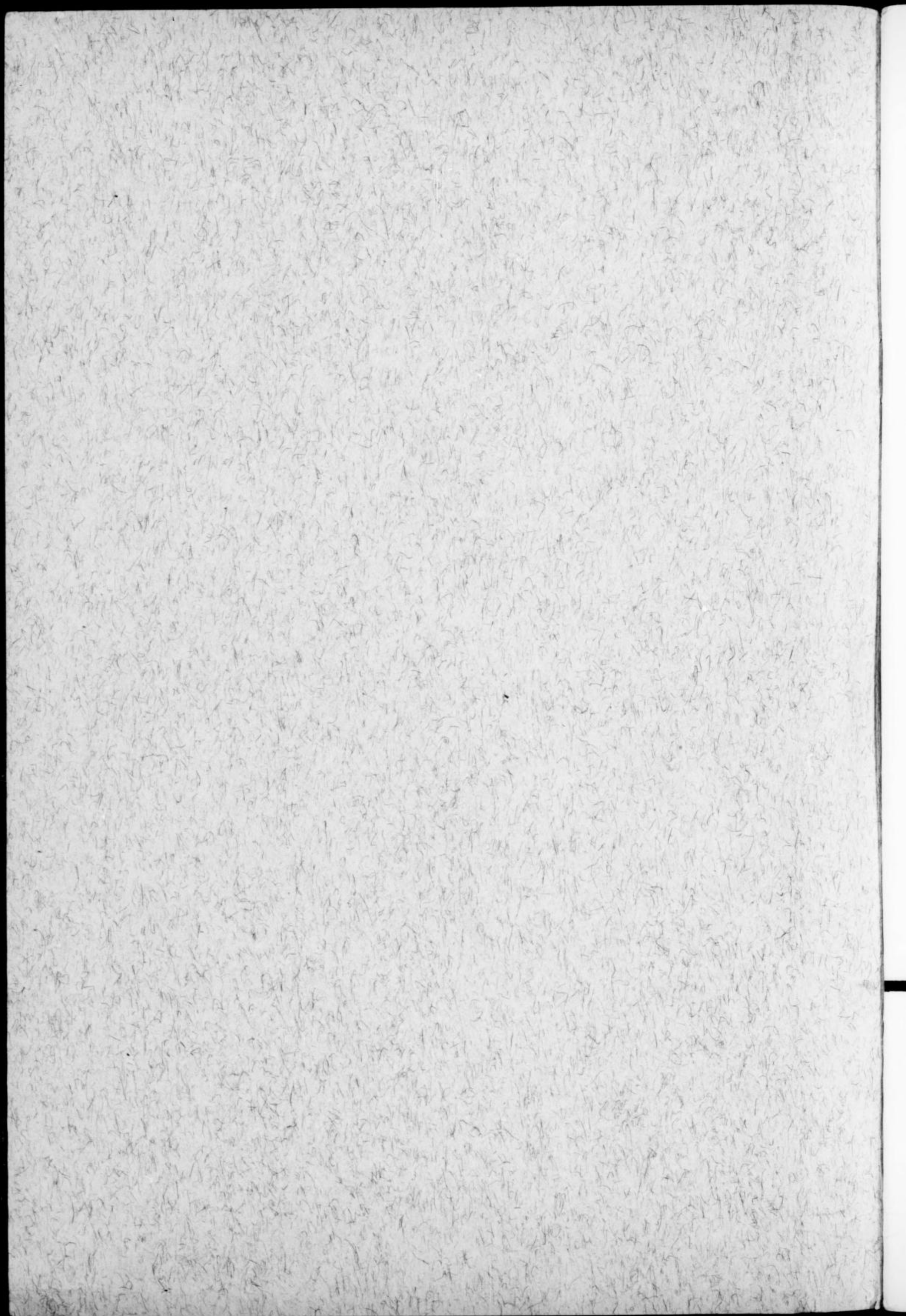


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

World Marxist Review

December, 1960
Volume 3, No. 12
35 Cents

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

CONTENTS

Communique on the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties	3
Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties	4
An Appeal to the Peoples of All the World (from the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960	25
V. CHEPRAKOV: Uneven Economic Development of Capitalism	28
A. NATTA: Italian Communists for a Democratic Reform of Education	35
J. PLOJHAR: Successful and Fruitful Co-operation	41

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Party Language Is the Language of the People	46
Solidarity of Fraternal Parties	52
V. VASILYEV: Public Efforts	53
J. PTASINSKI: Relying on the Activists	55
B. G.: Forward Along the Democratic Path	57
J. HOFFMANN: Our Everyday Efforts	59
SHORT NOTICES	60
ANNIVERSARIES: The French Communist Party Is Forty Years Old	62

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

What Are the Changes In the Structure of the Working Class? Contributions by "Economie et Politique" (France); "Politica ed Economia" (Italy); P. G. Alberdi (Argentina) and O. Reinhold (GDR)	64
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES	73

REVIEWS

V. Drobyshev, B. Korolyov: Involuntary Admissions and Vain Hopes	76
J. P. Mitchell: Professor Hook's Anti-Communist Magic Potion	79
INDEX for 1960	83

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: *Problems of Peace and Socialism* is the Canadian edition of the monthly journal published in Prague under the title: *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The Canadian edition is published by

PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa. PRINTED IN CANADA.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies, 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. For orders addressed to PROGRESS BOOKS from outside Canada, an additional 25 cents is required to cover bank and exchange charges.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Chinese, Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish, Vietnamese (distributors: Press Circulation Agency, Sadova 3, Prague 6, Czechoslovakia). Subscriptions to any of these editions may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto. Yearly Subscription Rates for the edition in the following languages: French—\$3.50. Czech—\$6.50. Russian—\$3.50. Spanish—\$3.50. German—\$3.50.

1880

1881

1882

1883

1884

1885

1886

1887

1888

1889

1890

1891

1892

1893

1894

1895

1896

1897

COMMUNIQUE

on the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties

A CONFERENCE of the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties who had participated in the celebration of the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in Moscow in November 1960.

Delegations of 81 Parties participated in the conference: the Communist Party of Australia, the Communist Party of Austria, the Albanian Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Algeria, the Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Communist Party of Burma, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Venezuela, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the People's Unity Party of Haiti, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, the Guatemala Party of Labor, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Honduras, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Dominican People's Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Israel, the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Jordan Communist Party, the Communist Party of Iraq, the People's Party of Iran, the Workers' League of Ireland, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Communist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of Italy, the Communist Party of Canada, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of Colombia, the Korean Party of Labor, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of the Lebanon, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Communist Party of Malaya, the Communist Party of Morocco, the Communist Party of Martinique, the Communist Party of Mexico, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of Nepal, the Communist Party of the Netherlands, the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, the Communist Party of New Zealand, the Communist Party of Norway, the People's Party of Panama, the Communist Party of Paraguay, the Communist Party of Peru, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Portugal, the Communist Party of Reunion, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Salvador, the Communist Party of San Marino, the Communist Party of Syria, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Sudan, the Communist Party of Thailand, the Communist Party of Tunisia, the Communist Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Uruguay, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Ceylon, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Chile, the Swiss Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Communist Party of the Union of South Africa, the Communist Party of Japan and other Parties.

The participants in the conference shared their experiences and acquainted themselves with one another's views and stands, discussed urgent problems of present-day international development and the Communist movement in the interests of the joint struggle for common aims — peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and unanimously adopted a Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties, as well as an Appeal to the Peoples of All the World.

The discussion of all questions took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism.

STATEMENT

of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties

REPRESENTATIVES of the Communist and Workers' Parties have discussed at this Meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and Workers' Parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These program documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and to aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries,

the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

I

Our time, the main content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favor of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that de-

termine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the grip of the monopolies on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot save capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop up the decayed pillars of capitalism by mili-

tarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing in one degree or another, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as on an international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchic nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labor. Automation and "rationalization" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its present demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below prewar. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and which, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism," that it has established a so-called "welfare state" capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crises and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domi-

nation, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new interstate organizations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing under-capacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the postwar years and has been barely above the growth of population. Overproduction crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarized economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. *U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*

The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid." They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which have allied themselves with U.S. imperialism, sacrifice the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves these countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist

bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on their own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working-class and socialist movements. *International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.*

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on among their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U.S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U.S. monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labor and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defense of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the USA, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in

the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, is developing in South Viet-Nam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defense of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national-liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism. This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism; the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the

broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

II

A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this doctrine opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for the people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilization; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism

in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favor of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever, or is being abolished. The success of the policy of socialist industrialization has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

In recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private landownership was a long-standing tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist reorganization of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary co-operation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the People's Democracies. The working class has become the main force of society; its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from agelong poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of the talents and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multi-national socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the People's Democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day by day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to labor and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organizations.

Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other

socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.

Thanks to the heroic efforts of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, most favorable objective opportunities have been provided in the past years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist Parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of these countries, to their close fraternal co-operation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilization of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system

of international division of labor through the co-ordination of national economic plans, specialization and co-operation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of scientific and technological standards. It requires study of collective experience; extended co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilization and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then to outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labor to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labor and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national

economy, and mechanization and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis, it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural co-operation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterized by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to a consolidation of all the forms of co-operation between them. Under socialism, the development of the national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace

and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The Declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead to the party of the proletariat being isolated from reality, from the masses, and may injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and Workers' Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working-

class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year.

The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

III

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace"; they have enmeshed the so-called "free world," that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which

put their territory at the disposal of the U.S. militarists.

The imperialist forces of the USA, Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West German imperialism. In West Germany militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West German imperialism, is increasing. The West German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful co-existence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U.S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries. The U.S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Viet-Nam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threatening Cuba with

aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organization of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realization of their aggressive schemes.

The U.S. imperialists have set up a huge war machine and refuse to allow it to be reduced. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals made by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race continues. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly on the African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U.S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The U.S. ruling circles wrecked the Paris meeting of Heads of Government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and to aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U.S. imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists can decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal

acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organized forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organizations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war and advocate peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favored by a certain section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for

then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and their populations to combat it. *The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.*

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces more effectively still, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defense potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the aggressive designs of the West German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility

for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war. No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organizations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start a war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The USSR will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become complete. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.* The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work untiring-

ly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Five Principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with differing systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the the U.S. doctrine of "cold war" and "brinkmanship," for it is a policy leading to thermonuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principle of peaceful co-existence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with differing social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favor-

able opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

The meeting considers that the implementation of the program for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind. To realize this program means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realize owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this program into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war-deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people con-

stantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement that calls for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

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

IV

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen postwar years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-

wide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities for winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the USA, make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid," drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavor to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-

free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "interdependence," to put their puppets in power in these countries and to bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural co-operation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent of foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in

the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. Upon its strength and ability also, to no small degree, depends the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries that is not connected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment

of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and to play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of the colonial yoke.

The Communist Parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratization of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and to isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, weakens the national movement; it is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any

interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel, and cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realized that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance to easing international tension and consolidating universal peace. This Meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The Meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence — an important step towards complete emancipation. The Meeting extends heartfelt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The Meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the inter-

national working-class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

V

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers' Parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which creates conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. Exploitation of the working people is gaining in intensity; so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavy for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society—that between labor and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascization is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organizations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground, thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists in the world, this Meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the USA, Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The Meeting urges launching a powerful worldwide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalization of the key branches of economy and democratization of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the

working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realized, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for democratic reforms, large sections of the population come to realize the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and to assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratization of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organizations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and to realize the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist Parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity for socialist revolution. Marxist-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that only socialism is the real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, youth, women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great behest — to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are

masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party.

The restoration of unity in the trade union movement in countries where it is split, as well as on an international scale is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defense of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests. Whenever different trade union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in having the demands of the working people met. The Communist Parties believe that there are real prerequisites for re-establishing trade union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about. In those countries where no trade union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade union independence and recognition and observance of the trade union rights of all working people without political or any other discrimination.

It is also essential for peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organizations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of the capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership and reactionary trade union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the Right-wing leadership has succeeded in making the Social-Democratic Parties adopt programs in which it openly disowned Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Thereby they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the Right-wing leaders is mounting in the Social-Democratic Parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic Party functionaries. The forces favoring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the Social-Democratic Parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social Democrats; they will continue activities aimed at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the Social Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard Social Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organizations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the

working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of Social Democrats and some Social-Democratic Parties have already in some form or another come out in favor of solving these problems. It is safe to say that *on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.*

Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically substantiated and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with Social Democrats, because they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing co-operation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust of the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxist-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. *The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time*

they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for the working people.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary condi-

tions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on the use of force by these circles at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witch hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism — that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater

effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty; general well-being and a high standard of living; freedom from fear of economic crises; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybags over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

VI.

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. In bitter struggle against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and steeled.

There are now Communist Parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist Parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working-class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties and their organizational consolidation, the victories of the Communist Parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of

the personality cult, the greater influence of the world communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist Parties.

Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism; they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the Party, work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not tolerate the personality cult, which shackles the creative thinking and initiative of Communists, vigorously promote the activity of Communists, and encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist Parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist Party and the international Communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically, in the struggle against revisionism, Right-wing opportunism.

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia counterposed their anti-Leninist revisionist program to the Declaration of 1957; they set the LCY against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of a non-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionism and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav

revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories."

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts — against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, Right - wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national-liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and to apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and the war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization.

The interests of the Communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings.

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

Resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the avoidance of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November 1957 and this Meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective

form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist Parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and communist construction in the USSR, but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined

offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a socialist system. This demands extensive work by the Party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of Party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionizing power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' Parties can be effectively accomplished.

The meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

An Appeal to the Peoples of All the World

from the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960

WE, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the five continents, gathered in Moscow for the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, imbued with a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind, call on you to wage worldwide struggle in defense of peace, against the threat of a new world war.

Three years ago the Communist and Workers' Parties issued a peace manifesto to the peoples of all the world.

Since then, the peace forces have won notable victories in the struggle against the warmongers.

With still greater confidence in the victory of the cause of peace are we today able to oppose the war danger that menaces millions of men, women and children. Never before in the history of mankind have there been such real opportunities to realize the age-old aspirations of the peoples to live in peace and freedom.

In face of the threat of a military catastrophe which would cause vast sacrifice, the loss of hundreds of millions of lives and would lay in ruins the key centers of world civilization, the question of preserving peace agitates all mankind more deeply than ever before.

We Communists are fighting for peace, for universal security, for conditions in which all men and all peoples will enjoy peace and freedom.

The goal of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole is to assure lasting peace for all peoples.

Socialism does not need war. The historic debate between the old and the new system, between socialism and capitalism, should be settled, not by a world war, but in peaceful competition, in a competition as to which

social system achieves the higher level of economy, technology and culture, and provides the people with the best living conditions.

We Communists consider it our sacred duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war.

Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all the socialist countries have made the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

In our epoch the peoples and states have but one choice: peaceful coexistence and competition of socialism and capitalism, or a nuclear war of extermination. There is no other way.

Where does the threat to world peace come from?

All governments speak of peace. Yet it is not words that count, but deeds.

Today as in the past, it is the reactionary, monopoly and military groups in the imperialist countries that organize and instigate aggressive wars. Peace is menaced by the policy of the governments of the imperialist powers, which, contrary to the will of their own peoples, impose upon nations a disastrous arms race, fan the "cold war" against the socialist and other peace-loving countries, and suppress the people's aspiration for freedom.

Let the Facts Speak for Themselves!

The peoples welcomed the proposals for universal, complete and controlled disarmament made by the Soviet Union and enthusiastically supported by all the socialist countries. Who opposes the implementation of the proposals? It is the governments of the imperialist countries headed by the United States

of America, which, instead of controlled disarmament, propose control over armaments, and try to turn disarmament negotiations into empty talk.

The peoples rejoice that for two years now three great powers have made no tests of nuclear weapons. Who obstructs a new step forward and a decision to ban the deadly tests for all time? It is the governments of the imperialist powers, which constantly declare that they intend to resume atomic weapons tests, and continuously threaten to wreck the test ban negotiations they were compelled to enter into under pressure of the peoples.

The peoples do not want foreign military bases to remain in their sovereign territories. They oppose aggressive military pacts, which curtail the independence of their countries and endanger them.

Who wants the policy of aggressive pacts and bases?

It is the governments of the Atlantic bloc countries which furnish war bases on foreign soil to the West German militarists and revenge seekers, put weapons of mass annihilation in their hands and speed up the atomic arming of NATO troops.

