactionary elements expelled from new social orders all over the world found safe refuge in the USA in the cold war period. All who would like to reverse the wheel of history and are now obstructing the democratic regeneration of the country, have, said Allen, a stake in preventing the world from advancing towards peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

The elements who are anxious “to reverse the wheel of history” are using a poisoned ideological weapon against the workers in their endeavor to justify the arms drive. What kind of arguments do they use?

The Economic Alternative to the Armaments Race

Last January the American economist Stewart Chase wrote an article in the journal *Progressive* under the headline “Peace Is Terrible!” What is this bogey with which the men of the war-industry monopolies try to intimidate the working people.

According to them arms production is a component of capitalist reproduction, insulates it against crises, ensures employment and maintains high living standards. Disarmament, the people are told, is fraught with the danger of a crisis, a fall of production, unemployment and hardship. The same argument is often used by the Right Socialists and reformist trade union leaders.

At the outset it should be recalled that the war economy is younger than capitalist economy generally. In the pre-monopoly period arms production played no great role in the capitalist economy. In the imperialist stage it began to play an essential economic role only during the First World War. A *peacetime war economy* became a feature of the big imperialist states only after the Second World War. It is wrong, therefore, to say that capitalist reproduction is impossible without a war economy. It would be an even bigger error to contend that the armaments race can be a panacea for all the ills of capitalism, a cure for crises and unemployment.

At the present stage of capitalism the state can influence to some extent the cycle through militarization of the economy. The purpose of this intervention is to soften for a time the contradiction between production and consumption, to try in peacetime conditions to stave off the crisis, or in the event of it breaking out, to cushion it through a regulated, "creeping" inflation of the Keynes type. Militarization, doubtlessly, can play a definite role in this respect. But the arms drive "eliminates" the crisis only in the sense that it fulfils its role in a different way. The channeling of huge funds to unproductive military needs is, in essence, not unlike the destruction of vast material values which takes place during a crisis. Militarization applies a brake to the civilian industries, restricts the growth of purchasing power and, by staving off the crisis for the time being, paves the way to even deeper economic upheavals. It cannot change the cyclical development nor can it prevent the outbreak of crises caused by the basic contradiction of capitalism. Notwithstanding all theories extolling militarization as a means of maintaining a high level of production and employment, and despite armament production, the United States has, in the postwar, experienced three crises each of which was deeper and graver than the preceding one. The last slump occurred in 1957-58. During the current year there has been a marked decline in steel pro-

duction, and the prospects for the months ahead are gloomy.

Upon reaching a certain point in its development militarization of the economy no longer contributes to the growth of overall industrial production. This, by the way, is bound up with the changed nature of military contracts arising from the progress in military techniques. The basic types of armaments used during the Second World War have either become or are in the process of becoming obsolete, while the huge expenditure involved in nuclear weapons and rocketry is confined to relatively narrow sectors of the economy and does not provide heavy industry with the volume of contracts as was the case with conventional armaments.

To this should be added that war production is a heavy burden on the working people, it retards the development of civilian industry and despite its bloated expansion, the United States, throughout the postwar, has been unable to abolish the chronic unemployment of millions of workers. These facts make nonsense of the contention of Gerard Piel who, in an article in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (April 1960), claimed that armaments production has raised a significant number of American families "above the subsistence income level and into the primary markets of the consumer economy." "The maintenance of the military establishment and the procurement of arms," he goes on, "play a role in maintaining the economic life of the nation, quite independent of their function in the national defense and surely no less significant. So long as armament is not used, it serves its economic purpose in an ideal way. . . ."

But the apologist for armaments cannot just stop at this. Because to admit that capitalist "prosperity" (we say nothing about the nature of this "prosperity") is the outcome of the armaments drive, which is fraught with deadly danger to the whole world, is tantamount to signing the death warrant of the capitalist system. And so Mr. Piel continues: "If we can be sure that our terrifying armament will never be used, we need not think of stopping. But no one can live with the assurance that the arms race can go on indefinitely. . . ." What, then, is the economic alternative to the arms race? The author has the answer to this question too: "If it (the war economy—V.K.) is to be curtailed in the performance of its vital economic function, then some other activity must take its place." And when Piel takes a look at the things

which haven't been done largely because of the appropriation of funds for the arms race, he himself debunks his theory of the war economy as a factor of "prosperity."

"There is reproach to every citizen in a mere listing of the areas of neglect: education, hospitals and health services, housing, urban renewal, public transportation, soil conservation, reclamation, afforestation, air and water pollution, navigation, and flood control. Practically the only public works to receive substantial financing in this period are airports and highways. . . ."

The publicity men of the "war business" try to sow alarm among the working people by talk about the economic upheavals that would be caused by switching to civilian production. To the program proclaimed by the war-industry monopolies the sane forces in the capitalist countries are counterposing their own economic program, a program of disarmament. We readily grant that under capitalism the solution of this problem is not an easy matter.

From the technical-economic standpoint disarmament presupposes a modification of production programs, redistribution and retraining of the labor force. But even now with the militarization of the economy technological progress and competition give rise to profound changes in the production programs and in the allocation of labor, changes which ultimately affect the very structure of production and its branches. And these changes, it should be said, in conditions of a militarized economy, are aggravated by the new military techniques which necessitate new branches of industry. For example, because of the totally different technology of missile production the aircraft plants are not being reconditioned and often remain unused because it is more profitable to build new plants.

It would be wrong, therefore, to say that disarmament represents an insoluble problem from the technical-economic standpoint.

From the economic standpoint the matter is not quite so simple. Above all it poses the question of marketing the increased volume of civilian products turned out in place of armaments, i.e., how to fill the "economic vacuum" which, according to many bourgeois experts, is likely to arise with the scrapping of the war industry.

But there will be no "vacuum" if the purchasing power of the working people is increased, for example, by lowering taxes. The result will be a greater demand for consumer

goods which, in turn, will lead to an increased demand for light industry and agricultural machines. Instead of squandering budgetary finances on armaments, on maintaining the armed forces and military bases, the money could be channeled to civilian production, to public works, could be used for improving the conditions of the working people, for capital investments in public building and housing which, in addition, would keep other branches busy.

Then there are other ways of ensuring capacity operation in the civilian industry in the capitalist countries.

An expanding market and, what is more, a reliable market, is to hand in the rapid and planned development of the socialist countries, a development accompanied by rising living standards. Part of the means released after disarmament could be allocated for aid to the underdeveloped countries. Long-term credits and supplies of plant and equipment to these countries would ensure a market for a sizable part of the industry of the advanced capitalist countries. Another feature of this aid is that it would enlarge the home market in the underdeveloped countries; they would be able to buy more consumer goods and means of production.

In summing up we shall mention what American economists think on this score. An extensive program of housing and other public works would provide work for 3,600,000. The introduction of a 35-hour week would provide jobs for another four million. Expanded international trade would mean employment for one million. In this way work could be provided for more than 8.5 million, or two million more than the numbers now employed in the war industry and serving in the armed forces of the United States.

Even today capitalist reproduction is quite possible without the war economy. It would be wrong, of course, to imagine that disarmament alone can iron out the contradictions of capitalism, abolish crises, unemployment, or bridge the gulf between rich and poor. But one thing is certain, militarization is much less able to resolve these problems. Disarmament is a democratic measure, it is not socialism. It cannot cure ills that stem from the very nature of capitalism. But it would *greatly facilitate realization* of the demands, both immediate and ultimate, of the working class and all working people. Disarmament will not be brought about by the "automatic" development of capitalism, nor by any spontaneous regeneration of capitalism. It will not

be achieved by a social armistice nor will it lead to an armistice. It can be won only by the combined effort of the working class and its allies. As Khrushchov recently said in New York at the session of the U.N. General Assembly, "unless the people exert pressure on them the Western governments will never agree to disarmament."

The Struggle for Disarmament: Character and Prospects

To define the social character of the struggle for disarmament is vital to elaborating *the political line of the working-class movement on this question*. The character of the struggle is conditioned by the character of the force against which it is directed. As pointed out above, we associate the growth of militarism with the general laws of capitalism (growth of state-monopoly) and with the specific factors which leave their imprint on the general laws. In postwar Britain, France and Austria, for example, we have seen the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the form of state ownership. This was the result not only of the economic situation of the particular industries but also, and not least, of the political climate—the demands of the working class, the influence of the Communist Party, etc. This example shows that under capitalism political factors have their say in the development of the forms of state-monopoly capitalism.

The growing militarization of the economy as another of these forms is likewise largely conditioned by specific factors, including political factors. Consequently, changed political factors are bound to affect the forms of state-monopoly capitalism and the destinies of the militarization. Theoretically the most difficult thing is to determine the degree and the boundaries of the influence exerted by the political factors.

In studying this question one should bear in mind the following: a war economy means record profits for monopoly capital. And the drive for these profits is the motive force of the working of the capitalist economy. But at the same time the very idea of record profit presupposes that it depends on the concrete circumstances. In this respect it is necessary to point to some of the specific features of the market for the military output. The demand for armaments depends largely, if not wholly, on political conditions, both external and internal.

No one will deny that in the endeavor to maintain armaments production and the huge

profits associated with arms, the monopolies do not scruple at spoiling the political climate. For example, when the federal budget is debated in Congress the Pentagon brass try to exacerbate world tensions and resort to all kinds of provocations with the idea of getting extra appropriations for military purposes. But it is equally clear that a major change in the international climate in the reverse direction can also affect the demand in the military field. Whenever, as a result of the efforts made by the socialist countries, world tension tends to relax, the shares of the war industry monopolies decline on the stock exchange.

In our times it is not on the monopolies alone that the political climate depends. Hence, if universal and complete disarmament is to be achieved, it will depend on the class struggle waged both on the world arena and in each capitalist country.

No imperialist country develops in isolation from the rest of the world. Nowadays the socialist camp which, in addition to having truth on its side, has an obvious military superiority, has quite a say in determining the development of the world.

The more sober-minded of the capitalist spokesmen cannot fail to see that war bodes for them not profits but the destruction of their system, loss of property, income and indeed of life. The fact that both the arms race and the advocacy of peaceful coexistence by some sections of the bourgeoisie are dictated by class considerations is, no doubt, a contradiction. But it is a contradiction of the times, a contradiction of moribund capitalism. What kind of understanding of their class interests will prevail among the ruling circles of the imperialist states *depends not on them alone, but also on the pressure brought to bear upon them by the external and internal anti-imperialist forces*.

It is realistic to suppose that the decisive superiority of the socialist camp in definite kinds of modern weapons as well as the initiative of the socialist countries in the sphere of foreign policy will, sooner or later, force the imperialists to agree to banning these weapons. This would signify the scrapping of a number of war industries, those now developing at the greatest pace and taking the lead in military production.

Another important factor working against imperialism is the national-liberation struggle. The growing momentum of this movement, which benefits from the aid and protection of the socialist camp, demonstrates the sense-

lessness and hopelessness of the local colonial wars waged by the imperialists. The abolition of the colonial system will facilitate the struggle against military appropriations which are dictated by the desire of the imperialists to keep the oppressed nations in chains.

The struggle for freedom is being waged also by the peoples of those formally independent, underdeveloped countries which have been enmeshed in the various aggressive blocs and pacts and whose governments have become puppets in the hands of the imperialists. The outcome of this struggle will be that ultimately all these countries, following the example of Iraq and Cuba, will shake off the imperialist yoke, and the system of aggressive pacts will collapse. With this collapse, yet another market for the war industry will disappear.

The aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and the growing danger of war as a result of their provocations is giving rise to neutralist tendencies in the countries where there are U.S. military bases; the popular struggle for the removal of these bases is being intensified. In the last fiscal year the U.S. Government appropriated 3,400 million dollars for its military bases abroad. The dismantling of these bases, too, would greatly reduce the possibility of marketing war materiel and military equipment.

That is to say that the growth of the national-liberation anti-imperialist struggle can restrict the market for war materiel, can reduce the number of countries participating in the arms drive.

But external pressure alone cannot put an end to militarism. In the final count this is the job of the people in the particular country. And quite clearly, there are in the imperialist states internal forces which have a stake in combating militarism.

Above all the working class has a stake in disarmament. For militarization signifies intensified exploitation, the appropriation by the monopolies of a bigger slice of the surplus value produced by the working people, intensification of labor, wage freeze, higher taxes and growing inflation. Militarization heralds also inroads on political rights and restriction of democratic liberties, it hampers the struggle of the workers for their economic and political demands.

The farm population, too, is directly interested in disarmament. For them militarization signifies rising taxes, inflation, greater disparity between the prices they pay for manufac-

tured goods and what they get for their own produce, signifies the loss of potential markets for their produce, markets which could become real should a program of aid to the underdeveloped, hungry countries be put into effect.

The petty bourgeoisie, a section which is being increasingly ruined by the arms race, is no less interested in disarmament, as is that section of the bourgeoisie which is not directly linked with war production. The militarization bestows privileges chiefly on the big monopolies who use the state for their own aims. It restricts the sphere of investing capital in civilian industry and limits its markets. In particular the cold war has cut it off from the market of the socialist countries and, to a certain extent, from the market of the underdeveloped countries.

And lastly, this part of the bourgeoisie is becoming increasingly aware that war today would, in addition to taking a terrible toll of lives far behind the lines, signify the end of capitalist property, the destruction of capitalism.

In the event of war the population of entire imperialist states would face the danger of extermination.

Precisely for this reason the bulk of the population in the imperialist countries is vitally interested in disarmament. What is needed is that the masses should be fully aware of what is at stake and unite in the struggle against the war-industry monopolies, against the militarists and their stooges. This path is indicated in the Rome appeal of the seventeen Communist parties of capitalist Europe adopted at their meeting in November 1959.

The Communist parties call for unity of the working class of the capitalist countries, to liberate it from the ideological influence of the monopolists and Right-wing Socialist leaders, to make it more active in the fight for peace and disarmament and against the war monopolies and the militarists.

It is imperative to rally around the united working class all classes and groups of capitalist society, including those of the bourgeoisie who are for peace and who want a peacetime economy, i.e., to rally the overwhelming majority of the population in the capitalist countries in a broad anti-monopoly front to democratize the state and raise living standards.

The front should fight to curb the economic and political power of the monopolies, to undermine their influence on the state and

their grip on the means of moulding public opinion.

Provided there are favorable external and internal conditions, the anti-monopoly struggle can lead to far-reaching reforms. These, it is true, will be carried out by the capitalist state, but a state already strongly influenced by the anti-monopoly democratic front. These reforms can include state control of the monopolies with a bigger role for the people in running the state, restriction of the agrarian monopolies and latifundists through democratic land reform, nationalization of some of the monopoly industries, consolidation of the state sector at the expense of the monopolies, and democratic administration of this sector.

The fight for disarmament is the main link of the class struggle at the present stage both internationally and in the capitalist countries. It links the task of averting war and ensuring the peaceful competition of the two systems with the immediate economic aims of the working people in the capitalist countries, and with the struggle for democracy, for curbing monopoly capital. That is to say, given the economic possibilities of achieving disarmament under capitalism, the means with which these possibilities can be realized are political.

The growing strength of the socialist camp, the struggle against the monopolies and for democracy—this is the key to universal and complete disarmament. And the prospects of success in this struggle are quite good.

Edvard Kardelj's "Verbal Dialectics"

A. Rummyantsev

A NEW book by Edvard Kardelj with the pretentious title *Socialism and War* came off the press recently in Belgrade.* The author claims it is a Marxist analysis of a wide range of current social problems, primarily the problem of war and peace, and, as such, a contribution to the examination of this issue. The book is boosted along the same lines by the Yugoslav newspaper *Politika*, which in its September 11 issue declared that it is "an integral scientific work that examines in detail the key problems of the day."

But what, actually, is this "Marxism" Kardelj has undertaken to preach? The present book, like all of his public statements, shows that he is propounding a special original "national Marxism" (p. 17) seeking thereby to substantiate the right to confound and shatter Marxist thinking in general, with all the consequences arising therefrom for the world communist movement. This is evident, in particular, from his readiness to classify as Marxist the most widely differing trends of social thought. "At present," he writes, "the most varied social elements speak

in the name of Marxism, so that for anyone to claim that he alone is the 'genuine' standard-bearer of 'genuine Marxism' is obviously absurd" (p. 17).

Strange logic indeed! Would it not be more correct to say that precisely this circumstance ("the most varied social elements speak in the name of Marxism") shows the need to uphold Marxist-Leninist theory against distortions of all kinds, to safeguard its purity and integrity and to develop it further only on this basis.

The progress of history has reposed this duty not in individuals but in the international communist movement as a whole. It is this movement that develops Marxism-Leninism and is its sole standard-bearer.

Marxism-Leninism is enriched and developed by all Communist and Workers' parties. This is done systematically at international communist forums, conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties, where joint decisions are taken in the light of the conditions of the day, deviations are overcome and the ideological unity of the working class strengthened.

There is only one Marxist-Leninist theory.

*Edvard Kardelj, *Socijalizam i rat*. Kultura, 1960. Beograd.

But this by no means signifies, as Kardelj claims, ideological hegemony on the part of any group or party. The Communist parties have always based their ideological and political work on the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, but since they all are faced with different conditions, this work naturally has its specific features in each country. Yet far from denying the common basis, this only confirms it. And irrespective of the source of a mythical "danger" of ideological hegemony, the international communist movement will not cease its striving for ideological unity. It will constantly uphold and strengthen this unity.

Lauding Kardelj's book, the Yugoslav press, along with alleging that it advances Marxist theory and generalizes the new developments and tendencies in the world, holds it up as a "model of the application of the scientific dialectical method in examining social phenomena" (*Politika*, Sept. 11, 1960). And true enough, Kardelj poses as a champion of the dialectical method against dogmatic distortions. He claims he is fighting against "verbal dialectics." As it is, however, this expression best of all characterizes Kardelj's own method, for his dialectical terminology is designed as a veil for vulgar, mechanistic, quantitative, evolutionistic methodology and, naturally, has a superficial resemblance to materialist dialectics.

Kardelj, of course, is acquainted with the Marxist formula of the quantity-quality relationship, yet he attaches basic importance to quantity. In effect, he reduces quality to quantity and sees in the quantitative changes the essence of the dialectical process. For instance, he treats the issue of war and peace from the standpoint of the quantitative correlation of forces. In point of fact, one of his chapters is entitled, "The Quantitative Correlation of Present-Day Social Forces and War." But of this "theory" later. Here we shall but pose the question: can the victory of Soviet Russia over the combined external intervention and internal counter-revolution be explained from the standpoint of such a theory, from the standpoint of a simple appraisal of the quantitative correlation of forces? Not without doing violence to the logic of life, because the ideological and moral aspects, which in the given case were of prime importance, cannot be reduced to quantitative factors.

Kardelj discourses at length on the law of the unity and struggle of opposites. In his hands, however, this law turns into a sophism, and is used for the purpose of appeas-

ing antagonistic forces where they exist, and of pleading for their appearance where they do not exist and where they cannot exist.

Distorting this law of dialectics, Kardelj sets out to prove that in the present-day world the struggle of opposites is abating and the antipodes are entering into agreement (p. 65). This is served up as 100 per cent dialectical materialism and he even cites without compunction the Leninist principle that while the struggle of opposites is absolute, the absolute as such is also relative (p. 47). Yet we know that Lenin laid the stress here not on reconciliation of opposites but on the fact that every contradiction, every struggle of opposites, far from being eternal is transient and only in this sense relative; that every contradiction is solved in one or another way, that the struggle of opposites culminates in a certain result, the birth of a new phenomenon with its own inherent contradictions. Hence, the struggle of opposites signifies development, motion, a process in which unity of the opposites is an essential moment.

The author, however, to serve his pragmatically nationalistic ends, interprets the law of the unity and struggle of opposites at will. At one point he treats it as a law of reconciliation of antagonisms. At another, he advances, true, with reservations, the no less anti-Marxist claim that by virtue of this law antagonistic contradictions are bound to arise in the socialist world. And this in spite of the fact that he is well aware of Lenin's view that under socialism dialectical contradictions cannot assume the form of antagonisms. Indeed, we have seen for ourselves that there are no such antagonisms in socialism.

Kardelj, of course, is not frank and above-board in presenting his anti-Marxist case. It is in the nature of revisionism not to renounce Marxism openly. Its spokesmen cover up their defection by verbal recognition of Marxism and solemn declarations that they are simply developing it creatively. Obviously anticipating that he will be accused of revisionism, Kardelj, too, time and again proclaims his loyalty to Marxism.

His "verbal dialectics" enable Kardelj subtly to whitewash modern imperialism and no less subtly to blacken socialism, and all in the name of genuine Marxism. Donning an anti-imperialist robe, he embellishes imperialism. He attacks socialism ostensibly because he has the future of world socialism at heart, and showers compliments on the "growing socialist forces." Rarely is this theoretician of revisionism frank about his basic ideas.

Those are mostly garbed in equivocal formulations and must be read between the lines. Hence it is necessary to examine the logic of this pretentious book and the analytical method employed by its author.

It is of course impossible to analyze in one article the whole range of distortions contained in the book. Nor is there any need to do this. To show that what Kardelj presents as a Marxist analysis of a wide range of problems confronting socialism today is fallacious from beginning to end, that the book is just another revisionist "sortie," it is sufficient to go into a few of the basic issues raised.

* * *

First of all, let us examine Kardelj's views on the essence of the present epoch.

The Moscow Declaration of 1957, the program document of the international communist movement, states that "the main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. . . . In our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems." This definition, summing up the epoch-making changes that have taken place since the Second World War, is a consistent development of Lenin's definition of the essence of the epoch of imperialism.

To the reader it might seem at first glance that Kardelj also bases himself on this Marxist definition of our time. For he speaks of the two world systems, of the fact that the basic contradiction of our epoch is that between the socialist world and the capitalist world (p. 56), and that mankind is in transition from capitalism to socialism. But what meaning does he attach to these conceptions?

As Kardelj sees it, the socialist world encompasses more than the socialist countries. Time and again he has claimed there are "factors," "forces" and "elements" of socialism also in capitalist society. If by this he meant only the maturing within capitalism of the material and social prerequisites of socialism, there would be no controversy here. But he has something else in mind. His premise is the gradual evolution of the economic basis, i.e., of the relations of production (pp. 84, 85); he sees the growing degree of social co-ordination in the development of the capitalist economy (pp. 84, 85); he claims that the social character of production is in itself an element of socialism, i.e., the embryo of socialist relations of production in the womb of capitalism, although the social cha-

racter of production is not synonymous with the relations of production. Kardelj sees elements of socialist relations of production in the process of the *disintegration* (his term) of capitalism, which is manifested, according to him, "not only in a direct clash between the working class and the top levels of the capitalist monopolies and the capitalist state, but also in clashes taking the most diverse forms with regard to *the structure of the state machinery, democratic institutions, and the role of state or public control of economic trends*" (p. 183; my italics—A.R.). True, working-class struggle for democracy, nationalizing the monopolies, democratic control over them, etc., is proceeding in capitalist society, but does this result in the emergence of elements of socialism, and what is more, spontaneously, as the word "disintegration" suggests?

From Kardelj's viewpoint, measures regulating capitalist economy, for instance, especially if they are effected by Social Democratic governments, are identified with socialism. This is not the first time he has qualified such measures as socialist, in particular in the Scandinavian countries. In the present book he lists among the "elements" of socialism the Social-Democratic parties—including those that are conducting anti-communist campaigns and hence openly playing the imperialist game (p. 59). All the more so is state capitalism in countries which have recently won freedom from colonial dependence identified with socialism. Evidently because of this, Kardelj claims that in these countries the transition to socialism can be initiated by "anti-imperialist movements" without the participation of Communists (p. 148). "In the final analysis," he exclaims, "all socialist countries have in one or another degree gone through, or are going through, the state-capitalist form" (p. 148).

On the other hand, Kardelj finds non-socialist elements or forces in the socialist countries. This would be normal enough if he pointed out that survivals of capitalism in the economy, the remnants of the exploiting classes, constitute such forces in the socialist countries at the initial stages of their development. But he makes no mention of these. The non-socialist forces he professes to discover in the socialist countries are something quite different. They are inherent, he says, in the socialist state!

Kardelj's reasoning is based on the assumption that the socialist state stands outside the association of producers (p. 197); it preserves the wage-labor relations characteristic of cap-

italism (pp. 185 and 218), gives rise to a conservative bureaucracy (p. 218) and hegemonism and national egoism in relations between socialist countries (p. 199), etc., etc. Hence his call to abolish not only the rule of capital but also "pressure by any social force standing outside individual and associated producers" (p. 197).

And what about the dictatorship of the proletariat? Not to recognize it, as we know, signifies rejection of the Marxist concept of class struggle; without it, socialism cannot be built. Yet it is no concern of Kardelj's. What he has to say about the socialist and progressive forces gaining political victory (p. 184) or even winning power by no means implies recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it all fits nicely into the framework of social-democratic concepts.

Though he calls himself a follower of Marxism-Leninism, Kardelj is not at all perturbed by the fact that both Marx and Lenin held that the dictatorship of the proletariat as a state form is indispensable all the way to complete communism. The working class needs a state machine as the instrument that organizes and promotes the socialist economy on a countrywide scale. "All citizens become employees and workers of a single national state 'syndicate,'" Lenin said—a syndicate where they themselves will be the masters as the working class organized as the state.

A closer examination of Kardelj's logic shows that he questions whether the socialist countries are really socialist. For him whether a country is socialist or not depends only on how "numerous" or "few" are the socialist and non-socialist (as he understands the term) "factors," "elements" and "forces" existing in it side by side (p. 8).

Having discovered elements of socialism in capitalism and daubed the socialist state in capitalist colors, Kardelj advances an obviously anti-Marxist, revisionist concept of the transition from capitalism to socialism. He substitutes evolution for the revolutionary leap, revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. Indeed, how is the following statement to be understood: "The process of the world socialist revolution develops not as positional warfare between two fronts, but as an organic social process in which revolutions and revolutionary and anti-colonial wars are intertwined with evolution, i.e., processes of peaceful political struggle and the gradual conquest of political positions by the socialist and other progressive forces, and also with *the material evolution of the social basis*" (pp. 84, 85; my italics—A.R.). Evolution of

the social basis is nothing but its change without revolution, a spontaneous transformation of one type of relations of production into another.

Although Kardelj has inserted the words "socialist revolution" in the above passage, their meaning is more than nebulous, for the question here is only of the "conquest of political positions by the socialist and other progressive forces" in which the working class is so completely dissolved that it can hardly be found at all in the florid flow of verbiage. Such an understanding of the word "revolution" is similar to that of the reformist Social Democrats. It is quite obvious that Kardelj's emphasis is not on proletarian revolution but on peaceful, organic development of capitalism into socialism, synonymous with the gradual evolution of the social basis.

In this connection Kardelj takes the liberty of quoting Engels, with the ironic aside that for Engels there were no taboos on the use of expressions like peaceful growth of the old society into the new. "One can visualize," Kardelj quotes Engel's *Critique of the Social Democratic Draft Program of 1891*, "the old society peacefully growing into a new one in countries where government is wholly by popular representation, where you can be anything you want by constitutional means if you have the majority of the people with you: in democratic republics such as France and America, and in monarchies like England." What Kardelj does not say is that this particular work of Engels was directed against the theory propagated by the opportunists of capitalist swinishness growing into socialism. Only a few lines above the quoted passage Engels speaks of the opportunists seeking to convince themselves and the party that "contemporary society is growing into socialism, without asking themselves whether it will not thereby, by virtue of an equal necessity, grow out of its old social organization; whether it must not rend asunder this old shell as violently as the crab rends his . . ." (my italics—A.R.). Kardelj "prudently" ignores this.

It is obvious that Engels, when he granted the possibility of the proletarian revolution developing peacefully, was combating the opportunist theory of capitalism spontaneously growing into socialism. He associated the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism with very definite conditions, i.e., the full flowering of democracy when the majority of the people follow the Marxist party and accept the leadership of the working class which is exercising its dictatorship and ef-

fecting the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

Imperialism, which is marked by monopoly domination in the economy and rampant reaction in all spheres of politics and ideology, has made the peaceful development of the proletarian revolution an extremely complicated matter. But the possibility exists. Concretely it emerges not because of any spontaneous development of bourgeois democracy, but only as the culmination of unrelenting class struggle waged by the proletariat headed by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard. There is no doubt that with the development of the socialist world system new, favorable conditions for such an eventuality are being created.

Engels never maintained that capitalism would automatically grow into socialism. Kardelj, too, cannot but note this fact, yet, as an analysis of his views shows, this is exactly what he maintains, for all his use of expressions such as the "revolutionary leap," "revolution," "conquest of power," etc. The fact that he avoids any mention of the proletarian character of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the basis for the transition from capitalism to socialism deprives these words of all positive meaning and proves once more that for him this transition is a matter of quantitative evolutionary changes. Kardelj's methods in analyzing social phenomena differ in no way from Bukharin's mechanistic "dialectics," from the views of the anarcho-syndicalists. These are not merely convenient "labels"; it is precisely from these positions that Kardelj's book treats all other current social problems.

* * *

A revisionist interpretation of the essence of the times underlies Kardelj's analysis of the issues of war and peace, although he claims to have made a thorough Marxist examination of these questions. For him war has never been absolutely, fatally inevitable; according to him war depends on the maturing of certain factors; it depends on the quantitative ratio of forces for and against war.

Here is a typical statement: "Speaking in the abstract, war has never been absolutely, fatally inevitable. It has always depended on the correlation of forces. And when Lenin pointed out that, in the conditions of imperialism, war is inevitable inasmuch as the imperialist factors inevitably 'engender' war, he had in mind an alignment of forces when these imperialist factors have undivided sway or at least predominate" (p. 30).

True enough, in social life there are no absolutely fatal things, i.e., things predetermined by an inexorable fate. This is elementary for a Marxist. There is the *inevitability* dictated by definite objective social causes independent of man's will and reason. When Lenin concluded that imperialist wars were inevitable, he based himself on his scientific analysis of the *economics* of the imperialist stage of capitalism which gives rise to imperialist policy. Lenin proved that because of the uneven development of monopoly capitalism, its contradictions cannot be solved by any means other than war. Not a quantitative correlation of forces for and against war plays the decisive role here, as Kardelj tells us, but objective necessity arising from the *essence* of imperialism. "The question is," Lenin said "what means other than war could there be *under capitalism* of removing the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and 'spheres of influence' for finance capital on the other?"*

Thus the "imperialist factors" of which Kardelj speaks so much do not descend from the heavens, they have their roots in the economics of imperialism. Of course, when deciding whether to resort to war, the imperialist politicians take stock of the real, material and human resources at their disposal to see how these compare with those of the potential adversary. They also assess the quantitative correlation of forces in order to draw up the time schedule for attack, determine the direction of the main blow, etc. But these concern not the cause of war, not its inevitability; they have a bearing only on the timing of the war the imperialists have decided to unleash. Kardelj divorces politics from economics, regarding the former as something self-sufficient for which the material "factors" are only a means to an end.

Further, Kardelj elaborates the idea that war is not immanent in capitalism. In this connection he cites Marx and Engels, who, he claims, associated the possibility of preventing war not with any "concrete historical dates but merely with the maturing of a number of factors of social development, material as well as ideological and political, which determine people's actions" (pp. 29, 30). But as we know, Marx and Engels did associate the possibility of preventing war with a very definite historical event, namely, the victory of the new social system, the victory of the socialist revolution. "... In con-

*V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

trast to old society," Marx wrote, "with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labor!*"*

It has been said that the First World War could have been prevented. Yes, that is so, but only if the Social Democrats had called on the masses to oppose it, not in words but by tangible action of a revolutionary order.

The possibility of preventing war does not depend simply on "the maturing of a number of factors," not simply on changes in the quantitative correlation of the forces of war and peace, as Kardelj repeatedly declares, but on a qualitative leap—the socialist revolution, followed by the rise of the socialist world system which creates the material foundation for excluding war as a means of settling international disputes in general. Incidentally, Kardelj speaks so much about "factors" and throws so little light on the meaning of the concept that one cannot help but ask whether, generally speaking, he is not reducing Marxism to a bourgeois sociological theory of factors which regards historical development merely as the effect of various interacting "spiritual," "racial," "geographic," "technical" and other similar social causes. Whether he wishes it or not, this is what he does, regardless of the Marxist terminology which he uses as a smokescreen in a manner typical of all revisionists.