It is the ruling circles of the United States of America which have imposed aggressive military pacts upon Japan, Pakistan and other countries in the Middle and Far East, which incite them against the peace-loving countries, which have occupied South Korea and made it their bridgehead and which are reviving Japanese militarism. It is they who are interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and South Viet-Nam, backing the Dutch imperialists in West Irian, the Belgian imperialists in the Congo, the Portuguese in Goa and other colonialists, preparing an armed intervention against the Cuban revolution, and involving Latin American countries in military pacts.

It is the United States that has occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan, that keeps on sending military aircraft into the air space of the People's Republic of China, and rejects the latter's legitimate right to have its representatives in the United Nations.

Combat-ready rocket installations, depots stocked with nuclear weapons, airborne H-bomb patrols, combat-ready warships and submarines cruising the seas and oceans, and a web of military bases on foreign soil—such are the present-day practices of imperialism. In such a situation, any country on earth, big or small, may suddenly be enveloped by the flames of a nuclear war.

Imperialism is pushing the world to the brink of war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of big monopolies and colonialists.

The enemies of peace spread falsehoods about an alleged threat of "communist aggression." They need these falsehoods to camouflage their true goals, to paralyze the will of the peoples and justify the arms race.

Workers, Farmers, Intellectuals!

People of Good Will All Over the World!

There is no task more pressing for mankind today than the struggle against the menace of a nuclear missile war, for general and complete disarmament, for the maintenance of peace. There is no duty more lofty today than participation in the struggle.

Is lasting world peace possible?

We Communists reply:

War is not inevitable, war can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

This conviction of ours is prompted not only by our will for peace and hatred of the warmonger. The possibility of averting war follows from the actual facts of the new world situation.

The world socialist system is becoming an increasingly decisive factor of our time. Embracing more than one-third of mankind, the socialist system with the Soviet Union as its main force uses its steadily growing economic, scientific and technical might to curb the actions of imperialism and handcuff the advocates of military gambles.

The international working-class movement, which holds high the banner of struggle for peace, heightens the vigilance of the peoples and inspires them actively to combat the aggressive policies of the imperialists.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, many millions strong, who have won their freedom and political independence, and peoples fighting for national emancipation, are becoming increasingly active champions of peace and natural allies of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

The neutral countries, which disagree with the aggressive policy of the imperialists, work for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The world peace movement now numbers many millions of people. In every country, the members of the movement strive to safeguard their homeland from a new military conflagration.

By rallying to a resolute struggle, all these forces of peace can foil the criminal plans of war, safeguard peace and reinforce international friendship.

Peace does not come of itself. It can be defended and consolidated only through joint struggle by all the forces of peace.

We Communists appeal to all working people, to the peoples of all continents:

Fight for an easing of international tension and for peaceful coexistence, against cold war, against the arms race! If used for peaceful purposes, the vast resources squandered on armaments would make it possible to improve the conditions of the people, to reduce unemployment, to raise wages and living standards, to expand housing construction and to enhance social insurance.

Prevent the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the arming of the German and Japanese militarists with weapons of mass annihilation!

Demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarized free city!

Combat attempts by the governments of the imperialist powers to involve new countries in the cold war, to draw them into the orbit of war preparations!

Demand the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, and prohibition of the establishment of new bases. Fight for the liberation of your countries from the aggressive military pacts imposed upon them! Work for agreements on nuclear-free zones!

Do not let the U.S. monopolies rob the heroic Cuban people of their freedom by economic blockade or armed intervention!

We Communists, who are fighting for the cause of the working class and the peoples, hold out our hand to the Social-Democrats and members of other parties and organizations fighting for peace, to all members of trade unions, to all patriots: work in concert with us in defense of peace, for disarmament. Let us achieve concerted action!

Let us build up a joint front to combat imperialist preparations for a new war!

Let us jointly defend democratic rights and freedoms and fight against the sinister forces of reaction and fascism, against racism and chauvinism, against monopoly domination, against the militarization of the economy and of political life.

* * *

The struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence weakens the forces striving for war and multiplies the forces of peace. Africa, whose peoples have suffered most from the scourge of colonial slavery and

brutal exploitation, is awakening to a new life. As they establish their independent states, the peoples of Africa emerge in the arena of history as a young, increasingly independent and peace-loving force.

But colonialism, doomed as it is by history, has not yet been completely destroyed.

Brute force and terrorism bar the road to freedom for the peoples of East Africa in the British and Portuguese colonies. A cruel racist regime reigns in the Union of South Africa. For more than six years the gallant people of Algeria have been fighting for the right to national independence, shedding their blood in a war forced upon them by the French colonialists, who are supported by their Atlantic accomplices. In the Congo, the imperialists use all kinds of underhand methods and bribery in an effort to overthrow the lawful government and transfer power to their obedient puppets.

The peoples who have won the right to independent statehood continue to wage a strenuous struggle against colonialism in its new forms, against the U.S. and West German colonialists, and against their old British, French and other oppressors, who seek at all costs to retain control of the natural resources, mines and plantations of the newly-free countries, to prevent their industrial development and to saddle them with corrupt and reactionary governments.

Brothers, in countries which have freed themselves from colonialism and in countries which are fighting for their liberation!

The final hour of colonialism is striking!

We Communists are with you! The mighty camp of socialist countries is with you!

Together with you, we insist on the immediate and unqualified recognition of the right of all peoples to an independent existence.

May the riches of your countries and the efforts of the working people serve the good of your peoples alone!

Your struggle for full sovereignty and economic independence, for your freedom, serves the sacred cause of peace!

* * *

We, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, call—

On all men, women and young people;

On people of all trades and all walks of life;

On all people, irrespective of political or religious creed, of nationality or race;

On all who love their country and hate war:

Demand the immediate prohibition of the

testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass annihilation.

Insist on the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general, complete and controlled disarmament.

May modern science and technology no longer serve the manufacture of weapons of destruction! May they serve the good of people and the progress of mankind!

May friendly co-operation and extensive

commercial and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments!

IN OUR EPOCH THE PEACE FORCES ARE SUPERIOR TO THE FORCES OF WAR!

The peoples will achieve the lofty and cherished goal of safeguarding peace if they pool their efforts and fight resolutely and actively for peace and friendship among nations. Communists will devote all their energies to this cause.

PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER WAR!

Uneven Economic Development of Capitalism

V. Cheprakov

NOTHING is of greater moment to humanity today than victory over the forces of aggression and militarism in the contest for peace and disarmament. To win it, both a correct theoretical assessment of *the material basis of peace, the economy of the socialist world system* and an analysis of *the economic laws of monopoly capitalism — the potential source of military conflicts* — are essential. It is common knowledge that in the past wars have had their origins in such features of imperialism as the export of capital, spasmodic development of the economy, and the struggle for markets, raw material sources and spheres of investment. These factors in their interplay and operation are the mechanism of the law of uneven development of capitalism.

Uneven development is part of the nature of capitalism, is inherent in it at all stages of its history. Marx established that generally speaking it is impossible for capitalist production to develop simultaneously and evenly in all spheres. And Lenin, in an article entitled "The United States of Europe Slogan," pointed out: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism."

However, both the forms in which this law is manifested and its effects vary substan-

tially at different stages of capitalism. Under imperialism economic and political unevenness takes the form of spasmodic, conflict-ridden development of some capitalist countries at the expense of others, which creates the objective conditions for military clashes and international cataclysms. In other words, when imperialism holds absolute sway or predominates wars are inevitable. Indeed, Lenin drew this conclusion at a time when imperialism embraced the whole of the global economy and was the dominant system in the world.

In our times things are greatly changed. The laws of imperialism no longer determine the main trend of world history. Instead they are increasingly yielding place on the historical arena to the objective laws of socialist society, which lead to the consolidation of peace and to the abolition of war and violence. A profound theoretical generalization of the new correlation of forces enabled the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to conclude that it is possible to prevent world war and, eventually, to exclude it from the life of society. These precepts, laid down by two Soviet Communist Party congresses have become the concrete program of action for the millions of peace supporters.

But does this signify, as the contemporary

revisionists claim, that the changed alignment of forces and the growing influence of the socialist world system lessen the unevenness of capitalist development and take the edge off the imperialist contradictions? As the revisionists see it, the principal outcome of the changes since Lenin's time is that the basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism has superseded the imperialist contradictions and reduced them to nought, to all intents and purposes abolishing the law of uneven capitalist development. For instance, Edvard Kardelj, the "theoretician" of modern revisionism, claims in his book *Socialism and War* that the imperialist contradictions are waning.

How absurd and anti-scientific are these contentions when examined in the light of the latest developments in the sphere of imperialist economic relations. A Marxist-Leninist analysis of these developments is not only an essential condition for success in the fight against revisionism, it is of cardinal importance in working out correct working-class policy and tactics. What, then, are the basic changes that have taken place in the world? What are the conditions in which the law of the uneven development of capitalism operates today?

The Capitalist World Today

The gist of the basic changes that have taken place in the capitalist world can be briefly summed up as follows.

a) First, the territory and population of the capitalist world have declined as a result of the rise of the socialist world system; second, capitalism has long ceased to be the only or even the dominant system; it is yielding first place to growing world socialism. Of the 2,800 million people on our planet, 1,000 million live in the countries of the socialist world system, 500 million in the highly-developed imperialist countries and 1,300 million in the economically underdeveloped countries.

b) One of the momentous developments of our times is the collapse of the colonial system in its old, "traditional" form. Most of the colonial countries of Asia and Africa and some Latin American countries have won political independence. In these conditions, the imperialist powers, while making desperate but mostly unsuccessful efforts to preserve and restore direct, undisguised colonial oppression, are trying to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances, trying to find new ways of exploiting the underdeveloped countries by enmeshing them in a net of

economic and financial dependence. Export of capital, the so-called "economic aid," and non-equivalent exchange — these are some methods used by the imperialists to enslave the peoples.

The imperialist powers are doing their utmost to continue plundering the natural wealth of the young national states in the new situation. This is evident from the increasing disparity between the price paid for raw materials of the underdeveloped countries and the price charged for the manufactures supplied by the imperialist states.

PRICE "SCISSORS" (1954 = 100)

	Raw materials	Foodstuffs, beverages, tobacco	Industrial goods (export prices)
1959	93	98	111

Imperialist efforts to continue and intensify the exploitation of the economically underdeveloped countries are encountering the growing resistance of the peoples of these countries. They want no colonial yoke, whatever the form. The national-liberation movement is entering a new stage — the struggle for economic independence, which will shake the pillars of imperialism still more.

c) The decay and parasitism of capitalism have increased. This is manifested primarily in the growing subordination of economic development in the capitalist countries to the narrow anti-popular interests of the monopolies. With profits as the main object of production and state-monopoly regulation, capitalist economy becomes deformed more and more. Systematic under-capacity operation of plant, gearing of production capacities to the armaments drive and economic expansion, militarization of industry leading to constant wastage of an enormous part of the social product, measures to restrain the expansion of the productive forces in agriculture, hypertrophic expansion of the non-production spheres — these are some of the basic expressions of the decay of modern capitalism, which are most strikingly evident in the economy of the USA, the leading imperialist country.

d) The capitalist economy is becoming shakier and more unstable. In the United States, for instance, economic development is interrupted every three or four years by relatively severe crises of overproduction (with drops up to 10 per cent). Moreover, the periods of good business activity are fever-

ish and brief, and greatly influenced by such factors as militarization. That the rate of U.S. industrial development dropped from 5.4 per cent in 1901-1913 to an average of 2.4 per cent in 1953-60 is highly indicative.

Apart from crises of overproduction, the capitalist countries experience other economic convulsions — financial, budgetary, foreign exchange, agrarian, raw material — foreign trade and balance of payments crises, etc. In most the monetary system has been disrupted and inflation has become chronic. The U.S. dollar, once considered the most stable of all currencies, lost 47 per cent of its value from 1938 to 1948 and another 15 per cent between 1948 and 1958.

The technological revolution in the world is adding to the instability of the capitalist economy. The process of the older industries (coal, textiles, steam locomotives, etc.) being replaced by the new (gas, chemical, synthetic materials, electronics, etc.), which, generally speaking, is a progressive phenomenon, leads in capitalist conditions to the economic collapse of entire industrial areas and privation for the working people. Moreover, the rapidity of technological progress necessitates ever greater investments which the small and medium entrepreneurs cannot afford, and this accelerates the process of capitalist concentration.

e) At the turn of the century the drive for profits, the growing division of labor and the development of trade served to internationalize economic relations and linked all the capitalist states into a single imperialist system. At the same time the very same factors gave rise to sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries. The more than fifty years that have passed since then have resulted in a further interweaving of the economies of the capitalist countries and, consequently, have intensified their rivalry.

The present state-monopoly stage of capitalism makes for still greater divergence of economic interests among the imperialist powers and puts a new and powerful weapon in the hands of the contending parties for use against their competitors. This weapon is the capitalist state, which is used by the monopoly associations to wrest from each other markets, raw material sources and spheres of investment. This accentuates the danger inherent in monopoly rivalry.

f) The capitalist world market presents a far more acute problem today than ever before. Although it has shrunk territorially, its total volume, far from diminishing, has

grown. But this has not eased the situation. In the first place, market capacity cannot keep up with the growth of production. Secondly, the expansion of mass production due to the technological revolution demands ever new outlets and creates new and grave problems for capitalist world trade. Thirdly, the increased share of the means of production in the exports of the leading capitalist countries also makes the problem more acute.

g) Export of capital has become more complicated. Imperialist investors now encounter formidable obstacles, many of which either did not exist at all before or played an insignificant role. These include restrictions on the transfer of capital and profits abroad; state control over the influx of foreign capital and the operation of foreign enterprises; the "51-per cent law" enforced in a number of underdeveloped countries, in conformity with which foreign investors must make 51 per cent of their capital stock available to local partners, and, finally, the risk of direct expropriation of investments in the course of national-liberation revolutions.

h) The growing demand for raw materials and fuel gives rise to a scramble for their sources, especially sources of raw materials for new industries and war production. The contest for monopoly possession of such sources accentuates the rivalry between the imperialist powers. The problem is particularly acute because the peoples of the underdeveloped countries are resisting imperialist plunder of the raw material sources located on their territories.

i) Radical changes have taken place in the national imperialisms—imperialisms peculiar to particular states, as Lenin called them. Each imperialist power, Lenin pointed out, has its own specific features that assert themselves above all the other hallmarks of imperialism.

What has happened since Lenin's time? The imperialist countries still have their specific features, but at the same time a certain levelling process may be discerned. One national imperialism has become more like another. For countries with a highly-developed capitalism — USA, West Germany, Britain, etc. — the features are developed productive forces, a certain uniformity of industrial structure, extreme concentration and centralization of production, and a high degree of monopoly. This equalization, however, makes the development of the imperialist countries even more uneven and spasmodic, and, consequently, aggravates their contradictions.

Such are some of the determinants of the state of affairs in the capitalist world and the processes under way in it.

No Let-Up in Rivalry

The deep-going changes in the capitalist world have intensified the competition between the imperialist powers. Above all, there has been a sharpening of the contradictions between the USA and the rest of the capitalist countries, firstly, because of the new correlation of forces inside the capitalist world, and, secondly, because of the consequent stepping up of the U.S. drive for world hegemony.

The uneven development is clearly reflected in the highly spasmodic growth of capitalist production.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDICES (1953 = 100)

	1956	1957	1958	1959
USA	109	110	102	115
West Germany	138	147	151	162
Britain	114	116	114	120
France	133	144	150	159
Italy	128	137	142	158
Japan	144	167	168	208

As a result, the respective shares of the leading capitalist countries in world capitalist production have changed.

SHARE IN CAPITALIST PRODUCTION (in percentages)

	1925-28	1937	1948	1953	1956	1958
USA	44.3	41.4	56.4	53.3	49.7	46.9
Britain	9.9	12.5	11.7	8.3	8.1	8.3
West Germany	12.0	9.0	4.3	7.8	9.6	10.5
France	6.9	6.0	4.1	4.0	4.7	5.4

From this we see that the U.S. share in the industrial production of the capitalist world fell from 56.4 per cent in 1948 to 46.9 per cent in 1958. Keener competition on the part of the other capitalist countries also reduced the U.S. share in the total exports of the capitalist world — from 21.3 per cent in 1953 to 18.8 per cent in 1958.

But it is not this decline alone that is important. The point is that to ensure more or less full operation of America's vast production capacity and to play the same role in capitalist world trade as they play in capitalist production, the U.S. monopoly capitalists would have to increase exports at least

five times over. This can be done only by capturing the positions held by the other capitalist countries. And the USA is bending every effort toward this end. Since the war it has taken the place of Britain and France as the biggest investor. Whereas in 1939 American foreign investments amounted to roughly 11,400 million dollars, at the end of 1958 the figure exceeded 50,000 million.