On the pretext of combating dogmatism, Kardelj claims that the thesis that capitalism means war and socialism means peace is non-Marxist and unscientific. The sophistic logic of this argument runs like this: Since war depends on the correlation of forces and not on the essence of a social system, it can arise anywhere, in any society where the correlation of forces favors war—ergo, this can happen in socialist society as well. Such are the lengths to which Kardelj goes in his revisionist zeal—incredible to anyone with the slightest acquaintance with Marxism and practical life, in which the fight of the socialist countries for peace offers a bright beacon of hope for humanity.

But let us take things in order. First, Kardelj is out to prove that contemporary capitalism has ceased, or at any rate is ceasing, to be aggressive. If we are to believe him, the inner contradictions of imperialism are steadily diminishing and, for all practical purposes, being reduced to naught because the contradiction between capitalism and so-

cialism has become the basic contradiction of the epoch.

True, Kardelj may say that he does not deny the existence of imperialist contradictions. "I do not claim," he writes, "that there are no longer any imperialist contradictions. They exist, *but they have been attenuated to such an extent and their forms have changed so much that they can no longer be solved separately and independently by means of war*" (p. 57; my italics—A.R.).

This is one of the fundamental postulates of Kardelj's anti-Marxist concept, his interpretation of the issues of war and peace as they stand at present. Concretizing it, he writes: "No matter how the imperialist contradictions may develop within the capitalist world, they have become, by virtue of the basic contradiction in the modern world—the contradiction between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism—*secondary* factors to such an extent that the possibility of war breaking out between the big capitalist countries for a new division of the world has been reduced to such a theoretical minimum that it need not be taken into account in political practice" (p. 56; my italics—A.R.).

Kardelj's conclusion is crystal clear: the essence of the relations between the imperialist countries has changed; they have put aside their contradictions, rallied and formed something like a "united front" in the face of the growing economic and political might of socialism. Consequently, war between imperialist countries is impossible as a matter of principle. At any rate, the likelihood of war among the imperialists need not be taken into account.

It is clear that here Kardelj has confused two different questions: first, the character of the relations between imperialist countries at the present stage, the acuteness of their contradictions, and, second, the possibility of solving these contradictions by war.

Unquestionably, the basic contradiction of the epoch is that between growing socialism and declining capitalism. But this by no means signifies that the internal contradictions of imperialism have become less acute.

In the shrunken capitalist world, concentration and centralization of monopoly capital, the growth of giant monopolies assuming state-monopoly forms, accentuate the uneven economic and political development of capitalism and aggravate the contradictions between the imperialist powers. Cut-throat competition among them becomes sharper and, likewise, political struggle. Is not the rapid

*Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

restoration and the growth of the might of West German and Japanese monopoly capital a fact, and isn't it a fact that these resurgent national groups of finance tycoons are penetrating into British, French and even U.S. "spheres of influence" and colonies?

West Germany, for example, while building up its strength is already contending with Britain for markets and raw material sources, though so far only in the form of "peaceful" rivalry between the Common Market and the EFTA. And what about the struggle between West Germany and France for domination of the European Common Market? Is not the United States entrenching itself in many former colonies of its allies in NATO and in the other aggressive blocs, creating a neo-colonialism in order to preserve and strengthen its hegemony in the present-day capitalist world? This struggle, steadily growing in intensity, objectively leads to imperialist war.

Was it not the imperialist contradictions that engendered the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt and acted—and still act—as a spur to "dirty wars," such as France waged in Vietnam and is now waging in Algeria, to the U.S. aggressive actions in Korea, Taiwan, Indo-China, in the Lebanon, and to other similar developments?

Kardelj twists and turns: you see, he has in mind not war between the imperialist powers and their colonies, but war between the leading capitalist countries of today; a war of this kind, he holds, is out of the question.

But what is war? War, as Lenin said time and again, is the continuation of politics by other means, i.e., with the aid of arms. And what is politics? The concentrated expression of economics. Consequently, the roots of war extend to economics; war, which is prepared by a policy reflecting the demands of the economy, is just another expression of this policy.

Has the economic essence of imperialism changed? Not a bit. Has the policy of reaction, violence, oppression, plunder, and cut-throat competition between the giant monopolies, has this policy characteristic of imperialism and engendered by its contradictions disappeared? Not at all. Consequently, the economically conflicting policies which the imperialist powers conduct for the time being in "peaceful" forms tend at a certain stage to change in form and become transformed into war.

Let us examine the second part of Kardelj's thesis. Are there grounds for believing that the emergence of the socialist world system

has rallied the imperialist powers and precluded military conflicts among them? None whatever. Imperialist blocs are nothing new. Lenin pointed out that, faced by a growing revolutionary movement, the imperialist powers can reach agreement among themselves on one or another issue, and strive to combine to stamp out centers of revolution. But this does not mean that imperialist contradictions are thereby overcome or solved. The existing "alliances," "blocs," and "pacts" either conceal the contradictions or, at best, give the impression that they have been solved. There is not a single instance in modern history of the basic contradictions between the imperialist countries being solved through the machinery of blocs and alliances. These contradictions remain, grow sharper and, inevitably, lead to armed conflicts. Yet for all that *the possibility of unleashing war* for the purpose of resolving these contradictions no longer depends on the capitalist countries alone, but on the sum total of international relations in which the decisive role belongs to the socialist world system. The socialist countries and the world working-class movement are now in a position to prevent any imperialist war. This, and not the lessening of imperialist contradictions, is the essential thing.

But Kardelj sees the peace policy of the socialist countries in an entirely different light. Here the anti-Marxist essence of his book as a whole, which he so carefully tries to conceal, emerges in more naked form. Inasmuch as war, according to Kardelj, is ruled out between imperialist countries because of the circumstances set forth above, it "now depends not only on the internal laws of capitalist development but also on the internal laws of the development of socialism" (p. 42).

What does Kardelj mean by this? If he meant that the socialist world system has become strong enough to prevent the imperialists from plunging humanity into another holocaust, he would be right. But he has something entirely different in mind. He is smuggling in the conception of *the changed intrinsic nature of imperialism*, though true to himself as a revisionist, he does not say so outright.

Imperialism, Kardelj reasons, has ceased to be the only cause of war inasmuch as its contradictions, having been smoothed out, are reduced to the minimum. Moreover, owing to "factors" that are "external" to imperialism, it is *disintegrating*, as are capitalist relationships in general (pp. 43, 180, 182). Dis-

integration is a spontaneous process. And so, according to Kardelj, what we get is a spontaneous, automatic process of the disintegration of the imperialist system, i.e., of monopoly capitalism. But where, in what country, has Kardelj witnessed a breakdown of monopoly omnipotence, a disintegration of finance capital, that is, at least a discontinuation of the fusion of bank and industrial-monopoly capital, a weakening of the finance oligarchy, a diminishing export of capital, cessation by the giant monopolies of the struggle to redivide economically an already partitioned world, etc.? Moreover, where has Kardelj witnessed the spontaneous, automatic disintegration of capitalist relations based on the exploitation of wage labor by capital, and, as a result, the automatic advent of socialism?

Decaying but not yet completely decomposed capitalism, torn by the most acute internal and international contradictions, armed to the teeth, fraught with the possibility of imperialist wars, both local and global, the one and only source of war—such is the real picture of present-day monopoly capitalism. So long as imperialism exists in the world, the soil that breeds aggressive wars remains, as the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out. No, the nature of imperialism has not changed, the imperialist contradictions have not been ironed out nor have they vanished, no matter how much Kardelj might wish this.

Why, then, has he produced this theory of imperialist contradictions dying out and the impossibility of war between the big imperialist powers, this clandestine theory of the changed nature of imperialism? To lead the reader on to this conclusion: “. . . the war which we are discussing, and which now is the only possible war (with the exception of local and national-liberation wars) is a world war between the bloc of the socialist countries and the capitalist bloc” (p. 100; my italics—A.R.)

But that is not all. Kardelj follows this up by surreptitiously shifting the *responsibility* for the starting of another world war onto the socialist countries. If we are to believe him, it is not the capitalist countries and not imperialism that bear the responsibility for the possible outbreak of a new world war, but socialism and its policy which compel the poor imperialists to defend themselves! (p. 44). What an idyllic picture! Imperialism in the role of the innocent lamb. How pleasant for the imperialists is this

“discovery” that socialism is the wicked wolf!

In the event of socialism pursuing “a policy resulting in all non-Communists uniting in a single camp against socialism, or of working for the further division of the world into fronts with a view to reaching a ‘final’ decision, war may become inevitable,” Kardelj says (p. 44). Here, it would seem, he is counselling the socialist camp not to upset imperialism, which has become “so placid,” with its accomplishments, its independence, its humane attitude to the colonial and economically underdeveloped countries with their inhuman conditions. That is exactly what he is doing.

Kardelj actually accuses the socialist countries of pursuing a policy fraught with the danger of world war. Shifting the blame from where it belongs to somebody else’s door, he declares that “the ‘cold war’ phase and the policy of intimidation associated with it led to the Atlantic pact, to unity in the non-socialist camp, to extreme isolation of the socialist camp after the war, and to the restoration of German militarism” (p. 139).

Now Kardelj knows perfectly well that it was not the policy of the socialist camp but the international contradictions of imperialism that caused the “cold war.” Imperialism initiated the “cold war” against socialism in order to prevent the progressive forces led by the working class in many countries from resolving the contradiction between labor and capital in the interests of the former, and in order to crush the national-liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies which had flared up with renewed force during the war and especially after the defeat of the German-Italian-Japanese fascist bloc.

The “cold war,” of course, is part of the preparation for a shooting war. And as they prepare for a shooting war, the imperialists direct it against the socialist camp for the simple reason that they count on solving their own *contradictions primarily at the expense of the latter*, while fighting to establish the world hegemony of one or another national group of monopoly capitalists. Precisely because this is the policy pursued by the imperialists, the socialist camp has to take care of its own defenses, without, however, relaxing its unremitting efforts to bring about a *détente* and prevent war.

Aggression is alien to the nature of the socialist countries. They have never sought to and never will impose socialism on anyone; this is something each people will have to

decide for itself. The socialist camp is not faced with the problem of markets and raw material sources, and hence it does not seek to grab colonies or spheres of influence. It presents no threat to the independence and integrity of any country. Socialism means genuine peace throughout the world. Yet Kardelj regards the socialist camp as the primary breeding-ground of war in the present conditions, just because it exposes the imperialist actions for what they are, because it calls on the peoples to fight for world peace and thereby ties the hands of the imperialist war-makers.

Thus the "Marxist" Kardelj exalts imperialism. And he knows he is doing so, as is evident from his protestations to the contrary (pp. 49 and 213). An uneasy conscience betrays itself, as the saying goes.

Kardelj, doing his best to "develop" his thesis that socialism is a source of war, invents arguments to augment the imperialist propaganda stock-in-trade. He reasons thus: "At a time when the socialist system has become a world force but still contains survivals of the old views, egoistic and similar tendencies, it can happen that a country that has taken the socialist path may (because of specific internal circumstances) be tempted to use the forces of socialism not only for its own defense, but in order to achieve aims that have nothing in common with socialism" (p. 59).

Kardelj again, as befits a revisionist, tries to gloss over this smear by lauding an abstract socialism which he declares to be synonymous with peace. But in the very next breath he takes a swipe at the concrete, living socialist society, accusing it of all the deadly sins—egoistic nationalism, official bureaucracy, and political and ideological great-power hegemonism or monopolism — and attributing to it antagonistic contradictions, a striving to impose backward political forms on advanced countries, and, to top it all, the possibility of this socialist society waging an unjust war. Yes, this is not a misprint, it is written in black and white, an *unjust* war!

Most amazing is that Kardelj tries to give substance to this figment of the imagination by referring to the classics of Marxism. "The classics of Marxism," he writes, "did not exclude the possibility of a socialist country waging an unjust war" (p. 105). Resorting to outright trickery, he tries to bolster his argument by quoting the following passage from Lenin: "The proletariat does not become a saint guaranteed against errors and weaknesses only because it has made the social

revolution. But the possible mistakes (and selfish interests — attempts to ride on somebody else's back) are bound to make it conscious of this truth."

What did Lenin mean by this? In his *Summary of the Discussion on Self-Determination*, from which Kardelj takes the above quotation, Lenin upholds the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to secede, the right of nations to form independent states. In this connection Lenin rejected any "export" of revolution and emphasized that any attempt to impose "happiness" on other peoples would undermine the victory of the proletariat. These words were written in 1916, *before* the victory of the Socialist Revolution, with a view to working out a correct proletarian policy after victory. Today socialism has accumulated rich experience which has shown that Marx and Lenin were right when they said that only the socialist revolution and the victory of socialism would bring the peoples peace and peaceful co-existence, that the policy of peace is as inseparable from socialism as the policy of aggression is inseparable from imperialism. Nevertheless, Kardelj, ignoring this historical experience, tries to equate the possibility of mistakes with the possibility of socialism unleashing war. This is all the more strange since Kardelj himself admits (pp. 118, 119) that not a single war has ever been started by the socialist countries.

This is not the end of Kardelj's vilification of socialism. "It would be a mistake to think," he says, "that because a country takes the way of socialism it thereby eliminates the possibility of differences and even *antagonistic contradictions arising*" (p. 8; my italics—A.R.), which can lead to wars *between* the socialist countries!

Kardelj ties himself into knots in his endeavor to back up this outrageous allegation. Aware that Lenin always emphasized the absence of antagonisms in socialism, he sets about to "correct" Lenin. He holds that in a socialist society contradictions "are resolved not necessarily as antagonistic ones" (p. 187), although "some contradictions may acquire even an antagonistic character" (pp. 8, 188). It would be ridiculous to assume, Kardelj scoffs, that under socialism people become such intellectual giants as to be automatically endowed with the exceptional faculty of divining the truth (p. 186), endowed with super-human wisdom (p. 187). And further, people have the same vices under socialism as under capitalism, in particular, egois-

tic tendencies (p. 104). Here Kardelj, to all intents and purposes, shares the view of those bourgeois sociologists who explain one or another policy not by the objective conditions determined by the basis of a society, but by the subjective qualities of people.

We do not think that Kardelj is unacquainted with the Marxist view on socialism as the first stage of the communist social formation. Socialism, as is generally known, does not spring from a base of its own, which accounts for the "birthmarks" it inherits from the old, capitalist society. What Kardelj tries to pass off as something arising from the socialist system are mostly these "birthmarks" of capitalism, which are discarded, as Lenin said, with the transition to complete communism. But this is not the main thing. The main thing is that Kardelj tries to represent the mistakes, shortcomings and deviations that crop up in the course of socialist development as its basic characteristic, as the law governing it, whereas they are only tendencies of limited scope. He magnifies the egoism of individuals into the egoism of entire socialist countries. And from here it is only a step to conjuring up contradictions between the selfish, narrow, national interests of these countries and, hence, to the allegation that the socialist countries are potential initiators of all kinds of antagonisms, conflicts, even wars. "No socialist country," Kardelj says, "becomes automatically immune to selfish tendencies and actions simply because it is a socialist country." These tendencies "may find expression also in the foreign policy of a given socialist country, and all the more so in the relations between nations at a time when neither egoistic nationalism nor great-power hegemonism have been completely relegated to the past." From this Kardelj concludes that one socialist country can wage an unjust war against another socialist country.

In order to give a semblance of objectivity to these reactionary fabrications, Kardelj, without blushing, continues: "Practice has confirmed that such things are not precluded" (p. 105). What practice? It turns out the reference is to what he terms the "baiting" of Yugoslavia, meaning criticism by the Communist and Workers' parties, especially in connection with the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists, of the revisionist distortions of the League. Kardelj the "dialectician," however, draws his conclusions not from reality but from the kind of "abstract possibilities" ridiculed by Hegel long ago. If one takes a thing out of context and examines

it in the abstract, "the most absurd and senseless things can be regarded as possible," Hegel said. As an example he mentioned the abstract possibility of the moon falling down onto the earth.

People with a predilection for expatiating on pointless possibilities of this order in the political sphere are often referred to as "beer parlor politicians." And Kardelj, who speculates throughout his book on the possibility of a socialist country waging a war of aggression, is definitely one of their kidney. The socialist country is a country, he reasons, and countries go to war with one another. Hence, in the abstract, a war of this kind is also possible. But nobody has ever seen a war of this kind, not even Kardelj, nor will he, because he is dealing here with socialist countries, i.e., countries guided not by subjective emotions but a collective, scientific knowledge of reality, countries to which war is alien by virtue of their socialist nature. One should base oneself not on empty abstractions but on the real relationships, on tangible reality, and on practice, to which Kardelj refers in vain, since practical experience speaks against him.

Is Kardelj really blind to the fact that although controversial issues can, and do, arise between the socialist countries, that although dogmatic and revisionist tendencies may appear, they are overcome by patient, steady, collective discussion, not by war. Above all, relations between the socialist countries are marked by solidarity, unity, and, on this basis, consolidation and development of their combined might, which is essential to satisfy the requirements of the people, ensure work, the wherewithal for a decent life and all-round development of the personality.

The point, of course, is not that Kardelj is blind. He clearly needs these "new theories" in order "theoretically" to substantiate the policy of the Yugoslav League of Communists. For it is hardly mere chance that precisely at this time—when the international communist movement as a whole and the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries in particular are stressing the exceptional importance of the unity of the communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist camp, and are bending every effort to ensure this unity and solidarity—Kardelj should counterpose to this the thesis of freedom *from* unity, freedom *from* international obligations, freedom *from* joint responsibility for the destinies of world socialism, with emphasis on the need for "freedom of socialist ways of development."

It goes without saying that the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist countries are free to choose their own way of socialist development, but this in no way runs counter to the principle of unity and solidarity. On the contrary, it is precisely the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and the entire communist movement, adherence to the common principles of Marxism-Leninism and defense of proletarian internationalism that enable them to take full cognizance of the social and historical conditions specific to their countries. On the basis of this organic unity the correct answers can be found to questions raised by everyday life and the most expedient and, consequently, genuinely free ways of socialist development charted.

Thus, Kardelj begins with a smokescreen of dithyrambs to Marxism and socialism and then sets to work to embellish imperialism, glossing over its contradictions and minimizing the threat it presents as the source of war. Inventing a changed nature for imperialism and whitewashing the real warmongers, he shifts the responsibility for another world war onto socialism, slanders the foreign policy of the socialist camp and declares socialism the breeding-ground of reactionary, unjust wars in general, including wars between the socialist countries, thereby declaring that there will always be wars. Such is the intrinsic anti-Marxist logic of Kardelj's analysis of the question of war and peace.

* * *

The socialist camp is true to Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence of diametrically opposed social and economic systems. Kardelj, however, claims that the idea as such "is not a socialist invention" (p. 131), that it was conceived long ago, and that the only new element in it "in the present epoch" is "the emergence of a socialist society" (p. 131). Here, too, Kardelj remains faithful to his quantitative approach. If the old pacifist idea of peaceful coexistence once embraced the capitalist and the pre-capitalist countries, now the socialist countries have been added. What could be simpler! So the idea, entirely new in principle, that accompanied the rise of socialist society, is something Kardelj sees fit to ignore.

What Lenin advanced was not the pacifist idea of the peaceful coexistence of nations in general, but the new concept of *peaceful coexistence of systems* diametrically opposed to each other as a *basis* capable of really ensuring peace among all nations. Lenin did not close his eyes (as Kardelj does) to the aggressive essence of imperialism, nor did

he claim that its nature could be changed, that its contradictions could be softened and ironed out. He always stressed that these contradictions existed and were bound to grow. Lenin did not close his eyes to the irreconcilable antagonism inherent in the contradiction between socialism and capitalism or to the ever-present danger of the imperialists attacking the socialist world. Yet, despite this, it was Lenin who advanced the idea of peaceful coexistence of differing social and economic systems.

According to Lenin, peaceful coexistence is both necessary and possible, and not merely as a short-term proposition (an interval between two wars), but as a lasting one precluding war as a means of solving disputes between nations. Nor was the idea advanced because capitalism was still strong, because peaceful coexistence was a safeguard for socialism. "No, we do not need war in general," N. S. Khrushchov has said. Lenin did not plead with the imperialists for peaceful coexistence as a beggar might ask for alms; he *demand*ed it for the sake of humanity, pointing out that with each step of history other outlets would, in growing measure, be closed to capitalism.

Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence rests on a solid material foundation, not on pipe dreams. First and foremost it is based on the existence of the socialist system, a system which eschews aggression, and on the conviction that imperialism cannot defeat socialism either by economic pressure or by war. Imperialism has tried these means repeatedly, and each time it has suffered defeat. Peaceful coexistence derives its reality from the very essence of the socialist system and from its objective and subjective conditions. It is real because of the economic and political might of the socialist camp and the superiority of socialism over capitalism, a superiority which is becoming increasingly manifest as time goes on. The policy of the socialist countries is a policy of peace, a policy of the working people themselves, a frank and open policy that strips the imperialist policy of preparing new wars of its curtain of secrecy. These, then, are the solid grounds for enlisting the broad masses all over the world to fight actively to prevent war and strengthen peace, and, by so doing, to transform the idea of peaceful coexistence into a material social force.

The overwhelming majority of people, with the exception of the imperialist magnates who rule the capitalist world, want peaceful co-

existence of the two opposed systems, for coexistence is the guarantee of world peace.

Working for peaceful coexistence, the socialist camp urges the world not to erect barriers between the systems (in point of fact, this is out of the question in our day), and not to strive "amicably" to share "spheres of influence" in conformity with the existing correlation of forces. The peaceful coexistence it proposes implies a *peaceful competition* in developing the productive forces, subjugating nature with a view to maximum satisfaction of the vital requirements of all people, development of their personality and creation of truly human conditions for all. Moreover, socialism offers capitalism mutually advantageous, non-discriminatory trade, extension of disinterested aid to the underdeveloped countries, and cultural, scientific and technical exchanges without any interference in the internal affairs of any country. Socialism is confident of its strength, for the future belongs to it.

Peaceful coexistence presupposes, naturally, competition between antagonists, in other words, a specific form of class struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie, both organized in their respective states. And precisely because this is a struggle waged by a working class *already* organized as the state, it proceeds primarily in the sphere of constructive endeavor, not destruction. In the process of this struggle the proletariat organized as the state exerts its influence by the example it sets in construction. This is in the interests of the working class of the world, all working people, all progressive mankind. Hence, the working people in all countries want peaceful competition without military conflicts. Thanks to the growing might of the socialist world system, to the rise of the national-liberation movement and the increase in the number of countries that have got rid of colonial and semi-colonial dependence, thanks to the growth of the working-class movement in the capitalist world, which is stimulating the other progressive movements, it becomes possible in our time to prevent war and then, on the basis of the further radical consolidation and development of all the forces of peace, even to exclude war from the life of society; this may well take place in the immediate, visible future. The economic and political might of the socialist camp, its fraternal unity, solidarity, mutual aid and adherence to socialist internationalism in the inter-relations of its member countries, as well as eternal vigilance on the part of all the peoples and forces standing

for peace—these are the first and basic guarantee of peaceful competition and hence also of peaceful coexistence.

The most radical way to ensure peaceful competition is universal and complete disarmament, or at least, as an initial step, a ban on nuclear weapons, the use of which would jeopardize man's existence. Disarmament is essential because the nature of imperialism is such that it is capable of embarking on military adventure. In the conditions of today such a gamble would result in the downfall of imperialism, but the destruction caused throughout the world would be catastrophic. Marxists do not want to pay so high a price for the victory of socialism.

In his book, Kardelj, too, plumps for peaceful coexistence. But in speaking about it, he not only denies that there is anything new in this Leninist idea; he does not even mention its class character. Why, then, describe this as a Marxist examination of the problem?

For Kardelj the gist of the idea of peaceful coexistence consists in "gradually overcoming the bloc barriers through the closest possible, mutual, bilateral and multilateral co-operation of the peoples belonging to the two social systems" (p. 134). Further on he formulates his idea thus: "Coexistence and peace will be the more stable, the more active the material and subjective factors of contemporary social progress which will multiply the forms of co-operation and contact among the peoples of the world and by so doing will, in growing measure, *produce an interweaving of their interests within the framework of a world economy and world development of the productive forces*" (p. 134; my italics—A.R.).

Kardelj's predilection for pseudo-scientific rhetoric is amazing. The clouds of words he spouts defy ordinary human understanding and simply befuddle the reader. For what he says reeks of pacifism pure and simple; more, it urges not competition between socialism and capitalism, but collaboration that would link the interests of both "within the framework of a world economy and world development of the productive forces" (p. 134). As Kardelj sees it, peaceful coexistence is tantamount to reconciliation with imperialism; why, he pleads, "upset a rich uncle" who is already feeble and sinking as it is. His advocacy of peaceful coexistence is all in the spirit of this concept of reconciliation, with the responsibility for another war laid at the door of the socialist camp, to which he refers only as a military bloc on a par with the bloc of the "non-socialist" countries, as he politely calls imperialism.

It goes without saying that competition between the two systems does not imply imposing socialism on other countries by force of arms. Kardelj quotes Khrushchov's Marxist-Leninist statement that "even such a noble and progressive system as socialism cannot be imposed on a people by force of arms if they do not want it. Consequently, the socialist countries, pursuing a consistent peace-loving policy, concentrate their efforts on peaceful construction and *by their example in building socialism capture the imagination of men and lead them onward*. The question of when one or another country will take the way of socialism is a question for the people themselves to decide. For us this is the most sacred of principles" (N. S. Khrushchov. *Speech delivered in Peking on the Tenth Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic*, Sept. 30, 1959; my italics—A.R.). Kardelj, however, refuses to see that the point here is of a new form of class struggle for socialism on the world arena, and not of a peaceful evolution of capitalism into socialism.

Kardelj declares that before taking a definite stand on one or another concept, one should establish, firstly, whether the particular concept really "springs from socialism and Marxism" (p. 11), and, secondly, "what will be the real historical effect of these concepts, that is, what are they in reality and whither will they lead, regardless of the interpretation of them by the authors" (p. 11).

If we apply these criteria to Kardelj's theory, we cannot avoid the conclusion that not only does it not spring from socialism and Marxism, it fundamentally contradicts them,

and runs counter to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. As regards the effects of his concepts, they serve anything but the cause of socialism. Vilification of the socialist camp, undermining proletarian internationalism and embellishment of imperialism have always served, and can only serve, the "high priests" of imperialism. For authoritative proof we need only turn to the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. In its report on ideology and foreign policy published this year, this committee reposed special hopes in the erosion of "the hard core" of ideology in the socialist camp and noted with satisfaction the developments in this direction "particularly" and "naturally"—in Yugoslavia! We shall not err if we say that Kardelj's sophistic "verbal dialectics" in the present book, too, is nothing but grovelling before the imperialists, and in particular the U.S. imperialists, whom, for understandable reasons, he does not even attempt to expose as aggressors responsible for the tension now gripping the world.

Experience has made it clear that any pseudo-Marxist effusion is always approved by the defenders of the moribund capitalist system. There is no need to go into bourgeois press comment on the present book. Suffice it to say that this press has welcomed it. If Kardelj really wanted to champion Marxism-Leninism, really wanted to serve the interests of socialism, he would think over what August Bebel once said: when the enemy praises you, stop and think where you have blundered. But Kardelj has not stopped to think. Things like this, obviously, do not worry him.

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Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba

Blas Roca

AUGUST 16 this year was for the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba both the Thirty-fifth anniversary of its foundation and the opening day of its Eighth National Congress.

The Party was founded on August 16, 1925, as the Communist Party of Cuba. In 1940, after merging with the Revolutionary Union Party, it became known as the Communist Revolutionary Union. And in 1944, with a view to drawing into its ranks some people from the trade unions — an attempt which, however, did not produce results — it adopted its present name, Popular Socialist Party.

In the 35 years since its inception, the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Cuban working class has had its successes and its setbacks, has carried out a correct line and has committed mistakes; it has fought against three tyrannies and worked underground through two long periods totalling nineteen years. It has been subjected to repression, it has worked legally and has conducted parliamentary struggle; it has participated in two revolutions, and has lost in battle many of its most popular leaders and rank-and-file members and, in the course of all this, has built up a solid core of steeled and well-trained leaders and activists wholly devoted to the Party.

The National Congress brought together many of the old leaders and veterans of the Party and its younger forces, all of whom were guided by one basic resolve — to defend the revolution and to advance it. They were united by loyalty to the invincible teaching of Marx and Lenin.

The Eighth Congress was called upon to deal with important issues, to sum up the activity of the Party from 1952 to 1960. This was a long, hard and complex period of the semi-colonial Batista dictatorship, and of the rise and triumph of the anti-Batista and anti-imperialist revolution. The Congress also was to assess the present situation, outline activity for the Party and make changes in its program and rules.

As the Congress showed, the line of the Party and its activity were, on the whole,

correct throughout this period. The Popular Socialist Party, the first to expose the Batista coup the day it happened, March 10, 1952, took an uncompromising stand against it. It spurned the idea of adapting itself to the Batista regime or of seeking agreement with it.

The Party resisted the Batista coup and regime not merely for formal considerations. It declared:

1. that the coup had been conceived, prepared and inspired by the U.S. imperialists who wanted a "strong" government in Cuba which would restrain the working people, implement without delay the so-called Truslow Plan*, make further concessions to the imperialists, and retard the development of the democratic and popular forces;

2. that the coup marked the culminating point in the return to power of those forces and social groups that had partially lost it in 1933. It again placed absolute power in the hands of the imperialist companies and monopolies, the latifundists, usurers, big importers, etc., and their most reactionary, terrorist and unprincipled political spokesmen;

3. that the regime set up by the coup would, in contrast to its demagogy, pursue an anti-national, anti-popular and anti-working class policy.

The Party counterposed to the coup a far-reaching program aimed at a democratic solution of the Cuban crisis. It opposed all tendencies to reduce the program of anti-Batista struggle to demands for formal changes, as advanced by the bourgeois leaders who advocated a "return to constitutional institutions," "a neutral government," and so on.

The Party pointed out that to solve the Cuban crisis which had been aggravated in the extreme by the coup, it was necessary completely to restore national sovereignty and abolish imperialist domination; to em-

*A plan drawn up by a mission of experts headed by Truslow, of the USA, which was sent to Cuba by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It provided for the granting of new concessions and privileges to foreign companies in Cuba and the implementation of a number of anti-democratic measures—Ed.

bark on an agrarian reform which would do away with the semi-feudal latifundia and give the land to the peasants; to begin industrialization with the object of putting an end to the semi-colonial structure of the economy; to aid the unemployed; to conduct an independent foreign policy in the spirit of José Martí aimed at establishing friendly relations and trade with all countries, including the socialist countries, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence; to abolish racial discrimination against the Negroes; to restore civil liberties, including workers' rights; to further working-class unity and trade union democracy; to reorganize the armed forces into a safeguard for the country and the people and, lastly, to work for a government of the National Democratic Front which would give effect to these measures.

Hence the Party was opposed to any agreement between the Batista government and the bourgeois opposition, for this would simply create the illusion that things had been put right.

The consistent advocacy of a democratic solution to the crisis and the resistance to all compromise, to all superficial solutions, were of great importance in the struggle against the dictatorship. They prevented the bourgeois leaders from paralyzing the masses and helped to radicalize the revolutionary struggle against the Batista clique.

The Party steadfastly worked for unity of action between all forces, all parties and organizations opposed to the tyranny. Yet it never ceased frankly and openly to criticize the attitude and program of the bourgeois leaders and their overt or covert resistance to unity.

The Party consistently developed mass struggles for political aims as well as for immediate economic demands. After the beginning of the armed struggle, it stressed the need to develop both forms of struggle: armed action by the army of insurrection and peaceful action by the workers, peasants and other sections in areas outside the theatre of hostilities. The combination of the two forms hastened the overthrow of the dictatorship, because the hatred expressed by the masses for it played an enormous role in breaking the morale of its professional army of mercenaries.

The Party believed that the growing mass struggle would develop into an all-embracing and protracted general strike leading to the fall of the tyranny. In 1953 we also pointed out that, in the conditions of the Batista dictatorship, the mass struggle could grow into

armed action or a popular armed uprising. In April 1958 a general strike, backed by the armed struggle then under way in the Sierra Maestra, could have led to the overthrow of the dictatorship had not the united front been sabotaged and wrong methods used by some people.

Although we had foreseen and had pointed to the need for armed struggle, we had done practically nothing to prepare it. This was our mistake. It is to the everlasting credit of Fidel Castro that he attended precisely to this side of the question. Apropos of this, the Congress duly appraised the events of July 26, 1953, that is, the attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. Organized and led by Fidel Castro, it did not pursue the aim of seizing power by a coup. Its purpose was to give the signal for the revolution by distributing the arms captured in the barracks to the people. Although the Moncada operation failed to achieve its immediate purpose, its more distant results, together with other factors, built up into a strategic victory and the beginning of the following qualitative changes in the situation.

1. The attack on the Moncada Barracks and subsequent operations advanced to the political arena a new, young, revolutionary anti-imperialist group of leaders, who freed the masses from the influence of the old bourgeois leaders who advocated compromise and conciliation with imperialism. The fact that the new leadership — the leadership of the July 26 Movement — had replaced the conciliatory bourgeois leaders of the Party of the Cuban People (Orthodox) greatly influenced the development of the revolution both in breadth and depth.

2. The action showed that the idea of launching an armed struggle to overthrow the Batista dictatorship had caught on.

3. In the course of the revolutionary actions the dictatorship revealed its true face and, in order to cling to power, resorted to the most ruthless blood-letting.

Batista hoped that terror would force the people to their knees. Things, however, worked out differently. The fiercer the terror, the more ruthless the torture and the more brutal and cold-blooded the murders, the farther spread the struggle waged by the people, the bolder became the actions taken against the tyranny and the greater the resolve to overthrow it.

The moment the *Granma** landed its in-

*The schooner in which the small party of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro sailed from Mexico to Cuba in December 1956—Ed.

trepid handful of men on Cuban soil and gave the signal for guerrilla action, we launched intensive activity to tie the hands of the dictatorship and prevent it from overpowering the small band of twelve who had survived the initial attack against the group immediately after landing.

Thanks to their correct tactics and their program, the guerrillas were able to win and retain the support of the peasantry. On one occasion when a guerrilla group took arbitrary action against some peasants, it was arrested and disarmed by the army of the insurrection and its leader sentenced to death by a people's tribunal. The peasants saw for themselves that they could place their trust in the rebel forces.

The armed struggle which by the end of 1958 had swept the entire island, put an end to the Batista tyranny. The North American imperialists and their accomplices sought first and foremost to preserve the professional army, and to replace the dictatorship with a moderate, "neutral," non-revolutionary, "transitional" government.

Both the Popular Socialist Party and the insurgent army rejected the plan for a junta headed by Colonel Barquin, leader of the group of army officers who, with the blessing of the U.S. Embassy, resisted Batista. The United National Workers' Front and Fidel Castro called for a general strike in protest against this maneuver. For four days the strike paralyzed the country and in the meantime the rebel army entered Havana and took possession of all military installations there without a single shot being fired. Thus the revolution not only defeated the dictatorship but also foiled the U.S. imperialist attempts to replace it with another subservient government.

For our Party *defense of the revolution and its further development* became the basic task. Defense of the revolution cannot be separated from its development. In reply to the attacks of reaction, the revolution must assume a still more radical character; in reply to the attacks of imperialism, it must become even more anti-imperialist.

A revolutionary government was established without the agency or interference of the North American imperialists. This is a government wielding power exclusively thanks to the struggle waged by the people and is, consequently, in a position to carry out the program of measures which Cuba needs.

At first the country experienced a kind of dual rule, with administrative functions exercised both by the revolutionary power, as represented by the rebel army and its recognized leader Fidel Castro, and the provisional government, which enjoyed formal authority. In this government the Right-wing elements had the upper hand, and among them such compromisers and saboteurs as President Urrutia, Foreign Minister Roberto Agramonte, Prime Minister Miro Cardona. In the rebel army, on the other hand, the Left, openly anti-imperialist elements, resolute and honest revolutionaries, played the leading role. Because of this, the imperialist agents tried to drive the insurgent army into the barracks on the pretext of defending civilian institutions from "militarism."

Our Party saw through this maneuver at once. It exposed the hypocrisy of declaring as "militaristic" the rebel forces consisting of peasants, workers, office employees and professionals who had taken to arms in order to overthrow the dictatorship and resolutely demanded that full political rights be granted to all members of the rebel army, including the right to enter the government and occupy any civil post.

At the same time the Party pointed to the need to unite the revolutionary power with the provisional government, to clear the government of the saboteurs and conciliators, and to bring into the government the active elements, who wanted to advance the revolution. Realization of these aims began the moment Fidel Castro became Prime Minister in February 1959. As the revolution progressed, the conciliators and saboteurs gradually left the government.

All the revolutionaries had upheld the 1940 Constitution* against the attempts by the dictatorship to amend it to suit its reactionary ends. Now, however, after the victory of the revolution and restoration of the Constitution, it became necessary to amend it so as to further the realization of the revolutionary objectives. With the support of the people, the revolutionary government began to introduce amendments favoring the liberation aims of the revolution.

Despite the machinations, threats, vilification and aggressive acts on the part of the North American imperialists and the counter-revolutionaries and traitors who are their servile accomplices, the revolution has been developing steadily.

*The Constitution adopted in 1940 was democratic and progressive.—Ed.

The character of the Cuban revolution is a question that has given rise to more speculation and campaigns to sow confusion than any other problem. The imperialists and the counter-revolutionaries claim that the revolution is a communist one and resort to anti-communist slander as their strongest "argument" in favor of suppressing it by the most criminal and foul methods. Others who sympathize with the revolution but cannot muster enough courage to oppose imperialism and the exploiting oligarchy, describe it in various ways, some even claiming it is something unique.

Obviously, the nature of a revolution does not depend on the label attached to it, but for all that we must have clarity on the subject. Our National Congress endorsed the viewpoint of the plenary meetings of the National Committee of the Party in May 1959, which defined the Cuban revolution as a patriotic and democratic, national-liberation and agrarian, a popular, progressive revolution. Hence, it is an anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist revolution, which employs radical methods and is steadfastly moving ahead. The Cuban revolution has not yet reached the socialist stage, but neither does it foster the growth of capitalism. All basic economic development is taking place under the control and leadership of the revolutionary state, with the aid of government investment.

Today the hegemony of the bourgeoisie is a thing of the past in Cuba. At the beginning of the revolution the Right wing of the petty bourgeoisie was the dominant force in the government; it pursued a bourgeois policy and was inclined to paralyze the revolution. It was intent on sowing dissension in the revolutionary camp, resorting more and more to anti-communism in order to curry favor with the imperialists. The object was to enter into a deal with imperialism on the basis of anti-communism and an anti-Soviet policy. This Right-wing domination meant disunity. And disunity would mean the defeat of the revolution.

Subsequent developments and the changes that took place in the government helped the Left elements to gain preponderance. Hegemony passed to the Left, radical wing of the petty bourgeoisie. And the Left forces — and among these we include, besides the radical wing of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the working class and the poor and middle peasantry — do not ask imperialism for "permission" but foil all its efforts to re-establish its rule. The Left wants to advance the revolution, not to paralyze it.

That is why they want a solid alliance with all who support the revolution in one or another degree. Predominance of the Left signifies unity. And unity, in turn, is one of the essential prerequisites for victory.

The role of the working class has grown steadily with the march of the revolution. It is purging its trade union movement of the Mujalists* and traitors and entrusting the leadership to revolutionaries, sincere and devoted supporters of unity. It is in the forefront in sacrifice and in the fight for agrarian reform, for industrialization, and other revolutionary goals. The working class is raising its political and ideological level and deepening its revolutionary consciousness.

Becoming increasingly aware of its historical role in the revolution, the working class is joining forces with other sections of the population, building a close and lasting alliance with the peasantry and all other working people. Herein lies the guarantee of the defense of the revolution and its further development.

The Eighth Congress singled out the following six basic features of the Cuban revolution which explain its radical character, its rapid rate of development and its steady advance:

1. The revolution was victorious as a result of armed action by the rebel army, which made it possible completely to destroy the military machine of the dictatorship and to organize armed forces of a new type — popular, revolutionary armed forces. The rebel army is a force making for progress and not a brake on it. It is the safeguard of the revolution, not a threat to it.

2. The revolution smashed the semi-colonial and tyrannical state machinery and created a revolutionary state.

The Batista government, the congress, the political parties which supported the dictator or formed an "opposition" inspired by him, the provincial and municipal authorities, the organs of political repression, the trade union leadership imposed by force or deception — all these and other elements of the old rule were dissolved or destroyed. Of the mainstays of the reactionary semi-colonial rule of the oppressors, only the machinery of the so-called judicial branch and the Supreme Court have remained and are continuing to create difficulties and obstacles for the revolution, especially in carrying out the agrarian reform, nationalizing imperialist-owned enter-

*Mujal—corrupt trade union leader forced on the workers during the Batista tyranny—Ed.

prises, and in effecting other social and economic changes. Thanks to the existence of revolutionary tribunals, which are not under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, this machinery has not been able to interfere in cases concerning war crimes and the majority of cases involving counter-revolutionaries.

Instead of the old state machine a new one has been established. Together with the President, the Council of Ministers wields executive, legislative and constitutional powers. Commissioners have been delegated to the provincial and municipal governments. New, revolutionary security forces have been formed to expose and crush counter-revolutionary conspiracies. Only the revolutionary organizations supported by the masses are able to function normally. This makes it possible to work out and implement revolutionary measures speedily and with assurance.

3. The revolution overthrew the reactionary ruling classes and placed the popular and revolutionary classes in power.

4. The revolution put an end to the political domination of North American imperialism in Cuba. The revolutionary government restored and is steadfastly safeguarding national sovereignty. Only a government completely independent of imperialism and not subordinated to it can advance the revolution and carry out its political, economic and social aims. The Cuban revolution is a genuine, radical and effective revolution inasmuch as the revolutionary government is combating imperialism and not seeking agreement with it.

This feature is of exceptional significance for all Latin American countries. The victory of the Cuban revolution over North American imperialism has shattered the myth of geographic fatalism, the omnipotence of U.S. imperialism, the impossibility of running and developing Latin American economy without the "aid" and "patronage" of the United States, and the similar theories on which flunkey governments and leaders of the conciliatory wing of the bourgeoisie fall back in order to justify their subservience to U.S. imperialism.

5. The Cuban revolution is taking place at a time when the alignment of forces on the world arena has turned against imperialism, a time when the socialist camp is growing, expanding and gaining in strength, while the camp of imperialism is shrinking and losing strength. This is a guarantee for the Cuban revolution, because the socialist camp is op-

posed to imperialist aggression and renders voluntary and effective assistance to Cuba.

6. The revolutionary forces have rallied solidly behind the revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro. If the revolutionary forces and organizations were at loggerheads with one another, if they were divided — whatever the pretext for dissension, anti-communism or any other — the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries would gain the upper hand. So long as the revolutionary forces preserve their unity, the revolution is invincible.

Who are the friends and who the enemies of the Cuban revolution?

Within the country the basic forces clashing in the course of the revolution are the following:

On the side of the revolution are the workers, poor and middle peasants and the radical sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The rich peasants, as well as certain upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns, are wavering and hesitate to support the revolution, while some of them oppose it and join the counter-revolution, even though the revolution, far from threatening their interests, accords them a number of privileges. The national bourgeoisie is even more wavering. It is aware of the direct advantages accruing to it from the revolution, but at the same time it trembles at its progress.

On the side of the counter-revolution are the former latifundists, the imperialist companies, monopolies, parasitic businessmen, big importers, usurers, and all the corrupt lackeys of the dictatorship and men who turned its crimes to their private profit. Long as the list is, these elements nevertheless are only a tiny handful. Ninety per cent of all Cubans side with the revolution.

Outside the country enemy No. 1 of the Cuban revolution is North American imperialism, which inspires, heads and supports all the efforts to apply the brakes to the revolution, to sidetrack it or defeat it. Cuba's other enemies are the tyrants, anti-democratic oligarchies and belly-crawling puppet rulers in Latin America, Franco in Spain, Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, the Organization of American States and other bodies set up under the aegis of the official, hypocritical theory of Pan-Americanism which serves only the oppressors.

The friends of the Cuban revolution abroad are the Latin American people, the working

people of the whole world, including the most exploited and politically conscious part of the population of the United States, the Afro-Asian countries that have won freedom from colonialism or are fighting for their independence, and the socialist countries of Europe and Asia headed by the Soviet Union. The peace-loving forces of the entire world are on Cuba's side.

The forces of the Cuban revolution are infinitely stronger than its enemies both within and without the country. Because of this, notwithstanding our unfavorable geographical location, and despite the sabre-rattling, the crude threats and the criminal aggression on the part of the North American imperialists, we have solid grounds for our motto "We shall win!"

The unity of the Cuban people, rapid economic development, the strength of the rebel army, the organization, training and arming a workers' and peasants' militia, the growing revolutionary consciousness, the firmness of the revolutionary government and the unwavering resolve of all Cubans never to bow before the North American aggressors, whatever the sacrifices may be, the resolve expressed in the slogan "the homeland or death!" — these are the internal prerequisites of victory.

The militant solidarity of the Latin American peoples, manifested in increasing measure in all fraternal countries, is highly important in restraining the military aggression, unilateral or collective, which the North American imperialists are plotting. The countries of Asia and Africa, too, exert a moral pressure which has to be reckoned with. Inasmuch as the United States is posing before them as an anti-colonialist, Washington is forced to act with caution in face of Afro-Asian solidarity with Cuba.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Council, the International Students' Union, the Women's International Democratic Federation and other organizations of working people and peace fighters are carrying the truth about the Cuban revolution to the most distant corners of the world. This makes for growing solidarity with Cuba everywhere and exerts strong pressure on the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The solidarity of the socialist countries is of decisive importance to the Cuban revolution both economically and in the matter of preventing open U.S. military aggression. The help extended by the Soviet Union when the oil monopolies ganged up to deprive us of

fuel, safeguarded us against a disastrous situation in our economic and social life. The USSR made available to us all the oil we need at a price that enables us to save \$35 million already this year. When the United States cut its sugar quota for Cuba by 856,000 tons, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic bought 1,200,000 tons of sugar. This was a heavy defeat for the imperialists who, through their criminal aggression, aimed at causing hunger, unemployment and despair. Moreover, the trade, technical and cultural agreements concluded with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries play an important role in strengthening the Cuban economy, in accelerating the industrialization plans and the transition to diversified agriculture. The warning issued by Comrade Khrushchov to the United States to refrain from open military intervention against Cuba, or otherwise the Soviet Union may find it necessary to use its rockets to meet such criminal aggression, compelled the Pentagon and the State Department to retreat, and serves as a firm guarantee of Cuba's integrity, sovereignty and independence.

Through its own resolve and with the solidarity of other peoples, Cuba will repel any attack the U.S. imperialists may make and will continue its onward march. This was fully demonstrated by the Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party.

The Congress pointed to the progress made in carrying out the agrarian reform, e.g., the abolition of rent formerly exacted either in money or kind from the poor peasants; the issue of the title-deeds to the land to 20,000 farmers; the formation of 620 co-operatives of sugar-cane growers uniting more than 125,000 agricultural laborers; the opening of a network of "people's stores"; construction of modern homes for the peasants and farm laborers, and subsidies for building 10,000 elementary schools, primarily in remote rural areas.

Note was also taken of the extension of state ownership in industry. State ownership now embraces properties confiscated from Batista and his accomplices who accumulated wealth illegally, as well as from counter-revolutionaries who were convicted of crimes; enterprises expropriated from the North American imperialists; enterprises built with state funds derived from the four per cent contribution from their wages made by workers to promote industrialization, as well

as enterprises confiscated after their owners had fled the country. The state will also own the enterprises that will be built by the credits granted by the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. State-owned property acts as a powerful lever in economic planning and in rapid industrialization which will ensure our economic independence.

The National Congress stressed that defense of the revolution and its further advancement are the basic tasks. To ensure fulfillment of these tasks it proclaimed four basic slogans: unity, production, defense, consciousness.

The National Congress was in itself an example of the growing unity of the revolutionary forces. It was visited by delegations from the July 26 Movement, the Revolutionary Directorate, the Confederation of Cuban Working People and other revolutionary organizations.

The Congress, which was attended by some thirty delegations from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, was also an impressive demonstration of international solidarity. Many parties which were unable to send delegations voiced their solidarity in messages of greetings. The delegations from the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties made a tour of the country, visiting co-operatives, schools and factories. Some of their members appeared on radio and television and took part in meetings which testified to the role of pro-

letarian internationalism as a guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of countries repulsing imperialist attacks.

Special attention was devoted by the Congress to the key question of deepening revolutionary consciousness and popularizing Marxist-Leninist ideology and principles.

The Congress adopted the new Party program, which sets forth the basic lines of its activity and the most important steps that will have to be taken to complete the national-liberation and agrarian stage of the Cuban revolution. The program also examines briefly the conditions essential for the transition of the revolution to its socialist stage. The Congress also approved amendments to the Rules; it reaffirmed the specific features of the revolutionary party and the Leninist principles on which its organizational principles and activity are based, so that the Party should be able to play the important role that belongs to it in developing the revolution.

The decisions adopted by the Congress give a clear perspective to our Party and to all the revolutionary forces. They will help to consolidate unity and co-operation among the revolutionary organizations, help to rally the workers, peasants, office employees, professionals, students, small property owners and other popular forces. This is needed in order to carry out the historic tasks of the Cuban revolution.

The Peasant Movement in France and the Work of the Party in the Countryside

Waldeck Rochet

THE end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960 were marked by big peasant protest demonstrations in France. On April 7, 1960, meetings sponsored by the National Federation of Agricultural Unions and attended by 400,000 peasants were held throughout the country. This is a substantial figure indeed, considering that France has a total of 2,100,000 farmers.

As regards the social composition of the French peasantry, official statistics indicate that 1,800,000 holdings, or 85 per cent of the total, are worked exclusively by the holders' families. The overall figure includes 500,000 farmers and métayers who rent the land they till. There are, of course, big capitalist farmers who employ hired labor, but the majority are small and middle farmers. Yet, large though the number of these small and middle peasants still is in France, they all depend in growing measure on the capitalist market and are subject to its laws.

Lastly, according to the latest census (1956), there are 600,000 permanent and about 300,000 seasonal agricultural laborers.

A deep dissatisfaction is to be observed now among all these sections of the French peasantry. The reason lies primarily in the deterioration of the economic situation as a result of the policy imposed on the country by big monopolies and implemented by the de Gaulle government.

I. Peasant Conditions

The gap between the prices of the manufactured goods needed in the countryside and the prices paid for farm produce widened in 1959. Manufactures went up by 10.6 per cent, while farm prices declined on an average by 5-6 per cent. As a result, the peasants found it harder than ever to balance their budgets. This is borne out by the growth of farm indebtedness. In one year, from the end of 1958 to the end of 1959, the overall peasant debt to the agricultural credit bank

(Crédit Agricole) rose from 839,000 million francs to 994,000 million, or by more than 150,000 million.

The "regeneration" promised by de Gaulle has boiled down to financial and economic measures which, at the end of 1958, wiped out most of the guarantees the peasantry had won in the course of long years of persistent struggle.

The government abolished the price index system which had guaranteed a certain, if considerably smaller, increase in farm produce prices when manufactured goods went up. It also reduced the discount allowed on the purchase price of agricultural implements from 15 to 10 per cent, and abolished it completely on the hand implements on which the small peasants rely. Taxes on wine were doubled or trebled and a decree was issued allowing many forms of rent to be raised. Credits earmarked for the purchase of agricultural equipment were curtailed. In line with the "liberalization" of trade and the Common Market policy, the government began to import agricultural produce in order to keep prices below those of manufactured goods.

All strata of the peasantry, including the rich farmers who, it will be remembered, played their part in establishing one-man rule in the country, took part in the protest movement against government policy, although it is the small and middle peasants who have been hit hardest. Participation in the protest movement by the big rural capitalists and rich farmers, who sought to assume the leadership and carry the small peasants with them, is explained by the fact that government policy placed them at a disadvantage as compared with the industrial capitalists, even if they could not be said to be badly off. Due to mechanization and the use of a smaller labor force they have been able to reduce production costs considerably in the past fifteen years. In fact they have cut costs en-

ough to make a substantial profit even with existing government or market prices. The small peasants are in a different position: labor productivity on their holdings is much lower and production costs considerably higher than those on the big farms since the small peasant cannot make efficient use of machinery.

Inasmuch as the market prices are the same for all, the big farms can operate at a substantial profit whereas the small peasants cannot ensure themselves even a decent subsistence level.

II. The Monopoly Offensive Against the Small Peasantry

The process of squeezing out the small peasant has been going on in France for a long time now. Between 1892 and 1956, something like 1,300,000 small farms disappeared, and of these 800,000 between 1929 and 1956. About 80,000 peasants leave the land each year to become proletarians or farm laborers. This process is reflected in the decline in the acreage cultivated by the small peasants and in the increase in the size of the holdings of the rich farmers and big agricultural capitalists.

Thus, 1,100,000 small peasant farms (up to ten hectares) total only 5,255,000 hectares, whereas the area of farms ranging from 20 to 50 hectares grew from 9,800,000 hectares in 1929 to 11,200,000 in 1956. The total area of farms of more than 50 hectares (which number only 94,000) has grown from 7,618,000 to 8,200,000 hectares. This shows that the basic laws of capitalism discovered by Marx and Engels operate alike in both industry and agriculture. In either case the small man is being ousted by the big producer.

What is new is that in recent times the process of squeezing out the small farmer and of concentration in agriculture has greatly intensified. This is the result not only of the objective laws of economic development under capitalism. It is also a matter of the government of the monopolies contributing ever more actively to concentration in agriculture.

The monopolies, anxious to secure cheap labor power, openly advocate the elimination of small farms, which they regard as an obstacle in the way of reducing the cost of agricultural produce.

This is the purport also of the "agricultural orientation" law submitted by the government and enacted in July 1960. Under this law the government (on the pretext of

"changing the structure of agriculture" and modernizing it by creating farms big enough to yield an adequate profit) can define by decree the minimum area regarded normal from the standpoint of rational employment of capital and machinery. The law stipulates that government aid, whatever its form, will be extended only to farms which have reached or exceeded this minimum. At the moment the Crédit Agricole issues loans for the purchase of tractors only to farms of 19 hectares and upwards. On the strength of the law discriminatory measures of this kind can be taken against small peasants in all spheres of farm production. This means that farms with an acreage below the government minimum are doomed.

It is not a question, of course, of the immediate physical abolition of small farms. The point is that because of growing economic pressure the smallholders will be forced to give up the land themselves.

Moreover, the law provides for the establishment of "land reconstruction societies." The object of these will be to take possession of the ruined peasants' holdings and to turn them over to producers who meet the requirements of the decree.

The aim of the monopolies is clear. They want to do away with hundreds of thousands of smallholdings and to sponsor large farms, while preserving for the time being the middle peasants whose future is anything but bright.

According to official estimates, it is anticipated that some 800,000 peasant farms will become bankrupt within the next 10 years. What is in store for the people driven off their land? Will they be given work elsewhere? The law is silent on this score. After all, questions like these do not concern the capitalist monopolies and the government.

For a long time bourgeois politicians of varying party affiliation have been deceiving the peasants by spreading the lie that the Communists want to take their land away from them. Today the working peasants can see for themselves that in reality the expropriator is the de Gaulle government, supported by all the bourgeois parties.

What is our Party's stand on this question?

The government and the parties backing it claim that since the small peasants do not have enough land to till it efficiently, it would be to their advantage to give it up. True enough, the small peasants do not have enough land. But we Communists draw from this entirely different conclusions than the capitalists and the politicians serving them.

We say: "Instead of taking the land away from the small peasants and giving it to the big farmers, the reverse should be done, that is, an agrarian reform should be effected under which the land of the rentier landlords and exploiters would be handed over to the landless or land-hungry peasants."

The agrarian program of the Communist Party calls for precisely this. Underlying it is the principle: "The land must belong to those who till it."

The government also points to the need to increase agricultural production and to employ machinery more widely and declares this can be done only through large-scale capitalist farming.

True enough, small peasant farming does not allow of profitable use of machines and the latest farming methods. But it is also true — and this is most important — that under capitalism concentration of agriculture leads to the proletarianization, impoverishment and ruin of the majority of the peasants. And here, too, our conclusion is diametrically opposed to that drawn by the capitalists and the government.

The Party declares: "We Communists, more than any one else, stand for technological progress, but we want this progress to be in the interests of all and not just the minority. We are, therefore, working to replace capitalism by socialism, since socialism would enable all working peasants, who have become the masters of the land they till, to make extensive use of modern machinery and up-to-date farming in their own interests, freely joining in producers' co-operatives and enjoying the support of the socialist state." The proof that this is so can be seen from the example of the Soviet Union, where millions of machines of all kinds are used in agriculture.

But this is only part of our answer.

Yes, the future belongs to socialism. But we must not forget that today it is the capitalist monopolies that dominate France and that it is precisely from their absolute rule that the peasants seek protection.

That is why our Party, as was emphasized at its Fifteenth Congress, says that its task at the moment is to defend the working peasants *"against the big industrial monopolies, the big landowners, the big middlemen, against all who are ruining and expropriating the peasantry."*

III. The Agrarian Program of the Communist Party

Our Party resolutely supports the immediate demands of the working peasants. It has worked out a program which includes measures designed to ensure the small and middle peasants a richer reward for their labors, to help them acquire the implements they need and to create better conditions for farming and the marketing of produce. The program calls for:

—lower prices for the manufactured goods needed in the countryside and the repeal of taxation of farm produce in order to reduce the difference between the price paid for farm produce to the farmer and the price paid by the consumer;

—support for all forms of co-operation, and especially co-operatives for the joint use of implements, and long-term loans at low interest rates for the co-operatives;

—a fair-price policy in the interests of the small and middle producers and an assured market for their produce by raising the purchasing power of the working people, and also by extending and improving sales facilities in the common interests of producers and consumers;

—special assistance to family farms, such as, for instance, cheap credits for the purchase of machines, better housing, lower prices for implements and fertilizers, reduction of the tax burden, exemption from the surplus "resorption" tax, extension of social security, and so on;

—the family farms and the co-operatives should be entitled to purchase all free land and land offered for sale; exemption of family farms and co-operatives from the tax on transfer of property rights, and credits for land purchase;

—strict rent control and distribution of the crop between landowner and métayer at the rate of two-thirds to the latter and one-third to the former;

—introduction of insurance covering all members of the peasant family, with reduced contribution from the small peasants and progressive rates for the big farmers;

—a guaranteed minimum wage for farm laborers on the level of the inter-professional guaranteed wage in other occupations, and farm laborers to have the rights and privileges enjoyed by industrial workers;

—extension of the state system of secular agricultural education and professional training, and allocation of funds for popularizing

the latest farming methods, primarily in the interests of the small and middle farmers;

—more credits for rural improvement, such as electrification, waterworks and road building, as well as assistance to young peasants launching out on farming on their own;

—rejection of all the Common Market commitments which run counter to the interests of French agriculture, and the substitution of the Common Market by trade with all countries on the basis of reciprocity and mutual respect for sovereignty.

This program, which, incidentally, is not all-embracing, covers the basic demands put forward primarily by the small peasants (whether they are small owners, tenant farmers or *métayers*) and the farm laborers; it includes also a number of demands submitted by the peasantry as a whole. This policy reflects the principles to which the French Communist Party has always adhered.

In its work in the countryside the Party bases itself first and foremost on the farm laborers and on the small farmers who do not employ hired labor, regardless of whether they are owners, tenants or *métayers*. These embrace all sections of the working peasantry who already are or can be in the future loyal allies of the proletariat inasmuch as their basic interests coincide with *the present and future interests* of the working class.

At the same time, however, our Party takes into consideration and supports the demands of the middle and even the rich farmers where they do not run counter to the interests of the small peasantry and the working class and where this facilitates, directly or indirectly, the establishment of a common front of all the victims of the capitalist monopolies, and hence a common front of struggle headed by the working class against capitalist exploitation, for peace and the restoration of democracy. As we see it, broad sections of the peasantry, with the exception of the big rural capitalists and the big landowners who are the mainstay of reaction in the countryside, can be enlisted, if only through action for separate, limited aims, in the struggle against the policy of the big industrial monopolies and banks. Never forgetting that it is the small peasants and the farm laborers who are the main support of the Party in the countryside, *we should utilize all the existing opportunities to extend the front of our struggle.*

IV. The Peasantry, the Working Class and the Fight for Democracy

The Communist Party does not limit itself to economic problems alone in its work among the peasants. It not only points out to the peasants the connection between their material hardships, on the one hand, and the policy of the big monopolies and the de Gaulle government, on the other, but also seeks to draw big sections of them into the fight for peace and democracy.

Whereas some reactionary leaders of the farm organizations criticize only the government's agricultural policy and refrain from exposing either its general political line or the one-man regime in the country, the Communist Party emphasizes that agricultural policy depends primarily on the general policy and, consequently, a fight should be waged to change it. That this dependence exists is more than evident. According to de Gaulle, the war in Algeria is swallowing 1,000,000 million francs annually, whereas the 1960 budget allocates for agriculture a mere 120,000 million. To the cost of the war in Algeria should be added the expenditure on nuclear weapons (3,100,000 million in the next five years) and the hundreds of thousands of millions which are the price of France's participation in the North Atlantic Pact.

Together with the working class, the working peasants bear the burden of this military expenditure, and naturally enough agriculture will have to go without the funds it needs until this wasteful expenditure is considerably reduced.

The peasants, clearly, have a direct stake in the common fight of the people of France for peace negotiations in Algeria, for disarmament and the peaceful coexistence of all countries. These aims must be won so that the vast sums consumed by armaments can at long last be used, as the Soviet Union proposes, to raise living standards.

The peasants are vitally interested also in reviving the genuinely democratic institutions. Action by the masses can force the government to renounce its anti-popular measures, force it to grant one or another demand; mass action can win peace in Algeria, help prevent a world war and thus ensure the triumph of the ideas of peace and disarmament. But in order to implement a genuine policy of social progress, peace and national independence, one-man rule must be abolished.

The peasants suffer particularly from the suppression of democracy and the absence of a genuine parliament — the National Assembly has been turned by the Gaullist constitution into a rubber stamp pure and simple. There was a time when the peasants were able to win important privileges and reforms largely because they could exert a certain pressure on the government through a parliament endowed with real powers. The deputies felt themselves obliged at least in some degree to reckon with the wishes of the peasants. Especially in periods when big contingents of the peasants marched side by side with the working class, which enabled them jointly to influence affairs of state, parliament was forced to pass measures which benefited the peasants.

Since the establishment of one-man rule, however, the peasants, like other working people, cannot to all intents and purposes look to protection from parliament. Now everything is decided by the de Gaulle government — in favor of the big monopolies and, therefore, to the detriment of the working class and the peasantry.

Precisely because of this the basic aim set by the Fifteenth Congress of the Party is the abolition of one-man rule and the restoration and regeneration of democracy. With this in view, the Congress adopted a program of democratic and national regeneration in keeping with the fundamental interests of the nation; this program offers a new perspective to the masses and for this reason it can be a mobilizing factor, facilitating the co-ordination of the different movements and directing them toward immediate action for aims understandable to all. Our Party is popularizing this program both among the peasants and the working people in the towns. This is a concrete platform for the alliance of the working class, the working peasantry and the urban middle strata, for an alliance of the Communist Party and all other democratic parties.

The question of the alliance of the working class, the working peasantry and middle sections of the urban population was one of the main issues at our Fifteenth Congress. Maurice Thorez stressed in his report that in present conditions the alliance of the working class and working peasantry is one of the basic elements of a policy of democratic unity which seeks primarily to liberate large masses of the peasantry from the influence of the big bourgeoisie and to rally them, jointly with the working class and under its leadership, in the struggle for the people's

vital needs, for peace, regeneration and the restoration of democracy.