U.S. economic expansion is stimulated by the higher rate of profit obtained from foreign investments. In 1951, some 16 per cent of American corporation profits (before tax) came from direct foreign capital investments; the profits from home investments accruing to companies investing abroad accounted for only 11 per cent of the total corporation profits. That is why some 3,000 American firms, including 99 of the 100 giants, are now operating outside the United States as well. Nearly one-quarter of the U.S. imports come from American enterprises abroad.

These processes explain the growing drive of U.S. monopoly capital for world domination. It is out to supplant other countries on the capitalist world market, and to penetrate their colonial possessions and spheres of influence. Naturally, the West European monopoly capitalists resist this.

West German imperialism has restored and expanded its power and is laying claim to economic domination in Western Europe, and even to leadership in West European politics. Its strong economic positions make it a formidable competitor.

NET VALUE OF PLANT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

(at end of year, in thousands of millions of dollars in comparable prices of 1950)

	USA	Britain	West Germany
1948	70.4	12.3	7.7
1956	88.0	18.2	16.1

As can be seen from the above, the value of plant in the manufacturing industries increased in West Germany by 100 per cent in 1956 as compared with 1948, in Britain by 48 per cent, and in the USA by 25 per cent. This indicates that West Germany is building up a more modern industry than the other capitalist countries.

West Germany has also outstripped the USA and Britain in the growth of labor productivity. If we take 1950 as 100, in 1959 productivity of labor increased by 21 per cent in the USA, by 12 per cent in Britain, and by

58 per cent in West Germany. West Germany is ahead of the other capitalist countries as regards the ratio of capital investments to the social product. In 1952-57 it was 16.7 per cent in the USA, 14.4 per cent in Britain, 17.22 per cent in France, and 21.2 per cent in West Germany.

On the capitalist world market, too, West Germany is active. Its exports surpassed the French long ago and have almost caught up with the British. Its goods compete successfully mainly because the West German monopolies have been able to keep wages at a relatively low level.

Of the leading European capitalist countries, West Germany is the only one with a favorable trade and payments balance. Its gold and foreign exchange reserves increased from 3,000 million dollars at the end of 1955 to 6,300 million at the end of 1958. In the same period Britain's reserves increased from 2,200 million dollars to 3,100 million, while France's declined from 1,900 million to 1,050 million dollars.

With the connivance of the U.S. monopolies, West Germany is also striving to swing the West European political alignment of forces in its favor. In the guise of setting up a West European political coalition with its own concept and line of conduct, the West German monopolies are attacking British and French positions. In the light of this the shortsightedness of the policy pursued by Britain and France, in agreeing to the rearming of West Germany, to its having rocket and nuclear weapons and military bases on the territory of other countries, is particularly glaring.

A New Type of Contradiction

Capitalist economic blocs are a new form of monopoly rivalry. What the bourgeois and social-democratic writers call "integration" is essentially a deal among the monopolies through the mechanism of inter-governmental agreements. It would be wrong to say that "integration" is impossible, but it would be just as incorrect to claim that it leads to "unity in the capitalist world."

It will be remembered that the proponents of the social democratic theory of "ultra-imperialism" believed that in the not too distant future the capitalist world magnates would unite in a single trust that would bring harmony among the capitalist states. Lenin sharply criticized these views and revealed the dialectics of imperialist development. "There is no doubt," he said, "that things are

moving in the direction of one single worldwide trust taking in all enterprises and all states without exception. But the movement toward this proceeds in such circumstances and at such a rate, and is attended by such contradictions, conflicts and perturbations — not only economic but also political, national, etc. — that before this single worldwide trust, this 'ultra-imperialist' worldwide association of the national finance capitals, is reached, imperialism will inevitably collapse, capitalism will change into its opposite." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fourth Russ. Ed., Vol. 22, pp. 94-95.)

Though things are moving, they will never get there! This revolutionary Leninist formulation is directed against vulgarization and opportunism alike. Lenin exposed the fallacy of the argument — an argument which brings grist to the mill of the apologists of imperialism — that the domination of finance capital would lessen the uneven development of capitalism and the contradictions in the world economy. On the contrary, he emphasized, it would intensify both the unevenness and the contradictions.

As a result of production becoming increasingly social in character, the free movement of commodities, people and capital, which is necessary for capitalist economic development, finds itself in conflict with the economic exclusiveness. The efforts made to solve this contradiction by forming supra-national economic organizations (the Common Market, European Free Trade Association, etc.) reflect to a certain extent an objective tendency toward internationalization, a "tendency toward the creation of a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations according to a common plan, which tendency is already clearly and fully revealed under capitalism, and should certainly be further developed and fully consummated under socialism" (Lenin, *Preliminary Theses on the National and Colonial Question*.)

True, capitalist associations enter into relations with one another on the basis of the economic partitioning of the world. But the relations thus shaped do not lead to concord among the capitalist countries, because they do not and cannot solve the contradictions between the specifically national imperialist groupings, all of which are out for super-profits. That is why deals among the monopolists merely camouflage their contradictions while sowing the seeds of a further intensification of these contradictions.

The international monopolies and super-cartels established through inter-governmental agreements, far from lessening the uneven development of the various countries under capitalism, actually intensify it considerably. With the growth of the cartels and their expansion on an international scale, clashes between them become conflicts between giants. The reactionary, militarist forces, which represent the interests of the capitalist monopolies, thirsting for adventure and aggression, are battling one another both within and without the international monopoly associations.

"Integration" is a highly contradictory process. On the one hand it expresses a desire on the part of the imperialists to reconcile their contradictions and build a common front against socialism and the labor movement, and, on the other, it makes for deeper and sharper differences between the capitalist countries. The international state monopolies embody both the internationalization of economic relations in the capitalist world and the rivalry rending it.

At present there are three basic groups of imperialist rivals: 1) the six-power bloc of monopolies headed by West Germany; 2) the alliance of monopoly associations of seven countries sponsored by Britain, and 3) the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

The six-power exclusive grouping of monopoly capitalists, known as the Common Market, or the Six, began operating in 1959. Acting through their governments, the monopolies of West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg agreed to coordinate trade policies, gradually to do away with customs barriers and to introduce duty-free trade with one another, while retaining common customs tariffs for all other countries.

Britain, with her aspirations to be the top trading power in Western Europe, could hardly welcome the Common Market, and, in opposition to it, set up the Free Trade Association which includes Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal. The Seven, like the Six, propose the abolition of all customs duties in trade with one another, but, as distinct from the Common Market, each of the Seven retains its own tariffs on imports from countries outside the area.

The rivalry between the two blocs threatens to develop into a trade war. An idea of the growing competition between the former's share in the total exports of all capitalist countries dropped from 11 per cent in

1950 to 9.5 per cent in 1958, while the latter's rose from 3.6 to 9.4 per cent. The growing contradictions between the British and West German imperialists, however, do not exclude the possibility of a temporary deal. In recent times a highly inconsistent tendency can be observed toward a certain rapprochement between the two on some issues of "European integration." In this the West German monopoly capitalists are prompted primarily by their expansionist aims. Indeed, the division of capitalist Europe into two exclusive economic groups threatens to deprive West Germany of part of its markets in non-Common Market countries which, together with their overseas territories, now take 37.7 per cent of its exports, as against the 29.5 per cent absorbed by the Common Market. Hence the readiness of the West German monopolies to enter into a compromise with the Seven in order to compete with British monopoly capital on a wider economic arena.

As regards the situation in the Common Market group, here contradictions between France and West Germany are inevitable. The latter stands to gain much more from the six-power market than its partners since its potentialities are greater. What West Germany wants is to establish its domination over the more than 165 million people living in the area.

West German economic expansion is directed primarily against the French economy. It goes without saying of course, that the French monopolies, closely connected as they are with West German monopoly capital through cartel and other agreements, will profit in no small degree, but the small and medium-sized enterprises will be crushed and serious harm done to the French national economy as a whole.

The aggravation of the contradictions between the French and West German monopolies is manifested also in Bonn's mounting dissatisfaction with the European policy of the French government, which, reluctant to enter into a deal with Britain, is pushing its own variant of European capitalist "unity" instead. Contrary to Bonn, which seeks *political integration* embracing a larger number of West European countries, Paris wants *confederation* within the framework of the Common Market. The result is greater discord between the monopoly capitalists of the two countries and the appearance of grounds for joint British-West German efforts to moderate, as the magazine *L'Usine Nouvelle* puts it, de Gaulle's inordinate desire to assume leadership in Europe.

The formation of the two blocs has put the USA in a quandary. On the one hand, its economic interests are threatened. On the other hand, the USA, as the organizer and inspirer of NATO, fears that a trade war might scuttle this aggressive alliance. Nor is a merger of the two blocs in any way acceptable to American imperialism, because it would create a strong economic alliance capable of competing with the U.S. monopolies. Economic unification of Western Europe carries a serious threat to at least one-third of America's export trade.

The fact that the Common Market and the Free Trade Association are putting American exports in an increasingly unfavorable position on the European market has stimulated the flow of U.S. capital to Western Europe. In the last ten years direct U.S. investments there have trebled, and they are continuing to grow at a rate of 10-12 per cent annually. This is double the rate for American investments throughout the rest of the capitalist world. This year, with 67 per cent of all American foreign investments in industry going to Western Europe (in 1957 the percentage was less than 40), more U.S. capital is flowing to this quarter than to Canada and Latin America taken together.

However, the American monopolies feel that export of capital alone is not enough to win the contest. Hence their efforts to enter into direct partnership in the West European economic alignments. In particular, this is the object of their proposal to substitute for the Organization for European Economic Cooperation a broader association of states called the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development that would include, besides the USA and Canada, eighteen European states.

The deep, irreconcilable antagonism of imperialist economic interests is sharpening day by day. The uneven development and the constant changes in the correlation of forces are adding to the instability of the capitalist system as a whole.

Some Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from an analysis of the uneven economic development of capitalism? First, it reveals the utter fallacy of the revisionist theories that the contradictions between the imperialist powers are diminishing. There is no doubt that in our day the growth and consolidation of the socialist world system is exerting a powerful influence on the law of uneven development of capitalism. But this influence by no

means cancels out the contradictions between imperialists; on the contrary, it causes them to grow more acute.

The development of the socialist world system has greatly narrowed the sphere of imperialist domination and the range of its laws. Competition between the monopolies now proceeds on a far more limited economic basis than it did when socialism was confined to one country. Clearly this makes it harder for the imperialist powers to maneuver and find temporary solutions for their contradictions at the expense of other countries.

The same effect is produced by the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. The peoples of the former colonial countries are no longer satisfied with political independence alone, they want economic independence as well. They are demanding that their economy be freed from the fetters of foreign dependence and they are against all forms of economic oppression — against shackling trade agreements and loans, exploitation by foreign capital, plunder of natural resources, in particular raw materials, and unequal exchange. The fact that there now exists a socialist world system, which has thrown the full weight of its strength and political prestige behind these just demands, opens up bright vistas to the former colonial peoples. In this new situation the imperialist powers are fighting with greater ferocity for "spheres of influence," seeking to penetrate each other's economies and to obtain new footholds not only in the underdeveloped, but in the highly developed capitalist countries as well. These processes are causing the inter-imperialist contradictions to become more acute, even though they often develop inside state-monopoly alliances and military pacts which camouflage the antagonisms that rend the capitalist world.

Nor can the fight waged against the socialist countries by the rulers of the imperialist powers lessen these contradictions inasmuch as they spring from the very nature of capitalism. In these circumstances the imperialists are torn in two opposite directions: on the one hand, the uneven development and the irreconcilable antagonism of their economic interests impel them to fight one another; on the other hand, class hatred of socialism, of the workers' and communist movement, and of the peoples fighting for national liberation makes for compacts among the imperialist powers. This clash of interests determines the dialectics of the development of modern imperialism. Agreements between the

imperialist powers are constantly undermined by fierce competition, which corrodes the very foundations of "Western unity" and hinders the consolidation of forces against socialism and the national-liberation movements that the imperialists are so anxious to achieve. The uneven capitalist development, deepening the contradictions between the imperialists, prevents them from achieving unity in their battle against socialism and enables the socialist countries to utilize these contradictions to drive holes in the imperialist front.

As in the past, the contradictions between the specific, national imperialisms are at fever pitch and carry with them the threat of military conflicts. Now, however, there is an *insuperable barrier* preventing this threat from becoming actual fact — *the socialist world system*. The growing strength of world socialism enables it not only to press upon imperialism its method of solving the basic contradiction of the epoch — the method of peaceful economic competition of the two

systems — but actively to intervene in the sphere of inter-imperialist contradictions and prevent these from developing to their logical consummation — military clashes. Moreover, by preventing the imperialist powers from unleashing war, the socialist countries deprive imperialism of the only possibility it has of temporarily solving its external contradictions, with the result that the contradictions become still more aggravated. In the final analysis this leads to a further weakening of the imperialist world system and the strengthening of socialism.

"Our times," N. S. Khrushchov said at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly, "are times of rapid renewal of the forms of existence of human society . . . of unprecedented progress toward a more progressive social organization." In other words, as time goes on, the march of history will be governed less and less by the laws of imperialism and in ever greater degree by the laws of socialist society. And this is the surest guarantee that there will be peace on earth.

Italian Communists for a Democratic Reform of Education

Alessandro Natta

THE Tambroni government, which relied on the neo-fascist party, fell in July this year, having been swept from office by the general political strike and the nationwide struggle in which the youth and students were particularly active and militant. In the conditions of an upsurge in the anti-fascist and democratic struggle, a clear-cut democratic program which could unite the working people and win over a majority of the people is of especial significance. And it is a program of this kind that is being put forward by the Italian Communist Party which consistently studies the country's problems in the interests of the people.

Some of these problems (the setting up of regional administrative bodies, the nationalization of power sources and educational reform), long ripe for solution, are now urgent

issues. This is recognized by the other democratic forces, including some circles in the Catholic movement. Nearly all the political parties, including the Christian Democratic, have spoken in favor of educational reform. Education is now such a *political issue* that all parties accord it priority. Thanks to the efforts of the progressive political and cultural forces during the past few years, the public realizes that the educational system, poorly organized, is in a critical state. Emphasis is laid on the need for the utmost effort to achieve the regeneration and the development of education and of culture as a whole along progressive lines.

The rapid strides made by science and, in particular, the recent achievements of the Soviet Union have made for a better understanding of the backwardness of public edu-

cation in our country and of the criminally careless attitude towards it. While the Soviet space laboratory was photographing the other side of the Moon, Italian physicists in the universities were opposing the action of the government in cutting the allocation for research and in holding up the law on atomic energy. Attention was drawn in this connection to education as being one of the principal means of achieving scientific, economic and social progress.

Not everyone, of course, considers school reform to be part of the broader democratic regeneration of the economic and political foundations of society. The contradictions between the Christian Democrats and the non-clerical democratic parties and other left forces are very profound: this is particularly true of the relations between the state and the private educational establishments. There is a wide network of these schools in Italy; as a rule they are directed by the Catholic Church or dependent on it.

It is clear, however, that from now on one of the standards for judging the democratic orientation of the political forces in Italy and their readiness to uphold the national interests will be their desire and their ability to overcome the chronic shortcomings of the educational system, as well as the retrograde tendencies in the sphere of culture and pedagogics.

Experience of the political struggle has shown how difficult it is for the Christian Democratic Party, on the one hand, and the Social Democratic and Republican parties, on the other, to reach a common ground on this issue. In point of fact the two latter parties are in accord with the stand taken by the Communists and Socialists. However, the Christian Democratic leaders' attempt to use the shameful alliance with the fascists for the purpose of imposing reactionary solutions on the people—solutions to the liking of the Church hierarchy and the militant Churchmen—comes up against the combined opposition of the democratic and secular forces; and this opposition helps the public to realize that school reform will be useful in overcoming the defects of the public educational system, culture and pedagogics, that this reform is closely linked with the democratic regeneration of Italian society and that it can be carried out only if the public and the political forces interested in seeing the social and cultural advancement of Italy combine their efforts.

The crisis in education has spread to all

branches — from kindergarten to university. It is manifest in the shortage — and all too often in the sheer lack — of funds (for new schools, scientific and technical training appliances, training teachers, etc.), and in the backwardness and abstract rhetoric of the curricula and of teaching and educational work. The greatest evil is *that education is remote from the life of society*, that teaching is remote from the democratic strivings and demands of the people, from the new view on culture which is gaining an ever firmer footing in the modern world.