More and more peasants are becoming conscious of the identity of interests between themselves and the working class and the need for an alliance with the urban proletariat against the capitalist monopolies. Proof of this can be found in the agreements concluded between the Federation of Agricultural Unions and all the trade union organizations (General Confederation of Labor, Confederation of Christian Workers and *Force Ouvrière*) first in the department of Loire-Atlantique, and later in many others.* These agreements, which provide a solid foundation for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, point to the new opportunities for joint action by the workers and peasants against the policy of the big monopolies.

V. Forms of Party Work in the Countryside

In order to build this alliance of the working class and peasantry, a correct political line and a program answering the needs of broad sections of the peasantry are not enough. The Party, its organizations and its activists should conduct systematic work to enlighten the peasants and co-ordinate their actions.

1. The Party organizations in the countryside are conducting extensive *propaganda*, exposing the policy of the government and of the parties and trade union leaders who support it. They are popularizing the program of the Party and the solutions it offers, rallying the masses in the struggle for their demands and for peace and democracy. Numerous meetings are being held in the villages, and leaflets, pamphlets and other Party publications are circulated. The Party's week-

*A joint declaration adopted by the Loire-Atlantique organizations and circulated in 80,000 copies states: "The workers' and peasants' organizations in the Department of Loire-Atlantique are of the opinion that the economic policy of the government is in fact a policy of the financial magnates and the cause of the poverty in the homes of the workers and peasants. For many years efforts have been made to set the working people of town and country against one another. The worker is told that the farmer is to blame for the high cost of living; the farmer is told that the rise in workers' wages is the reason for the high prices charged for manufactured goods. In the past three years, however, the workers' purchasing power has declined on the average by 12 per cent, farm prices have declined by seven per cent since June 1958, while retail food prices have gone up. Therefore, neither the workers' wages nor the prices paid to the farmers is the reason for the high cost of living. The explanation lies in the enormous profits of the big industrial firms, the excessive gains of the middlemen and the constantly rising taxes."

"The workers' and peasants' organizations once again solemnly declare that the interests of all working people are the same and their alliance is essential."

A joint resolution adopted by the workers' and peasants' organizations in the Department of Allier is worded thus: "Deliverance will not come of itself. . . . If need be, the working people of town and country will demonstrate their united will and secure a change in the economic policy of the government."

ly newspaper *La Terre* has a circulation of 150,000, but is actually read by some 300,000-400,000 people.

2. An important aspect of rural Party work is the activity of its peasant members in all organizations uniting farm laborers and small and middle peasants. The most important of these is the National Federation of Agricultural Unions, which has a membership of more than 350,000 small, middle and big farmers and which also exerts influence among the unorganized peasants. Each of its Department organizations has a newspaper published fortnightly, in some cases weekly, and distributed free of charge to Federation members. The Federation also includes the National Association of Tenant Farmers and *Métayers*. Although the leadership of the Federation is wholly in the hands of reactionary agrarians, the composition of the Department organizations and their policies differ. Peasant members of the Party are members of the leading bodies and even head some of the organizations.

The Communists hold stronger positions in the National Association of Tenant Farmers and *Métayers*. Our comrades are members of its national leadership and head a number of its Department sections.

It should be said that so far the Party directives on the need for its peasant members to work in the organizations of the National Federation of Agricultural Unions have not been carried out in full. Quite a number of our peasant members do not evince any great interest in the Federation, arguing that it is run by reactionaries who stamp out all democracy. This, however, cannot be considered as a serious argument. Although it is true that in many Departments the immediate prospect of Communists being elected to leading positions are not very bright, it is nevertheless useful and necessary for them to belong to the local peasant unions uniting small peasants, for this means contact with the non-Communist small and middle peasants. Not to take part in the work of the Federation is tantamount to cutting oneself off from the peasant masses and, in the final analysis, brings grist to the mill of the reactionary big farmers by giving them a free hand. Lenin taught us that Communists should always be with the masses, in all societies and unions, no matter how reactionary, wherever proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found. The Communists and their sympathizers should join the unions, co-operatives and other farm organizations catering to the small and middle peasants,

not merely for the sake of being on a par with the big agrarians, but in order to defend the small peasants against rich farmer domination and to expose the policy of the reactionary leaders.

This, of course, requires patience and persistent work.

As Lenin pointed out, the peasants know in a confused way what they want, but they do not know how to link their demands with the political changes necessary for their realization. Hence it is the duty of the Communists to deepen the political consciousness of the peasants.

For years the reactionary leaders of the farm organizations have adroitly used the catchword "peasant unity" in order to get the support of the small peasants for the big farmers. While advocating higher farm prices as an inducement to the small peasants to follow their lead, they at the same time distort or ignore the other demands of the small peasants. The Communists, exposing this "peasant unity" hoax, show how the big farmers have used this slogan solely to further their own ends to the detriment of the small peasants and farm laborers. There can be no unity between exploiters and exploited. On the contrary, it is in the interests of the working peasants to unite against the exploiters both in town and countryside, that is, against the industrial monopolies, the big landowners and the rural capitalists.

3. While urging the Communist peasants and sympathizers to work in the peasant mass organizations, the Party advocates the establishment of *committees for the defense of the small and middle peasants*. Of late such committees have been formed in different places.

A point to be noted is that many of the small and middle peasants do not belong to the National Federation of Agricultural Unions. In a number of Departments they have set up their own organizations and are campaigning for their demands. These include the leagues of small and middle wine-growers in the Cher valley, in the wine-making areas of the South, in Charente, Beaujolais, etc. Similarly, committees for the defense of the family farmers have been formed in a number of Departments; these bodies are headed by a National Co-ordination Committee.

The Communists are helping to extend the movement in defense of the family farmers for, as experience has shown, this results in growing opposition to the reactionaries in the

bodies affiliated to the National Federation of Agricultural Unions. And it is imperative to further this opposition.

4. The Communist Party has repeatedly stressed the importance of work among the farm laborers. Although this section has decreased almost by half since the beginning of the century, the number of laborers including the seasonal workers, is not far short of one million. Our Party demands of its organizations and members in those Departments where large farms predominate that they work mainly among farm laborers. This, however, is not an easy matter. Most farm laborers are not organized in trade unions, and this lays them open to ruthless exploitation by the capitalists. In particular, the Party organizations and the activists consider it their task to help bring the farm laborers into the unions belonging to the Federation of Agricultural Workers, which is affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor. In a number of Departments where there are extensive vineyards, such as Aude, Hérault and Pyrénées, farm laborers' unions are waging a successful fight; elsewhere, however, they are poorly organized and the Party does not conduct sufficient work among them.

5. Work among the rural youth is also important. About two years ago there was founded the League of Rural Youth which affiliated to the Communist Youth League. In recent times the organization has formed clubs in many Departments.

VI. The Tasks of the Party in the Countryside

Generally speaking, the tasks of the Party in the countryside as regards building a worker-peasant alliance against monopoly domination and for peace and democracy, were set forth by the Central Committee as follows:

- propaganda among the peasants should be stepped up with a view to exposing the enemies and explaining the program of the Party and the solution it offers. For this purpose a much bigger circulation should be secured for *La Terre*;

- the peasant members of the Party should be more active in the rural and agricultural organizations, they should strive to extend the rural and agricultural organizations, they should strive to extend the independent movement for defense of the family farmers;

- more attention to work among the farm laborers, with the accent on the areas in which they are most numerous;

- the rural population should be involved

in the campaigns conducted by the peace movement, and should be aided in forming peace committees in the villages.

The main prerequisite for carrying out these tasks is much better political work by the rural Party organizations, many of which tend to restrict their activities to Communists and do not take the initiative in establishing contact with the population.

While conducting day-to-day educational work among the peasants and organizing them for struggle, it is important to see to it that all the issues confronting the working people in the countryside, especially the working peasants and farm laborers, are discussed at the meetings of the rural Party groups so that their members will be ideologically and politically equipped for active and successful mass work. For this reason it is essential to combat the wrong views and misconceptions which still exist and lead to underestimation of work in the countryside. There still are Communists who say: "Why fight for the small peasants when capitalism has doomed them to perish. Why not let things take their course. When the small peasants become proletarians it will be easier to win them for socialism." Such views, even if they spring from misunderstanding as is often the case, are dangerous, since they result in passivity and leave the field wholly to the enemies of the working class. To "let things take their course" would be giving the reactionaries and fascists a free hand to deceive the peasants and to divert them onto the wrong path. Moreover, views of this kind have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, which teaches us that the Party of the working class must win the small peasants to its side by defending them against capitalist exploitation and oppression. The sooner the small peasants ally themselves with the working class, the more rapid will be our advance towards socialism.

While improving the political work in existing rural Party groups, we are striving to win new members for the Party and to form new local organizations. In most village communities there are no Party organizations, even in places where the Party polls 50, 60, 70 or even 100 per cent of the votes. Clearly, it is difficult to conduct serious work in these conditions. Party organizations must also devote more attention to training Party cadres from among the peasants themselves.

How are these tasks to be solved? In the long run success will depend on *the attention the Party leaders from top to bottom devote*

to a study of the peasant question and on the political help to rural organizations. Party work in the countryside can be successful only if it becomes the concern of the whole Party, and primarily of the leading Party bodies at all levels.

In order to reinforce the rural regional organizations, the Central Committee has decided, among other measures, to send Party functionaries for permanent work in many of the agricultural Departments with the special purpose of helping the rural sections and groups to organize their work. The initial results are promising, but there is still much to be done.

* * *

That the Communist Party enjoys prestige among the rural population in France is

evident from its showing at the polls. In many agricultural Departments the Communist candidates poll from 20 to 25 per cent, and in some Departments, from 30 to 35 per cent, of the rural vote. This is because the Party has always upheld the interests of the tillers of the soil. The peasants are grateful to it also for its tireless fight for peace and democracy, in defense of the national interest. Ours is the only party which points to the peasantry and to all working people the way to a prosperous and happy life.

There is no doubt that, by improving its work, the Party will register further success in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, the prime condition for victory in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Crisis of Social Democracy in Finland and the Struggle for Working-Class Unity

A. Aikia

SOcial democracy is undergoing a crisis in almost all the capitalist countries. It can be said, in fact, that the crisis is international.

The process developing in the social democratic ranks is of significance for the working-class movement, and the Communists, obviously, cannot be indifferent to it, especially since they are waging a resolute and consistent struggle for working-class unity.

Against this background the experience of Finland, where the crisis in the social democratic movement is particularly acute, should be of interest.

What Is Happening in the Finnish Social Democratic Party

The Social Democratic Party has long been a considerable political force in Finland. In the light of this, the crisis which now grips this party and which began to sharpen be-

tween 1954-56, stands out all the more. There has been a drastic fall in membership (by over 20,000 in the past three years). Circulation of Party publications has dropped from 100,000 to less than 40,000 copies. The Social Democratic Party vote has fallen.*

The internal struggle which developed in the social democratic movement led eventually to a split. An opposition group, at loggerheads with the Party leadership (Tanner, Leskinen and Pitsinki) has formed its own organization, known as the Social Democratic Union of Workers and Smallholders headed by Skog and Simonen. The controversy between this group and the official leadership has since spread to the trade unions, to the

*After its defeat in the general election in 1958, the Social Democratic Party suffered another setback in the recent municipal elections. It polled 50,000 fewer votes and lost 390 seats out of 2,798 compared with the previous elections (1956). According to data made available by the rival Social Democratic Union of Workers and Smallholders, a further several hundred seats won on the Party lists will, in fact, go to the Union so that all in all some 700 seats have been lost.

women's, youth, sports and other mass organizations and has become more bitter than ever.

What is the reason for this state of affairs? *The main reason is the growing dissatisfaction of a considerable section of the rank and file with the reactionary policy pursued by the party's extreme Right-wing leaders* who have long been imposing on the movement a policy that has nothing whatever in common either with socialism or the interests of the working class.

In the ideological sphere this policy signifies that Tanner, Leskinen and their associates want the Social Democrats to renounce their socialist aims and the socialist world outlook and to adopt bourgeois objectives and the bourgeois world outlook. Tanner and his colleagues are plugging the "theory" that contemporary capitalism is changing (or has already changed) into the welfare state.

In their "theorizing" the Finnish apostates, too, go out of their way to distort the very concept of "democracy" in order to misrepresent the true nature of the antagonisms and conflicts that prevail in the world today, to vindicate capitalism and blacken socialism.

At the same time they proclaim open and complete repudiation of Marxism and endeavor to show that the Marxist teaching is obsolete and, hence, can no longer be the basis for the socialist world outlook. Their apostasy has reached its logical conclusion in abandoning socialist aims, including public ownership of the means of production. They want to replace socialism by a "mixed society," in which the socialist and capitalist forms of ownership will get along peacefully for the common good.

Unlike Right-wing social democracy in other countries, the Finnish Social Democratic Party has not, it is true, embodied these "theories" in a policy document. But that cannot be put down to the credit of its Right-wing leaders, who dare not do this for the time being in view of the sentiments of the working people. Formally, the program proclaiming socialist aims—vaguely, it is true—remains in force, but the extreme Right wing has already drawn up an entirely different, unwritten, program which severs the last ties with socialism.

The home policy proclaimed by the Right-wing leadership ignores the interests of the working class and of the working people as a whole. In fact it sabotages the struggle not only for the ultimate but also for the immediate aims. Its spokesmen try to prevent trade

union action for higher wages, against high prices and the speed-up. They want an "economic truce"; their prattle about the "national family" at which capitalist society has arrived, is a screen for their surrender to big capital. The Right-wing leaders sabotage other economic reforms advanced by the working people. They have had a lot to say, for instance, about the benefits of nationalization, but in 1948 when measures for achieving this were discussed, they opposed them. Many examples of this kind could be cited.

Tanner, Leskinen and their group have acted as bitter opponents of democracy. Their attitude to the composition of the government, one of the main reasons for the split, is illustrative. They seek even to replace representatives of the moderate centrist bourgeoisie in the government by reactionaries belonging to the National Coalition Party, the party of big capital. There is nothing remarkable about this because after all it is not only spiritual "affinity" and an identity of ideology that makes them bedfellows. The fact is that most of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders are now capitalists. Many of them sit on the boards of the big banks, and own big blocks of shares. It is the rule, rather than the exception, for the top Social Democrats to pocket annual, unearned, incomes ranging from two to ten million marks.

Their stand on foreign policy is utterly reactionary. In a word, they want to reimpose on the country the same foreign policy which in the past brought the people to the brink of national disaster.

The situation being what it is the Right-wing leaders do not always dare to speak out openly. Often they prefer to play a double game and pose as the traditional friends of the Soviet Union (the book *Towards a Broader Democracy*, published this year, is a good illustration of their duplicity). But few will be taken in by their deceit. The facts are that the Right-wing Social Democrats have persisted in relationships of an altogether different kind with the Soviet Union—of cultivating enmity toward the first socialist country. By doing so these leaders have thoroughly discredited the party: theirs was the only Social Democratic Party in the world that endorsed the Hitler war against the anti-fascist coalition, the only Social Democratic Party that collaborated with Hitler. This black page in its history is associated above all with the name of Tanner. And now this same Tanner and his younger yes-men are scheming for a renunciation of the policy of peaceful coex-

istence and good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. They would like to make Finland once more a springboard for imperialist aggression by entering into an alliance with U.S. and West German imperialism.

Supporting imperialism, the Right-wing leaders renounce the traditional program of the working-class movement. Sabotaging the fight for peace and disarmament, they actively foster jingoism and militarist and revanchist sentiments. And as their stand on Congo and Cuba shows, they have even gone so far as to lend support to colonialism.

Thus, whether it is a matter of ideology, or of home or foreign policy, we see that these leaders are dragging the Social Democratic Party towards extreme reaction. There was a time when any Social Democratic leader would have been indignant had anyone said that he was turning into a bourgeois liberal. But to say this about Tanner, Leskinen or their group would be a compliment which they in no way deserve. In fact their attitude is such that it is abjured even by the moderate centrist bourgeoisie in the Agrarian Party, and in the Finnish and Swedish People's parties.

It is not surprising, therefore, that this policy should evoke growing indignation among the social democratic rank and file. This is the main reason for the crisis, for the split which led to the formation of the Social Democratic Union.

A group of leaders headed by Skog and Simonen became the spokesmen of the growing opposition to the Right wing. It has often been said that their revolt against the official leadership was prompted by the struggle for power, personal rivalries, etc. And it is true that personal considerations played their part. It is also true that on important aspects of home and foreign policy the initial attitude taken by Skog, Simonen and the other "true Social Democrats," as they call themselves, differed very little from the Tanner line.

This group found itself at the head of an important political movement only because the opposition among the rank and file was running high. In the course of the struggle the leaders of the new Social Democratic Union were compelled, whether they wanted to or not, to change their line on a number of important issues.

What is the standpoint of the Social Democratic Union?

In the sphere of ideology it advocates the "old social democratic principles" embodied

in the program and other documents. This, clearly, is a concession to the considerable number of social democratic workers who are up in arms against the abandonment of socialist aims by the Right-wing leaders. The aims of the rank and file were expressed in the proposals submitted to the Social Democratic Party congress in April. These proposals reminded the congress of the fundamental aims set forth in the Party program and insisted on the congress defining its attitude to nationalization of industry, banks, insurance companies, etc., with view to drafting a plan for socialism. In contrast to the Right-wing leaders, the rank and file showed that they take their transition to socialism seriously, that their concept of socialism is not a "mixed society" dominated by the capitalist monopolies, but a system under which the basic means of production pass into public ownership. The Social Democratic Union takes this sentiment into account. Its leaders do not abjure socialist aims, including public ownership of the means of production, although they are fully in accord with the traditional reformist platform in regard to the means by which these objectives are to be attained.

In *home policy* the Union differs from the Party's Right-wing leadership mainly in that it insists on co-operation with the moderate bourgeois parties and not with the Coalition Party of big capital. Although Skog, Simonen and the other Democratic Union leaders tend to fall in with the economic demands of the monopolies, they are against the splitting policy of the Tanners in the trade unions.

In the sphere of *foreign policy* the Social Democratic Union stands for maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union and is against the plan for turning Finland into a "forepost of the West."

As we see, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the Union differ not only on secondary matters, but also on wider issues. But with all their differences they are at one in their anti-communism. True, the Rights, for demagogic purposes, label Skog and Simonen as "communist agents though they themselves know this is not true." Moreover, Skog, Simonen and other Union leaders explain their opposition to Tanner and Co. by the need to take effective action against the Communists. Their fear is that the Social Democratic Party, if allowed to sink completely into the morass of reaction, will become so discredited that the entire working class will side with the Communist Party.

But the common anti-communist stand was not enough to re-establish unity among the Social Democrats, as their party congress demonstrated.

The Union leaders were ready to negotiate a reconciliation. The Social Democratic Party leaders, too, talked in the same way. Yet they all knew that a reconciliation could be effected only by Tanner and Leskinen resigning and making way for men with a better reputation. It was, therefore, a question of a compromise which at that time became known as the "third way." On the eve of the congress it was strongly rumored that the "third way" would win, and that reconciliation would take place.

But the top leaders of the Party prevented this. After Leskinen returned from a visit to America they clung even more grimly to their diehard line; for them the task of the day was to bring down the government of the bourgeois center and form an ultra-Right government. Tanner reneged on his original promise and offered himself for the post of Party chairman. The election was manipulated and pressure brought to bear, with the result that not a single representative of the "third way," apart from Passio who floundered between the contending sides, found his way into the leadership.

On the face of things the congress ended with a victory for the Rights. But this does not mean that they have staged a comeback. A powerful opposition consisting of supporters of the "third way" (they commanded one-third of the votes at the congress) has emerged in the party. And the fact that this opposition exists is a clear sign of the growing discontent among the membership.

The Social Democratic Union functions outside the party. No figures of its membership are available. But the fact that its daily newspaper has a circulation of 20,000 shows that its strength is not nearly so negligible as the Tanners and Leskinens say it is. The members of the Union are fairly strong in the trade unions and sports organizations (that they, like the members of the Social Democratic Party, often hold leading positions in these organizations through the use of non-democratic methods, infringing the rights first and foremost of the Communists, is another story). The center of the struggle has shifted to the mass organizations. The Tanner-Leskinen supporters are bent on splitting the organizations in which they have failed to seize the leadership. But the people are resisting these machinations.

Thus the fight inside the Social Democratic Party, and especially between it and the Social Democratic Union, has not abated one iota since the congress. It has sharpened.

The Communists in the Struggle for Working-Class Unity

After the split in the social democratic movement it became even more obvious that no workers' party alone could ensure victory in the struggle for the demands of the working class. Co-operation of all forces, regardless of the views they hold, is a question that faces the workers' parties with compelling urgency.

One would expect that in these conditions the Social Democrats would appreciate the importance of united action. And indeed, large numbers of social democratic workers are beginning to realize this. But the reaction of their leaders was quite different. After the split, the Leskinen-Tanner leadership became even more anxious for an alliance with the extreme Right forces of the bourgeoisie. Tanner and company are trying to make up for the loss of positions by downright betrayal of the working class. And the leaders of the Social Democratic Union, while ready to co-operate with the moderate bourgeoisie, also refuse to act jointly with the Communists.

Their attitude, however, has not diverted the Communists from their struggle for united action. It is now more important than ever, the Communists hold, for all forces in the working-class movement to co-operate.

The Finnish Communists have long fought for unity. We could cite the considerable experience of 1945-48 when unity brought great benefits to the working people. When this unity was broken by the splitters in the Social Democratic leadership, its loss was a big blow to our people.

The appeal "Working people, to united action!" issued by the Communist Party in February 1954, embodied the principles of broad democratic co-operation between the Communists and Social Democrats. Considerable success was achieved, although so far the chief form of united action continues to be the joint actions of the workers in the factories. Despite the difficulties, we have been able, without any appreciable losses, to preserve the trade unions as a single mass organization of the working people. The same can be said of the Workers' Sports Union, of the co-operatives and of many municipal bodies.

The Communists hold that in the face of the bourgeoisie and the splitters, these gains must be preserved and extended. The united action policy is dictated not by some crafty tactical considerations, or by the desire to put a spoke in the wheel of our rivals, but by an appreciation of both the immediate and ultimate aims of the working class. It is only when the working class comes out against monopoly reaction in a united front and ceases to wage internecine war—which its enemies are only too glad to see — that it can successfully uphold its interests.

This fundamental aim was confirmed by the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Finland held last April. The Congress was a notable event in the political life of the country. More united than ever, the Party, which together with the Democratic League of the People of Finland (DLPF) forms the biggest group in Parliament, worked out its line for the future. The primary task is to safeguard and reinforce peace, extend democracy and improve living conditions. These aims were embodied in the report delivered to the Central Committee by the Party's General Secretary, Ville Pessi. The delegates discussed them and they are set forth in the Congress resolutions.

The discussion on working-class unity, naturally, occupied a prominent place at the Congress. In its Appeal "defend the common interests of the working people," the Congress not only confirmed the Party's determination to continue its policy of co-operating with the Social Democrats, it resolved some of the new problems engendered by recent events.

The Appeal criticizes the thesis of the Right wing of the Social Democrats that co-operation with the Communists will weaken social democracy. Recalling the experience of the international and Finnish labor movement, the Appeal points out that "united action in defense of the rights of the working class, far from weakening any genuine workers' party" can only strengthen it. How can it be otherwise? Will not the masses support even more actively the party which perseveringly seeks to co-operate with all other forces upholding the rights of the people? "The growing strength of the Communist Party of Finland,"* the Appeal goes on, "is explained by the fact that our Party has worked indefatigably for the working people. The split in the Social Democratic Party and the differences in its ranks are not the outcome of co-operation

with Communists. They are, on the contrary, the outcome of ignoring the interests of the working people and of collaborating with the big capitalists. Effective, serious and sincere action to uphold the rights of the working people is the only source from which the party of the working people draws its strength, whereas collaboration with the opponents of the working class is the surest way of breaking the party's ranks and weakening its influence."

The Twelfth Congress exposed the slanders spread by the Rights that the Communist Party was stirring up strife in the social democratic movement and, in pursuit of narrow party aims, was using the Social Democratic Union for the purpose of "killing" Social Democracy. The Congress formulated the Party's principled stand on the struggle in the social democratic ranks as follows:

"The Communist Party is of the opinion that the differences in the Social Democratic Party are a purely internal affair, one they should iron out themselves. Naturally, it is our hope that their decision will be conducive to the rapprochement of workers adhering to the various ideological trends, that it will serve the common cause of the working people. Our Party does not divide the Social Democratic workers into 'Leskinens' or 'Skogs', it regards them all as members of a single working class with common interests. Our Party supports any initiative—no matter from where it comes — aimed at achieving united action by the workers."

The Communists advocate united action, although they are fully conscious of the grave differences between them and the Social Democrats. The Communist Party proposes co-operation on the issues on which there is no disagreement. There are a number of these and, what is more, they are vitally important. Taking this into account the Twelfth Congress outlined the points on which the Communists and the Social Democrats could begin to co-operate extensively at once. The points envisage, above all, joint action to improve living standards and for peace.

This co-operation is all the more essential because it could lead to practical results right away. Let us take the balance of forces in the Diet. The Democratic League has 50 seats, the Social Democratic Party 37 and the Social Democratic Union—14. Altogether, 101 out of 200, that is, a majority which could be used to carry through important social reforms and frustrate reaction's schemes in the sphere of home and foreign policy.

*The recent municipal-elections, at which the DLPF polled 75,000 more votes than in 1956, further testify to this growth.

Irrespective of their party affiliation or ideological views the workers have important aims in common. They also have a common enemy in monopoly capital and political reaction. From the Communist standpoint these conditions warrant united working-class action. At the Twelfth Congress the Communists emphatically declared that notwithstanding all their differences with the Social Democratic Party they "do not look on it as an enemy since it enjoys the support of the masses."

But it will take more than the efforts of the Communists alone to achieve united action on a broad scale, to say nothing of co-operation on problems closely affecting the working people not only at the grass roots level, i.e., in the enterprises and in the workers' organizations, but also at the top—between the working-class parties and their parliamentary groups. Loyalty will be expected from Social Democracy, too. As matters stand, the Social Democratic leaders have refused point blank to do this, they still cling to anti-communism, the ideology and the policy of the monopolies.

Anti-Communism is the Main Obstacle to Working-Class Unity

Historically Social Democracy in Finland as elsewhere began as a movement against capitalism, but its Right-wing leaders have a habit of forgetting this fact. Many of them proclaim the struggle against communism as their chief aim. And it is on this struggle, as the example of Finland strikingly demonstrates, that the Right leaders are concentrating their efforts. It is noteworthy that the extreme Right of the reactionary bourgeoisie now regard Social Democracy as an ally in the anti-communist struggle; they rely on the Social Democrats, and lose no opportunity of telling them that their anti-communist "services" are highly appreciated. For instance, Junnila, one of the leaders of the Coalition Party, writes in *Frozen Democracy*, a book published this year: "In the battle for the minds of the Finnish workers the Social Democratic Party in the enterprises, that is, on the front line, is effectively resisting the advance of communism."

Because of the achievements of the socialist countries and the advance of the world communist movement anti-communism is becoming a much more difficult and thankless task. Still, it exerts an influence on thousands of workers, to say nothing of most of the Social Democratic functionaries. Anti-communist prejudice is still found among them. These people are even more apprehensive of

any proposal for unity of action with the Communists. That is why the Communist Party gives priority to combating anti-communism. The Party's policy, which is winning recognition among growing sections of the people, is the main weapon in this struggle. Important, too, is day-to-day ideological work and explaining the aims of the Communists.

The Twelfth Congress enumerated the tasks arising from this work. The Congress pointed out that an explanation of the fundamental issues of the controversy between the Communists and the Social Democrats is necessitated by the actions of the enemies of unity who misrepresent communist aims for the purpose of turning the workers against co-operation with the Communist Party.

The splitters, the Appeal points out, "intimidate the Social Democratic workers by asserting that the Communists want to establish socialism by force, whereas the Social Democrats want to do the same thing without force." Speculating on the humanism of the working people, the opponents of unity are working up hatred of the Communists.

These speculations are forcefully exposed in the Appeal which shows that the attitude to violence is not an unbridgable gulf dividing the Social Democrats and the Communists—this applies, it goes without saying, to those Social Democrats who have not renounced the aim inscribed in their Party's program—the transition to socialism, under which the basic means of production will be public property.

As said previously most Social Democratic workers remain faithful to this aim. It is clear to each, the Appeal says, that the capitalists will inevitably oppose the nationalization of the means of production. It is equally clear that the working class is called upon to play the decisive role in overcoming this opposition, because it is the only force that can do this. Thus those Social Democrats who have not renounced the socialist aim cannot reject the non-peaceful way as a matter of principle. That they would prefer to see socialism brought about peacefully is another matter. This is the stand not only of the Social Democrats, it is common to all workers, including the Communists.

How these changes will be effected does not depend on the wishes of a particular workers' party or on its program, but on the concrete conditions in which the struggle takes place. The Congress recalled in this connection that the old Social Democratic

Party of Finland had never wanted an armed conflict with the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it did everything in its power to avoid a conflict. But in January 1918 when the bourgeoisie launched an armed attack on the working class, the Social Democratic Party had no choice but to take up arms.

There is no question that the reactionary bourgeoisie in Finland, like any other, will stop at nothing either now or in the future to preserve its power, its property and its privileges. So that socialism will be achieved by peaceful means only where the obviously superior forces of socialism leave no doubt in the minds of its enemies that any attempt on their part to use force will encounter failure.

The Finnish Communists hold that this way of development is possible in view of the scales being tipped in favor of socialism both in our own country and on the world arena. This conclusion, incorporated into the Party program in 1957, was confirmed by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee on August 20-21. However, it by no means follows that the bourgeoisie will at all times and in all circumstances refrain from imposing non-peaceful forms of struggle on the working class, no matter how much the workers would like to avoid them. Furthermore, a bloodless revolution imperatively necessitates, as the Congress stressed, "reinforcing the concentrated mass forces of the working people and winning more and more supporters for socialism. *There is, in fact, no other way to the peaceful transition to socialism.*"

This, then, is the communist standpoint. It follows from this that it is nonsense to talk about dividing the supporters of socialism into advocates of the bloodless way and advocates of violence; there are no grounds whatever for this, even when it is a matter of the ultimate goal, to say nothing about the immediate aims. There is no reason why those Social Democrats who really want to achieve socialism peacefully should shun the Communists or wage internecine struggle against them; on the contrary, they should work for unity of action, to rally the workers, for this alone can make the peaceful way a practicable one.

The Congress dwelt also on the differences between the Social Democrats and the Communists and the discord among the Social Democrats themselves on the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It is common knowledge that the opponents of co-operation foster enmity towards the socialist countries in order to further their splitting activities. This line of propaganda is having little success nowadays in view of the achievements of the socialist world, achievements which inspire the workers to fight for their demands and which force the bourgeoisie to make concessions.

But although foreign policy issues are no longer as sharp as they used to be among the workers (even a part of the Finnish bourgeoisie no longer regards the Soviet Union as the "eternal enemy"), the Right-wing social democratic leaders continue as heretofore to exploit the issues for the purpose of undermining unity of action.

The Congress, therefore, considered it advisable once again to elucidate the real aims of Soviet policy and to show the groundlessness of the anti-Soviet propaganda. At the same time it emphasized that the Communists do not consider a unanimous and unreservedly favorable attitude towards the socialist countries to be a "prerequisite for unity of action on outstanding issues by workers of varying political views." "A reasoned, serious and calm exchange of views on this question," the Appeal continues, "can undoubtedly facilitate mutual understanding." Such exchanges help to dispel anti-Soviet prejudices and groundless hostility towards the socialist countries, the vanguard in the struggle of the working people of the world for peace and social progress.

Not only is anti-communism the main obstacle to successful struggle for socialism. Now, as in the past, it is being used by reaction as a cover for its attacks on the vital interests of the working people, on peace and democracy, — the history of Finland proves this to the hilt. This poisonous weapon is not being used against the Communists alone, it is used against all who stand up to the ultra-reactionaries (attempts were made to remove the moderate centrist bourgeoisie from power, to force its representatives out of the government on the pretext that it was prepared to co-operate with the Communists although, as we know, it rejects this co-operation). We should not underestimate the dangers with which these intrigues are fraught. Anti-communism must be decisively and consistently combated if the offensive of the reactionaries is to be repulsed and a successful struggle waged for the people's interests. This is not the task of the Communist Party alone, it is

the affair of all sincere and politically conscious people in the social democratic ranks.

* * *

The Finnish labor movement will have to overcome many difficulties on its way to unity. What the reactionaries dread above all is that the split will be healed. They will certainly do their utmost to maintain the division.

The Communists know this; at the same time they firmly believe that unity will, in the long run, be achieved. Why are they so convinced of this?

In the first place, their conviction derives from an understanding of the interests of the working people who are pressing for unity. The facts of life are making it increasingly difficult for many social democratic functionaries to refuse co-operation with the Communists, especially in the trade unions and in co-operative and sports movements. Our Party is a united monolithic force, and any hopes of weakening its influence should be thrown overboard. Some leaders of the Social Democratic Union have had to acknowledge that the Communists cannot be isolated from policy making, including governmental policy. What is more, even the Right-wing Social Democrats were recently obliged to support the Communists in Parliament when the Bill for longer holidays was being debated, although Tanner's motives had nothing in common with the interests of the workers.

These facts are not accidental; they are the manifestation of profound objective laws, the consequence of vital socio-political processes which will continue to develop.

But *the struggle* for unity must go on. For unity will not come of its own.

This struggle will deal a blow to the splitting activities of the Right Social Democrats,

lay bare their treachery — which is so harmful to the workers — and consistently expose anti-communism. It implies criticizing the attitude of the leaders of the Social Democratic Union and, what is most important, the struggle for unity calls for patient explanatory work, work that necessitates the greatest tact.

These efforts, as the Congress noted, have already borne fruit in the sense that "business-like and frank discussion is increasingly taking the place of suspicion on the part of workers who think differently. Calling each other names and sterile wrangling are now rare."

The Communists remember Lenin's counsel that books and theoretical discussions alone will not rouse the broad masses to resolute political action. Only through their own experience will they become conscious of the need for action. Every worker — even the worker who still supports bourgeois parties — should realize from his own experience that the struggle for his interests can be successful only if there is unity of action. The Party's resolute struggle for children's allowances, old-age pensions, and similar reforms, a struggle which the social democratic leaders were also obliged to support, helps to educate the people along these lines. And the struggle is continuing, just as the painstaking day-to-day work of organizing united action in the factories, in the mass organizations and in the municipalities, etc., will continue.

It can be said that thanks to the efforts of the communist and many social democratic workers we are closer to unity of action than we were a few years back. The Communists will continue to work unswervingly for unity. And the bigger the contribution made by the sound forces of the Social Democrats, the bigger will be the success.

Culture In New Poland and Its Development

Tadeusz Galinski

LENIN, speaking in 1918 on the tasks of the Soviet Government, said that with the transfer of power to the proletariat and the abolition of exploitation, "the fundamental task of creating a social system of a higher order than capitalism" inevitably assumes prime importance and that to resolve this task it is essential to raise the educational and cultural level of the people.

The sixteen years' experience of people's Poland clearly demonstrates how Lenin's counsel has been taken to heart.

The cultural revolution effected in Poland was not an easy matter; every achievement cost tremendous effort. It was begun in a country devastated by war and enemy occupation, in a country to which the old bourgeois regime left a legacy of incredible economic and cultural backwardness.

Nearly one-fourth of the population was illiterate. Secondary education was in a state of abject neglect. For millions of workers and peasants the doors to knowledge were closed. During the six years of the Hitler occupation the children could not go to school. Cinemas and theatres lay in ruins, libraries and art galleries had been looted and many historical monuments levelled to the ground. But most painful were the losses in teaching staff, and other cultural workers, thousands of whom had been murdered by the Nazis. Such were the conditions in which the young Polish People's Republic was born.

We had to overcome not only the legacy inherited from the past, but also to start building the new culture and a new educational system, taking into account the new, rapidly growing needs of a nation building socialism.

The unprecedentedly rapid rate of economic growth and the need for skilled workers, for qualified engineers, technicians and economists confronted the education authorities with no small tasks.

The large-scale resettlement of communities that followed the war also gave rise to new requirements. Millions of people moved from their old places of residence to the

ancient Polish territories along the Oder and Neisse and in the North, now rejoined to the homeland, while millions more left the villages for the towns to provide the labor force for an expanding industry. During the six-year plan (1950-55) the number of people employed in the national economy rose by 2.5 million of whom just over one million were in industry.

The work done by the people's government in the sphere of education and culture in general and the funds assigned to it were not slow in producing results. Suffice it to recall that although the population declined during the war years, the number of pupils has doubled compared with prewar. Enrolment in secondary and vocational schools has increased more than fourfold. In the fifteen years of people's rule more than 231,000 students have graduated from the higher educational establishments, whereas in the twenty years of the prewar bourgeois Poland the number was only 85,000. In 1946-47 the student body was almost double the pre-1939 enrolment, and by 1959-60 had risen more than threefold. The growth becomes even more striking when we compare the number of students per 10,000 of the population — 14.3 in 1937-38 and 57 in 1957-58. In this respect Poland is ahead of many countries with a higher economic and cultural level, such as Belgium, Sweden and Italy where the figures are 25.8, 28.8 and 43.7 respectively.

The same progress can be observed in other branches of culture. Compared with 1938 the number of radios in the country as a whole has risen more than fivefold and in rural areas sixfold. One of every seven people in the country had a radio in 1959. In the past the rural population hardly ever saw motion pictures (there were no cinema buildings at all); today one-third of the villages have cinemas. The overall number of cinemas has risen from 809 in 1938 to 3,111 in 1959 (of which 1,519 are in the countryside). Cinema attendance has risen from 68 million in 1946 to 195.5 million in 1959.

Book-publishing, too, has grown considerably. The total printings of books has risen from the prewar 29.2 million to nearly 94 million last year, i.e., a more than threefold increase, and in terms of per head of population—fourfold. The new library network has made books available to large numbers of workers and peasants. In 1957, compared with the prewar library stock of 6.5 million, all libraries in Poland had a total of 96 million volumes. The prewar 1.5 textbooks per pupil had grown to 9.5 by 1957.

Impressive achievements in cultural and educational work have been registered by the trade unions. It is worth noting by way of illustration that at the end of last year the trade unions were running 700 factory houses of culture and clubs, nearly 5,000 recreation and reading rooms, about 400 cinemas and more than 4,000 other cultural-educational centers.

Much has been done in these fifteen years to develop aesthetic taste, to acquaint the people with the progressive traditions of Polish and world culture. The works of our writers and poets as well as those of foreign countries have been put out in hundreds of thousands of copies. Works by Sienkiewicz, the author of *Quo Vadis?*, for example, have been published in 8,816,000 copies; works by Boleslaw Prus, author of *The Doll* and *Women-Emanicipators*, in 8,544,000; Kraszewski's novels and stories about the life of the people, in 7,149,000; Mickiewicz's poems, among them his epic, *Pan Tadeusz*, in nearly 6,000,000 copies. Maxim Gorky has had printings amounting to 2,202,000; Dickens, 1,573,000; Leo Tolstoy, 1,464,000; Victor Hugo, 1,359,000, and Mikhail Sholokhov, 1,007,000 copies. Never have the editions of the Polish revolutionary poets (Broniewski, Szenwald and others) and of the poets of the younger generation been so large as now.

Works have appeared during these years that have won universal recognition. Suffice it to mention the plays *The Germans* and *The First Day of Freedom* by Leon Kruczkowski; the novels: *Medallions* by Zofia Nalkowska, *The Old and the New* by L. Rudnicki, *Recollections of the "Cellulose" Mill* by Igor Newerly, *Between the Wars* and *Citizens* by Kazimierz Brandys; the books by Maria Dombrowska, Jerzy Putrament and others.

Problems of morality and ideology were raised in such popular films as *The Last Stage*, *The Border Street*, *Five from Barska Street* and *The Canal*. The painters Kowarski, Pronaszko, Dunikowski and Kulisiewicz, and the composers Malawski, Lutoslawski, Bace-

wicz, Szeligowski, Turski and others have achieved notable success.

The "Mazowsze" and "Slask" song and dance ensembles, well known at home and abroad, combine in their performances the popular tradition with artistic skill. They are an entirely new kind of art in the history of Polish culture.

Close attention is paid to cultural exchanges with other countries, to acquainting our people with the culture of other nations. It should be stressed that our people, who until 1945 had been deprived of the opportunity to familiarize themselves with Soviet culture, became acquainted with Soviet plays, films and folklore only under people's rule. During the past sixteen years Soviet culture has won popularity in Poland. Thanks to the theatre and the cinema, Russian, French, English, German and Spanish classical plays and films as well as works by modern foreign authors are enjoyed by the people.

Conscious of the role of cultural contacts for promoting peace and friendship we have established these contacts with different countries. This applies first of all to the socialist countries, with which our Government has concluded agreements on cultural co-operation. Similar agreements have been signed with some of the capitalist countries, with 27 of which we have permanent cultural contact. Through UNESCO Poland is co-operating with 40 international cultural organizations.

This cultural advance is closely linked with the socialist revolution and steadily developing socialist construction. Cultural progress on our scale is possible only in the countries which have taken the path to the socialist revolution and which are led by Communist and Workers' parties.

The achievements of the new Poland reaffirm that socialism is heir to the best aspirations of man, that it carries forward the militant traditions of the revolutionary working class. For it was only this class which, when fighting to overthrow the power of the exploiters and establish people's rule, simultaneously fought to bring culture within the reach of the masses, for the right of the people oppressed by capitalism to a life of culture and well-being.

* * *

While our successes in the sphere of cultural reconstruction are impressive, we have also made some mistakes. In the period when we tackled the job of getting rid of illiteracy and the general cultural backwardness, a

single leadership of the cultural-educational movement was essential. But this had its negative sides as well, which were manifested in elements of bureaucracy appearing in the dissemination of culture and in divorcing cultural activity from the general advance of education. Here and there, and primarily in the field of art, considerations of outward show took the upper hand, while the really basic work of satisfying the cultural requirements of the people was neglected. This was coupled with doctrinaire attitudes in handling questions of art which was viewed at times not in the light of its educational and aesthetic functions but solely as a means of solving urgent practical matters.

The Party has declared war on these ills. After the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the Third Congress it criticized the past mistakes, formulated its policy in this sphere and is now confidently carrying on the struggle for a progressive, socialist culture. Expressing the aspirations of the people, it is fostering an art which contributes to the building of socialism, fights for socialist realism in literature, and for fine art, music and plays appreciated by the people. The Party's policy ensures to creative workers every opportunity for development, material help and freedom of artistic innovation and experimentation.

The Party has advanced the slogan: "We want Poland to be a land in which everyone studies," and we can see it being materialized in the nationwide movement for the spread of culture and education.

The Party's cultural policy can be described as follows:

- in line with the rising cultural needs of the public, to concentrate on works which ensure the all-round education of the people in the spirit of progress and socialism;

- decentralized cultural guidance;

- writers, artists, educationalists and public organizations should take a more active part in guiding the work;

- a more vigorous cultural-educational movement;

- for writers and artists, full creative freedom and freedom of artistic searching without which art stagnates.

We maintain that culture and education are inseparable and interdependent. This policy flows from the conditions in our country and from the tasks which our Party places before the people. The problem of preparing each individual and the people as a whole for a new, socialist way of life and labor is most urgent today, in the era of atomic energy and

space travel. The future of Poland—an industrial country with a modern socialist agriculture—is bound up with the educational and cultural standards of the people.

"Our country and our people," said Wladyslaw Gomulka at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, "can actively participate in the changes that are taking place in the world and can independently shape their future given steady and rapid technological progress in the national economy."

Technological progress is something more than machines. It is determined in the first place by man with his knowledge, know-how, ideals, and public consciousness. Matters like culture and education call for everyday work. Of the workers employed in the public sector of the economy about two million (or some 30 per cent) have not finished the elementary (seven-year) school; every year about 100,000 pupils do not finish school. Quite a large part of the technical and administrative personnel has not had adequate technical and economic training. To this should be added the backwardness and clerical obscurantism inherited from the old regime and constantly buttressed by some anti-socialist forces. This being so, the slogan: "We want Poland to be a land in which everyone studies," should be understood as a call for a large-scale ideological offensive.

As previously mentioned, the Party's cultural policy is aimed at bringing the best of world culture and of the national culture to the people. In carrying out this policy, for instance in the countryside, we should be clear about the cultural values we intend to bring there. The working people are thirsting for culture and art. What shall we show and tell the people in the villages? How to meet their needs and cultivate the habit of imbibing knowledge from the sources of culture? These are the questions that should be posed by every worker in the sphere of culture. And, clearly, the more successfully he works among the people, the more deeply he discloses the wealth of cultural values, the greater the variety of means of cultural education he can employ and the richer and more variegated in form and content the works with which he comes to the masses.

In his report to the Third Party Congress in March 1959 Wladyslaw Gomulka defined our attitude towards cultural values in these words:

"The character of the cultural revolution is determined by the links between culture and the life of society and the needs of its

development. We cannot be indifferent as to whether or not in the given situation the development of our culture helps rid society of the fetters of the capitalist heritage, whether it helps to shape the new, socialist consciousness and, in this way, to build socialism.

"The cardinal principle of our cultural policy, which derives from the experience of the working-class movement, is the demand that the works of literature and art should be based on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and methodology

"The leading role of the Party in the sphere of culture means that its socialist ideals and scientific world outlook should inspire the spiritual and social essence of literary and artistic work, and that its policy should secure the popularization of the cultural treasures which help to deepen the socialist consciousness of the people, to widen their cultural horizons, and to overcome ignorance, superstition and the bourgeois and clerical heritage."

The policy of cultural advancement should provide conditions that make it possible to satisfy man's cultural requirements, tastes and inclinations. But first and foremost it should broaden his ideological outlook and, of course, should not lose sight of his need for recreation, etc. The point is not only to satisfy existing needs and tastes but also to cultivate new needs and tastes for the man of socialist society.

Of all the criteria used in assessing cultural values we give pride of place to the social, for it is this that determines the place in society of the artist, critic or any other cultural worker, and supplies the answers about man, his destiny, the norms of behavior, purpose of life and the progress of mankind. These are the basic questions of all creative work, including that in the cultural sphere. We hold that in assessing works of art preference should be given to those which urge an active attitude to life and condemn a nihilistic attitude and pessimism, to those which radiate optimism and help mould the new man, the conscious builder of socialism.

Utilizing the social criterion, we take into account the possibility of people making the acquaintance of works the philosophy of which is not ours; this can be regarded as a sort of "reconnaissance behind the enemy's lines" which enables us to discern phenomena alien to socialism. But this obliges us to be particularly vigilant in relation to anti-socialist ideology.

The changes effected in our cultural work after the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee did not bring results straight away and were not immediately understood by all. Some people, mainly intellectuals, floundered in face of the reappearance of the hostile forces which until then had lain low, waiting for the opportune moment to enter the lists against socialism. The revisionists proclaimed the slogans of "integral democracy" and "complete freedom." Disappointment spread among certain sections of the intellectuals, and the so-called "black" literature and "black" films appeared. Alien tendencies appeared also among painters. Attempts were made and are still being made to impose abstractionism and formalism and to isolate the artists from the life and the interests of the people. The revisionists concentrated their fire on one of the fundamental principles of our policy—that of assessing cultural values from the standpoint of socialist ideology.

The Party, vigorously combating revisionism, strengthened its positions in culture and its leading role.

The government, public organizations, publishing houses, radio, television, libraries, cinemas, clubs, houses of culture, etc., in the course of their day-to-day activity are deepening the ideological content of cultural work. All these are guided by the Party, by its organizations and members who are carrying out the general program of Party guidance in culture.

We attach great importance to the participation of art and literary workers in assessing, selecting and popularizing cultural values through their various organizations, and through the Council of Culture and Art attached to the Ministry of Culture. This Council consists of representatives of public organizations, writers, artists and educationalists.

The first results of the Party's policy in the sphere of culture are indicative of its soundness.

In 1958-59 a number of serious Marxist books appeared. Among them are philosophical works by Schaff, Krajewski, Gordon and Martel, sociological works by Bauman, Wiatr and Szacki, works on law by Ehrlich, Wroblewski, Rozmaryn and Gwizdz, and works on pedagogy by Suchodolski.

Marxist methodology in historical science is developed in the multi-volume work on the history of Poland put out by the Academy of Sciences Institute of History. The *History of the Socialist Party* by G. Jablonski, the *History of the Communist Party* by J. Kowal-

ski, *Poland and Upper Silesia* by Jendruszczak and other works have been published.

The publishing houses have also put out a series of books on the Communist Party (by Wygodzki, Naszkowski, Kaminska, Granas and Puchalska), and novels and stories by Mach, Breza and Holuj. Works by Hen, Zukrowski, Putrament, Czeszko and Bratny, which have been submitted for the competition announced by the Publishing House of the Ministry of Defense, are at the printers.

Among the films released we should mention *Lenin in Poland*, *The First Year*, *The Crusaders* and *A Place in the Sun*. These films indicate a new trend in the Polish cinema distinguished not only by a desire to attain a high artistic level but above all by the clear social orientation of the film makers, their search for topical themes of concern to the masses. That subjects from modern life are highly popular among the people is borne out, in particular, by the success of Leon Kruczkowski's new play, *The First Day of Freedom*, which has been drawing crowds for several months now.

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As previously mentioned, a principle of Party policy in the sphere of culture is to strengthen democratic leadership, get rid of excessive centralization and encourage public initiative.

In January 1956, thirty-two theatres and music institutions previously run by the central bodies, were placed under the jurisdiction of the local councils. In mid-1957 ten concert halls and places of entertainment were transferred to the regional councils, which was another step in the direction of enhancing the role of the local bodies in developing culture. Then in 1958, 79 museums, 34 dramatic theatres, eight puppet theatres, four opera houses and three musical comedy theatres, seven philharmonic societies and some other cultural establishments were transferred to the regional councils. Last year this measure spread to all area cinema boards.

Today the regional councils are full-fledged masters in cultural matters. With the financial means at their disposal there is nothing to prevent them from launching, with the help of local cultural workers, educationalists and the public generally, a veritable cultural offensive, especially in the county towns and in the villages.

The transfer of leadership to the local councils has greatly improved the work of the cultural establishments. The houses of culture and clubs, linked organizationally and financially with the given locality, have brought

their plans into line with local requirements. The work has become more concrete. The cultural bodies have a greater feeling of responsibility, and much more concern is displayed in satisfying the needs of the people.

Investing the local bodies with greater rights has been accompanied by an enlivening of the cultural-educational movement. This is understandable. A result of eliminating the excessive bureaucratic centralization and of abandoning the idea that culture can be spread only by appropriate governmental bodies is that leadership in cultural matters is passing increasingly into the hands of the public. This positive process is led by the Party, its local committees and organizations.

Local cultural associations are mushrooming. There are, for example, town societies, theatre, book and music societies, fine arts societies, intellectuals' clubs, etc. Many of these engage in extensive activity.

A large amount of work is done, for instance, by the "Pojezierze" cultural society. This society puts out three weeklies and other publications, promotes tourism, takes care of national parks and monuments (restores and maintains historic castles, arranges and opens museums, swimming and boating stations, hotels and cafes). It arranges also for the manufacture of souvenirs, organizes concerts and other entertainment.

Very active is the Lower Silesia educational society which has eight branches, sixty clubs and two people's universities. Members of this society are recruited mainly from among rural teachers.

The Lubuska society has every right to be proud of the results of its activity. It publishes a magazine, arranges regional educational courses and mobile exhibitions, makes films and collects folklore.

Mention should be made of the "Gorale" culture and art society with its active literary section, and of the theatrical and folk art activities of the Kaszub society.

Societies organized on the territorial principle engage in wide-ranging cultural-educational work, setting up regional museums, etc. For example, the societies in Tomaszowskie Gory, Bochnia, Szamotuly and Gostyn have taken care of the historical monuments in their localities; they collect folklore and promote amateur art and literary activities.

Worthy of note is the public movement for the protection of historical monuments and the desire to maintain places with historical associations as centers of recreation.

The rising wave of public activity has engendered a new and growing movement for

building cultural institutions with the money received from voluntary contributions. This movement is most widespread in the countryside. Tens of millions of zloty have been collected, and more than a thousand public building committees set up. If we recall that at present there are nearly 4,000 cultural buildings in the countryside it will be seen that the erection of another 1,000 is of very great importance, since it will not only mean extending the material facilities but will also stimulate public interest in cultural matters and be accompanied by the training of more cultural workers.

These examples show that the Party's cultural policy has mass support and that public initiative has been released. The task now is to ensure the proper organizational and ideological leadership of this movement, to guide the cultural-educational work and encourage mass activity in this respect.

These points were discussed at a national conference of regional cultural-educational societies early this year. The conference, at which the delegates exchanged their experiences, brought clarity into questions of Party guidance of this public movement.

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While conducting an all-round offensive on the cultural front we also pay attention to art education in the schools, a matter which until now has been underestimated. The universally acknowledged truth that art is a specific, indispensable means of education, of perceiving reality, that genuinely profound culture requires art education and the inculcation while at school of appropriate habits, has made its way into our life, but only after great difficulty. Even today this question cannot be considered to have been solved. However, it is on the agenda of the day. Art education is being gradually introduced into primary and secondary schools.

Last year this matter was discussed by a special Sejm committee, and the proposals adopted became the basis for a broad program of action in this sphere. The point at issue is that the curricula of general educational and vocational schools and of the pedagogical colleges should pay more attention to art education, and the training of teachers for the corresponding subjects in the schools and colleges should be ensured. These subjects should be taught on an equal footing with others; it is also necessary to develop amateur art among school pupils and give them qualified assistance in this respect.

In 1958 the Party called on the people to build, through voluntary contributions, a

thousand schools to mark the Thousandth Anniversary of the Polish state (this date will be observed throughout five years between 1960-65). The public responded eagerly, and schools are being built by the hundred — dozens have already been completed.

The appeal to build a thousand schools was supplemented by a new initiative: "To build an auditorium or a reading hall in each of the thousand schools." This idea goes with the desire to make the school the center of culture, which is of particular significance in villages that are still without a cinema, library or club. This in turn is closely linked with the active participation of the teachers in cultural life.

The spread of culture and the extension of the public base of cultural activity raise the question of the forms of cultural-educational work. We are living in a rapidly developing society, at a time when modern techniques are penetrating more and more into all pores of social life. The education days, book days, press and radio days held for twelve years in succession at the beginning of May, bring home to the people the progress we have made in the sphere of culture.

For example, the total circulation of the daily press exceeds five million copies (for a population of nearly 30 million). A total of 924 newspapers and magazines is published with an overall circulation of 21.4 million. There are on the average 66.5 copies of periodicals per head of the population a year, with 107 copies in the towns and 37 in the countryside.

The number of radio sets is about five million, which in practice means 10 to 15 million listeners. Television, while not so widespread as radio, is steadily developing. In June 1957 there were 22,000 TV sets and one poorly equipped TV center. At present we have six TV centers, five transmitters and a network of relay stations. The range of the television installations embraces 35 per cent of the territory and makes it possible for nearly half the population to use TV sets, of which there are now about 400,000.

The Party is keen on spreading radio and television, since these, in addition to being instrumental in the spread of political knowledge, are powerful means of education, of cultivating good habits and providing entertainment. By 1965, eight per cent of the families will have radio sets; the number of TV sets will go up to 1.5 million and television will take in 88 per cent of the territory.

The number of regional and county houses of culture which engage in varied activities with the stress on amateur art, is expected to reach 200. Over a thousand cinemas, theatres, music institutions and museums will be opened in the villages. The book stock of the public libraries will rise by 18 million volumes.

Of decisive significance for culture will be the economic advance. By 1965 electricity will be brought to 75 per cent of the villages; inter-urban bus-lines will be trebled and electrified railways doubled. About two million rooms will be commissioned in towns and, compared with the previous decade, the volume of house-building in rural areas will be doubled. To this should be added the production of hundreds of thousands of washing machines, motor-cycles, bicycles and various appliances needed in house-keeping, agriculture, etc. All this gives rise to new cultural needs and makes new demands in regard to the content and forms of the cultural work.

We are no longer satisfied with the old methods and forms. Cultural work now necessitates the activity of the people and the application of modern means. Take, for instance, those villages in the Wroclaw region whose clubs have TV sets. The activity of these clubs has livened up. TV programs are seen by many peasants. Television becomes a specific means of cultural-educational work. At the same time public initiative develops and the habits of collectivism take deeper root.

The same can be seen in Lodz where things hum in those cultural institutions which make the most of mass activity and apply modern means of education, whereas in other places in which the old, hackneyed forms prevail, things are dull and slack.

The rapid advance of technology and industry and above all the new social relations have brought with them a mass reaching

out for knowledge. We can observe in Poland today the striving of the people for more education and culture of which Lenin spoke. The most eloquent testimony to the changes taking place in the cultural standards is, perhaps, the people's universities and the workers' universities. In the space of three years (1957-59) nearly 1,200 of these were opened. They are attended by some 60,000 regular students and a still greater number who takes selected lectures.

Considerable success is enjoyed by the radio university which began to function in mid-1959 and in which the education is conducted in stages.

In attending these universities, the people are simply expressing their thirst for knowledge, because the people's universities do not give their students all the rights and privileges enjoyed by students in the state educational institutions.

The people's universities deserve attention not only from the standpoint of their educational purpose but also because they point to the need for new forms of cultural activity, rich in content and meeting the requirements of the day.

In recent times the Central Committee has devoted much attention to the content and forms of political and educational activity. It reviewed the work of the radio and television studios and also the state of affairs in the fine arts and in the cinema. In its resolutions the Central Committee defined the trend of the Party's activity in these spheres, noted the achievements and criticized the mistakes and distortions.

The cultural revolution which began sixteen years ago is developing along the right path. Cultural backwardness is being eliminated and, simultaneously, new problems arising from the requirements of the day are being tackled.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Solidarity with Revolutionary Cuba

REPRESENTATIVES of the Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America who attended the Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba have signed a joint statement in connection with the declaration made by the meeting of Foreign Ministers of American States in San José.

"As Latin Americans and patriots," the statement says, "we emphatically repudiate the decisions adopted by the San José meeting condemning Cuba for having implemented full national sovereignty, for developing her revolution and establishing diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with all countries including the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries."

The only correct and dignified stand that the Latin American Ministers could have taken in San José was to give unreserved support to Cuba and to condemn the aggression, the calumny, the crimes, and threats of direct intervention in Cuba emanating from the U.S. imperialists.

Defending Cuba is tantamount to defending the rights, sovereignty and aspirations of each Latin American country. That is why the OAS resolutions are a crime against Cuba and all Latin America. "It is the bounden duty of all patriots and democrats on our continent to defend the Cuban revolution and to work for broader popular support for the people's, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal government headed by Dr. Fidel Castro, and for the revolutionary forces of Cuba."

Having achieved full national sovereignty and rejecting any intervention whatsoever by Washington in its affairs, Cuba has made it easier for the other Latin American countries to uphold or achieve independence, for it is now more difficult for the U.S. imperialists to impose their will on these countries. Dealing blows to the imperialist monopolies, pursuing an independent and peace-loving foreign policy, and abolishing latifundism and feudal survivals, thus personifying the revolution "of the poor and for the poor," that is, a genuinely democratic revolution, Cuba embodies the patriotic and democratic aspirations of all Latin Americans whose resources are being plundered by the U.S. imperialists, their latifundist accomplices and the anti-national big capitalists, and

whose sovereignty is being whittled away by U.S. *diktat* in the sphere of foreign policy.

The vast movement of solidarity with Cuba now underway in Latin America shows that the Cuban revolution is closely interwoven with the fundamental problems of the national and social emancipation of the Latin American peoples. And so their international duty becomes a vitally urgent national task. The Communist parties, the standard-bearers of the national-democratic struggle and the economic struggle, in co-operation with the workers, students, peasants and other progressives on the continent, pledge to redouble their efforts to broaden the movement in support of the Cuban revolution.

Solidarity is now more imperative than ever. The interventionist campaign launched by the North American imperialists, the maneuvers of the State Department, and the Pentagon preparations for military aggression are being carried on ever more insolently and feverishly. If the invasion of Cuba has not yet taken place, this is due to the firmness displayed by the Cuban government, to the unity and vigilance of the Cuban people and the revolutionary forces, and, in particular, to the solidarity shown by the peoples of Latin America and the world. The support and aid rendered Cuba by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union—the mainstay of the peoples fighting for national independence and economic advance—is a supreme manifestation of this solidarity.

The example of Cuba demonstrates again that the imperialists cannot prevent the liberation of countries resolutely determined to free themselves from foreign subjection.

Enraged by the courage displayed by the people and the government of Cuba, who have made their slogan "The country or death!", the U.S. imperialists are bent on bringing the venal or conciliatory governments of Latin America into the battle. The OAS declaration must be unmasked as a fraudulent mandate handed to the U.S. imperialists for the purpose of carrying out aggression against Cuba, as an attempt to step up the cold war and the anti-Soviet campaign, as a weapon in the national-liberation movement of the Latin American people and as a conspiracy

against democratic liberties and the rights of the working people in Latin America.

"The struggle in defense of Cuba and for the independence of our people is interwoven with the worldwide battle for peaceful coexistence, peace and disarmament now being fought by the peoples, and which has the vigorous support of the socialist camp. The imperialist preparations for aggression against Cuba are a threat to world peace. In this sense the OAS declaration reflects the intention of the U.S. government to use the Latin American countries to further their military designs. We stand for peace and the independence

of our people. We know that, thanks to the changes that have taken place in the international situation, war—which is inherent in imperialist capitalism—is no longer inevitable. And by combating the U.S. imperialists and the ruling classes in their service, we shall make a contribution to the battle for peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, to the battle now being fought by the peoples of the world.

"Solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and exposure of the OAS declaration are part and parcel of our fight for peace."

The statement was signed by:

The Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party of Colombia, the Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, the Communist Party of Venezuela, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Popular Socialist Party of Nicaragua, the Panamanian People's Party, the Communist Party of Uruguay, the Communist Party of Peru, the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Communist Party of Mexico, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

Communists Denounce the Murderers Of Asanuma

INEJIRO Asanuma, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan, was assassinated on October 12. All honest people throughout the world were shocked by the news of this dastardly deed perpetrated by political bandits who make no secret of their desire to stem the rising tide of the democratic movement in their country and to salvage the "security pact." The assassin—a member of a fascist organization set up and subsidized by finance capital—is a product of the gangster ideology of national betrayal.

The reactionaries took vengeance against Inejiro Asanuma for the simple reason that in recent years he had been an active and outspoken champion of progressive opinion. Asanuma had supported unity of all democratic forces working for the independence of Japan and for co-operation and friendship between the nations; he was against militarism and the U.S.-Japanese military alliance.

The Communist Party of Japan, states the protest issued by its Central Committee, is profoundly shocked at the news of the terrorist act against the leader of the Socialist Party. This deed was perpetrated on the eve of the General Election

and the Socialist Party Congress. Asanuma, who not long ago had declared that American imperialism was the common enemy of the Japanese and the Chinese people, fell victim to U.S. imperialism and Japanese reaction. It is a well-known fact that the Liberal-Democratic Party, the government and financial circles are subsidizing and giving every help to Right-wing and anti-communist gangs. The assassination of Asanuma is the outcome of the Ikeda government speeding up the resurgence of militarism. The government and the Liberal-Democratic Party want to suppress democracy by force. But the protest movement launched by the working class and the people as a whole will frustrate their schemes.

The Communist Party is demanding that the government and the Liberal-Democratic Party be held politically responsible for Asanuma's murder. The government must immediately arrest those who prepared and perpetrated the crime as well as those behind them and dissolve the Right-wing anti-communist bandit organizations.

Communists in all countries join in the Japanese Communist Party's protest against this base act of Japanese and international reaction.

Party Building at a New Stage

THE Third Congress of the Working People's Party of Vietnam held in Hanoi over September 5-10, 1960, discussed the Central Committee's report on the work of the Party since its Second Congress in 1951; the Congress charted the perspectives of the revolution and endorsed the directives for the five-year plan of economic development (1961-65). Close attention was devoted to the question of developing the Party. Political Bureau member Le Duc Tho delivered the report on the amendments to the Party Rules, the main points of which are set forth below.