Here are a few examples to illustrate the present state of affairs. About 12 per cent of the population is illiterate — the percentage is higher in some provinces. Pre-school establishments, nearly all of them run by private persons or religious bodies, cater for a bare third of the children between three and six. The elementary schools suffer from many shortages. They need, for example, another 75,000 classrooms. Out of every 100 pupils entering the first grade only just over 60 complete the five-year course. In some of the southern provinces so many children leave the schools that a mere minority obtains elementary school-leaving certificates.

Lessons on nature and human society have been cut, and the instruction, becoming increasingly imbued with religion and permeated with blind worship of Church dogmas, is returning to the old form of instruction by catechism. The lower grade secondary school for children between 11 and 14 years of age (according to the Constitution tuition in this school should be compulsory and free) is, in fact, within the reach of only a few: of every 100 children in this age bracket barely 30 finish these schools! What is more, the pupils are divided on the class principle.

Education is organized on approximately the following lines: the elementary school (five years, for children from six to 11 years); lower-grade secondary school (three years, for children from 11 to 14); higher-grade secondary school (four years, for pupils from 14 to 18); the university.

The lower-grade general secondary school provides a general education. At the age of 11, however, the pupil must make a choice which, for him, can close the doors to the higher-grade secondary school and the university, for, in addition to the secondary general school, there are vocational, art and music schools. Upon entering the higher-grade secondary school the pupil chooses a vocation and the choice is decisive. There are four main types of these schools (from them the

student can pass only into certain faculties): 1) the classical secondary school; 2) the science secondary school; 3) the teachers' training college; 4) other colleges (technical, commercial, industrial, marine, geodetic, etc.).

Children of parents who are not well off usually enter the specialized colleges, a decision which deprives them of the possibility of continuing their education after graduation. What is more, the premature vocational training in these colleges is often purely formal. The absence of a unified general school is particularly hard on young people from worker and peasant families, and, primarily on the children in the southern regions (whereas an average of 11,900 lire per inhabitant is spent annually on education in the northern and the central regions, the figure is only 9,600 lire in the south!). Any help rendered the school smacks in most cases of charity. This state of affairs is certainly not conducive to an exercise of the right to education inscribed in the Constitution.

Both in the higher-grade secondary schools and in the universities the shortcomings in the training of specialists are acutely felt. It is becoming increasingly clear that the traditional pride of place allotted to classical education to the detriment of technical* and the emasculating of school programs of their scientific content, are more than an anachronism, they are an intolerable *social evil*. Suffice it to recall the preposterous fact that specialists trained in the technical colleges cannot, under existing regulations, pass into the engineering faculties of the higher educational establishments, although this would unquestionably be sensible and well worthwhile. The student who has graduated from an industrial college can pass on only to the economics or commercial faculties of a university but not to the faculty of engineering!

The Government has still not revised the regulation in force since before 1861, by virtue of which some regions in the country have three or four universities, while others have none at all. The professional training of specialists is not up to the mark; the universities have not enough laboratories, libraries or lecture halls.

The higher educational establishments are clearly not graduating enough technical experts. Research in technology and in the natural sciences is on the downgrade, while — and this is particularly true of the southern

regions — the influx of students to the humanitarian faculties continues to grow. There is, then, a dual contradiction; on the one hand, we have unemployment, which means that intellectuals trained in the humanities are losing their qualifications, and, on the other, a shortage of scientific and technical personnel** is a cause for concern. This is the outcome of the anarchy in the relations between education and society, a result of the inability to take care of the needs of the day and to look to the morrow, the future of Italy. Lastly — and this is no less important — many problems concerning the organization, legal status and economic conditions of the teaching staff still await solution. The teachers, who are sub-divided into numerous categories and groups, have no desire to remain in the humiliating position in which they are placed by their extremely bad conditions, the constant fear of the morrow (most of them are not on the staff), and the lack of freedom in teaching. At the same time there are, from time to time, heated debates about the insufficient general cultural and professional training of school teachers and the teaching staff of the higher educational institutions.

* * *

This state of affairs in public education cannot be changed merely by increasing allocations for education; nor will this prevent the gap between Italy and other countries from widening. No one will deny the need for much bigger allocations for public education***, but this should be done on the basis of a comprehensive and consistent educational program which would reflect the social aims, cultural strivings, structure and funds for the reformed system.

The democratic forces want an educational program and a school expansion plan around which would rally the democratic majority in education, in parliament and in the country.

And if the task is to make education democratic and republican, the principle inspiring the reform should flow from the Constitution. Our Constitution defines the nature and basic tasks of a school that would raise the cultural level of the masses to that required by the advance of science, knowledge and industrial development, a school that would

*In the 1955-56 school year 73,891 students received certificates. Of these 35.2 per cent graduated technical schools, and 64.8 per cent classical and scientific secondary schools and teachers' training colleges.

**Two eloquent examples: 63 per cent of the university students are studying the humanities; 37 per cent are in the faculties of natural science and engineering. Of the 1956-57 graduation, 23.6 per cent were lawyers, only 10.5 per cent engineers, 15.1 per cent doctors, and 3.2 per cent agronomists.

***In 1958 only 2.7 per cent of the national income was earmarked for public education.

abolish class discrimination in education and make knowledge accessible to all.

The Constitution could be the basis of public education in the broad sense of the term; it is a document which affirms the importance of progress and the need for a new approach to the national reality which was born out of the anti-fascist Resistance and the war of liberation; it is a solemn, binding pact which affirms that democracy, social justice, regeneration of the economic structure of the country and of the democratic pillars of the state, and freedom for the development of the arts and sciences are not only political obligations, but also the essential prerequisites for a new orientation in public education, for inculcating morals and, one might say, the whole ideology of Italian society.

Our fundamental principle in this question is that any progressive school reform should be based upon *state organization of the system of education*. This, it might appear, goes without saying. Yet there is a vast network of private educational establishments depending in the main on the Church authorities. Many establishments, beginning with kindergartens and ending with universities, belong to religious bodies. In some areas the Church has almost a monopoly, for example, in pre-school teaching and in running various types of colleges.

During the fascist regime, as well as in the postwar with the Christian Democrats in the saddle, these educational institutions were, and still are, on an equal footing with state educational establishments* and are quite frequently in a privileged position. A campaign launched by clerical circles is now under way in Italy, and incidentally in France and throughout Western Europe — with the aim not only of securing “freedom of pedagogic initiative” in private schools and of giving non-state educational establishments the same legal status as the state educational establishments, but also of obtaining for the private schools the right to direct or indirect financial state aid.

The Christian Democratic governments of Fanfani and Segni put before Parliament their “ten-year plan” which, it was claimed, would solve the acute educational problems (make good the shortage of classrooms and teachers, for instance).

In point of fact the whole plan is merely

a means of securing state subsidies for private schools. The clericals want to “have it both ways”: on the one hand, they want to tighten their grip on the state schools by bringing more religion into the programs and by exerting political pressure on the teachers; and on the other, they want to extend the network of private schools dependent on the Church, for as the clericals say, only these schools can guarantee that pupils will be educated in the true spirit of the Catholic religion!

The clerical trends have evoked a negative reaction among the public. In the struggle against Church pressure the democratic cultural and political forces, including some in the Catholic movement, have drawn closer together. The importance of the call to observe the Constitution became clearer in the course of the struggle. For the Constitution says explicitly that the state plays the leading role in public education, that such a basic social function as education is a state prerogative.

It is true that the Constitution recognizes the right of separate bodies and private persons to have their own schools, but it adds just as clearly that this does not carry with it the right to *any state subsidy*. Hence the demand for state financing of the private schools runs counter to the Constitution, as does the stand taken by the Churchmen who, undermining confidence in state education, are demanding schools *for Catholics only*; this undermines the very essence of *the modern school* which should be founded on the secular principle and be a means of achieving cultural and social progress.

* * *

The defense and development of state education is closely linked with the need to regenerate school programs and ideological training.

The most obvious danger is that teaching is permeated with the spirit of classicism (excessive study of Latin), which at one time was distorted by the nationalist rhetoric of fascism and subsequently even more so by the Catholic confessionalism.

The education of the Right-wing circles of the Italian bourgeoisie is still based on an anti-democratic conception of humanism. The consequence of this is that culture is divided into the culture of the man who works and of the man who rules. These two cultures have given rise to two types of schools; the school of the second type enjoys greater prestige and is regarded as being of “higher quality” than the school of the first type.

*It is estimated that in 1958-59 ten per cent of the pupils of all ages attended Church schools; in some ages the percentage was higher. In the lower-grade secondary school (11 to 14 years), for instance, it was 20 percent, and 25 per cent in the teachers' training colleges.

In order to realize the ideal of modern pedagogics, pedagogics really based on a knowledge of history and the natural sciences — the chief values of the civilization of the new man — and to lead the child and later the adolescent to a scientific understanding of life and nature, it is necessary to break down the hoary tradition of the study of Latin — the pivot around which the present educational process revolves.

The proposal to exclude Latin from the main curriculum (for children of up to 14) — a proposal which is meeting with ever greater support in Italy — does not aim at consigning to oblivion the rich heritage of Greek and Roman culture. As a matter of fact it is more in accord with humanistic aspirations. At the same time it aims — by refuting the view that Latin is the discipline best fitted to form the intellect — at ending the class divisions according to which the chosen go to a school in which Latin is taught, while children from workers' and peasant families attend one in which there is no Latin.

Therefore, the democratization of education, in addition to tuition being free and available to all, calls for a *uniform general education school*. That is the cornerstone of all the political and pedagogical discussions raging around the two bills on compulsory instruction. One has been submitted by the government; the other, expressing the view and interests of broad sections of the population, by the Communist Senators. The proposals in the government's bill for the secondary schools of various types are unsound. The authors of the bill screen themselves by recognizing, in principle, the need for a uniform system of education. At the same time they continue to insist upon a division in the school, granting, however, that there may be various "trends" and that the subjects may be studied "by choice."

A uniform school for all children between the ages of 11 and 14 with a program based on the two main groups of subjects — *historico-literary and scientific and technical* — and which envisages optional study of some (not major) subjects, would be in keeping with the principle of democratic social equality. A school of this kind would strengthen and expand the ties between town and countryside, between mental and physical labor, and it would raise the intellectual level of the people. The development of society along democratic lines and the regeneration of Italian culture depend in great measure on this level. It is illustrative that on this issue of

equality and the uniform general education school, the demarcation line between the conservatives and the supporters of the new runs through the Catholic movement itself, so much so that its more progressive section is acting together with the democratic, socialist and communist forces.

* * *

The educational reform also envisages: a better system of vocational training by setting up state vocational schools and courses for various trades and professions; a unified system of the higher-grade secondary school that would include the secondary schools of various types; that the technical colleges (which are also higher-grade secondary schools) should be accorded the same rights as the secondary school; and, lastly, the reorganization of the universities, and better research faculties.

But before this can be done the problems of compulsory education, of raising the cultural level of the masses, and of making education available to all who wish to study, will have to be solved.

On the other hand, it should be recalled (as the Theses of the Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist Party point out), that "economic reforms and the regeneration of political structures call, in their turn, for the regeneration of national culture, school programs, educational work and morals." The fight for educational reform is part of the struggle for the economic and political advancement of Italian society for which the Communists are fighting, thus counterposing the policy of the big monopoly bourgeoisie. The fact that the Communist Party, realizing the urgency of the political struggle for the regeneration of the educational system, has linked this task with the need to reform the economic and political system should be regarded as one of the best features of our activities over the past few years. The Party concentrated on passing over from exposure of clerical policy, which is subordinating teaching to religion, and from simple support for the demands of teachers, pupils and students, to the framing of constructive proposals and a *uniform program* for educational reform.

On the basis of research carried out by the Gramsci Institute and of data in the *Reform of Education*, a pedagogical journal issued by the Communist Party, the Central Committee of the Party was able, in the period prior to the Eighth and Ninth congresses and at the time of these congresses, to elaborate and

define our educational policy. In the 1958 general election campaign the Party put forward for nationwide discussion the basic propositions of our school reform program, some of which, subsequently submitted in the form of a bill, formed the basis not only of our fight in parliament but also of the broad explanatory work in the Party organizations and among the teachers and those sections of the public who took an active part in the discussion.

There are, of course, considerable shortcomings and difficulties in our activities in this sphere; we have not always been able to link the general problems of education with the task of winning over the teachers and students to our side. But our struggle on this front has focused public attention on education and has helped to overcome the anti-communist discrimination in one of its most typical forms. To defend and develop the state school, to make it secular and democratic, to implement the principles inscribed in the Constitution, principles providing for a modern and uniform education and upbringing — these are the points on which the various formerly divided democratic forces have formed a common platform for concentrated action, the basis on which they are entering into alliances with one another.

Last February the inaugural conference was held in Rome of the Association for the Defense and Development of State Education which includes Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Radicals and Social Democrats. Despite the different political views held by its members, the Association defined the general tasks and drew up a program. Not for a long time has Italy seen such unity. This organization is a new development, not only because it is a united association in the struggle for a new secular and democratic education, but also because it is another step towards overcoming the anti-communist prejudices, another step towards comparing and critically discussing various ideas.

The united representative organizations of university students, in particular the Union of Italian University Students — a Left secular student organization — has taken the same path. By overcoming anti-communist sentiment it has been able to draw up a more precise program of struggle for the regeneration of the universities. There has been a noticeable heightening of interest among the student youth and senior secondary school pupils. The young people want the restrictions placed on the teaching of

history lifted, they dislike the tendentious trend of this teaching, for both the one and the other are obstacles to a proper understanding of life, of its sources and foundations. The desire to understand and study the process of the reunification of Italy and, chiefly, the experience of the anti-fascist struggle and the national-liberation movement (as the foundations of the democratic republic) by way of objective analysis and with the help of the evidence provided by participants, ensured the success of the discussions and conferences held in Rome, Turin and other cities. The active participation of thousands of young people of both sexes showed once again that the present school system does not meet the needs of the day. At the same time it showed that there is another mighty regenerating force in the country.

And so a tangible spur to the development and reorganization of the school system was given by the youth, by the teachers and by the democratic parties. It would be difficult to enumerate all the rallies, discussions, conferences, congresses and meetings at which the education issue has been discussed in recent months. The big economic, trade union, and political organizations — from the Confindustria (association of industrialists) to the General Confederation of Labor, from the leading cultural magazines of a democratic trend to the municipalities, from the teachers' trade union to the professional unions and organizations — have, understandably, busied themselves with this problem (impelled, naturally, by different motives). After many years of indifference even the daily press gives more space to the issue. Proof of this is the character and the tone of the articles on Soviet education; the significance of Soviet education for technological and scientific progress was only "discovered" in Italy after the recent Soviet scientific achievements.

There is, then, a real prospect before us; basing ourselves on the Constitution and drawing our inspiration from it, our job is to initiate a powerful united movement of the various ideological and political forces for a modern secular democratic school. Each step in this direction cannot but play an important part both in doing away with the stagnation in education and culture and in changing the present political relations. In this sense the regeneration of education is an extremely important political task for the advancement of Italy along the democratic path.

Successful and Fruitful Co-operation

Josef Plojhar

THE people of Czechoslovakia have made great headway during the past fifteen years, and their success is reflected in the recently adopted new Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Our country has now entered the phase of building a highly developed socialist society, of garnering strength for the gradual transition to communism.

The moral and political unity of our people took shape and gained in strength in their struggle for the new, socialist system. And the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks, the political expression of the alliance of the working people in town and countryside, has played an important part in consolidating this unity.

The Front came into being during the grim years of the national-liberation struggle in the form of a fighting anti-fascist alliance of workers, peasants, intellectuals and the middle sections. At that time it united all the anti-fascists who were fighting against the Nazis and for national independence. The Front became one of the chief pillars of the anti-fascist movement and made a big contribution to the liberation struggle.

The Kosice program, the program adopted by our first postwar government, was an expression of the fighting unity of the people. As a prerequisite for the successful development of a new Czechoslovakia, it proclaimed the need for durable moral and political unity of all genuine patriots — both Communists and members of other political parties, as well as non-party people. In essence this popular unity corresponded with the aspirations of the broad masses of the working population.

The working class, which was in the van of the struggle for the liberation and for democratic development, was the main and decisive force in the National Front and was

supported by the peasantry, intellectuals and other middle sections. The National Front also included political forces affiliated to the Resistance and representing the interests of some sections of the bourgeoisie and a small section of the big landowners.

These forces, which before the war claimed that it was they who decided the destiny of the country, had no intention of relinquishing this role after the liberation. A keen political contest developed in the National Front concerning the direction in which the latter should evolve and the nature of the new political and social system.