During the nine years that have passed since the Second Congress far-reaching political and social changes have taken place in Vietnam. Victory in the war of resistance restored peace to the country, but left it temporarily divided into two parts. In South Vietnam the people are continuing the fight against the United States-Diem regime and are developing the national, people's-democratic revolution on a broader scale. Meanwhile North Vietnam, completely liberated from the imperialist and feudal yoke, has entered the phase of the socialist revolution.

From the standpoint of building the Party this situation makes higher demands.

The national, people's-democratic revolution in Vietnam is basically a peasant revolution carried out under the leadership of the working class. Our Party has not only adopted the splendid traditions of the working-class movement at home and abroad; it has also adopted and advanced the heroic traditions of the nationwide struggle against foreign invaders. Being the only Party to unfurl the banner of patriotism and democracy it has become the rallying point and the leader of all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces united in a broad national front based on the worker-peasant alliance. The most politically conscious people from the revolutionary classes joined the Party.

Although the theoretical level of most of the Party members is not too high, they unswervingly support the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party, display militancy, patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

True, the admission to membership of large numbers of non-proletarian origin could lead to the spread of a non-proletarian ideology in the Party. But the history of our Party shows that the admission of these people was necessary and did not result in the loss by the Party of its class character. This was so because first place has been given to training the cadres and mem-

bers, to remoulding their ideology in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. As a result, many Party members from among the peasants, petty bourgeoisie and even the exploiting sections developed into splendid fighters for the cause of the working class. Had we taken the narrow approach of closing the Party's doors to these people or, on the other hand, had we concentrated on bigger numbers, ignoring the qualitative growth of the Party, we could not have built a strong mass party, nor could we have rallied the people around it and led them to victory.

Thanks to this line, the working class, although small numerically, has a strong, experienced party through which it exercises its leading role in the revolution. Although working-class members form a majority only when coupled with the agricultural laborers and poor peasants, and though total membership was at times numerically greater than the working class, our Party has always preserved its proletarian character. It is, therefore, the Party of the people, enjoying great prestige among all sections of the population.

The character of the Party cannot be gauged solely by its class composition. It is manifested chiefly in the ideological and political activity of the Party.

The New Stage Poses New Demands

At present our cadres and our Party as a whole must be more than anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. They should have a high degree of socialist consciousness, should be able to distinguish between friends and enemies in this new stage of the revolution, able to draw a clear-cut line between socialism and capitalism, between work and exploitation, and between collectivism and individualism. The knowledge and experience accumulated by our Party during the people's-democratic revolution are not enough. Only by extending the knowledge of the cadres and members in all spheres, and especially in the spheres of ideology and theory, can we perform the role of vanguard fighter and fulfil our difficult historic mission. Organizationally, strengthening the Party's class and vanguard character means higher demands on the members—expelling the useless and very backward elements and recruiting the best people among the workers, peasants, co-operators and revolutionary intellectuals. Attention should be paid to improving the social composition, above all by recruiting more worker members. But ideological education remains, as before, the principal task.

Study of Marxist-Leninist theory, and learning from the experience gained by the fraternal parties are of great help in solving the revolutionary tasks in a given country, for this makes it possible to work out a correct revolutionary program of policy and action. We must, consequently, oppose any dogmatic study of theory and mechanical assimilation of foreign experience; every theory should be verified by practice. The experience of the fraternal countries should be studied critically by combining this with a study of our own conditions.

The weak point in the leadership at all levels and in all branches is the utilitarian attitude, inadequate attention to summing up the results of the work. We should not confine ourselves to particular examples; it is necessary to ensure that all the results are summed up. We can benefit from the lessons of the revolution only by relying on Marxist-Leninist teaching. Ideological and theoretical conclusions should be drawn from an analysis of the concrete experience.

The understanding among members of democratic centralism and of the ways and means by which it was implemented during the underground struggle and the protracted war needs bringing up. Of primary importance now is *the strengthening of collective leadership*, which ensures the carrying out of correct Party policy and relies on the experience and opinions of the members and the people; collective leadership enables us to avoid mistakes arising from subjectivism and one-sidedness, heightens the responsibility and activity of the members, and in this way fortifies the unity of the Party.

In the past our branches, for example, while holding regular meetings did not always prepare them well. The Party committees did not discuss the agenda beforehand, nor did they solicit the views and experiences of the members and the non-party people. The result was that meetings dragged on interminably, matters were discussed superficially, while decisions were vaguely formulated. In some cases conflicting views were not thoroughly debated and things were left suspended in mid-air; there was no unanimous understanding of the points which had been agreed on.

Placing the accent on the collective does not mean lessening the responsibility of its individual members. *Collective leadership should be closely combined with a clear-cut division of duties among individuals.* Any belittling of personal responsibility detracts from the role of collective leadership, resulting in utilitarianism and concentration on the trivial.

Contact with the Masses

A revolution is carried out by the masses. The entire course of the revolution led by our Party has been a continuous mobilization of the people. The August (1945) Revolution, the long war of

resistance, the land reform—all necessitated rallying the masses, for without this a genuinely people's revolution is impossible. Mistakes are bound to be made in a broad mass movement, and only by relying on the working people can we quickly rectify them. After we had criticized mistakes made during the agrarian reform some comrades refrained from urging people to greater activity on the grounds that this would lead to "Left" deviations. Actually, however, the mistakes stemmed not from the mass activity but from the fact that some Party functionaries failed to rally the masses, acted in a bureaucratic manner and used administrative methods. The improved management of industry, too, is essentially a consequence of enlisting the workers in the running of their enterprises.

Some comrades do not understand that they are duty-bound to serve the people faithfully. They feel themselves responsible only to higher bodies and not to the people.

On the other hand, there are those who would be willing to serve the people but tend to scoff at their wisdom and experience, do not learn from them and disregard their views. These comrades often lack concreteness in leadership; they fail to grasp the new problems in time. Because of lack of faith in the strength of the people they assume functions that properly belong to the government and public bodies, act as benefactors of the people, a role which eventually leads to poor results.

Others, upon encountering difficulties, fall back on administrative methods, lacking the patience with which to conduct propaganda work and convince the people, to bring home to them the policy and slogans of the Party so that these are supported by the people and carried into life by them.

In combating bureaucracy and the method of administrative command we should criticize those cadres who tail behind the people and who adapt themselves to current views without even bothering to analyze them, those who at times are guided by the demands of the backward-minded minority, being ignorant of the demands of the majority, or who act only from minor and transient interests and fail to understand the common and future interests of the people.

While bureaucracy and administrative methods detract from the role of the masses in the revolution, the line of tailing behind events detracts from the leading role of our Party, and the two tendencies weaken contact between the Party as the leading force and the people.

Criticism and Self-Criticism — the Guarantee of Party Unity

The unity of the Party does not exclude struggle. On the contrary, unity can be consolidated only by everyday effort to overcome the contradictions

in the Party. Some comrades, however, fear that struggle may destroy unity. This results in a tendency towards petty-bourgeois liberalism with its concomitant situation where conflicting views are not discussed properly, where the shortcomings are not criticized frankly and severely, and where an atmosphere of conciliation and formal unity prevails. Simultaneously there takes place an unprincipled internal struggle in which the crucial ideological issues are pushed into the background while personal dislike and the trivial come to the fore. Strife of this kind is detrimental to the unity and solidarity of the Party and detracts from the significance of criticism and self-criticism, vulgarizing both.

Every leading functionary and leading body should set an example in self-criticism, should encourage and support criticism from below.

According to the Rules, at Party meetings members "have the right to take part in free and business-like discussion of matters affecting policy and activity." Free discussion implies the unrestricted right of the member to voice his opinion, while business-like discussion means that every member should be constructive, should not distort the truth in personal interests or use freedom of speech in order to attack Marxism-Leninism or for anti-Party propaganda and factional and splitting activities. But this in no way infringes the freedom of the member to discuss Party affairs. On the contrary, it ensures the full use of this freedom in the interests of the Party.

A Party member is obliged to abide by Party decisions but "in the event of his disagreeing with them he can apply to the leading bodies, up to and including the Party Congress." The Party takes heed of the opinion of each of its members. Should this opinion be correct it can only benefit the Party and, if wrong, the correct method will not be to reject it by issuing orders but by demonstrating its groundlessness.

Party Members

At the time of the August Revolution our Party had 5,000 members. Today, in North Vietnam we have 500,000, i.e., three per cent of the population. This is not a small figure. But the political and theoretical level of most members is still inadequate. About 86 per cent of the members have not had an elementary education; our need for members with scientific and technical training is great.

That is why the Party is making increasing demands on its members—a fact testifying to its growing maturity.

Our Party is the leader of the socialist revolution which has for its aim the abolition of the exploiting classes and the building of a new society. Every new member admitted to the Party

shall be "a working citizen and shall not exploit the labor of others." This is an important change in the first clause of the Rules. It lays down that the Party denies membership not only to exploiters but also to those who, although toilers by origin, now display a tendency to exploit the labor of others.

The Party member, in addition to being active, should know how to achieve good results. This point expresses the vanguard, militant character of our Party.

Whereas in the course of the national-democratic revolution the enthusiasm of the members was judged by their attitude to the imperialists and feudal lords, at present the measure is the degree of understanding of the importance of developing the national economy, safeguarding the state and public property, and the contribution in these spheres.

The Leading Functionaries

The experience of our Party shows that each category of functionaries has its strong and weak points. Those who come from worker-poor peasant families have excellent qualities—they took part in the revolution, are firm politically and they know well the life and aspirations of the people; their educational and cultural level, however, is low. The functionaries from intellectual and petty-bourgeois families are also active; they are relatively well educated and grasp things quickly. But they are somewhat removed from everyday life, from the people, and those who have not been tempered politically tend to wobble. The best thing, therefore, is to combine properly the two categories so that they complement each other by their qualifications and jointly overcome their weaknesses.

Functionaries should be selected and promoted on the basis of devotion to the revolution, and ability. Devotion signifies fidelity to the revolution, close contact with the people and serving the people; ability implies aptitude for the work in hand and skill in performing it. Devotion fertilizes the soil for ability. Ability without devotion to the revolution is of little service to the working people.

The need of the moment is to train large numbers of politically and otherwise educated functionaries. We need equally large numbers of scientific workers and technicians loyal to the working class. In the latter group our members should be represented in all spheres in order to fulfil, jointly with the non-Party people, the tasks facing the Party.

The Role of the Branch

The Party branch should provide all-round leadership in its particular community. In addition to branch work and guiding the public organizations

it should be able to direct the local economy. This, however, does not mean that it assumes the functions of the administrative bodies and the public organizations. Simultaneously with improving leadership it is essential that the role and responsibility of the administrative bodies and public organizations be enhanced.

Party discipline is iron discipline. Without this discipline, to which all members willingly submit, the Party would never have become the genuine party of the working class, nor would it have fulfilled its role of leader of the revolution. Hence our task, a task which acquires greater significance now that we have embarked on socialist construction, is to strengthen Party discipline.

This, however, does not mean more severe disciplinary penalties; it signifies a higher sense of responsibility, organization and readiness on the part of the members and functionaries to carry out every Party decision.

The draft of the Rules was discussed throughout the Party, and the valuable amendments submitted show that members are keen on furthering the development of the Party.

Our Party is growing and gaining strength under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism. Each step taken by it is closely bound up with the advance of our revolution and paves the way for further success.

Participation of the Public in the Soviet Press

A RECENT meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reviewed the question of enhancing the role of the public in contributing to the press and radio.

Lenin dreamed of the day when for every five staff contributors there would be 500 or even 5,000 worker-reporters. This dream has come true in the Soviet Union where every newspaper maintains close contact with the people and enlists its readers as voluntary worker and peasant correspondents. At present something like 5 million voluntary correspondents contribute to the newspapers, radio and television. What lies behind this figure? In addition to the national press and the republic, district and city papers, there are numerous publications of all kinds run exclusively by worker and peasant correspondents. These include the papers published in factories, offices, colleges, etc. Although their number is great, they are supplemented by masses of type- and hand-written bulletins, better known as wall newspapers, which are posted up prominently for all to see. Every workshop, collective farm, school and hospital has its wall newspaper. In Moscow alone there are about 30,000, in Leningrad 15,000.

Take, for example, the papers put out at the Moscow automobile works. The works paper *Moskovski Avtozavodets* (Moscow Automobile Worker), a daily, has a readership of 8,000. There are, in addition, 340 wall newspapers some of which are weeklies, others appear every ten days, while one, *Zatochka* (Groove), the wall newspaper of the tool-making shop, has appeared daily for the past 15 years. Among the 4,000 activists who contribute to the Auto plant papers are worker-poets, journalists and artists.

The role of the worker-peasant correspondents in the national press is growing. Sometimes whole pages of their reports appear in the central papers. And in the case of the district and city newspapers there are days on which all the articles and reports are written by them.

The worker-peasant correspondents, naturally, are alive to everything taking place in their enterprises, collective farms and offices. They respond at once to every new development, and make their impressions and conclusions known to the readers. They write about achievements and shortcomings, criticize bureaucracy, waste and everything that hampers the building of the new life. These on-the-spot reporters are promoted from among the best workers. They are people who take an active part in social life, and nearly all of them continue to study or have a secondary or higher education. Their experience and their general knowledge can be gauged by the way in which they tackle the burning questions of economic and cultural development.

Assigning to the public correspondent an enhanced role is regarded by the Party as a basic condition for improving the press. Promising developments in this respect set in after the Central Committee adopted a resolution (1958) which called for better guidance to the worker-peasant correspondents.

In Leningrad, for instance, four gatherings of correspondents have been held in recent times. The subjects taught in the more than a hundred schools for correspondents opened in the enterprises include politics, the functioning of industry, and journalism. The Leningrad Journalists' Club

has organized an evening university for worker correspondents with an enrolment of over 200.

The Party organizations now devote more attention to the worker-peasant correspondents. Here are a few facts. The fifth congress of worker-peasant correspondents in the Kuibyshev Region was attended by 800 delegates. About 300 contributors to the press attended a seminar on journalism arranged by the newspaper *Leninskaya Shatura* in the Moscow Region. Useful work is being done by the worker-peasant correspondent club opened by the newspaper *Serovsky Rabochi* in the Sverdlovsk Region.

What are known as correspondents' "raids" are widely practised. The purpose of the "raid" is to focus the attention of the public on a particular problem. For instance, a "raid" was carried out in the Stalino Region (Donbas) to verify the introduction of mechanization and automation in the enterprises. A total of 20,000 people — correspondents and workers organized in teams—took part in the operation. For more than a month all the newspapers in the region featured reports on these teams. After the "raid" correspondents "posts" were established to report on how the suggestions made during the raid were being carried out.

The "posts," consisting of a group of correspondents, function in many enterprises.

The range of activity carried out by public correspondents has become wider. In the Kuibyshev Region the worker-peasant correspondents have councils in most editorial offices. The council members meet and talk with visitors and callers, sort the mail, attend editorial board meetings and check up on complaints made in the letters to the editor.

Another new development in many editorial offices is the department manned completely by voluntary, spare-time, worker-peasant correspondents. These departments have the same rights as the departments manned by professional journalists. They enlist contributors, advise them, edit articles and news items. Much of the work on the journals, radio and TV is now done by these volunteer activists.

Seeing in these new developments an important means of improving the press and the radio pro-

grams the Central Committee of the Party endorsed the practice of establishing departments and councils manned by voluntary worker-peasant correspondents and authors in editorial offices and in radio and TV studios.

In a resolution calling for more public initiative in the press and radio, the Central Committee recommended to the local Party committees, editorial offices and radio and TV committees that they enlist the best workers and collective farmers, intellectuals and activists from Party, governmental, trade union and youth organizations for voluntary membership on the editorial boards. The editorial offices have been instructed to prepare—jointly with the voluntary departments, worker-peasant correspondent and authors' councils and voluntary members of editorial boards—reportage and articles on the economy and culture, to check up on the points contained in readers' letters, discuss the plans of the editorial offices and organize readers' conferences.

Editorial offices dealing with specific problems of the press are requested to give wide coverage to the experiences gained in promoting public initiative in the press and radio. The Party committees and the Board of the Union of Soviet Journalists have been instructed to arrange seminars for the personnel of the voluntary departments, and the non-professional members of the editorial boards and of the worker-peasant correspondent councils. Special attention will be given to such questions as literary quality and journalistic skill.

Speaking at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, N. S. Khrushchov said: "The basic trend in the development of the socialist state is towards maximum democracy, drawing broad sections of the people into the work of conducting national affairs, enlisting all citizens to take part in supervising the economic and cultural development." Elements of communist self-government are steadily permeating the life of Soviet society. And this process is reflected also in the growing contribution which the public is making to the press.

V. VORONTSOV

From the Defensive to the Offensive Against the Monopolies and the Militarists

THE keynote of the conference of the Communist Party of Denmark held in the Parliament building in Copenhagen between September 16-18, was working-class unity, democratic unity of the people and national independence. Our conference, said Knud Espersen, Party chairman, in his closing speech, is "an important link in reorganizing our work, in going over from the defensive to the offensive. Today we are not only an obstacle in the way of the monopolies and the militarists, we are taking the offensive in order to render them harmless."

The Conference coincided with the biggest so far Danish-West German military maneuvers within the framework of NATO, which were prepared by the same German militarists who occupied Denmark 20 years ago. It should be borne in mind that in Denmark there are also people, though they are few, who seem to be unaware that a modern war could signify the destruction of a small country like ours.

That is why the Conference devoted special attention to foreign-policy matters, the fight for peace and national independence.

Stressing the importance of vigilance in relation to the imperialist intrigues, the delegates were unanimous that an international détente and disarmament are realistic aims.

Denmark should do her share towards this end. She should renounce military co-operation with NATO, become a neutral country, work for an atom-free zone in the North and to make the Baltic a sea of peace. The pressing task is to organize a new movement of resistance to German militarism, to its overt and covert attempts to subordinate the Danish armed forces and to use the territory of Denmark.

Now as at the time of the Nazi occupation, the fight for national independence is favorable soil for unity of the people.

Such are the foreign-policy ideas formulated in the basic documents of the conference.

In assessing the internal situation the policy statement proceeds from the following propositions:

"... There are growing contradictions between the democratic forces and the monopolies, which are pushing Denmark onto a dangerous path and towards false aims, while the contradictions between the different groups of the people confronted with the omnipotent monopolies are being erased.

"... We are living at a time when the world is advancing from capitalism to socialism.

"It is, therefore, realistic to say that war can be forever abolished and society can be directed along the path of progress."

The policy statement contains a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Danish society and of the results of the struggle waged against revisionism and dogmatism both at home and abroad. It concretizes the general program of the Party *at a time when it is possible, by ranging all the democratic national forces against the monopolies, radically to change home and foreign policy, at a time when it is possible, by making inroads on their economic power, to secure better conditions for all sections of the people.*

The statement calls for democratic control of industry by the people, first of all by the working class. Big monopoly enterprises resisting this control should be subject to nationalization; the National Bank, big private banks, oil and sugar refineries and the insurance companies should be nationalized immediately. Foreign trade, which plays a bigger role in Denmark than in many other capitalist countries, should be placed under public control, too. Ground-rent should come under public ownership. The land should belong to the tillers, and small farmers should get credits on more favorable terms. Aid should be granted for the purpose of organizing co-operative tractor depots.

The policy statement urges protection for the small manufacturers, handicraftsmen and traders, with the simultaneous development of co-operatives; it calls for an end to the profiteering in house-building and for an extensive housing program, for more money for the social services, including increases for the 400,000 state pensioners, for bigger allocations for cultural purposes; culture should be freed from the influence of commercial interests; the system of higher education should be made more democratic.

The administrative apparatus, too, should be made more democratic; the concealed influence exerted by the monopolies on Parliament and on the machinery of government should be restricted and bureaucracy combated. All agreements aimed at subordinating Denmark to supra-national bodies should be annulled, and steps taken to prevent even the possibility of concluding such agreements in the future. Parliament should be the supreme

body of national sovereignty, and municipal self-government should be a means of safeguarding the interests of the working people.

The statement outlines a clear-cut program of action by all sections of the people (factory and office workers, working farmers, women, youth, etc.) in support of a genuine people's Parliament.

"Experience," the statement reads, "has confirmed once again that by purging its ranks the Party sheds nothing but its mistakes."

The Party has grown stronger as a result of the defeat of the revisionists led by Aksel Larsen, former Party chairman who set up a revisionist group called the Socialist People's Party. That which could never be achieved by the "clever formulations" and "original solutions" of the revisionists has been ensured by creative Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party, by the selflessness and the militancy of its members. Today the Party is closely linked with the working class and the people. This, undoubtedly, has found reflection in the mass struggle which has developed in recent years.

The Central Committee's report pointed out, for instance, that 180 strikes, including a number of major struggles, had taken place since January 1. And on the day the report was delivered a change had to be inserted because another three strikes, one involving 1,800 shipyard workers, were reported.

About 100,000 workers won wage increases this year, nearly half of them through "direct action." This is considerably more than was the case in the many years when reformist methods prevailed; such mass activity has not been observed throughout the postwar history of the working-class movement in Denmark.

It can be said that anti-communism and reformist passivity are losing their effect on the workers' struggle for everyday demands. The ex-

perience gained during the long period of setbacks associated with reformism, the healthier international climate, the consolidation of the Communist Party and its growing activity—all are interwoven and have a wholesome effect on the working-class movement.

It was pointed out at the conference that working-class unity was of decisive significance for the nation and that strikes were beginning to go beyond the bounds of the working class and were turning into a popular movement (e.g., the strike of 5,000 postal clerks for higher wages, the first strike of government employees in Denmark's history).

The people are becoming more active in their opposition to the government's co-operation with the German militarists and NATO generals, of which the NATO politicians, doubtlessly, are aware. The people will take the path of resistance in order to save the nation, the path charted and followed by the Communist Party.

The Party is united as never before, and its ideological level is high. The membership and the circulation of the Party newspaper are stable, and pronounced but as yet inadequate progress can be noted in this respect. This is confirmed, for instance, by the increase in the donations to the *Land og Folk* Fund. The target for the Fund is reached more quickly now than at any other time since the liberation.

A general election will be held shortly. The anti-democratic system of representation and the splitting activities of the revisionists among the electorate encourage the reactionaries to think that the Party will suffer defeat. And for this reason it is essential to get down to organizational and propaganda work in order to consolidate the successes achieved and to ensure the solidarity of the masses in the election campaign.

Kjeld ESTERLING

Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa

THE need for united action by the peoples of Africa (especially among those where the French language and culture are widespread) and the working class of France confront the French Communist Party with new tasks.

At a meeting of the Party's Central Committee, Raymond Guiyot delivered a report on this subject, excerpts from which we publish below.

The development of events in Africa fully confirms the soundness of the stand to which the

French Communist Party has adhered. The demand for national independence which the imperialists have tried to shelve, has become well-nigh irresistible.

In recent years Africa has stepped into the forefront of world politics. It is destined to play, and is beginning to play a growing role in international relationships. Every country in this continent, with its population of over 250 million, is being caught up in the irresistible movement for independence, which is the typical feature of our times.

The events now taking place in "French" Africa confirm the theses of the Fifteenth Congress of our Party. Genuine recognition of complete independence for the peoples of Africa is a condition for establishing mutually advantageous political, economic and cultural relations between these countries and France. These relations should be based on voluntary principles and absolute equality. Only a policy of this kind can be termed realistic and in keeping with the spirit of the times and mutual interests of the peoples of Africa and France.

Our Party should work for the solidarity of the working class and all democrats in France with the peoples of Africa and Madagascar. For this it is necessary above all to explain through our press the problems posed by the new situation in Africa: explain that the just struggle waged by the Africans and Malagasy pursues the same aims as our struggle, being directed against the same exploiters and oppressors; we should throw light on the attempts of the present rulers to retard the liberation of these peoples, and show the consequences with which these attempts are fraught.

In the new situation we should establish contact, especially personal contact, with the African peoples, parties, organizations and their representatives, who can count on the effective solidarity of our working class and its Party.

Class relations make themselves felt also in the African countries, although in most of them the percentage of wage and salaried workers is still very small (with the exception of Senegal and the Ivory Coast where it is somewhat higher). Still, the reprisals to which some of the African governments resort is a clear manifestation of class struggle.

The support that we should extend to the peoples of Africa and Madagascar does not mean that we keep silent about the policy pursued by some African leaders, a policy which, in our view, runs counter to the interests of the peoples of Africa and France. We are convinced that the arbitrary regime and anti-democratic policy of some of the

African governments which have launched an anti-communist crusade are at variance with the genuine national interests of these countries and the struggle of the peoples generally. Such, for example, is the policy of the Congolese government headed by abbé Fulbert Youlou who, on the advice of the former Pétain police agent Delarue, recently faked a "communist conspiracy" with a view to arresting leaders of the trade unions, the youth organization and the peace movement. The foregoing is true also for the government of Gabon which not long ago placed trade union leaders under arrest. The same situation obtains in a number of other countries where extraordinary laws spearheaded against the patriots have been passed in the guise of "preventive measures against the Communist danger."

It is our duty to declare that these and similar actions do not serve the interests of the African people, that it is impossible to uphold the independence of the country while simultaneously persecuting those who are and remain its loyal defenders especially at a time when the imperialists are multiplying their intrigues.

Always and everywhere anti-communism has been the weapon of the reactionaries in their struggle against the working people. And Africa is no exception.

The dissemination of communist ideas in the African countries is at once the duty and task of our Party. We maintain that in order to help in this the Editions Sociales Publishing House should examine the possibility of putting out a symposium of basic works and other materials of particular interest to Africa and which could be widely circulated in the countries. *Democratie Nouvelle* which is widely read there, could play an important part in disseminating our ideas on the African continent.

We should aid the Marxist groups springing up in Africa, help in their educational work and, when the conditions arise, in forming parties there which would conduct their activities in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Aspects of the National Struggle in Somali

(Letter from a Somali communist)

LAST July saw the reunification of British and Italian Somaliland and the establishment of a united and independent country. The preparations for this event on the part of the people had long been underway, but the conditions for

its materialization have appeared only now when the peoples of Africa have come out resolutely against colonialism, for peace, freedom and social progress.

Reunification was the culminating point of a

series of developments. In February the first elections held in British Somaliland resulted in victory for the bourgeois-democratic parties. The Legislative Assembly demanded that the British government grant independence simultaneously with the granting of independence to Italian Somaliland. The Assembly then sent a deputation to Italian Somaliland to negotiate with the leaders there. The negotiations were successful and resulted in a decision simultaneously to proclaim the independence of the two parts of the country as a united state.

Some people say that the cause of the country's unity has finally triumphed and that its national problems have in the main been resolved. In reality this is not the case.

Vast territories inhabited by Somalis are to this day under French and British colonial rule. These include the northern province incorporated into Kenya and French Somali. The population of the unified territories amounts to about 1.5 million in the former Italian Somaliland and 640,000 in the former British Somaliland, i.e., just over two million. Besides there are 500,000 Somalis in Ethiopian Somali, 68,000 in French Somali and 80,000 in the Kenya-administered northern province.

The unification of all Somali territories into a single independent state, and the economic and political development of the new Republic are the fundamental and topical issues engaging the attention of all the political parties and groups in our country.

These parties are still young. The first of them, the Somali Youth League, was formed in 1943 and set itself the task of securing national independence and unity, although it had no clear-cut political program at that time. It demanded, for example, independence and unity but lacked an economic program for the day when independence would come. The Party was established not as a political organization but rather as a cultural association of the youth. In a few months after its formation branches of this Party appeared in all five parts of Somaliland.

The British administration was tolerant towards the new Party, in the belief that it could be used as its instrument. But the Party launched a struggle to unite all Somalis, and adhered to its initial program until 1954 when the Italian administration bought over some of its leaders.

At that time the country saw the emergence of the working-class movement. New parties began to make their appearance on the political scene. A split took place in the Somali Youth League in 1958. Its more radical members, headed by the former chairman of the Party, Nahi Mohammed Hussein, founded a new party — the Greater Somali League. Although it had no major

difference with the Youth League in matters of internal policy, the new Party had no time for the colonialist powers, above all Italy, favored closer relations with the UAR and the other Afro-Asian countries.

Later, there emerged the Independent Constitutional Party which wanted a federal Somaliland with a Western orientation.

In the course of the liberation struggle groups of Communists began to be formed, but the authorities prevented them from forming a party. The Communists were the first to formulate economic demands, to unfurl the banner of struggle not only for formal political independence but also for economic independence, against U.S. imperialism which now stepped up its attempts to penetrate into the country. The economic program called for agricultural co-operatives. The Communists voiced the need to develop a leather industry for which the country with its 30 million head of cattle has great possibilities. Other points called for developing natural resources, and so on.

The communists pointed out that in order to resolve the national problems it was imperative to consolidate all the progressive forces. With this aim in view they proposed the formation of a United National Front. But the ruling party turned down this proposal — it materialized only after the split in the Youth League. At first the Front united the Communists, the democrats who had withdrawn from the Youth League, and the National Constitutional party which, after those of its leaders who had been bought by the colonial administration were expelled, became a National Front party fighting for independence.

The Communists suggested that the National Front should not be confined to the former Italian Somaliland, that it should be extended to the other parts of the country. In December 1959 the first all-Somali Congress of the National Front was held in Mogadishu, at which nationwide alliances of the political parties took shape.

In 1959 the imperialists began to persecute the Communists and other democrats. During the notorious events in February 1959, wholesale arrests took place of the leaders of all the political parties with the exception of the Youth League. Some 340 leading members of the greater Somali League were arrested; things went as far as mass murders of women and children.

In former times there were no real trade unions in the country, nor were there student or other mass organizations. The Communists succeeded in establishing the first trade union organization — the teachers' union. The latter encountered great difficulties: the premises were confiscated and its members persecuted. Still, it withstood the test.

Very soon more unions were organized — for medical workers, for men employed on public works, for restaurant and hotel workers, etc. The establishment of trade unions met with support from nearly all workers and advanced political parties.

For a number of reasons it was imperative to unite the first unions, which were still weak, into a confederation. Labor legislation, for example, was unknown in Somali, the length of the working day was not regulated so that at the sugar refineries and sugar cane plantations people worked 12 hours a day for a daily wage of only two somalis, i.e., approximately 160 lire. The new trade union confederation was placed by the government and the Italian administration under Italian Catholic trade unions and drawn into the international trade union body led by the Right-wing Socialists. But our unions have entirely different aims and different tasks. Today they intend to join an African trade union organization which, we hope, will be established in the near future.

Those who joined the Somali confederation — including the Communists — forced the government and the Italian administration to adopt the first labor code.

While the adoption of the code has not resulted in any social reform, it is better than nothing. It shows, in particular, that the working people of our country made the first step in the fight for demands formulated by the Communists.

Thanks to the Communists a universal student's organization has been established which has its daily paper and a fortnightly journal. This organization unites students of all political and religious trends, adheres to a neutralist stand, stresses the struggle against ignorance and wants cultural relations with the socialist world. The organization has delegated some fifty students to study in the socialist countries.

The prestige of the Communists, the true and persistent champions of the working people, is

steadily growing. They occupy an important place in the political life of the country. Together with all democrats and patriots they are working to consolidate the country, to secure complete reunification. We give the lie to the colonialist schemes of American imperialism. In the guise of aid the U.S. monopolies aim at seizing the key positions in our economy, at grabbing our national wealth.

Today all our people are asking the question: what will be the attitude of the ruling group which is administering the country until the election of constitutional bodies. The people insist that the present government and the ruling class should make a sober analysis of their political line, establish control over the foreign monopolies — especially the oil monopolies — pursue a policy of neutrality and co-operation with the Afro-Asian countries, and establish at first diplomatic relations and later economic and cultural ties with the socialist world. We support this policy because we regard defense of Somali's national interests as our vital cause.

Such are the problems we are facing today. Presently elections will be held in our country, which should be genuinely free elections. We know that not all political parties took part in the previous elections, that the ruling party submitted lists containing only its own candidates, with the result that 83 of the 90 seats went to the Youth League. We know that the people and the political forces are opposed to the policy of the ruling political group and the imperialists.

After the reunification of its two parts some people hoped that our country would join the imperialist bloc. But demonstrations and struggles have frustrated these attempts of the imperialists and their stooges. We are confident that the new elections, if held in the spirit of democracy, will bring about positive results in keeping with the aspirations of our people, will help resolve the problems that are on the agenda today.

Mohammed YASIN

“De Waarheid” Celebrates Twentieth Anniversary

DE WAARHEID, organ of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, first appeared illegally in October 1940* during the Nazi occupation. On September 25, 1960, in Amsterdam, thousands of friends of the paper celebrated its 20th anniversary.

Until May 1945 the paper devoted itself to the struggle against the Nazi occupation — for peace, national sovereignty and democracy. The working class was the driving force in this struggle. And although thousands of Communists were shot or died in the Nazi death camps, circulation of the paper grew steadily; people died but thousands more whose eyes had been opened by *De Waarheid* joined the Resistance Movement.

The Party was able to bring out an underground paper so quickly after the German invasion because its previous history had prepared it for the ordeals of the liberation struggle. Publication of the paper and its content signified the continuation, in the new conditions, of the Party's prewar policy. Because of its correct policy and long years of anti-fascist struggle, the Communist Party weathered the upheavals and the terror which scattered all the other political parties.

In the winter of 1940-41 *De Waarheid* inspired the movement for higher wages and against workers being sent to Germany. These first actions by the workers during the occupation served, in addition to their immediate purpose, as a serious preparation for the great strike which took place at the end of February 1941.

This strike, in which the entire working population of Amsterdam participated, was a big blow to the occupation authorities who were anxious to form a puppet government headed by Mussert, the Dutch Quisling, and bring Holland into the anti-Soviet military coalition. The massacres of the Jewish population were designed to prepare the soil for these plans. But the Amsterdam workers, led by the Communist Party, came to the aid of their Jewish comrades. After bloody fighting the fascist terror gangs were driven out of the Jewish districts. Then, when the Nazis began to send trainloads of Jewish workers to Germany, the Amsterdam working class retaliated by a general strike which sparked off the nationwide Resistance Movement.

*The *People's Paper*, organ of the Party before the occupation, was immediately suppressed by the Nazis.

By taking part in preparing this struggle and in heading it *De Waarheid* showed that it was a keen weapon spearheaded against the oppressors.

That the reactionaries should hate *De Waarheid* is natural. After the war when it emerged from the underground, the paper, naturally, did not get any aid from the authorities. Yet those papers which collaborated with the Nazis retained their printing shops, distribution agencies and all the other facilities needed to carry on their reactionary activity. It was thanks to the financial help of the working class that *De Waarheid* was able to purchase its own print-shop. The selfless aid of the workers was manifested especially during the Hungarian counter-revolution when the fascists, instigated by the reactionaries and enjoying police protection, tried to set fire to the editorial premises and shop. For two days hundreds of Party members and friends of the paper fought gallantly, defending the premises of *De Waarheid* — the paper of the working class.

De Waarheid has no other interests but those of the working people of Holland. That is why, both in the years immediately after the war and today when the reactionaries are sending troops to New Guinea, the paper consistently exposes the colonialist policy of the government. Urging the workers to fight for their own interests, the paper explains that success in this struggle depends on peace with Indonesia. *De Waarheid* keeps the workers posted about world affairs, exposes the machinations of the imperialists and reports the struggle waged by the socialist countries in defense of peace.

An important aspect of the general struggle for peace in our country is the struggle against the German revenge-seekers and their accomplices. *De Waarheid* constantly points to the danger which resurgent German militarism bodes for the country and the world, and rallies the national forces to resist it. In connection with the amnesty for war criminals the communist press repeatedly initiated protest campaigns which developed into nationwide movements, hampered war preparations and aid to the German revanchists.

De Waarheid explains that the fight for peace is closely linked with the fight for social progress. It urged the working people to be vigilant and to fight for better conditions when Parliament decided to increase military expenditures last June. The working class, benefiting from the daily information supplied by the communist paper concerning the

profits amassed by the capitalists from the war contracts and exploitation, is on the move for higher wages. Thousands participated in the struggles which took place in August and September. The movement embraced mainly the big enterprises, and the workers, united, quickly won success. In the course of the struggle *De Waarheid*, a persistent champion of trade union unity, broadened its contact with the working class, and, thanks to big sales in the streets, tens of thousands of workers made its acquaintance.

De Waarheid generalizes the fighting experience in the interest of all working people. Every day it urges them to fight for better conditions, but it also warns that lasting success cannot be achieved under capitalism. The paper pays close attention to the advances recorded in the socialist countries, particularly in the USSR, explaining their significance for the struggle for peace and the liberation of all peoples.

The fact that the Party has its own newspaper

has enabled its leadership to hold aloft the banner of class consciousness in the postwar period. It was with its help that the Wagenaar-Gortzak anti-Party group, a group hostile to the workers, was defeated.

The strength of our paper lies in its ability to rally around it the Party activists and readers. This was seen particularly during the boycott of the paper by the big advertisers. The boycott was largely frustrated by readers because they, at the request of the paper, began to buy only from firms advertising in *De Waarheid*. The business world had to resume its *De Waarheid* advertising. The paper owes this success wholly to its close and friendly contact with the readers.

De Waarheid, the title of which (Truth) is programmatic, will develop and grow because, personifying peace and the future, it is the herald of the new era.

Harry VERHEY,
Deputy General Secretary, C.C.,
Communist Party of the Netherlands

Short Notices

Argentina

A JOURNAL FOR INTELLECTUALS

THE journal *Cuadernos de Cultura*, which recently celebrated its 10th anniversary, plays a useful role in guiding the work of communist intellectuals.

The appearance of the journal coincided with the hotting up of the cold war on the world arena and with the Peron government's launching of a reactionary offensive within the country. The difficult path traversed by the journal reflects the profound socio-political crisis experienced by Argentina.

In an anniversary message Victorio Codovilla pointed out: "*Cuadernos de Cultura* has staunchly championed the cultural traditions which began with the May revolution and are developing with the emergence onto the political arena of new social forces, above all the proletariat — the most progressive of all classes. The journal reflects the leading role of the working class in the democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist revolution at the present stage of the country's economic, social and political development."

For a long time *Cuadernos de Cultura* has been published and distributed illegally. And yet the number of contributors and readers is growing. The contributions by Communist intellectuals lend the journal its militant, purposeful character.

The indisputable service of the journal is that it has vigorously upheld and disseminated the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, skillfully applying them in solving the problems of national culture. Articles explaining the reasons for the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have, in addition to educating members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, enabled the intellectuals to get a better understanding of the trend of developments.

The journal gives its support to all the democratic and progressive trends in the country's cultural life, explains the problems of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing systems, steadfastly exposes the predatory and militarist nature of Wall Street imperialism, thereby helping to rally large sections of the intellectuals for the struggle for peace, for outlawing nuclear weapons.

The journal sharply poses the basic problems facing the country. In numerous articles it has defended secular education, democratic republican institutions, civil liberties and freedom of thought. The discussion and exchange of views on such subjects as the fine arts, the modern Argentine novel, the character of the university, etc., evoked wide response.

Through the columns of the journal the Party champions the national character of Argentine

culture, which should be guarded as a treasured possession. The journal enters the lists against all reactionary trends, including revisionism and neo-liberalism in the field of historiography.

The influence of *Cuadernos de Cultura* among the intellectuals is growing steadily as can be seen from its circulation which is now nearing 6,000. The journal enjoys popularity in all Latin American countries, and this places it in the front ranks of the Marxist cultural publications.

Spain

TRADE UNION ELECTIONS

MUNDO OBRERO, published illegally in Madrid, carries the appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in connection with the forthcoming trade union elections.

It denounces Franco's so-called "integrated democracy," which denies the workers freedom of speech, assembly and organization. The Communist Party urges the workers to reject the candidates imposed on them by the top bureaucrats in the unions and the big capitalists.

Mass action decides everything; we should, therefore, form joint committees at the enterprises, and stand for election to union posts, which can be useful in organizing action by the workers.

The Party is advancing a program of demands for the whole country and calls on all working people, irrespective of their political convictions, to form joint committees in every industrial or agricultural enterprise and to nominate their own candidates; to hold meetings at the place of work and in city squares; to fight for economic and political demands and to intensify action against the so-called stabilization plan.

"The struggle during the union elections," says the appeal, "should be regarded by the working people as a vital component of preparation for a nationwide strike. The groups and committees that will be set up, and the unity achieved in the forthcoming trade union elections will be a big step forward in preparing the nationwide movement."

Peru

UNITY OF THE PATRIOTIC FORCES

THE Third National Conference of the Communist Party of Peru was held in Lima recently. The Conference summed up the work of the Party over the past few years, mapped out the new political line in keeping with the changed situation, made preparations for the forthcoming Fourth

Congress and made some changes in the Party leadership.

Assessing the political set-up in Peru, the Conference stated that "the class composition of the present government is the same as its predecessor—it represents the interests of the latifundists and big capitalists who are linked up with U.S. imperialism." Continuing the economic policy of the Odria dictatorship, the government upholds the system of "free enterprise," "free trade," privileges for the North American monopolies and abets imperialist interference in affairs of state. The official propaganda about the so-called "lawful state" is only a demagogic cover for the dictatorship of the oligarchy, which is trying hard to destroy democratic freedoms and to restrict the rights of the trade unions and other organizations of the working people. The ruthlessness of this dictatorship can be seen in the countless shootings of workers and peasants, in the brutal government reprisals aimed at halting the popular movement.

The National-Reformist Party (APRA) actively supports the present regime and obediently serves imperialism and the oligarchy.

The conference noted that the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and the Peruvian people are growing. The penetration of U.S. finance-capital worsens the already grave condition of the national economy, and gives rise to discontent among wide sections. At the same time, the growth of a national industry presupposes the growth of a national bourgeoisie and of its class consciousness. This is expressed in the formation of the Christian-Democratic Party and the Accion Popular Party.

In these conditions no class or social stratum alone can smash the reactionary forces. That is why the Conference pointed to the need for a united front. This front could be formed on a platform of identical tasks in the national and democratic development of the country. The front would be open to all forces opposed to the oligarchy and North American imperialism, although they may not all be consistent in this struggle. A united front takes shape in the complex process of the different strata and classes drawing closer to each other, a part of which, while fighting for national and democratic goals does not yet set itself the task of complete revolutionary changes. The unity of the progressive forces at present is manifest in diverse ways and forms. Of exceptional importance is the movement for nationalizing the oil industry.

One of the points discussed at the Conference was the possibility of a peaceful agrarian anti-imperialist revolution. The Conference reached the conclusion that at present this possibility does not exist in Peru, because the ruling classes are con-

ducting a policy of political terror and of restricting bourgeois democracy.

The Conference unanimously approved the Communiqué of the Bucharest meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries and expressed confidence in the ultimate victory of the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The Conference expressed solidarity with the Cuban revolution. This revolution has put an end to the dogmatism of those who held that victory over imperialism through armed struggle, especially through partisan warfare, was impossible. The Conference declared that in consolidating and further developing the Cuban revolution a decisive role would be played by international solidarity and the fraternal support of the Latin American and Afro-Asian peoples, and of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

The Union of South Africa

THE COMMUNIST PARTY FIGHTS ON

EVER since the Communist Party was banned in 1950, in accordance with the Suppression of Communism Act, the Communists have been listed, banned and banished, arrested on framed charges, driven out of jobs and homes, shadowed and spied upon by the Special Branch. But the Communists have never stopped fighting for freedom and human rights for all the people of the Union of South Africa. Communist leaflets are now circulated more and more widely. One of these

leaflets reads: "For 30 years the Communist Party of South Africa stood in the front ranks of the struggle for equality and human rights. We believe communism is the noblest ideal of mankind.

"We Communists pledge ourselves to work loyally and courageously with democratic South Africans of all political views, to destroy racialism and color bars. Let us unite in the great fight for freedom and democracy to win for every single person in our land: the right to vote for and share in the government; equal rights and opportunities regardless of color; enough wages or land for a decent life; a life of dignity, peace and freedom."

Describing the present South African government as a fascist government, the Communist Party recalls that it has imprisoned 2,000 men and women without charge or trial. "The police shoot into peaceful crowds. They march through the streets like storm troopers, hitting any dark-skinned person with their whips. They run riot in townships and locations, arresting at random, assaulting, shooting and looting. And they call this a 'State of Emergency.' Let's call it by its right name — Hitlerism." But the fascist government "cannot kill communism. It cannot kill the spirit of the people of South Africa in their onward march to freedom."

The leaflet concludes: "Workers and lovers of freedom, let us go forward with unity and courage. All Africa is with us. All the world is with us.

"Down with the nazi Verwoerd government! Down with pass laws and starvation! Forward to Freedom!"

Reviews

The Journal "Zenei"—a Weapon of the Working-Class Struggle in Japan

THE first number of *Zenei* (Vanguard), a political and theoretical journal published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, appeared on January 1, 1946, a few months after the Party had emerged into the open after twenty-three years of underground struggle, i.e., ever since its foundation in July 1922. In June 1950, however, nineteen days before the beginning of the aggressive war in Korea, the American occupation authorities prohibited all members of the Central Committee of the Party as well as the members of the editorial board of *Akahata*, its central organ, from engaging in political activity. A period of semi-legality set in that was to last nearly five years, but throughout this time the Communist Party continued publication of *Zenei*.

Exposing American imperialism and the traitorous reactionary forces in Japan that collaborated with it, *Zenei* holds aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and scientific communism, the banner of peace, national independence and democracy.

In October this year the 174th issue of *Zenei* came off the press. Living up to its name, the Party's political and theoretical organ has for the past fifteen years played a vanguard role in the struggles of the working class and all working people.

Against Subordination to American Imperialism, for Democratic Development in Japan

The Seventh Congress which took place from July 23 to August 1, 1958, was a landmark in the history of the Party. It brought to light certain mistakes committed by the Party in the past and in the main put an end to the split in its ranks. It charted a line of action for the people's struggle for peace, national independence and democracy.

As the decisions of the Seventh Congress point out, there are two conflicting tendencies to be observed in postwar Japan. One is the revival of a militaristic imperialist Japan allied with and dependent on American imperialism. The other is the popular demand for a break with American imperialism, for full national independence and the building of a peaceful, independent, democratic Japan.

In keeping with the Seventh Congress decisions, *Zenei* has constantly emphasized that postwar development in Japan can be properly assessed only if it is regarded as a clash of forces following these two paths. The first path is pursued by the traitorous monopoly capitalists and the privileged bureaucracy, militarists and other reactionary forces associated with them. It will be recalled that the Kishi government, which represented these forces, signed a new military alliance treaty with the U.S. Government in defiance of the protests of the people, and summoned the police to secure its ratification by parliament. This was a challenge to peace in Asia and the whole world.

The second path is followed by the working class, which has become a powerful force in postwar Japan, by the peasants, who are gradually cementing their alliance with the working class, by other strata of the urban and rural working people, the non-monopoly groups of the bourgeoisie, and various other democratic sections of the population. Marching in the van of the democratic struggle and giving it guidance, the Communist Party of Japan constantly calls for working-class unity and the solidarity of all democratic forces.

When the conspiracy to put through the new Japano-United States "security treaty" was launched, *Zenei* devoted close attention to this issue and exposed the essence of the treaty.

The resolute stand taken by the Japanese people against the new treaty is common knowledge. But it hadn't always been like this. The situation was quite different in the autumn of 1959, when the treaty was first mooted. Even part of the progressive press was vague about it at the time. If public opinion came to regard the treaty in a different light, a share of the credit for this belongs to the intensive work done by the Communist Party and its press to expose it.

The first to take up the issue, and from a correct standpoint, was *Zenei*. In an article entitled "The Basic Line of the Party and Party Building," printed in December 1959 (No. 162), Katsumi Kikunami presented the case in great detail against the new treaty. The basic policy of the Party, the article pointed out, consists briefly in resisting American imperialist domination, preventing the revival of Japanese militarism and imperialism, abolishing

the San Francisco set-up, and building a peace-loving, independent, democratic Japan. "This basic line," the author said, "derives, firstly, from the international solidarity of the proletariat of all countries in its struggle against the most brazen imperialism in the world, American imperialism; secondly, it reflects the uncompromising class stand of the Japanese proletariat against the reactionary alliance of American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital dependent on it; thirdly, it advances tasks common to the nation, to all the people, in the fight for peace, national independence and democracy."

That the basic line of the Party was correct, as Kikunami showed in his article, was fully confirmed by subsequent events and the development of the popular struggle.

Dwelling on the events connected with the popular opposition to the projected Eisenhower visit, Kenzi Miyamoto, in an article headed "Our Party's Struggle" (*Zenei*, September 1960), wrote: "The first to call for struggle against the Eisenhower visit to Japan was the Communist Party. Early in March, Akahata carried editorials protesting against both the Eisenhower and Adenauer visits to Japan. . . . We protested against the Eisenhower visit because, with the essence of American imperialism remaining the same, its object was to facilitate ratification of the revised 'security treaty' and the Japanese-American military alliance which means national oppression for Japan and, moreover, is directed at unleashing aggressive war. Hence the Japanese people could only conceive this visit as the visit of an enemy of peace, an enemy of the nation. . . . Then the U-2 incident took place and the aggressive plans of the USA became obvious to the whole world. It also became clear that Kishi saw his salvation in the Eisenhower visit. Under the impact of these object lessons . . . the Socialist Party also agreed with our position. . . . Following this, a protest resolution against the Eisenhower visit was adopted at a mass meeting on May 21."

This example alone clearly shows the decisive role played by the Party's political course in developing the people's anti-imperialist struggle.

It goes without saying that the basic line of the Party cannot be realized without a *united national-democratic front*. It will be recalled that in the course of the struggle against the new treaty united mass action developed on an exceedingly wide scale. These actions, which had no precedent in all previous Japanese history, developed as the joint struggle of the popular forces, with the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the trade unions and other democratic mass organizations participating. The course of this struggle confirms the correctness of the Communist Party when it stresses the establishment of a united national-democratic front.

Latterly, *Zenei* has printed a number of articles examining the question of united action from the standpoint of building such a united national-democratic front and strengthening the leading role of the Communist Party in the general democratic struggle.

A feature of the united action in Japan is that more than one hundred mass organizations are taking part in the joint action committees. It should be noted, however, that the leadership of the Communist Party is still insufficiently felt in this movement. With the development of joint action, the united front is actually in the process of coming into being, yet the mass organizations, and, in particular, the main force in these joint actions, the trade unions, still do not accept the program advanced by the Communist Party for a single national-democratic front. Neither the Socialist Party nor the trade unions are yet working for genuine unity and solidarity of the masses in a united front.

The popular struggle against ratifying the treaty has activated those elements in the Socialist Party and the trade unions who are for united action. From number to number, *Zenei* stresses that only by the united efforts of the broadest masses will it be possible to free the country from the domination of American imperialism and domestic reaction and direct it along a democratic course.

This problem is examined in detail in the Communist Party's election program, published in *Zenei* in October (No. 174) this year. "In the present situation," the program declares, "only the formation of a democratic coalition government can pave the way for the nation and the state to neutrality and independence."

The Communist Party offers a clear-cut way to the democratization of Japan's political, economic and cultural life, the way of curbing the monopolies. Our Party is convinced, the election program states, that all the democratic forces, the majority of the Japanese people, can achieve unity on the basis of the following demands: 1. Termination of the Japanese-American military alliance treaty; 2. Prohibition of nuclear weapons; 3. Conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty, restoration of diplomatic relations with China; 4. Defense of the Constitution and democracy; 5. Stabilization and improvement of living standards; 6. Unity of all the main patriotic forces of the people.

Against Revisionism and Sectarianism

The basic line of the Communist Party is constantly under attack by the revisionists and Trotskyites. The joint declaration of the Communist parties of Japan and China, published in Peking on October 20, 1959, emphasizes that "in order to undermine the unity of the communist ranks, the imperialists resort not only to diverse provocations in the en-

deavor to cause a split, but make use of the contemporary revisionists and Trotskyites for an intensified ideological offensive against Marxism-Leninism."

Zenei has conducted an uncompromising fight against contemporary revisionism and Trotskyism, exposing the counter-revolutionary essence of their programs and theories. A number of critical articles against these trends and also against the reformism of the Right-wing Social Democrats were printed in a special issue of the magazine in April under the general title, "Struggle in the Field of Ideology and Culture." Criticism was focused on contemporary revisionism as the main danger. The special issue is of cardinal significance for the ideological struggle in Japan, because the articles provide confirmation of the basic line adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Party and show what it means in terms of the struggle waged by the people.

One of the articles headed "The Fight Against Trotskyism, and Building the Party," by Shoichi Kasuga, debunks the treacherous "theories" of the Trotskyites and brings out the weaknesses of which they have taken advantage in an attempt to influence members of the Party.

Right-wing opportunism meets with scant support among the workers in Japan, a country partly occupied by the armed forces of American imperialism where wages are lower than in any other developed capitalist country and where the social contradictions are aggravated to the extreme. Therefore, in order to disguise its anti-popular essence, opportunism in Japan often resorts to a "Leftist," "revolutionary" camouflage. The Trotskyites, who have sprung up in Japan in the last three years, have carried with them some young people who have not as yet awakened to the counter-revolutionary treacherous nature of this gang of renegades. One should not overestimate the danger of Trotskyism spreading in Japan, but for all that, in the prevailing conditions of a developing anti-imperialist struggle when broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie are joining the movement and the masses are rapidly moving to the left, the Trotskyite groups can deceive people inexperienced in political activity. To the all-out united action against the new Japano-American treaty, the Trotskyites have counterposed their own provocative line.

Theorizing about "world revolution," the Trotskyites in Japan reject the principle of peaceful co-existence which, they say, is "Right-wing opportunism" and "betrayal of the socialist revolution." They argue that the only way to prevent war is to overthrow imperialism as a whole through civil war, and they demagogically claim that the fight for peace is "petty-bourgeois pacifism."

Kasuga characterizes the stand of the Trotskyite renegades as follows: a) Loss of faith in the fundamental principles of the Party. Defectors who joined the Trotskyite provocateurs and were expelled from the Party continued, even after the Seventh Congress had rectified the earlier mistakes, to seek the "liquidation of the Party, rejecting its organizational principles and its basic political line. They refused to carry out decisions of the Congress and the Central Committee." b) Liberalism and decentralism. The defectors "ignored" the tasks of the Party bodies at intermediate levels which, as defined in the Party Rules, consist of district organizations which concretize the decisions of the higher Party bodies . . . ; they rejected the measures taken to correct mistakes, accusing the higher Party bodies of "bureaucracy." c) No clarity on questions of principle. There was vacillation also among many members of the Party who at one time closed their eyes to Trotskyite anti-Party activity. This was due to "ideological weakness and lack of understanding of the Party's principles." d) "An ideological weakness which facilitated Trotskyite infiltration is economism, substitution of trade unionism for political activity." The Trotskyites, rejecting political work through Party groups at the point of production, seek to dissolve the Party organizations in the trade unions. "An organizational and political course of this nature would restrict the activity of the Party members to purely trade union work. As a result the interests and political consciousness of the Party members would be walled in by the narrow confines of economism. . . . Laying emphasis only on the antagonism between the capitalist class and the working class, the Trotskyites ignore the struggle against American imperialism, which they regard as a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, and oppose a broad united front with the peasants and the urban working people."

Kasuga's article was most useful in overcoming the ideological and political weaknesses inside the Party and among the democratic forces in general, and in defeating Trotskyism once and for all.

Contemporary revisionism has had some influence among the intellectuals. Essentially the "theories" of the Japanese revisionists do not differ from the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists, even if they are more subtly camouflaged in a Marxist-Leninist guise. The October 1959 issue (No. 159) of *Zenei* carried an article by Yoshio Siga headed "Contemporary Revisionism in Japan," which subjected revisionist ideology and tactics to sharp criticism. The Japanese revisionists claim that at the stage of state-monopoly capitalism "the transition to socialism has already begun." They argue, moreover, that the state bears the character of a people's state and hence its mission is to uphold the interests of the proletariat and the masses

generally, whereas the autocracy and the ruling monopoly capitalists have distorted its social character and its functions. The proletariat, the revisionists claim, should develop the progressive aspect of the bourgeois state and thus effect a gradual transition to socialism.

Siga exposes this gradual transition "theory" which would make it appear that, besides being an instrument of class rule, the state also has "social," non-class functions. He also shows where these "theories" have drawn on the revisionist precepts of Bernstein and Kautsky, and brings home the point that "revisionism cannot be effectively fought from positions of conservative dogmatism."

Make the Communist Party a Mass Party

While exposing the enemies of communism, *Zenei* constantly draws attention to the need to strengthen the Communist Party and to transform it into a mass party as one of the key conditions of successful struggle for the grand ideals of the working class.

Although there has been a rapid growth of political awareness among the working class and all other sections of the masses, the Communist Party is still not a mass party. Hence recruitment of thousands of new members is a pressing task.

The number for June 1959 (No. 155) carried an article headed "Strengthen Organizational Ties with the Masses," by Kenzi Miyamoto. The article drew attention to the enormous importance of building the Party. All Party groups and all members, it declares, should be both agitators and propagandists, and at the same time conduct systematic organizational work.

The sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee held shortly after the elections to the Upper House of Parliament, stressed the decisive importance of building the Party. It also adopted a letter to all members on recruiting and on strengthening the Party. The resolutions of the meeting made it quite clear that the guarantees of the success of the people's struggle are consistent adherence to the Party's basic line and tactics of a united national-democratic front, and the further strengthening of the Party.

Proceeding from the decisions of the Central Committee meeting, *Zenei* systematically deals with problems of Party building. Besides leading articles by members of the Central Committee (such as "Problems of Developing and Strengthening the Party," by Harushige Matsushima), the magazine has printed articles summing up the valuable experience gained in prefectures, districts and Party groups. Particularly interesting in this respect is the article "Lessons to Be Drawn from the Work of Extending the Ranks of the Party," written by the local Party committee at the Kyodo Inshatsu printing plant, and published in the January 1960

issue (No. 163). The experience gained in the course of the day-to-day mass work shows that the job of building the Party is inseparably linked with carrying out the Party's basic line and the issue of a united national-democratic front.

The October 1959 issue (No. 159) contains an article by Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee, outlining in detail the tasks in Party building that are on the agenda. The article states that the Communist Party of Japan can learn many lessons from the experience of fraternal Communist parties and should strive to become a mass party. Nosaka warns against the illusion arising from the over-simplification that the membership will grow of its own volition in the course of mass struggles. The Party will not become really strong unless it works consciously and systematically to recruit new members.

The growth of the Party cannot be regarded as something separate from its ideological unity and education of its members. The Japanese Communists are carrying on political and ideological work both inside the Party and outside, among the masses, consistently upholding and developing the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism, because the growth of the Party should take place on the basis of ideological unity.

The forming of strong Party organizations in factories, in the villages, in residential neighborhoods and in educational establishments is a pressing task, Nosaka points out. Although this is not a simple matter, the Japanese Communists are coping with it. Conducting extensive work among the masses and correcting wrong attitudes toward them on the part of some Party members, they are extending the range of Party work, having faith in the masses and basing themselves on them.

The January 1960 issue (No. 163) contains the report delivered by Kenzi Miyamoto at a national conference of secretaries of prefectural Party committees. Published under the heading "In the Interests of the Struggle and Recruiting of New Members to the Party," it takes up such key questions as the basic line of the Party, the united national-democratic front, and Party building. While convincingly showing the fallacy of the deviations and vacillations still encountered in the Party, Miyamoto calls on all members to concentrate on building a politically and organizationally strong Party.

The eleventh plenary meeting of the Central Committee held at the end of June made a preliminary survey of the popular resistance to the Japano-American military treaty and adopted decisions outlining the future tasks of the working class and other sections, among them decisions concerning basic tactics in the forthcoming parliamentary elections as well as work to strengthen the Party and recruit new members.

The full text of the decisions of this meeting was published in the August issue (No. 171). The September and October numbers carried a series of articles on these decisions, articles which give an idea of the wealth of experience gained by the Party in the course of the fight against the treaty.

In order to ensure fulfilment of these decisions by all members of the Party, the Central Committee held a three-day national conference of activists in early August in Tokyo, which was attended by more than 1,000 Party functionaries from all over Japan. The discussion of the lessons and experience of the recent battles was exceedingly valuable.

The report and the speech summing up the discussion on behalf of the Central Committee, as well as the gist of the discussion, can be found in No. 173. The conference paid special attention to recruiting new members and strengthening the Party as matters of exceptional importance at present when there is a rapid growth of political consciousness among the working class and the people generally.

Issue No. 172 carries a speech, "Forward to New Victories," delivered by Sanzo Nosaka on the occasion of the thirty-eighth anniversary of the Party. "We Communists who have made the revolution our aim, must march ahead with both feet on the road leading to it," we read in this speech. "One foot is politics, that is, struggle; the other is organization, that is, broadening and strengthening the Party. There still are people in our Party with one foot normal and the other a great deal shorter, and

this makes them limp. To reach the goal — the revolution — in this way would probably require scores if not hundreds of years. We are conducting a struggle that assumes many forms . . . but we pay insufficient attention to broadening and strengthening the Party. Under such conditions the Party cannot develop properly."

The membership of the Communist Party of Japan increased by 87 per cent in the period from August 1959 to October this year. The march of events, however, demands a still faster rate of growth and intensified efforts to strengthen the Party.

The cardinal task facing the Party, the working class and the masses of the people at the present time is to drive American imperialism out of the country, break the resistance of the treacherous reactionary forces, create a peace-loving, independent, democratic, neutral Japan and pave the way to the building of a socialist society.

During the past year and a half the Japanese people have rallied to the struggle on an unprecedented scale and dealt telling blows to their main enemies — American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital — though the decisive battles are still ahead.

In this period the important role played by the journal *Zenei* in the struggles of the working class and the people generally has become particularly evident. But it has a still more important role to play.

D.O.

A Criminal Philosophy

REACTIONARY philosophers and sociologists have at all times sought to justify and vindicate misanthropy, plunder and war. But never have these servants of reaction had occasion to champion such non-humanist aims as nowadays, when the outlived capitalist system is in the process of disintegrating.

Reactionaries of all shades have placed their main stake on war, above all, on war against the socialist countries. The same is true of reactionary philosophers and sociologists. This applies especially to the philosophy of the country in which militarism and revanchism have been elevated to an official policy — we have in mind the reactionary philosophy of West Germany. In recent years the bookshops of the Federal Republic have been flooded with memoirs of all kinds by defeated Nazi gen-

erals attempting to revive the spirit of "greater Germany," and philosophical works justifying and glorifying nuclear warfare. According to the newspaper *Humanité*, there were 35 publishers of militarist literature in West Germany by 1958.

Prominent among publications criticizing this particular brand of philosophy and militarist ideology in general is a book entitled *A Criminal Philosophy** written by a group of scientific workers in the Faculty of Philosophy of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This book, edited by G. Heyden, M. Klein and S. Kosing, takes a good look at the main trends in West German philosophy, examines them from the Marxist-Leninist stand-

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point and bares the real meaning that lies behind the trends in contemporary bourgeois philosophical thinking.

The Black Flag of Anti-Communism

The authors point to a feature that all the reactionary works appearing in West Germany have in common. Despite the multifarious outlooks obtaining among the individual trends, West German bourgeois philosophy as a whole is permeated with one and the same spirit, that of anti-Communism, vindication of imperialism, militarism and revanchism. It matters little by what name these reactionary schools are called, or what abstractions they go in for — all of them are imbued with a hatred of progress and all of them have hoisted the black flag of anti-communism.

Whatever subject the philosophizing Jesuits, reactionary Evangelical theologians, existentialists, vitalists, or geopoliticians write on — whether it is theology or gnosiology, demography or ethics — they all end up in vindicating militarism and nuclear war. What we get, then, is a kind of “atomic” philosophy and sociology. The conclusions reached by the various trends are so incredibly monotonous in their similarity that one gains the impression that the books were written on the orders of Strauss and Adenauer. Without any exaggeration it can be said that the standardization here is hardly less than that of the equipment supplied to the Bundeswehr. This philosophy is, in fact, a sort of quartermaster’s store for militarist ideology.