The reactionary politicians aimed at turning the National Front into a provisional political coalition in which the bourgeois parties would have the final say. They tried hard to oust the Lefts, first and foremost the Communists, or if not this then at any rate to weaken their influence. They tried hard, too, to prevent the trade unions, the youth alliance and other mass organizations from being represented in the National Front. These changes which, in effect, meant getting rid of the Front, were designed to help carry through the plans for maintaining capitalism and for reverting to the fatal foreign policy of the prewar period.

In its struggle against the reactionary forces, the Communist Party, in keeping with the will of the overwhelming majority of our citizens, upheld and elaborated the concept of the National Front as an alliance of the working people fighting under working-class leadership for socialism in the Czechoslovak Republic.

In February 1948 the two opposed political concepts, behind which stood the antagonistic class forces in the Czechoslovakia of that time, clashed. The revolutionary actions of the people frustrated the attempt at a reactionary coup and the way was cleared for the regeneration and development of the National Front.

* * *

Dr. Plojhar is Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party and Minister of Public Health. This article has been specially written for *World Marxist Review*.

What about the National Front of the Czechs and Slovaks today?

As the new Constitution says, the working people of Czechoslovakia associate in voluntary public organizations for social purposes and for active participation in the life of society and of the state. One of these organizations is the National Front which includes the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the People's Party, the Socialist Party, the Party of Slovak Regeneration, the Party of Freedom, and mass organizations such as the trade unions, the Youth Union, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, the Red Cross and cultural, sports and co-operative organizations.

The Front is headed by the Communist Party, the leading force of our socialist revolution and of socialist construction, a party which is recognized by all sections of our people. Communist leadership has not been imposed upon the Front, contrary to the assertions of those who placed their own particular interests above the interests of the people and who in February 1948 took the path of betrayal. The Communist Party heads the National Front by right and it won this right in the years of hard struggle for the freedom and happiness of our people. In the pre-Munich republic the Communist Party fought for the people's rights and against capitalist exploitation; it headed the workers' and peasants' struggle for bread and work, and it played a leading role in the struggle during the Second World War, rallying the people against the invader.

After the liberation the Party put forward a program for the building of socialism in line with the interests of the working people. The parties and organizations in the National Front subscribed to this program and are co-operating in carrying it through. The building of socialism, then, is the program of the National Front as a whole, and our Communist Party, the vanguard of the most revolutionary and active force — the working class — plays the leading role in carrying out this program. The Party works for the well-being of society, and all its activity is in the interests of the working people. That is why it is the acknowledged leader of our people.

The question may be asked: Why did the People's Party join this Communist-led National Front?

The People's Party, formed after the First World War, consisted mainly of small and middle peasants and also some workers and artisans. Its policy was guided by the principles

of Christian morality and it sought to take the edge off the social contradictions.

During the Nazi occupation patriotic members of the People's Party joined the national-liberation struggle. As a result many of them suffered persecution and arrest. Others went underground, where they fought side by side with the Communists for liberation. The People's Party, therefore, was among the parties which, in 1945 after the liberation, resumed political activity.

In the postwar, however, supporters and functionaries of the discredited political parties which were forced to cease their activity because of complicity in Munich and collaboration with the Nazis, wormed their way into our Party. Members of these parties managed to seize key positions in the People's Party, with adverse effects on its policy. The result was that the Party began to renege on its original policy and fell under the influence of the reactionary extremists.

Things came to a head in February 1948 when the leaders of the People's Party showed themselves for what they were — counter-revolutionary plotters. The bulk of our members were hostile to these adventurers who found themselves politically and morally isolated. A new leadership was elected which, in line with most of the rank and file and the loyal functionaries, favored co-operation with the regenerated National Front in the interests of building socialism.

The February victory of the people enabled the People's Party to purge itself of the reactionaries. Having rid itself of the hostile elements it reverted to its original program. Thus a fruitful co-operation began between our Party, the Communist Party and the other progressive forces.

While it was true that most of our members had favored a policy of building socialism, we could not afford to take things easy, we had to be up and doing. The problem was to involve our members in the conscious and active building of socialism. The Party explained that it was not enough merely to subscribe to the National Front program, that hard work was essential if it was to be carried out; we had at the same time to combat scepticism, the influence exerted by bourgeois ideology and other survivals of the capitalist past.

On the whole we coped successfully with these tasks. The Party registered good results both in educating its members and in drawing them into the active building of the new society. Our task was facilitated by the so-

cialist reconstruction which brought the working people sound benefits. Socialist democracy created the conditions under which the people could take an ever greater part in running the economy and in public life. The progress made in industry and other branches of the national economy was accompanied by rising living standards. Socialist Czechoslovakia has raised public and personal consumption to a high level and has given workers social gains and rights which were unthinkable in the pre-Munich republic.

The great truth of socialism, which has transformed the moral and political image of man, has shown that the socialist way is the short cut to his well-being, to releasing his energies and to the flowering of his individuality.

But every advance in building socialism calls for a higher political, professional and moral level of the citizen; for this reason our party holds that its paramount task is to educate its members in the spirit of fidelity to the people and their socialist homeland.

The People's Party is a voluntary organization, uniting, first and foremost, Christians who openly and definitely support the program of building socialism and who by their diligence are helping to implement it. The membership includes peasants, mainly members of the agricultural co-operatives, workers, executives, technicians, housewives and pensioners.

How, it may be asked, is it possible for the People's Party, consisting mainly of Christians, to co-operate with the Communist Party; how is it that it recognizes the leading role of the Communist Party in the National Front although, as we know, the Communists are atheists and base their activity on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook? I can reply to this question simply and easily. *Our relations are not founded upon what divides us, but upon what unites us.* We are, above all, united by the common will to work for world peace, for relaxing international tension, for abolishing war. The horrors of war are felt by all, irrespective of color and politics. Bullets and bombs do not distinguish between believers and non-believers, between Communists and non-Communists. It is the duty of all people of good will throughout the world to take part in the struggle for peace, against the warmakers, and those plotting military adventures. Ideological differences and different philosophical views cannot and should not stand in the way of people united for the purpose of waging this struggle.

Our Party therefore supports the policy of the Communist Party and the government, a policy aimed at safeguarding peace. This does not signify any conflict with the moral principles deriving from religious convictions; this is so because *the peace policy of the socialist countries is completely in harmony with these principles.* We could, on the contrary, ask what is the explanation for the fact that people who profess to be Christians pursue a policy of aggression, legalize espionage and spread the venom of hatred among peoples?

In the sphere of home policy we are at one with the Communists in our desire to build an advanced socialist society and, eventually, communism in our country. We have made the program put forward by the Communist Party our program, and we support it in every way, knowing as we do *that it serves the vital interests of the people.* Here, too, our religious convictions are no obstacle, because the program is a noble and honorable one.

We hold that it is our special task to draw Christians into the building of socialism, into the fight for peace and to work for a new epoch in human history. We wish to convince the religious man and particularly members of the Catholic Church that Christians cannot stand aloof from the clash between the old world and the new world; they must find their place and join in the struggle for the friendship of peoples and a happy future for man.

This follows, too, from our firm conviction that Christianity, properly understood, is much closer to socialism and communism than it is to capitalism and imperialism. For it is the Communist parties who are making a reality of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution — the ideas of peaceful co-operation and of friendly coexistence of nations, of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, of a world without wars, poverty, economic crises or social antagonisms. It is the Communists who are the most consistent fighters for man's dignity, for the conditions under which his personality can fully develop. The People's Party, therefore, basing itself upon Christian principles, believes it to be not only possible, but necessary to co-operate sincerely with the Communists in the noble cause of building a new society.

Everyday experience shows, regretfully, that the Christian parties in the capitalist countries support programs that are aimed at preserving a social system marked by economic chaos, recurring crises, unemployment,

moral decline and poverty. Why, then, should we not join in the effort now being made to realize a program aimed at securing vastly increased productive forces, development of agricultural co-operatives, prosperity, the flowering of culture and science? *These aims are completely in harmony with the moral duty of every Christian.*

And why should the idea of a communist future cause us any embarrassment? If the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and if each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs then we, as Christians, can but welcome this. That is why we firmly support the program envisaging the building of socialism and communism.

The socialist state, it should be emphasized, guarantees freedom of religion. The new Constitution guarantees *freedom of conscience*, everyone has the right to profess any religion or not to do so. Those who have visited Czechoslovakia have seen that freedom of religious worship is a fact in our everyday life.

That is why we, as Christians, favor co-operation with the Communist Party and fully recognize its leading role in the state and in society; that is why we are co-operating in cementing and broadening the unity of our people.

This year's election to the National Assembly, to the Slovak National Council and to the National Committees furnished proof of the solidarity and the political consciousness of the people. The elections took place at the time of the fifteenth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. All the National Front organizations, including the People's Party, took part in the election campaign, the salient features of which were: an assessment of the results of socialist construction; discussion of the draft of the new socialist Constitution and of the assignments of the third five-year plan 1961-65. Thousands of our members and activists took part in the discussion. Many of them were nominated to the National Assembly and to the National Committees at all levels. We are proud that the voters showed their confidence in thousands of members of the People's Party by electing them to their councils where they are working enthusiastically to build an advanced socialist society.

From time to time we hear evil whisperers in the West who say that the People's Party exists in name only, that it has, in fact, been invented for purposes of deception. Our

Party's political and organizational work is the best refutation of this **calumny**. Its supreme body, the Party Conference, is convened once in four years. The conference, to which the delegates are elected, **determines Party** policy and, in turn, elects the Central Committee of the Party. At its quarterly meetings the C.C. defines the party's attitude to political, economic and cultural matters. The Presidium of the Central Committee, on the basis and in the spirit of the **C.C. decisions**, guides the party's activity, verifies how its resolutions are carried out and deals with all current matters.

The People's Party has organizations in the regions, districts and localities. Political and organizational questions germane to its work are decided at membership meetings. Members attend political seminars and special courses and take part in the various cultural and other measures arranged by the party organizations. The party's National School trains functionaries from all over the Republic.

Lidova demokracie, the organ of our party, comes out in an edition of 100,000 copies. There is also a fortnightly publication for functionaries which familiarizes them with current political, economic and cultural problems and with methods of conducting propaganda. This publication also serves as a forum in which functionaries exchange their experiences in political work. The publishing house of the party has an annual output of dozens of books — political books for members and functionaries, and fiction, both Czechoslovak and translations.

Many of our members function as leaders or members of socialist labor teams, chairmen of agricultural co-operatives, and hold other responsible positions in the national economy. Not a few have been awarded government decorations and medals for distinguished service in political work and in industry and agriculture.

The forms of co-operation between the Communist Party and our party derive from a principled concept of the National Front—not as some kind of coalition competing for political power, but as an alliance with the fundamental aim of building socialism. With this object in view all levels of the National Front have united under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Members of the Presidium of the National Front, including representatives of the People's Party, often attend plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party, those, for example, dealing with such matters as extending the powers of National Committees, the new Constitution, and raising living standards. There is also close co-operation between all links of the National Front in the region, district, town and village.

The People's Party is represented in all government bodies, including the government and the National Assembly. Many are members of the National Committees at all levels, and a number have been elected by the latter to the Councils of the National Committees.

Our members fulfil important functions in the mass organizations, for instance, in the trade unions, in the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society and in the Red Cross where, together with the Communists, they hold responsible posts. They also participate in the work of commissions carrying out special assignments. Thus leading members of the People's Party took part in drafting the new Constitution.

Spokesmen of the Party participate in international forums and form part of the various government, National Front and other delegations.

* * *

The People's Party takes an interest in the work of forward-looking Christians all over the world. We maintain friendly relations with the Christian-Democratic Union in the German Democratic Republic and with the various Christian organizations in the other socialist countries. We maintain cordial relations also with progressive Christians in the non-socialist countries. We sent sincere greetings, for example, to the patriotic Catholic movement in Cuba, and we take an interest in the anti-fascist struggle waged by the Basque priests in Spain who are hounded by the Church hierarchy and government bodies. We have many good friends all over the world and together with them are making every effort to prevent religion and Christianity from being misused in the service of the world of the past, of revanchism and militarism, and to encourage Christians to join the fighters for peace and for a better future.

When, in February 1948, the new leadership of the People's Party chose active and sincere co-operation with the regenerated National Front led by the Communist Party, there were those who asserted that the Communists were only interested in working with other political parties until the time they came to power.

More than twelve years have passed since then, and we are now in a position to assess this period. As far as the People's Party is concerned we can say with all responsibility that our work in the National Front and our co-operation with other parties and organizations are proceeding successfully and fruitfully. Our activity is recognized, our suggestions, initiative and observations are always upheld. There are no antagonisms between the various links of the National Front because we all pursue one and the same aim — that of securing a happy life for our people under socialism and communism.

In the light of the foregoing one might ask: who best serves the interests of the people? We, who have chosen open-hearted co-operation in the National Front and together with other citizens are building a socialist country in which all power belongs to the people and the fruits of labor are used for the well-being of all, or our enemies? The answer is obvious. The experience of our party and, what is more, the progress made by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the past fifteen years, show that *friendship and unity of the working people are the source of that boundless energy which helps to surmount obstacles and accelerates the advance to man's supreme goal — communism.*

We are firmly convinced that we have chosen the right path. We have taken it enthusiastically and with conscious pride in the belief that in these momentous times we, with a high sense of responsibility, are fulfilling our mission as Christians, that by our work and our attitude we are helping really to make man brother to man, to make people live in peace and friendship.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Party Language Is the Language of the People

Readers in the capitalist countries have asked us to write about the language in which the Communist parties address themselves to the people. We approached a number of comrades with the request to share their views on this point. Below we print a brief review of their contributions and letters.

Language and Policy

In France the overall circulation of the communist and democratic newspapers is only three per cent of the total newspaper circulation, while the figure for Communist Party journals is smaller still. Yet, the French Communist Party holds one of the leading places among the Communist parties of the capitalist countries for the number of periodicals put out. The circulation of communist publications in Japan, for instance, is less than 0.1 per cent of the overall figure. The Communists everywhere have to propagate their views in extremely difficult conditions. They have to compete with lavishly financed press, radio and television which, showing no toleration for dissenters, skilfully deceive the people and evade the vital issues of the day.

But nowhere has the massive propaganda machine of the ruling classes succeeded in silencing the Communist parties because theirs is the voice of truth. All the subtleties of official propaganda and the persecution have failed utterly to block the road to communist ideas.

During the civil war in Russia the counter-revolutionaries lamented that the Bolsheviks concentrated everything on agitation, that their success derived from the skill with which they conducted it. "But the people heard all kinds of agitation . . .," wrote Lenin. "It is ridiculous to think that they followed the Bolsheviks because their agitation was cleverer. No, the point is that their agitation was truthful."* The strength of communist propaganda lies in its truthfulness.

Experience teaches that content is the decisive element in propaganda. But this does not mean that one can be indifferent to form, to the way in which we put our ideas across. Truth of course will make its way to the people, but our job is to make the way easier, to search for and find the best way of

putting our message over, of exerting a greater influence on the minds of the people.

As the Communist Party gains in strength and extends its contact with the people the question of the style of the propaganda assumes greater importance.

Comrade M. (India) writes: "In 1957 when the Communist Party of India polled 12 million votes it set itself the task of becoming a mass party and subjected its propaganda methods to criticism. Our speeches, reads the resolution of the 1953 Party Congress, 'are often marked by diffuseness, repetitiousness and the hurling of slogans instead of explanation, vehemence instead of logic and careful presentation of facts, stereotypedness and generalities which do not take into account the heightened political consciousness of the people. . . . We have to speak and write with the consciousness that we are growing into a mass party to which millions of people look for guidance, a party the majority of whose members come from the working class and the peasantry.'

"This way of posing the question about language helped us to improve our work. More attention is now paid to the fact that our newspapers and magazines should not write in a dry language, jargon, but should be lively, raise problems of concern to the people, that our resolutions should not be too long, verbose, and that their language should be easily grasped by the common people."

Abdel Kader El Ouahrani (Algeria) writes:

"The purpose of language is to express thoughts. The oral and written propaganda of the Communists is a form of Marxist-Leninist thought. Consequently the clarity or ambiguity, precision or imprecision, simplicity or incomprehensibility of our ideas and their conformity with reality depend on whether the language we use is clear or not, whether it is precise or not, whether it conforms to reality or not, whether it is comprehensible or incomprehensible. Presentation can either elucidate an idea or obscure it. Hence the importance of

*V. I. Lenin. *Speech at Conference of Non-Party Workers and Red Army Soldiers of the Presnensky District on January 24, 1920.*

using the right words and the harmfulness of 'leftist' phraseology.