A Criminal Philosophy shows how, in the guise of anti-communism, reactionary philosophers poison the minds of their readers and blacken socialism and the socialist countries. Adenauer himself sets the pace. He regards materialism “as the gravest danger and the chief stumbling block. . . .” Adenauer resorts to downright calumny when he says that communism “is bent on depriving people of their freedom and peace.” “And so,” he counsels, “for God’s sake and our own we must combat it.”

Communism, the most just of all social systems, a system which does away with exploitation, poverty and war, a system called upon to bring out the best in man, is denounced as a “fiend from hell,” the “heathen” enemy of culture. Capitalism, on the other hand, with its social contrasts, oppression of the working people, wars and decadent culture which propagates amorality and contempt for man, is lauded as the “supreme achievement of the Christian West.” And a third world war, consequently, is declared to be inevitable, first and foremost because of the need to combat “profane” communism and safeguard “Christian culture.” The peaceful coexistence of the two systems is rejected as a menace to the “free world.”

These reactionary philosophers try to persuade their West German readers that even the complete

annihilation of humanity in an atomic war would be a lesser evil than the possible triumph of world communism. “Better atomic death than communism,” said Jaspers, the West German philosopher. “Lieber tot als rot” (“Better be dead than red”) — is the infamous watchword of the hirelings of reaction alarmed by the growing socialist sympathies of the people in the capitalist countries. They would like to erase from the pages of history the fact that millions of Soviet people — of “reds” — preferred death to Nazi slavery during the Great Patriotic War against Nazism, that “supreme achievement of the Christian West,” that over a thousand million people all over the world, including the working people of the German Democratic Republic, have rallied under the banner of communism and will defend it to the last, and that millions of people in the West are gathering under this banner. This swift growth of the progressive forces cannot be halted either by panic-stricken reactionaries preaching suicide rather than communism, or their monopoly-employers.

In keeping with the general anti-communist line, historico-philosophical “research” is used to smear materialism as the communist world outlook. According to the Jesuit Brugger, materialism, “in its impact on life, corrupts culture and morality” (p. 276). Communism, and its theoretical basis, dialectical materialism — the most humane of the teachings — is denounced by the advocates of war as a non-humanistic ideology. Another Jesuit, Gustav Wetter, calls for an alliance of all Christian churches with the object of combating dialectical materialism.

The old bogey of a “communist danger” is invoked to intimidate and befuddle the German people, to whip up mass chauvinism for another crusade against the socialist countries.

Anti-communism — the main weapon employed by West German militarism and imperialism in the struggle against socialism — is, as the authors emphasize, the ideology of a moribund world, an ideology that has nothing positive to offer. “The ideologists of a disintegrating capitalist world doomed to perish are incapable, it appears, of providing mankind with a positive perspective and a positive progressive world outlook” (p. 377). Anti-communism is the desperate cry of capitalism in its death agony.

There is, however, another and more dangerous side to anti-communism. Not only is it, to use the words of Thomas Mann, “the greatest insanity of the century,” its business is to halt social progress in general and to prepare a nuclear war against the socialist countries in the interests of the ultra-reactionary imperialists, a war in which the lives of the majority of the people would be jeopardized. Anti-communism is a crime. “Anti-communism is a

truly criminal philosophy!" say the authors with full justice (p. 377).

The Clerical Preachers of Atomic Death

Of all the West German schools of philosophy and sociology clericalism is, perhaps, the most unbridled and undisguisedly reactionary. It is a convenient ideology, for it has not yet become discredited in the eyes of the people to the same extent as fascism. And the Christian demagoguery about "freedom of the individual," "class peace" and "social partnership" is very much to the liking of the monopolies. In their anti-communism the clericals are certainly not far behind the Nazis.

In our days it is the backbone of the ideological reaction in West Germany. As Walter Ulbricht justly observed, the present bourgeois ideology in West Germany "is a mixture of the old imperialist legacy of Nazism and political clericalism." There are close links between the Christian-Democratic Union (the ruling party in West Germany), the Adenauer Government and the Vatican. It was in the Vatican that Adenauer not long ago spoke of the Federal Republic's "special mission" as the defender of the West from "communist invasion from the East." This declaration, a repetition of the fascist propaganda of Hitler's days, was approved by the Pope.

Because of the role played by Catholic ideology in West Germany, the authors have set out "to show the connection between militarism and clericalism, critically to analyze some of the important trends of the clerical-militarist ideology, to show its non-scientific character and its reactionary political aims . . ." (p. 6).

The opposition of West German working people to war and to the Bundeswehr being equipped with atomic weapons has alarmed the architects of the war plans. The reactionary philosophers are, therefore, bent on processing the "political consciousness" of the masses. In a book published in 1958 entitled *Nuclear War and the Future of Humanity* (given an award by the West German militarists) the philosopher-existentialist Karl Jaspers says outright that he wants to help create the political consciousness of our times. What kind of a mentality does he want to mould? He simply wants to condition the West Germans to the horrors of a nuclear war. The first step in this direction is to inculcate the notion first that a nuclear war is inevitable, and second that the people cannot do anything to prevent it. "There is in all of us," writes Jaspers, "the violence which makes us live under the constant threat of war, that is our fate as humans." Thus war is not an historically transient phenomenon, but something permanent, rooted in man's nature; you can do nothing about it, you must resign yourself to it — that is Jaspers' conclusion.

If war is inevitable, the reactionary sociologists say, one must prepare for it not only in a military and technical sense, but also ideologically.

Philosophers like Jaspers are trying to kindle a fanatical desire to commit mass suicide, a readiness to sacrifice life in a "holy war" against communism. "The political consciousness of the times" is interpreted as recognition of the necessity of nuclear war and of the fact that the human race may be exterminated in that war. In order to overcome the "unhealthy voluptuousness of people," that is, the instinct of self-preservation, the Catholic philosophers of death want a "ruthless reorientation of the lines along which we usually think and live." As they see it, the joys of life and even life itself should be held in contempt. According to the philosophical obscurantists, we do not live to be blissfully happy, but to carry out the will of God. "There is no other way," Jaspers says, "than to keep on arming until the world is blown to bits and turned into cosmic dust." It follows from Jaspers' ruminations that the opponents of nuclear war have an "inferior mentality," that only a supermentality, acquired only with the aid of philosophy (naturally, the Jaspers' kind of philosophy), will enable the West German citizen to take a "more realistic" view of the mass suicide mentality required by the militarists. No wonder, the prominent physicist Max Born characterized Jaspers' book as "a terrible book."

From Jaspers' recent articles in the press it would appear that he is retreating somewhat from his former position. He stated in the weekly *Zeit* that after years of pondering on the fate of East Germany he has come to the conclusion that an attempt to unite Germany forcibly might result in the destruction of humanity and, hence, any such attempt is out of the question. He shows a tendency to recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier. Even Jaspers, apparently, is beginning to learn something from life.

It goes without saying that, confronted with the popular desire for peace, Jaspers dares not speak out openly. The atom bomb, he says, can promote peace. Similar views are voiced by the Hamburg theologian Thielicke. Peace, in their view, is maintained only because both sides are afraid to use the atom bomb, and the more powerful the bomb the less likely it is ever to be used. These arguments are used to "justify" arming the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. "The fairy-tale about safeguarding peace in the shadow of the atom bomb," the authors write, "is poorly-disguised support for the 'policy of strength' which time and again has brought the world to the brink of a nuclear world war" (p. 223).

The Catholic theorists even bring moral standards into the picture to justify nuclear war. Asked by believers whether the use of atomic weapons

is compatible with Christian morals, they say it is. These philoposhers base themselves on messages of Pope Pius XII which state that neither atomic weapons, nor their use are in themselves immoral (p. 253). Thus the "holy father" himself gives his benediction to nuclear weapons.

Theologian Monzel, who holds that nuclear war is "morally justified" (p. 252), follows in the Pope's footsteps. To those who fear for their lives he says: "The principle I want to stay alive is immoral." These advocates of atomic crime, being highly moral Christians, will, one gathers, be surrounded by a halo and, conversely, those who oppose atomic armament are "amoral." How these advocates of nuclear war profane the concept of morals!

Their Protestant colleagues, too, espouse the cause of nuclear war. One of them, Hans Asmusen, is on record as saying: "He who fears atomic weapons . . . has already betrayed every dogma of the Christian faith" (p. 258); and Bishop Dibelius maintains that "we are here to make sacrifices . . ." (p. 260). In 1954 he declared that "judged from the Christian standpoint the use of the H-bomb is not such a terrible thing, for we all aspire to eternal life. And if, for example, a single H-bomb takes a toll of a million lives the sooner its victims will attain this eternal life" (ibid.).

It is difficult to imagine anything more anti-human than the drivel preached by this "holy father." The Church hierarchy has, throughout the ages, supported reactionary ideas and social orders. But never did "the fathers of the Church" act in the way the ideologists of the Church in Federal Germany are acting now in vindicating wholesale annihilation and justifying the destruction of civilization. Yet their weakness lies precisely in this. For the believers will be able to see much sooner than they otherwise would where these "spiritual pastors" are leading them, and they will recoil from the advocates of wholesale death.

That reaction is putting its stake on clericalism is an indication of its weakness, because it is well-known that the Christian ideology has nothing positive to offer society.

"The marriage between militarism and clericalism," says the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, "is an expression of the growing weakness of the imperialist regime which, with the help of this unenlightened medieval ideology, seeks to stem the tide of the mass movement against atomic armament, for peace and progress."

In the Vanguard of Revanchism

Parallel with reviving militarism, the philosopher-agents of the Bonn politicians regard it as their duty to root out the neutralist sentiment among the intellectuals and, especially, to "bring to their senses" those scientists who have protested against the misuse of science, against using science to bring atomic death to people. It is common knowl-

edge that in April 1957 eighteen distinguished West German physicists published a declaration in Goettingen against war and against arming the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. For this they were subjected to a regular witch-hunt. Adenauer announced that declarations of this kind necessitated a degree of knowledge which, he pompously orated, "these gentlemen did not possess" (p. 244). Jaspers, in the above-mentioned book, qualified the attitude of the physicists as "naive." They are not competent to judge in political matters, he pontificated, inasmuch as political problems are beyond the comprehension of the "lower mentality" which was at home only in natural science. What is permitted formally is not, as yet, permitted politically, Jaspers says. From the standpoint of "fidelity" to the Western world, declares Jaspers, these scientists had acted in an "amoral and irresponsible way."

Moralizing theologians, too, seized the opportunity to rebuke the scientists. Thieliicke attacked those who oppose atomic weapons as "fanatics of the absolute," "Utopians," while Auer accused them of "over-simplification," of making capital out of the "psychosis evoked by the fear of wholesale extermination" (p. 263). Their arguments, according to Auer, are one-sided and restricted. From the "height" of his theological moral philosophy he pronounces the passionate desire to preserve physical life as an accentuation of "bodily and biological existence limited by time and space." This, in his view, is to display unnecessary and harmful concern for the sinful body (p. 265).

The case of the physicist and philosopher Jordan is an example of how the West German militarists draw scientists into their war preparations. As Jordan sees it the purpose of the natural sciences lies in their being "powerful factors of decisive military significance," and as a physicist he is in favor of physical research serving the ends of the militarist state (p. 231). For a man to be willing to participate in an atomic war he should, according to Jordan, be divested of his ideological illusions — and the struggle for peace and against atomic arms is just such an illusion. The peace movement, Jordan goes on, signifies "man's revolt against God." The mature man, he continues, should be indifferent to the developments around him and to death, he should believe in a life hereafter and ". . . display a capacity for being ruthless."

The authors unmask Jordan, who defends the most loathsome and the most hateful of all ideologies — the ideology of total destruction linked with an eschatological contempt of mankind preached by the gloomiest clericalism (p. 243).

With the backing of the transatlantic warmongers, the West German militarists openly put forward new claims, paramount among which is the demand for the "1937 frontiers." But the revanchist demands of the "fellow-countrymen's movement" go

far beyond the 1937 limits. The Baden-Wuerttemberg Minister for Settlers' Affairs addressing a "Sudeten-German rally" in Stuttgart in 1957, said: "We feel somewhat bypassed when the demand is made for the 1937 frontiers" (p. 65). "The demand must go further. The Czechs, the Poles and the Hungarians also have a right to liberation" (p. 67). In keeping with these demands of the Bonn revenge-seekers their ideologists have again begun to preach about Germany's "Eastern mission."

They are calling for a revision of the frontiers laid down by the Potsdam Agreement, and their philosophers and historians theoretically substantiate the need for and the validity of this aggressive policy. Historians extol the medieval knights of the "Drang nach Osten." Geo-politics, continuing the tradition of the Haushoffer school and, like neo-Malthusianism, anxious to prove that West Germany, lacking "Lebensraum," is "overpopulated," have come into their own again. "The Federal Republic is overpopulated," proclaims Walter Stain, Deputy Prime-Minister of Bavaria (p. 71). Hans Grimm, an old Hitler man, speaks of the need to compensate for "the lack of living space in Germany" by "union, working association and co-operation with the part of the East European land liberated from Bolshevism and Soviet-imposed compulsory association" (p. 70). But even this does not satisfy the followers of Hitler. Hallstein, Secretary of State of the Federal Republic, has advanced the slogan of "uniting Europe all the way to the Urals." Neither more nor less!

Undisguised neo-Nazi literature is now being published in West Germany. For example, the book by Barnick, *Die deutschen Truempfe* (1959), falls little short of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in its brazen insolence. This neo-Nazi wants to end the pseudo-democracy of Bonn, and to stop flirting with the masses. For it is the fate of the masses to be stupid, declares this Nietzsche disciple; "serious politics . . . cannot," he goes on, "rely on the masses." Only the old Nazi cadres can be relied upon, maintains this "sociologist," because only the "veteran can do the dirty work calmly." In the sphere of foreign policy Barnick advocates the seizure of Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, part of Italy, Alsace-Lorraine, etc.

Die Grenze des Wunders (1959), a book by the reactionary American publicist Schlamm, has been lauded to the skies in West Germany. Its author speaks of the need to go over from the "cold war" to greater international tension and, if necessary, to unleash an atomic war. It is worth noting that in an interview with a *Die Welt* correspondent Defense Minister Strauss declared himself in agreement with the views expressed by Schlamm.

A number of books criticizing West German imperialist ideology have been published in the German Democratic Republic. *A Criminal Philosophy* is outstanding among them not merely because its

criticism covers so many aspects but because it convincingly discloses the manner in which West German reactionary philosophers and sociologists vindicate the imperialist policy of preparing for war.

The book paints a sombre picture of the readiness displayed by reactionary philosophers to serve the evil forces of our times. It shows that not a trace is left of the philosophers' former passionate desire to get at the truth, to disclose the laws governing the evolution of nature and social life. Bourgeois philosophy has become the handmaiden of the monopolies and the militarists. To halt the fight for peace and evoke among the masses a sense of helplessness in face of the evil designs of the militarists, to cultivate base passions and instincts and to turn man into a blind and docile weapon of the black forces of reaction — these are the aims which West German bourgeois philosophy frankly pursues, and the convictions of its reactionary philosophers are subordinate to these aims. The foregoing demonstrates the extreme decadence and complete bankruptcy of contemporary bourgeois philosophical thinking.

The ideological offensive launched by the reactionaries in West Germany by no means signifies that they have succeeded in gagging progressive thinking in that country. Many prominent scientists, and some Evangelical clergy, for example, are speaking out against arming the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. The recently published *Atomic Weapons and Christian Ethics. Discussions by German Catholics*, is another expression of these sentiments. The authors oppose, although inconsistently, the revival of militarism and hold that defense of atomic armament is a "moral mistake."

The forces opposed to atomic armament in West Germany are not united and are still weak. But they exist and they are fighting. They have behind them an indestructible bulwark in the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of the working people. The future is not with those who advocate atomic death, it is with the people who stand for life, freedom, peace and socialism.

A Criminal Philosophy is a product of the exigencies of the ideological struggle in the German Democratic Republic. The aggressive plans of the West German imperialists are spearheaded first and foremost against the first workers' state in German history.

But West German imperialism is the common enemy of all peace-loving peoples and the importance of *A Criminal Philosophy* with its relentless criticism of the ideology of West German imperialism, goes far beyond the confines of the German Democratic Republic. It is an important ideological aid to all those who battle against reaction and obscurantism, to those who battle to avert another war.

J. JAVUREK, J. NETOPILIK

Communications and Comment

Historians in Congress in Stockholm

THE Eleventh International Congress of Historians, held in Stockholm at the end of August might seem at first glance an insignificant event from the political point of view. If one were to judge by the program of its five sections (ancient, medieval, new and modern history, and methodology) the scientists were not greatly interested in post-1918 history. Indeed, leafing through the Congress program the observer could define it, and not without grounds, as a purely professional gathering of 2,000 scholars.

But this was only at first glance. In fact, the congress was an important political event. This was proved particularly by the work of the sections on methodology and modern history. The keenness of the debate swept away the cobwebs of the ages from subjects which, seemingly, were profoundly historical. And so it was that the discussion on the nationalities in the Hapsburg Empire turned into a lively debate on the national question today. Even such purely academic issues as the periodization of world history developed into an argument on whether or not Marx's ideas were valid for our days.

The main feature of the Congress was the hard-fought duel between Marxism and bourgeois historiography — a duel in which the former demonstrated its superiority. But it would be wrong to say that the bourgeois scholars did not make a contribution. Some of them submitted papers containing a wealth of material. This was the case in the section on ancient history, in the numismatic group and at the seminar on the history of universities. Their conclusions are of interest for all specialists, including Marxists, because they are the bread of science, the factual basis without which historical science cannot develop.

Some of the bourgeois historians read interesting papers on subjects closely related to the present. For example, the 87-year-old Koht, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway, speaking on the policy of international social democracy during the First World War, showed that the roots of its bankruptcy lay in the neglect of political struggle and in the concentration on minor economic reforms. How topical are his words today when international social democracy openly declares that its function is to defend capitalism!

But the striking contributions of the few merely brought into relief the helplessness of the bourgeois science of history as a whole. That is the first point we would make about the congress.

Paradoxical but true: history as science was absent in the papers read by most spokesmen from the West. It was replaced by a mass of facts which, although seemingly systematized, often obscured an understanding of history. Some pooh-poohed even the idea of any objective laws of social progress.

Indicative in this respect was the paper read by Prof. Haag (Belgium) who claimed to have examined the historiography on the subject "German Social Democracy and World War I." The Professor went deeply into the subject trying to display the maximum of objectivity in referring to the views of all historians, from conservative to Marxist. Thanks to this his paper was infinitely better than those read by other Western scientists. And yet it was impossible to find in Prof. Haag's paper the answer to the question: what attitude did the German Social Democratic Party really take during the 1914-18 war, did it pursue a patriotic, proletarian line or did it betray the working class and the country. Referring to the Social Democratic leaders Haag noted that they "indulged in revolutionary phraseology which was no longer in keeping with their intentions." Still for him they were "patriots" who "wanted to improve the conditions of the masses" (by supporting a war which brought incalculable suffering to their people!). And so what we got was: well, on the one hand, it should be admitted, on the other, it must be pointed out.

Anxious scientifically to substantiate this modification of the principle followed by the Pushkin chronicler Pimen — "good and evil, they're both the same" — Conze (Federal Germany) declared that the genuine historian should be non-partisan. He should not sit either on any one of the two stools or between them, he should be "on a different floor." It was clear from Haag's paper, however, that this "other floor" implied: the historian records, with the exactitude of the scholar, the social and political forces that flit across the stage of history. But he cannot analyze this movement, nor can he see its roots or per-

spectives. Prof. Daniszewski (Poland) was quite right when he pointed out during the debate on Haag's paper that objectivism in history leads to eclecticism and the failure to appreciate the facts. To this it can be added that objectivist historiography tends to make people feel helpless in the face of historical processes.

Not all the bourgeois scholars who addressed the congress supported the idea of objectivism based on facts. Many of them put forward — in contrast to Marxism, of course — their concepts of social development. It was not by chance that the philosophy of history was the crucial issue at the Congress. In the dialogue with the Marxists on this subject the greatest ardor was displayed, perhaps, by the Catholics, both those in cassocks and without. The Vatican delegation, it should be said, was one of the largest. In the discussion on the paper "The Division of World History into Periods," submitted by the Soviet Academician Zhukov, the Rev. Oler, of the Vatican, and Halecki (USA) argued that neither development of the productive forces nor the social or political movements could be regarded as the propellants of history. Hard put to it for arguments, they lent themselves to outright falsification, claiming, for example, that Marxism ignores the impact of ideas, notably religion, on history, and this was said despite the fact that it was the Marxists who, in the section on medieval history, stressed that the Church had played an extremely important part in medieval society not only as the owner of feudal estates but also as a force which had sanctified feudal exploitation. According to the Catholic spokesmen, the struggle between good and evil explains everything. For them, naturally, religion was the repository of all the good in the world, while socialism contained all the evil. This, of course, was more than a simple distortion of reality. The purpose behind this nonsense was a clearly-expressed political aim — to vilify the revolutionary movements of the people and to cast aspersions on socialism. And it was not surprising that West German historians, including **ex-Nazis**, who, in the guise of anti-communism, smuggled in revanchist ideas, performed the role of heavy artillery, providing supporting fire for the spokesmen of the Vatican. And it was these gentlemen who charged the Marxist historians with engaging in "propaganda"! What Tartuffes!

We listened to the expounding of yet another "system" of the philosophy of history. Fueter (Switzerland) declared that he had discovered the motive force of social development — "historical energies" — which, depending on the times, can be physical, physiological, etc. Alas, Mr. Fueter, beyond naming his "energies," told his

audience very little about their qualities. These, apparently, were his unrevealed secret.

Listening to Fueter one was reminded of the ironical concept of one of André Maurois' characters who claimed that every change in history and every social movement is the result of . . . allergy. Revolutions, wars, crises are simply an allergic condition of the masses . . . But one could visualize Maurois smiling as he wrote this — which is more than one could say about Dr. Fueter.

It will be seen, then, that the arguments advanced by many of the bourgeois scholars were, to put it mildly, somewhat flimsy. Another one or two examples.

Pelenski (USA) declared that many of the "Marxist dogmas" had been disproved. But having made his declaration, and fearing, evidently, that he would be asked to be precise, to say what were the "dogmas" he had in mind, the American historian quickly abandoned the rostrum.

Prof. Rudnytsky, Philadelphia, USA, decided to introduce a "constructive element" into Pelenski's anti-Marxist phillipic and declared Marx "outdated" (again without any proof, of course) counterposing the revisionists to him. And, as if by way of a reflex, Prof. Djurdjev (Yugoslavia) came to the aid of bourgeois historians in their polemic with Marxism and declared that the leading Soviet scientists were followers not of Marx but of Comte. And again no arguments.

For bourgeois historiography, if the Stockholm Congress is any criterion, the days are gone when men like Thierry, Guizot and Mignet were able, true, in their own class way, to grasp the essence of the social revolutions. Present-day bourgeois historiography has turned its back on social development. Characteristic in this sense were the papers read by Hyslop (USA) and Prof. Schieder (Federal Germany) on the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The American, recalling a visit to the Soviet exhibition in New York, complained that it had very few pre-1917 exhibits and too many about the post-revolutionary period; this, she gravely said, was a distortion of history. The West German, while not wholly ignoring the significance of the October Revolution, said that 1917 could be regarded as the beginning of a new era in view of the entry of the United States into the First World War, an event which led to the emergence of "a commonwealth of nations" (i.e., the League of Nations). Unlike hundreds of millions of people Hyslop and Schieder are obviously incapable of understanding that the October Revolution in Russia marked the beginning of the genuine history of mankind and that to compare the "ten days that shook the world" with the United States' entry into the war is out of

place if only for the reason that the League of Nations, sponsored by President Wilson, dissolved some twenty years later, whereas the socialist world system is growing in strength and in scale.

It is not surprising to find serious research workers in the capitalist countries dissatisfied with the state of affairs in bourgeois historical science. There were men at the Congress who did not conceal their indignation at the provocative sallies of the ex-Nazis and the émigré rabble who were especially widely represented in the West German delegation. When Nechkina and Danilov (USSR), Engelberg (German Democratic Republic), Barta and Kladiva (Czechoslovakia), Otetea (Rumania) and other Marxist historians tore to shreds the arguments of the ex-Nazi Rothacker (West Germany) who, though preaching objectivism, over-reached himself in the remarks addressed to the Marxists, the American Prof. Hallgarten passed a note to Soviet historian Danilov expressing delight with Danilov's handling of Rothacker with whom he (Hallgarten) had clashed way back in 1921-22 when a student at Heidelberg.

Eminent non-Marxist scholars reject the "creeping empiricism" and the pseudo-truths now advertised in the West as the last word in historical science. They are searching for a concept which could become the starting point for their research and which could impart a profound and noble sense to the study of history. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that many of them display interest in Marxism.

For instance, Leo Valiani (Italy), a leader of the Radical Party, who incidentally made some interesting points about social democracy, said **privately** that he considers himself a Marxist in science, though not in politics. Owen Lattimore, American orientalist, expressed the view that a number of bourgeois historians had arrived at the same conclusions as the Marxists.

And so to the second feature of the congress — the active, militant spirit of the Marxists. Whereas at the previous congress in Rome some bourgeois historians had airily dismissed Marxism as "provincial," in Stockholm this was out of the question. And this was so not only because there were more Marxist historians at Stockholm than was the case at Rome. Marxism, now the main trend in world historiography, took the offensive at Stockholm.

This was felt in practically all the proceedings. Even the fact that in arguing against Marxism the most aggressive spokesmen of the bourgeois camp quoted heavily from Marx, Engels and Lenin shows that the reactionaries are worried about the attraction of Marxism for historians and its impact on historical science. Georg Kotowski (Federal Germany) in a vitriolic attack on Marxism was

forced to acknowledge that "the influence exerted by Marxism is so great that the scientist working in the particular field is obliged to study Marx's conclusions. I wish to stress this point," Kotowski said.

Marxist scholars actively participated in the debates on such important subjects as the origins of feudalism, on social democratic policy during World War 1, the nationalities question in Eastern Europe, etc. For instance, Leo Stern (German Democratic Republic) trenchantly criticized the paper read by Rothfels, president of the West German Historians' Union, on the nationalities in Eastern Europe. In a speech which combined thoughtful analysis with devastating sarcasm Stern showed that behind the obfuscation introduced by Rothfels ("I would like to translate his confused language into plain German," Stern said) lay an attempt to vindicate the Hitler way of "solving" the nationalities question.

Much the same happened during the discussion of the paper read by Rothacker, who came under heavy fire from the Marxist historians. This prompted the reactionary sociologist and historian Hans Kohn (USA) who presided at the session, to lament that only the Marxists had taken the floor; in desperation Kohn called on his colleagues to retrieve the situation. But in vain. "They wiped the floor with me," Rothacker confessed privately after the discussion.

The Congress disproved the bourgeois view that Marxist historiography was developing only in the Soviet Union. Interesting papers were read not only by Soviet historians such as Zhukov, Rybakov, Khvostov, but also by Molnar (Hungary), Husa (Czechoslovakia), Daicoviciu and Nestor (Rumania), Kossev (Bulgaria) and others. Present also were Marxist historians from the capitalist countries. The points eloquently made by Stanley Ryerson (Canada), for example, made a big impression.

But the Marxists did more than criticize the theses with which they disagreed; they made an important positive contribution to the congress. They showed profound knowledge of the subjects discussed; their conclusions were unanswerable, which was the best argument in favor of Marxism. And this is not surprising because the principles of Marxist historiography are not the speculative invention of arm-chair philosophers, but the reflection of objective reality. The Marxists demonstrated in their papers that Marxism-Leninism presents "a living picture of a definite formation and at the same time explains it in a strictly scientific way" (Lenin). It is noteworthy, for example, that the new facts about Sweden's participation in the Thirty Years' War cited by the Soviet

historian Porshnev and his conclusions were widely discussed in scientific circles and were reported in the Stockholm newspapers.

Bourgeois scholars had to grant that the Marxists had made a valuable contribution. Prof. Haag, for instance, acknowledged the importance of the papers submitted by the historians from the GDR (who had argued with him) to the effect that the German working class had supported the anti-war stand taken by Karl Liebknecht from the beginning of the First World War. Haag also pointed to the need for further study in this direction. Prof. Laslett (Cambridge, Britain), speaking on the origin of feudalism, referred to the speeches made by Soviet historian Lavrovsky and his colleagues from the People's Democracies as a contribution to

historical science. The impression of the triumphant march of Marxism was not weakened either by attempts to prevent the Marxist scholars from submitting their papers (as was the case in the International Slavic Commission), by putting off their reports to the end of the session when all were tired, or by the action of the chairmen of some sections who, insisting on adherence to the time-limit, interrupted mainly the Marxists.

The Stockholm Congress reflected, like a drop of water, the basic ideological contradiction of our days and also the irresistible force of Marxism — this invaluable compass for history and the other sciences. And in this lies its main significance.

E. AMBARTSUMOV

An Unjust Act

THE authorities in Iraq have suppressed the newspaper *Ittihad al-Shaab*. Why was this done? What is the political purport of this action?

Before answering these questions it is necessary to recall the role played by this paper in the public life of Iraq. The founding of *Ittihad al-Shaab* coincided with the political upsurge in the country and the emergence of numerous trade union, youth, student, women's, peasant and other democratic organizations. These were the main force in carrying out the democratic reforms introduced after the overthrow of the Nouri Said regime. The paper was sponsored by Abdel Kader Ismail Al-Boustani, patriot and public figure esteemed by the people; it stood four-square for democracy, peace, economic and social progress; it supported the idea of a national front on a democratic basis, agrarian reform, peasant unions and better conditions for the people. *Ittihad al-Shaab* was widely read by workers, intellectuals and peasants, i.e., by the majority of the Iraqi people — the driving force of the revolution. Its circulation of 30,000 was a big figure for a newspaper in Iraq, since, as a rule, the editions of Iraqi central papers range from 10,000 to 20,000 copies, and even these are not always sold. For example, large numbers of the pseudo-communist paper *Al-Mabdaa* remain unsold.

It can be said, then that *Ittihad al-Shaab* was a paper which expressed the interests of the people, the interests of the national revolution.

And now the authorities, yielding to the intrigues of the resurgent reactionary forces, have silenced this paper.

The reactionary nature of this act is evident from the fact that the court which examined the absurd charge brought against *Ittihad al-Shaab* — its exposure of fascist assassins — ordered it to be suppressed for ten months under a reactionary law (so-called Law No. 24) passed in 1954 at the time of the Nouri Said dictatorship. Thus, the newspaper of the revolution has been sentenced to ten months' silence under a law passed by the worst enemies of the revolution.

The banning of *Ittihad al-Shaab* shows that the reactionaries are turning their guns against democracy. The political meaning of this anti-democratic act is that the reactionaries have succeeded in striking a blow at the progressive forces.

The ban on the paper has evoked vigorous protest among the public. This pressure has compelled the authorities to repeal the decision of the court which sentenced Abdel Kader Ismail Al-Boustani, the editor, to three months' imprisonment. The demand now is for the repeal of the equally unjust sentence on the paper.

In a recent interview premier Kassem, in view of the growing protests against the victimization of democratic newspapers, said that "the press should serve the people and the revolution." "I

regard myself," he said, "as the first champion of the free and honest word" and "will do no harm to those whose pens serve the people and the revolution." Kassem also said that he was studying the matter of a new press law, as well as the laws inherited from the previous regime, and he would soon make the results known.

What the results will be and what kind of a law

it will be, we do not know. The fact is that at the moment the progressive press is increasingly subjected to persecution. Clearly, the best step in the direction of drafting a democratic press law would be to raise at once the ban on *Ittihad al-Shaab*. The interests of the Iraqi people call for this.

A. R. D.

NEW BOOKS

(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
the titles here are given in English)

- THE COMMON MARKET AND THE WORKING CLASS.** An exchange of views among Marxists of a number of countries on theoretical problems in connection with European "integration," held in the Prague offices of *World Marxist Review* in July 1959. Edited by A. Rumyantsev. Moscow, Socekgiz, 1960, 228 pp.
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