"Let us take an example. Our times are characterized by the rapid growth of the national-liberation movement. A vital condition for the success of the struggle against the imperialists and their agents is unity of the national movement based on a program in keeping with the concrete situation. Loud-sounding words, revolutionary on the surface but lacking in content, are likely to scare away the national bourgeoisie and discourage workers and poor peasants — the backbone of any genuinely people's revolution.

"We get the same thing when 'leftist' phraseology is used when discussing such vital issues as, say, agrarian reform, war and peace, and other matters. Such phraseology, if it is not combated, can be, and at times is, conducive to sectarianism and dogmatism. Language which substitutes bombast for accurate analysis and clarity of argument and which conceals reality and the perspectives behind fine words leads to an assessment of events not from the standpoint of history but from resentment and, obviously, far from bringing the masses closer to us will, on the contrary, take us away from them."

Alexander Remezov (USSR) says in a letter that Lenin always closely linked language to content. "When exposing the anti-popular bureaucratic nature of the documents of the Tsarist government he also noted the strange language in which they were written, their wordiness, stiff, bureaucratic style and incredibly long sentences. Nor did Lenin spare the language used by the liberals which, he said, was designed to water down things and cover up the contradictions. Lenin criticized the language used by the opportunists who, evading clear-cut definitions, showed a preference for vague and cloudy phraseology.

"Explaining that the Economists — the first variety of opportunism in the Russian working-class movement — were playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie, Lenin showed that both the content and style of the Economist publications reflected their mistrust in the revolutionary potentialities of the working class. Evading the serious issues, they addressed the workers in a condescending tone, using language abounding in deliberately chosen pseudo-popular words. Of this literature Lenin wrote: 'There is not a single simple word in it, everything is said with a grimace. . . . And resorting to this twisted language, without adducing any new data, new examples or a new elaboration, they blather about outworn and deliberately vulgarized socialist ideas.'

"Lenin pointed to the connection between the language and the content of the preachings of the Anarchists and the Leftists. These r-r-revolutionar-

ies, as he dubbed them, instead of analysis and clarity of argument, indulged in political exercises and high-faluting words."

Against Sectarianism in Language

If it is true that contact with audiences and readers, a knowledge of their needs, and ability to take into account their level are indispensable for clear, simple language, then violation of this rule inevitably makes the language dry, abstract, and the masses remain indifferent to it. Some of the letters, referring to language of this kind, regard it as a manifestation of sectarianism.

Juan Regalado (Argentina) writes: "That is how Victorio Codovilla, secretary of our Party, explained such defects in the language of some of our propagandists and journalists. Addressing the Sixth National Conference of the Party in 1950, he said: 'In most cases we do not speak clearly and simply about the problems of particular concern to the working class and other social strata. . . .' The method of exposition used by some of our papers and writers of pamphlets 'cannot be recommended for use in work among the masses. At best such articles and pamphlets can be grasped only by the politically developed worker, certainly not by all workers. . . . This is a manifestation of sectarianism.' "

The same idea runs through the letter sent by Francisco Segura (Brazil): "All too often," he writes, "we cite the classics and Party documents but are unable to apply them to thousands of problems posed by life, to the needs and aspirations of the people, and in a way we detach Marxism — the basis of our policy — from everyday life and from people, although it is Marxism which enables us to disclose the secrets of life and use them on behalf of man.

"It should be added that the beauty of the classics and the precision of the Party documents are so tempting that sometimes the orator finds himself repeating their formulations quite mechanically. The desire to talk in bookish language, from the 'pulpit,' leaves the masses cold.

"Many comrades speak at times in a grandiloquent and involved manner, to the detriment of content, carried away by their own erudition.

"The experience of those who are able to talk with the masses in their own language is most instructive. In Sao Paulo our best orator is a trade union leader. This comrade always associates with his fellow workers in order to know their problems, and whenever he speaks at a meeting he speaks about vital issues. He cites examples and makes simple comparisons, always mindful, however, of the political purpose of his address. This explains the attention with which his speech is followed, the applause it draws from the audience,

and the respect and confidence he enjoys among the workers."

Manifestations of sectarianism in language are mentioned by *Jean Kanapa* (France). He draws attention to the over-simplifications encountered when the subject of language comes up. "The starting point for a really useful discussion about our language," according to Kanapa, "is the Leninist idea of winning the masses and building a mass party. This idea enables us to understand that the question of our language, far from being a technical matter alone, has a political significance. For if it is true that the masses become convinced of the correctness of communist ideas and policy from their own experience, then it is no less true that one of the main tasks of the Communist parties is to help the masses to draw lessons from this experience. Such, in my view, should be the essence of propaganda in the Leninist spirit. And the distinguishing feature of this propaganda is that it should be true and that it is true. What does this mean? It means first and foremost that it corresponds to reality, i.e., the aspirations of the masses on the one hand, and the objective conditions on the other; it means, moreover, that the analysis of the data and the formulation of aims provided by it are based on the Marxist scientific method.

"False definitions with which the bourgeoisie seeks to cover up reality are countered by Communists with genuinely scientific terms capable of throwing light on this reality. That is why these terms are understood by the broad masses of the people. The bourgeois ideologist and the petty-bourgeois intellectual may, of course, bristle when they hear how we use, for instance, the term "imperialism." But this term, in its Leninist sense, throws light on political reality and helps the people to gain a better understanding of the conditions of their struggle.

"It is true that excessive quoting of texts is a dogmatic disease, but it would be profoundly erroneous to anathematize the sensible, even frequent, use of quotations, especially from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Citing texts is a good means of education, and has a useful pedagogical role. Millions of people cannot as yet read the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin; and it is very important that they should be acquainted with the most important of them at least partly, through quotations. A morbid fear of quotations is every bit as dogmatic as excessive quoting.

"If we recognize that language problems are bound up with winning and educating the masses, then, it seems to me, we should take as our criterion in assessing the merit of language: one step ahead of the masses but not two and not three.

"If it is true that the terminology used by the Communists is determined mainly by the desire

to express their ideas scientifically, it is equally true that a certain abuse of our terminology, engendered by a feeling of superiority over the masses, by indifference to them, is also a manifestation of sectarianism. In such cases terms are used in place and out of place, in a stereotyped way, and, instead of making it easier to express thoughts exactly, they become a façade for sterile thinking. In this case the terminology, far from helping to win the masses, becomes a barrier that prevents the Party's ideas from reaching the masses.

"We should see deeper so that when we speak about using a 'language comprehensible to the masses' the point should not be so much the language (since it is but a reflection) as the thought, the political thought. We should be explicit on this point: there is not nor can there be any special language characteristic of the Communists. Any tendency to use such language stems from sectarianism, from the wrong idea that the population is divided into two groups: the Communists and the rest. Clearly we should write and speak 'for the Communists' as we do for everybody. Communists are not special people. Recognition, even with reservations, of a language spoken only by the Communists for Communists leads inevitably to the utterly false and anti-Leninist idea of two policies — one for ourselves, the other for the masses. In my view," Kanapa concludes, "not enough attention is given at times to the mass means of communication (press, radio, television, records, photos, cinema). This is a complicated question. Good or not good, the most striking example is television (and here as everywhere else the good or the evil comes not from the technique but from who uses it and the purpose for which it is used; the communication media have changed and the changes have resulted in new habits of 'perception' among the masses). The press, too, has changed greatly in the past twenty years, the monthly journals included. Consequently, the form of our propaganda should take these changes into account. But this is only one aspect of the question. It is necessary to take into account the cultural tradition of each nation, to establish the dialectical connection between it and the technical means of communication. In passing it should be said that this is needed in order to combat the cosmopolitanism propagated by imperialism through the shock technique (the big headline, sensational photo, etc.) which deprives the transmission of ideas of any national element."

Literary Style and Contact with Life

Some comrades point out that to write and speak simply, in a language understandable to the people, is a difficult matter, one that calls for profound knowledge and, above all, acquaintance with life.

Even the most erudite writer or orator will

not be understood if he does not know life well and cannot apply his knowledge to an analysis of reality.

S. Tanaka, writing about how the Communist Party of Japan is improving the language with which it talks with the masses, has this to say: "In July 1955 the Sixth National Conference of the Communist Party severely criticized its past mistakes of a Left adventurist and sectarian nature. The resolution adopted by the conference reads: 'Propaganda and agitation should be conducted not in the language of the intellectuals but in the language of the masses, in such a way that it will be easily grasped by the different strata. For this it is necessary to popularize the Party's policy in keeping with the demands, sentiment and political level of the different strata, with the aim of gradually deepening the political consciousness of the masses.'

"But the results so far are not as good as we would wish. This is because the subject was not studied thoroughly enough and was not linked with the problems of Party work as a whole. There was a tendency to discuss only the formal, technical aspect.

"Last year Katsumi Kikunami, member of the Presidium of the Party, wrote an article which shows how the question of language is posed now. I shall set forth the main points of this article.

"The shortcomings in this respect are a manifestation of empiricism and dogmatism. Propaganda is often reduced to slogans. There are exaggerations, and high-faluting words are used; the propaganda is not convincing enough. Such propaganda is not a help to independent thinking.

"Insofar as the task of raising the ideological and political level of the people receded, ideas were not elaborated. In such cases propaganda degenerated into a mere reiteration of clichés, slogans and demands. Empiricism of this kind makes the language high-flown but ideologically poor.

"How did the dogmatism manifest itself? Forgetful that 'truth is always concrete,' propagandists often repeated the general principles of Marxism-Leninism instead of revealing the objective processes under way in concrete situations. This approach, while it may explain a situation, does not supply the answer to the questions it poses. The language, then, becomes ossified, the same arguments are used, and the same thing repeated year in and year out. The content is not concrete and the last spark of life is lost.

"To eliminate empiricism and dogmatism," Kikunami continues, "it is important clearly to define the subject. All too often our propagandists miss their mark. Even if one writes about the same subject the presentation can be different. But at a given time and in a given place there can be only

one correct point of view. And to present it is precisely the purpose of any speech or any article. The content, the way of posing the questions, the elaboration of the subject and the style — all should be intended for the masses. It is necessary to be concise. This is not to say that everything that is long is bad, that everything that is short is good. But an interminable exposition shows that the thoughts are not properly systematized. Training in the art of succinct presentation inculcates the ability to express thoughts logically."

Useful examples from the practice of Party work, showing the importance of knowing the mode of life of the people, the peculiarities of their language and their way of looking at things, are cited in a letter from Mohammed Ferhat (Morocco).

"I want to tell you about a young teacher who functioned as secretary of the local Party organization in Safi, an industrial town with a population of 70,000," he writes. "A secretary of the Central Committee of the Party had been booked to speak at a public meeting. When the speaker arrived in Safi the teacher showed him round the town, which is famous in Moroccan history for its struggle against the Portuguese and Spanish invaders. They visited an old cemetery where tombstones still bear inscriptions keeping green the memory of those who fell in the battle for freedom.

"At the hour appointed for the meeting, the hall was filled with people, mostly workers. Our teacher, the secretary of the local organization, speaking in classical literary Arabic, outlined the Party program, spoke in a general way about the principles of Marxism-Leninism and ended with verses from an ancient poem.

"The speaker failed, naturally, to evoke applause, and made way for the secretary of the Central Committee who began as follows: 'Yesterday I visited your ancient cemetery and paid a tribute to our immortal heroes. Your beautiful town reveres their memory and we must be worthy of them in our fight for independence.' He spoke simply, as if he was having a heart-to-heart talk, explained the tasks and the program of the Party. The audience listened with rapt attention, and warmly applauded him. The result was that a number of people applied for membership of the Party.

"I think that a few conclusions can be drawn from this. In order to set forth the theory, the Party speaker should not only be acquainted with it but also be able to communicate it to the audience, which he should know well. Depth, truth and logic should be combined with simplicity of exposition and appeal to the emotions. The loud phrase should be avoided, it is not convincing.

"Some say that scientific terminology should be banned in our language. I disagree with this. We

should have faith in the intelligence of the people, in their ability to grasp the essence of things and, even at the risk of repetition, constantly explain terms and formulations by means of concrete examples.

"Arab people have the saying: 'Eloquence is magic.' And we should be masters of this magic. And one way of acquiring this magic is to know the life of the people.

"On one occasion our Party newspaper sent me to the southern areas of the country which at this particular time were in the grip of famine. Going round the neighborhood with a group of peasants, I stopped before a tree which looked like a date palm and asked what it was called. One of the peasants, smiling into his beard, replied: 'If you don't know the deglatnour palm (sun fingers), the tree which yields the most delicious dates, how can you write about the famine?'

"'For us in this locality only two things are important — dates and camels.'

"I have never forgotten that lesson.

"One more point: it is most important to take into account the development of the language, and the peculiarities of the country. In North Africa the language problem is extremely acute. The penetration of Arabic into this part of the world began with the victories of Islam when the subjugated peoples assimilated the way of life and even the language of the conquerors. But each people contributed to the enrichment of Arabic. So that in every country there appeared, in addition to the classical Arabic, a local dialect. In this way the Moroccan, Algerian, Egyptian and Iraqi dialects originated. These dialects are so different that the Moroccan peasant, for example, finds it hard to understand the Iraqi or Egyptian peasant, but the Moroccan intellectual, say, converses freely and easily with his fellow intellectual from any of the other Arab countries.

"During the fifty years of the protectorate, French-speaking intellectuals emerged. Economic factors, too, helped to spread the French language, which penetrated even to agricultural workers. The first communist and trade union groups in Morocco, Algeria and other countries consisted of French workers and intellectuals and also of local intellectuals who spoke French or classical Arabic. At first the Communist parties in these North African countries used only French, and later French and literary Arabic. Ultimately, the mother-tongue won; Arabic is now the militant language of our Party, a language which developed in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the fight for national independence, against obscurantism and for national culture. Simultaneously, in the course of the liberation struggle, an aspect of which is defense and resurgence of the national culture, classical Arabic,

through broadcasting, newspapers, books and leaflets, came into its own.

"Thus, our parties used first French, then French and Arabic and, ultimately, only Arabic which is something between the literary language and the dialect, enriched in the struggle for national liberation. I have made this brief excursion into history in order to emphasize a simple but important idea: the language of the Party is the language of the people."

Preservation of Individuality

Some of the letters we have received raise the following point: There are those who are anything but detached from life, from the masses, and can talk with people, but the moment they appear on the platform, they change. Instead of being persuasive they lay down the law and repeat suitable formulations from Party documents. Listening to this type of speaker it is hard to say whether he is passionate or calm, lively or indifferent; he utters words learned by heart, he speaks in an official tone and, needless to say, he leaves his audience stone cold.

The propagandist should not be afraid of being himself, and he should have his own "style." Given these qualities, he will always find expressive means and examples and will have that individual, personal, touch which always wins favor with audiences. This genuine originality has nothing in common with affectation, going out of one's way to be original just in order to be different.

Some complain about the poorness of their language and how hard it is to divest oneself of the jargon and the cliché. Usually in such cases comrades are advised to do more reading, to enrich their vocabulary; this is good advice. But sterility of language is not a purely linguistic defect, for when workers and peasants speak about the things that agitate them they never use the stock phrase. They have their own way of saying things, and not because their vocabulary is richer. Their expressions are to the point because they say what they really feel. Wherever there is indifference or lack of heart we are sure to find the cliché. It appears also when the speaker is not acquainted with his subject, when he fails to see the heart of the matter, when he is divorced from life and automatically uses expressions which he has read somewhere, and which, in his opinion, suit the moment. The speaker in this case is guided more by memory than by thought or passion. The cliché is the result not of poverty of language, but rather of a paucity of ideas and isolation from life.

The posture adopted by some speakers and the pompous tone sometimes encountered in articles have a bad effect on the propaganda. The audience, or the readers, are aware only of the didacticism of the speaker or the author, and this prejudices

them. Things are different when they feel that the writer or the speaker is consulting them, seeking their counsel. By abusing such words as "must" and "obliged" the speaker places himself above the audience and it is not surprising that he fails to establish contact with it. This is a manifestation of what Lenin described as "Communist conceit" which prevents Party organizations from strengthening their contact with the masses.

The Ideological Significance of Language

As we see, our readers' letters cover a wide range and point to many shortcomings which hinder us in popularizing our ideas. But with all its importance as an instrument of propaganda, it would be wrong to reduce the role of language to this alone.

Luciano Gruppi (Italy) holds that the language "should be viewed from the standpoint of its philosophical significance as a means of expressing our ideology.

"Gramsci, the founder of the Italian Communist Party, wrote that 'all people are philosophers' and that the 'innate philosophy' inherent in everyone is manifested, first of all, in language," Gruppi says. "Gramsci left it to the 'conscious,' 'scientific' philosophy — philosophy proper — critically to rework the wisdom contained in the language of the people and their 'innate philosophy' in order to impart a conscious system to what is still unperceived in the common language and to compare theory with practice. In other words, we should pay attention to the language of the people as the reflection of the many-sided experience of different times and people, of the world outlook (even though in an uncritical and embryonic state) which we must critically rework. Language, then, is one of the basic materials without which our theoretical work is unthinkable.

"Attention should be paid to terminology. When the terms characteristic of our ideology win universal recognition and penetrate into the language of all peoples this signifies a deepening of the consciousness of the people. Consequently, the last thing we want to do is to relinquish our terminology, we simply want to use it as it is, as a means of investigation, as a complex of methodological means of analysis, that is, for the purpose of raising the consciousness of the masses to the level of their vanguard. But terminology assumes this significance only if it is applicable to the life of the people, to their thoughts and feelings. When it becomes mere word-spinning, an end in itself, it is not applicable to life and becomes a form without content. This is no longer our terminology, it is terminology of the Hegelian style, and the worst of its kind.

"In the course of our theoretical work the everyday language is consciously raised to the level of

a scientific, Marxist language. This should be done also by the propagandists who work among our readers and audiences; basing themselves on the language of the readers and audiences, the propagandists should endeavor to raise it to the level that would help the people understand and adopt our policy and ideology.

"Therefore, we cannot, I think, agree with those who say that we should 'speak the language of our audiences' . . . We cannot do so because the content we put into our language is something new and novel to those who listen to us or who read our publications. It is true that we should proceed from their language, that is, take into account their way of thinking in order to raise it to the level of our knowledge and, consequently, to our way of thinking. But just as we should not lag behind the masses in policy, neither should we do so in the matter of language. Revolutionary propaganda calls for attention and effort on the part of those to whom it is addressed. And here, I think, it will not be out of place to say a few words about simplicity.

"There are different types of simplicity: for instance, the simplicity of the sermons preached by the priest. But this cannot be our simplicity because its aim is to prevent the people from rising above the ordinary level. There is the simplicity reached by way of over-simplification of things and the problems ensuing from them. This can be described as a schematic simplicity. There is yet another simplicity which discloses the basic link, the basic contradiction, the substance of the question. This is the simplicity of substance. The works of the founders of Marxism are an example of this simplicity. And this is the simplicity we should constantly strive for, even if it is not too easy.

"The question of language, then, is a question of content, of a clear understanding of the things or subjects about which we speak or write.

"Phrase-mongering and the cliché are the refuge of those who seek to cover up their inadequate knowledge of the subject and their inability to think. The hackneyed phrase is a kind of verbal weed; it is used when somebody feels he simply must speak even if he has nothing to say.

"Real acquaintance with the subject is reached, from the Party standpoint, only when its political significance is disclosed, and the right language (also from the Party standpoint) comes in talking about the people and for the people. And it is here we arrive at the humanism which should be the hallmark of our language.

"The Marxist principle of unity of form and content brings us to yet another idea. The form is effective when it expresses a constantly enriched content reflecting the new in life, not when it ex-

presses the same content over and over again. Repetition in propaganda has its place, but not the repetition of immutable concepts, but rather views and judgments which are enriched by repetition.

"Language is a national phenomenon, in which each class introduces its concepts and, consequently, its terminology. The national role of the working class is reflected also in the language. The working class must preserve all the wealth, means of expression and peculiarities of the national language, enriching and perfecting it the while. The point is that the cultured language, already assimilated and undergoing development in the hands of forward-looking people, should become the language of the majority and at the same time preserve all its wealth.

"But while language is national, our ideology is

international. The ideas developed by the revolutionary movement in the different countries are assimilated by other nations and introduced into their languages. There is nothing unusual in this, for at all times the nations have enriched their languages with words which later have gained international currency. This enriches the national language, but it cannot and should not be used to internationalize the style of the Communists, to deprive their language of its national flavor. To do so would impoverish the style and make the language stereotyped and remote from the masses."

The correspondence shows that for the parties striving to win the masses and lead them questions of language are not abstract but topical, they are part of the everyday work among the people, of the struggle for our communist ideals.

Solidarity of Fraternal Parties

REPRESENTATIVES of the Dominican Popular Socialist Party and the Party of Popular Agreement of Haiti have addressed the people, the patriots and democrats of both countries with the following solidarity appeal.

1. The reactionary governments of the two countries have resorted to aggression, crimes, racism, national hatred, and they have provoked clashes. The barbaric actions of the two governments, notably the massacre of the Trujillo tyranny in the border zone of Haiti in 1937, are fresh in the memory of our peoples. But the two parties consider it their duty to explain that the working people of the two countries bear no responsibility for these crimes. The culprits are a handful of exploiters and imperialist agents who oppress their own people and commit crimes against the other. In the conditions of the liberation movement in Latin America every revolutionary, democrat or patriot of one or another country should tirelessly explain these points to his countrymen and show that the liberation of one country will help the liberation of the other.

2. History teaches that issues arising between two fraternal countries are not resolved by resort to force or from positions of strength. While lasting good-neighborly relations and agreement must await the advent to power of democratic governments in both countries, the possibility exists of ensuring the mutual security of the two countries on our island and non-interference in each other's affairs. It is possible right now to find forms of

co-operation in the spheres of economy, education, culture and public health and to achieve the necessary unity between the two peoples in the face of their common enemy — North American imperialism.

3. The two fraternal parties will maintain contact for exchanges of experience and mutual aid, adhering at the same time to the just principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other country. They solemnly and publicly declare that revolution cannot be exported from one country to another, neither from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, nor vice-versa. But should one of our fraternal peoples become the victim of foreign aggression the twenty fraternal nations of Latin America will, naturally, express their solidarity with them.

4. The two fraternal parties greet the people of Cuba who have freed themselves from imperialism and feudalism. Solidarity with the Cuban people and their revolution is the duty of every Latin American.

5. The two parties honor the memory of the victims of the dictatorship and of those who fell in the national struggle in all the Latin American countries. The blood and tears of our people have not been shed in vain, they have contributed to the great liberation movement which is awakening to action the people of the Caribbean basin and of all Latin America. The hour of victory is not far off, and we shall achieve it quickly if we fight with resolve and determination.

6. The two parties greet the growing struggle of the peoples of the world for democracy and peace. They greet the working class in the imperialist countries, especially the working people of the United States, whom they do not identify with U.S. imperialism.

They greet the peoples who have won victory in

the struggle for national independence and against imperialism.

They hail the socialist camp headed by the glorious Soviet Union, the unity and might of which camp is the basic factor of peace and the liberation of peoples.

Long live the unbreakable friendship and freedom of the Dominican and Haiti peoples!

Public Efforts

Delegates to a conference on ideological work, sponsored some time ago by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, cited many examples showing the remoulding of man in the process of building communism and the growing role of the public in educating people. Here is one such example.

Polysayevskaya No. 2 is a pit in the Kuznetsk coal basin (Siberia). This enterprise, like hundreds of others, fulfils its plans and honors its socialist pledges for labor productivity, excess plan production and lower costs. But plan fulfilment statistics give only a general picture which throws little light on the life and work of the miners and on the processes under way. The processes are significant indeed. When people work for themselves and not for exploiters, when they dedicate themselves to the aim of building communist society, they, imperceptibly, begin to remake themselves with the result that things which seemed impossible a few years ago become the usual. For instance, the pit canteen is a self-service establishment and yet the till is never short. No one collects tickets in the cinema in the miner's hall. And in the township, population 12,000, militiamen beats have been discontinued and public order is maintained by volunteer teams. For a long time now no breach of the peace has been recorded.

The Party organization in the pit, supported by the miners, is moulding public opinion which has become a force in spreading the best experience and in eliminating shortcomings. During the past year and a half most of the workers have added to their basic skill two or three kindred skills. In addition to subscribing to one or another of the daily newspapers, nearly all the miners subscribe to weekly and monthly journals. The thirst for reading is insatiable. Although most homes have their own bookshelves, the township library has

over 2,000 readers. The atmosphere is such that the young miner feels out of things if he doesn't study. Two years ago only 50 miners attended the night school; this year the enrolment exceeds 300.

The Polysayevskaya No. 2 was the first pit in the Kuznetsk Basin to qualify for the title of a communist labor enterprise. But what takes place here is common to all other enterprises in the country. The communist labor movement now embraces five million people. The role of this movement in industry, its educational impact and its significance in developing the new attitude to labor are great. The motto, "learn to work and live in a communist way," is embodied in thousands of manifestations of mass initiative. It is not by chance that alongside the development of the communist labor emulation movement we see a noticeable growth in the role of public initiative in educational work. Functions recently performed by the cultural-educational bodies are being increasingly taken over by the public.

The conference had words of praise for the progress made by the educational institutions run by the public. In the Ukraine, for instance, 2,500 political education centers are run by a voluntary non-paid staff. Over 300 museums, more than 500 atheists' clubs, some 600 amateur art theatres, concert societies and other establishments have lately been set up in the republic on the initiative of the public. Nearly 800 departments manned by voluntary spare-time correspondents function in the regional, city and district newspapers and at the radio and television centers. Similar developments are taking place in the other republics. A growing role is now played by the public councils which function at various cultural-educational institutions.

The growth of public initiative in the sphere of education is particularly seen in the changes that have taken place in the activity of the USSR

Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, which now has over 900,000 voluntary lecturers. The growth in the number of lecturers has enabled this society to extend its work considerably. Some 5,300,000 lectures have been read in the past six months.

Among the 160,000 lecturers in the Ukraine there are 186 members of the Academy of Science, over a thousand professors and thousands more with scientific degrees. The number of certified engineers, technicians, agricultural experts and school teachers who take part in lecture work is in the neighborhood of 150,000.

The conference pointed to the part played by intellectuals in educational work and to their contribution to the moulding of the new man. For instance, writers, artists, composers, journalists and theatrical workers in Moscow often lecture in the universities of culture (totalling about 100 in the capital). Recently the Moscow artists arranged over 60 exhibitions in clubs and parks. Scientists teaching in engineering colleges help the engineers and workers to write up the best experiences and the history of their factories. A number of factories and collective farms have their own art studios and art galleries. In the space of one year in Moscow alone over 4,000 well-attended conferences on scientific and theoretical problems were arranged by scientists.

In the Stalino District (Ukraine) there is the Lozovsky Mine settlement in which over 200 families of miners and railwaymen live. The nearest club is a long way off. Lectures and talks were rare events in this settlement. Then last year the residents laid out a recreation ground, including an open-air theatre, invited lecturers, theatrical companies and concert performers to visit them, enlisted talented people from their own ranks, with the result that cultural life in the settlement improved tremendously. During the summer about 100 lectures were read, 15 performances were given by amateur art groups and two concerts by the regional Philharmonic Society, and over 50 films were shown.

Similar recreation grounds have been built in other places. Their advantage is that they are nearby, and many people who in the past never made the long journey to the lectures and social

evenings now go to the recreation ground.

In autumn and winter when because of the weather the recreation grounds cannot be used, the people gather in neighbors' houses. In the Stalino Region there are about 1,000 homes in which the people meet with the leaders of local Party, Soviet and economic organizations and gather for talks and lectures.

Social clubs of different kinds, formed on the initiative of public-spirited persons at cultural-educational institutions, are very popular, especially among the youth.

Moulding of the new man and new relations between people is not an easy matter. As the building of communism advances, many negative features which the public tolerated before are now regarded as intolerable. This explains why so much attention is focussed on exposing amoral attitudes, particularly parasitism, violation of the cardinal principle of socialism: "He who does not work neither shall he eat." Here, too, the role of the public is very important. Public discussion of base actions has, as a rule, a good educational effect. What are known as comradesly courts are functioning fruitfully. These courts function in the factories and in residential blocks. The judges, elected by the people, are chosen from the ranks of those who enjoy prestige among their workmates and neighbors. Although these courts have no administrative rights and apply only methods of public admonition, their role in overcoming hangovers from the past is very great.

The class struggle waged on the international arena between the forces of socialism and capitalism cannot but be reflected in the socialist countries, too. That is why the conference pointed to the need for vigilance in the ideological field, in order to uphold the purity of communist ideology, to combat manifestations of nationalism and refute the revisionist and dogmatic distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory.

As Soviet society advances towards communism the role of educational work will increase. The Party organizations, naturally, are anxious to disclose and overcome the shortcomings in this work, to seize on the good and develop it and to raise the role of the public in education.

V. VASILYEV

Relying on the Activists

OUR Gdynia Regional Committee does its utmost to encourage Party organizations to act independently, on their own initiative, and to enhance their sense of responsibility. In this connection work among the activists comes in for special attention. The ways in which their co-operation is enlisted are many and varied.

Before any important question is discussed at a committee or plenary meeting we make a point of listening to the opinions of active Party members and non-party people. When, for example, we discussed matters affecting the Polish Ocean Lines, we invited some 70 activists, mainly secretaries of local Party organizations, and the ship captains (of whom many were non-party people) for a talk. The ensuing exchange of views enabled us to draw up a number of useful suggestions to improve work. Prior to holding a plenary meeting on agricultural problems, we consulted research workers from institutes and establishments and their help was a valuable contribution to the work of the plenum.

In addition to consultations of this kind full-time participation of the activists in the work of Party committees has fully justified itself.

So-called problem commissions have been functioning for many years now in the regional, urban and district committees. These commissions are set up at the plenary meetings of the Party committees and are composed of members who have a special interest in particular problems as well as the necessary training. The commissions include committee members and activists who work in the corresponding branch of the economy. In point of fact the commissions serve as the committee's consultative and information organ. A commission consisting of experts is in a position thoroughly to study any problem that may arise and to make concrete proposals. The committees place various problems before the commissions. For example, the Regional Committee requested the commissions to draw up proposals in connection with the revision of the capital investments plan for the next five years. The data collected from the corresponding government bodies will be studied by the commissions and their recommendations will be put forward at a committee meeting.

The commissions often suggest problems for discussion at committee meetings. The education commission recently proposed that public education should come up for discussion and the plenary

meeting took a number of decisions on the basis of the commission's report.

The commissions deal with a wide range of problems. Proposals are now being worked out, for example, for housing construction for 1961-65. We still do not have enough dwellings. We built some 55,000 rooms between 1956-60 and the five-year plan (1961-65) envisages the construction of another 90,000. Despite this large-scale program, the position will not noticeably change for the better in view of the present natural growth of population. We therefore aim at building an additional 10,000 rooms in excess of plan by reducing costs and saving materials. The commission is working on this difficult problem and will submit its proposals for a committee meeting.

Commissions also function in the district committees. Thus the Tczew Committee has set up a commission which deals regularly with proposals submitted by the rural Party committees, local Party organizations and by individual members. The commission studies these proposals and, together with its findings, brings them up before the committee and subsequently checks on their implementation.

It may occur to the reader: do not these commissions replace the Party apparatus, and do they not weaken its role and significance? Our experience proves the reverse. The commissions help the apparatus and, in fact, supplement it. Our apparatus is relatively small and it is difficult for it to cover the multifarious aspects of Party life. And this is where the commissions come in. As a matter of fact we encourage members of the apparatus to work in the commissions. Instructors, as a rule, act as secretaries of these commissions and organize the entire work jointly with commission chairmen.

We did, indeed, at one time discuss the question of doing away with these commissions and regarding their members as supernumerary instructors. But the idea was turned down because, for one thing, the scope of the activities and the responsibility devolving on the instructor are somewhat limited, whereas it is our aim to train a Party functionary capable of acting on his own initiative and with a sense of responsibility for the work.

There are about 1,500 activists in the commissions in our region. This is a big detachment of comrades who combine their professional duties with active Party work. They help to improve the methods of work, develop inner-Party democ-

racy, encourage the collective solution of the problems advanced by life.

The commission is not the only form in which work with activists is conducted. About a year ago we decided to organize a group of several hundred worker and peasant activists. We asked the local Party organizations to select from among the industrial workers the most active of the old Party members who are known to be good at their jobs. In this way a group of 300 workers was set up with which the committee maintains direct and regular contact.

What new contribution has this group made? The usual channel of passing down information to the Party organizations from above, through committees, the press, lectures and instructors has now been considerably broadened. All that we have to say on the political and economic situation is brought to the enterprises and disseminated among the public as if by a chain reaction. We did not ask the activists to speak at meetings, deliver speeches or reports. All we wanted was that they should tell their workmates, both Party and non-party, all they could remember or what they had written down. Thus we gained some new, as we sometimes call them, "quiet" agitators and are glad to say that these workers have not disappointed our hopes and are rendering great help to Party organizations.

We expected these activists to make a number of important suggestions concerning the work of their factories. And we were not mistaken. The worker-activist is in a better position to see the shortcomings in his place of work, he has shown sagacity and intolerance towards instances of bureaucracy, the gagging of criticism, and inattention on the part of the management to proposals made by the workers. Thanks to this we obtained detailed on-the-spot information about what is happening in the enterprises.

District, urban and factory committees are conducting similar work with activists, and this has met with the approval of the workers.

With this experience behind us, we now want to organize activists in the villages. As we know, Party work in the countryside, with its specific conditions, is much more difficult. So we are making careful preparations for our first meeting with a group of several hundred agricultural activists.

Not only Party members, but all the people are taking part in building the new, socialist life. It is of the utmost importance to unite non-party activists around the Party and its committees, and steps should be taken to make non-party people feel thoroughly at home in the committee when asked to call there. This is the sort of atmosphere we seek to create both in the regional and local committees.

We have already started these meetings in the form of talks between the Party and non-party activists and leading functionaries of the committees. On the eve of Railwaymen's Day, for example, a meeting took place between a hundred activists and the leading functionaries of the Regional Committee. In no way did the gathering resemble an official conference, and it developed into a frank talk in the course of which many new and not always pleasant facts were brought to our knowledge, and valuable suggestions made. We shall be able to carry out some of them in the region itself, others will have to be referred for decision to the central bodies. All the proposals were studied by the transport commission and then submitted to the committee for decision. As far as possible we endeavor to implement proposals as quickly as we can, for this is also one of the essential factors in developing the initiative of the activists.

The fact that during the talk many non-party people took the floor on a level with Party members, formed a common platform of a kind which facilitates the work of Party organizations with non-party activists. We would add that these meetings and talks inspire non-party people and enhance their interest in active work.

Just before the national holiday—the sixteenth anniversary of the Regeneration of Poland—the Regional Committee arranged a meeting with sixty ex-resistance fighters in Gdynia, mainly non-party people. Some of the speeches sent thoughts back to former battles, we re-lived the grim days of the Hitler occupation. But the main thing here was that a big change had taken place in the minds of these people who had formerly held various political views and who today really and truly support the socialist construction. The cause of socialism is, probably, even more bound up with patriotism in Gdynia than in any other place. The speeches made by the veterans of the national-liberation struggle were striking evidence of this.

We had talks with trade union activists, activists in the women's movement, co-operative members, agricultural experts, with activists in designing offices, etc. This form of work has won general recognition. Suggestions to organize meetings of this kind are coming in from all sides. Activists want to have more meetings and talks with the leadership of the Party organization. And this helps the committees to spread their influence to ever broader sections of the working people.

Many district committees arrange meetings with the people in the countryside, and these are very popular. Peasants listen keenly to talks on the international situation, on home affairs and particularly local matters. Then comes question time, usually followed by discussion on various subjects—the rural development program, local shortcomings and, occasionally, the peasants' personal af-

fairs. During the autumn and winter of 1959 we sent 800 activists to the countryside. All this brings the representatives of the district organizations closer to the population and makes for a better understanding of the people's cares and needs.

Life does not tolerate stereotyped, cut-and-dried schemes. Party initiative contributes to developing

the activity of the masses. And in its turn the political, social and labor activity of the masses enriches Party work and suggests new methods.

Jan PTASINSKI,

*First Secretary, Gdynia Regional Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party*

Forward Along the Democratic Path

THE idea of the working people of Sweden in the general election held on September 18 was to prevent the bourgeois parties from winning. Had these parties carried the day the government would have been in the hands of the reactionary Right Party whose program called, in part, for the abolition of the recently introduced pensions for all at the employers' expense and based on the number of years worked, family allowances for the first child, free school lunches, etc. The Rights, too, would like to involve Sweden in a military alliance with American imperialism and equip the armed forces with atomic weapons.

The burning question was: would there be a government formed by bourgeois parties dominated by the Rights, or a Social Democratic government, for in the past few years the Social Democrats had often been at loggerheads with the bourgeois parties. The Swedish government depends almost entirely for support on the well-organized and numerically strong working-class movement which in recent years has been fighting with exceptional vigor for important social reforms. Sooner or later the government has to take heed of the workers' demands, and that is where it comes into conflict with bourgeois parties.

With Communist support, the Social Democratic Party had a slight majority in the outgoing Riksdag. It was the votes of the Communist deputies which tipped the scales in favor of the working class. This circumstance contributed to winning the day on the pensions issue, an issue for which the Communists had fought for more than ten years.

That is why this time the workers, anxious to secure a majority for the working-class parties, participated more actively in the elections. It is true that the argument used by the reactionaries (and by the Social Democrats) — to the effect that under the existing electoral system the Communists need 38,000 votes to obtain one seat, whereas the Social Democrats, for example, need only 17,800—

operated against the Communist Party. Therefore, they said, it will be easier to get a working-class majority in the Riksdag through the Social Democrats rather than by voting for the Communists.

Still, the Communists polled nearly 50 per cent more votes than they did in the 1958 election. This victory (particularly pronounced in the industrial part of the central Sweden) is indicative of the workers' growing confidence in the Communist Party. Despite the increased vote, the Communists did not get a single new seat. And since the Social Democrats failed to obtain the expected number the Communists retain their key position in the Riksdag. In view of this the discussion about the possibility of collaboration between the bourgeois parties and the Social Democratic Party—the latter would have been prepared to work with them had it received an absolute majority—petered out.

Another consequence of the strengthened positions of the joint majority of the working class parties in the Riksdag is that the Right and the People's bourgeois parties, which suffered a severe electoral defeat have, to some extent, changed their attitude.

Summing up the election results, a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party noted: "The Party's line during the election campaign contributed to achieving victory for the workers. This line was that, in order to strike the main blow at the bourgeois bloc, the Party should have its own candidates throughout the country, and put forward as the basic demands of a positive pre-election program these points: cuts in taxes, land rent and military expenditures, 'no' to Swedish atomic weapons, a five-day working week and a four-week holiday, equal pay for equal work and higher pensions.

"The election results confirmed the soundness of this line; it was carried out despite the fact that the other parties—Social Democratic and bourgeois alike—did their utmost to destroy the Communist representation in the Riksdag.

"In this they failed. A workers' front vis-à-vis the bourgeois front was established. As in 1958, the election results reaffirmed that the combined efforts and co-ordinated action of the two parties of the working-class movement are needed to ensure a victory over the bourgeois bloc."

* * *

The meeting of the Central Committee endorsed the draft theses for the Nineteenth Party Congress scheduled for January 5-8, 1961. The theses, entitled "Forward Along the Democratic Path," set forth the following basic tasks of the Party.

The main enemy of the Swedish working class, the document states, is big capital and its constantly increasing domination in the national economy and the growing influence which it exerts on economic policy, on the machinery of state and on moulding public opinion. Closely associated with international monopoly capital, the Swedish monopolies place their own interests above those of the nation and obstruct a policy of peace.

Successful action by factory and office workers for a higher standard of living, social and cultural reforms and full employment would open for the majority of the people the prospect of having a decisive say in production, particularly in the basic industries, and of establishing a system under which solidarity and mutual aid would take the place of insecurity, capitalist scramble for profits and social egoism, and the *diktat* of the minority. Hence the program drawn up by the Central Committee is a program for the democratization of economic life. Among other things it envisages: the transfer to society of the finance and credit business, foreign trade, and the investments policy; centralized government planning of the economy; automation and atomic energy to be used to promote full employment, prosperity and a shorter working day; conditions to enable factory and office workers to exert a tangible influence on the production process; the building of new public enterprises capable of competing with private companies; nationalization of all large-scale enterprises and mining.

Workers and employees must enjoy a larger share of the growing national income, with strict observance of the principle of equal pay for equal work. The land rent must be reduced. This would lower housing costs and benefit the small employers, handicraftsmen, etc. The Party's agrarian policy pursues the aim of strengthening the family farm and developing the various forms of co-operation.

The Party insists on a forty-hour, five-day working week and a four-week annual vacation; a shorter working week for women (both in public and private enterprises) in order that women should have more time to bring up their children; a lower

pension age, especially for workers in unhealthy occupations; increased children's allowances, in the first place for big families with small incomes, grants for single mothers and sickness benefits for housewives.

The theses speak of the need to extend the network of uniform vocational schools, to democratize education, to train more research workers, more technical and medical personnel, and to free all branches of culture and research from monopoly influence.

The tax policy must be changed in the democratic spirit; certain categories of the population should be exempt from taxation, while the tax on companies, banks and big estates should be raised. Public expenditure by the government and the local authorities should be redistributed in favor of the latter.

The Communist Party believes that the time has come for a new Constitution which would vest absolute power and all legislative functions in the Riksdag, provide for the establishment of a republic with a one-chamber parliament, proportional representation and a lower voting age, civil rights and democratic government.

An essential condition for the country's development along democratic lines is the co-operation of all the forces in the working-class movement and unity of action by the working people in the enterprises and mass organizations. Concerted, joint action with other democratic forces will help extend the working-class front, develop it into a front of all the working people of Sweden against the economic dictatorship of big capital.

The further growth of joint working-class action and utilization of the opportunities now obtaining to effect social and cultural changes, and develop democracy, implies the growth and strengthening of the Communist Party. In the general election 190,000 voted for the Party. There are hundreds of thousands of workers among the voters who sympathize with the Party's aims and who want to see Sweden advance towards socialism. This leads us to believe that the Party's membership and the number of people reading the Party press can be doubled.

In preparation for the congress the Central Committee outlined the following measures: to launch a drive for the recruitment of 1,000 members to the Party and Youth League; to set up 50 new Party and youth branches; to increase the circulation of *Ny Dag* (by 2,000 copies) and of the other Party newspapers *Norrskensflamma* and *Arbetartidningen*; to begin to raise press funds for 1961; to hold seminars in all Party organizations on the subjects: "The Forthcoming Nineteenth Congress" and "How to Improve Party Work Among the Masses"; to organize a lottery for the Congress fund.

In matters of foreign policy the Central Committee reaffirmed its firm line of working for genuine neutrality and of utmost support for all peace forces in their struggle for peaceful co-existence and disarmament; it also adopted two

documents: "Help the People of the Congo!" and "Sweden Must Recognize the German Democratic Republic."

B.G.

Our Everyday Efforts

(Letter from a Worker)

THE Editorial Board has asked me to tell you something of what we worker-Communists of Luxembourg do from day to day and I shall try to do so. I shall tell you about a plant employing over 6,000 workers. It is located in the southern part of the country near the French frontier. Every month it produces about 100,000 tons of pig iron, and over 90,000 tons of steel ingots which are processed into 70,000 tons of rolled metal. The workers belong in the main to three trade unions—Christian, Socialist and the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Luxembourg (FLA). This division means that about a quarter of the workers are not organized. There are production groups made up of Communists in the plant under a production committee which puts out its own bulletin.

One of our tasks is to counter capitalist and reformist propaganda. I shall give a few examples of the way in which we do this. Most people in Luxembourg believe that our country can do nothing to influence events on the international arena. We are too small, they say. And of course it is difficult to refute these views in a country with a population of only 300,000. We have had instances in our history, however, when thanks to active unity, some appreciable results were achieved. Of course, the general strike of 1942 did not overthrow Hitler, but it did prevent several age groups from being called up to the Wehrmacht. We often remind people of this.

The favorite device of all anti-communists is to juggle with the word "freedom." Workers get their news and learn of political developments through the newspapers, the radio or the TV—all of which belong to the capitalists. These megaphones of propaganda, as well as the press of the neighboring capitalist countries, try to persuade the workers that they have "freedom." All that we have are the Communist newspapers—the daily *Zeitung* and the weekly *Wochenzeitung*. These papers are good aids in our Party work and one of the primary—and far from easy—tasks of our organization is to ensure their circulation. For it is strictly prohibited to bring them into the plant or to sell them there; the management has

even threatened summarily to dismiss anyone who breaks this rule. That is one of the manifestations of the lauded "freedom" in the West. We expose this hypocrisy but have to reckon with realities. The upshot of many talks with the workers has been that we have succeeded in partly frustrating the reactionaries' designs to gag our press. Some workers have been won as readers for our papers, while others raise no objections when we mail them the paper. The Party tries to make its publications as varied and interesting as possible. But many workers are still dissatisfied with our *Zeitung*. Some say that it writes "too much about Russia," others that it does not give enough space to sport. During our talks we exercise patience and take into consideration that the workers who take exception to us have for many years been reading bourgeois papers and are to some extent poisoned by them. That, in my view, is one of the main reasons why we have not succeeded in getting more of our readers, people who sympathize with the Communists, to join the Party. As a rule these workers support the Party and vote for it at the elections.

Every time there is an important political development either at home or abroad, the Party appeals to the working class by means of leaflets which our comrades distribute at the factory gate. When we have to state the Party's case urgently, our comrades frequently prepare leaflets themselves and run them off on the duplicator. To get the paper out we need money, of which there is not enough, and our production groups do a big job collecting funds. Although many sympathizers avoid talking about joining the Party, most help it financially in time of need.

We are convinced that the Party ranks will grow. This depends upon ourselves, upon our activities. Before the war the Party was a small group of politically conscious members and very few people knew of us. But during the war—both in the Resistance and in exile—we proved our loyalty to the country and the working class, with the result that after the war we won a big victory in the general and communal elections in our

town. Of the five Communist deputies elected to Parliament four were from the south. For the first time there were six Communists among the 17 members of the town council and the post of burgomaster was held by a Communist as a representative of the biggest group. This was splendid appreciation of the work done by the comrades who, despite the difficult conditions, waged a relentless and persistent struggle against reaction and gave their lives for the country. And although in subsequent years endless smearing of the Communists led to some comrades moving away from us, we are glad to say that the reactionaries' plans to smash or isolate our Party met with failure. The Communists are as active as ever. They are doing important work in the trade unions and are in the van of the fighters for better conditions at the factories. The workers look upon them as their most trusted representatives.

With the connivance of the employers the Chris-

tian and the Socialist union leaders are trying to oust the FLA, which is independent of both the government and capital, from the factory committees. But they have been unable wholly to block our efforts to unite the workers and to carry out measures at separate enterprises for improving labor conditions. Thus we succeeded in getting a wage revision in some of the shops with the result that the workers are now taking home bigger pay packets than they did under the collective agreements of the Socialist and Christian trade unions. This has enhanced confidence in the FLA. Confidence has grown, too, because we come out regularly for co-operation, joint demands and united action.

We have now greater opportunities of showing the working class, from its own experience, how its forces have grown, how it can win important victories by active struggle.

Jacques HOFFMANN

Short Notices

Canada "LET'S BE MASTERS IN IN OUR OWN HOUSE"

UNDER this heading the Communist Party of Canada has issued a call to fight for a new policy in the national interests of the country.

Canadians, the call points out, have lost control of the economy of Canada. Economically, Canada is, in effect, a colony of the USA. Canada is being isolated from world markets, is not allowed to manufacture its own raw materials, and all this results in crisis and unemployment.

The Party has suggested that Canada should proclaim its neutrality and support complete and general disarmament; reduce the military budget; withdraw from NATO and NORAD; remove U.S. military bases from Canadian soil; state that no atomic bombs shall ever be launched from Canada; declare Canada to be an atom-free zone.

Canadian independence demands the nationalization of U.S.-owned monopolies in basic industries, such as automobile, oil, rubber, metal-mining, electrical goods, the Canadian Pacific Railway. Canada should produce an all-Canadian car, build an East-West oil pipeline, develop a national energy policy, develop the steel and machine-tool industry. Such a policy would help make Canada economically

independent and provide tens of thousands of new jobs for Canadians, eliminating the scourge of unemployment with all its misery from the life of the Canadian people. The "Colombo Plan" and other "aid-schemes" in which Canada participates perpetuate colonial dependence of the underdeveloped countries, and should be replaced by extensive and equitable trading agreements, providing long-term credits to enable these countries to buy the Canadian goods they need, to build their own industries and become economically independent. One of the means by which Canada can become an independent and prosperous country, the statement declares, is to end the trade dependence on the USA and begin to trade with the world.

The Communist Party calls for the development of a front of national democratic unity in the struggle for new patriotic policies of Canadian national development, neutrality and disarmament, as against the Canadian monopolists who have sold out the country to the U.S. trusts. They, the Canadian monopolists, are the only elements whose interests are served by subordination to U.S. monopoly, the armaments race and the cold war. They can be defeated by an aroused and patriotic Canadian public.

The statement concludes:

"The Communist Party is bringing this message to homes right across Canada. It calls on each of

you who receives it to read it carefully and to consider the future of your family in the light of the things we say."

The Plenum of the Party's National Committee decided to issue this policy statement in a quarter of a million copies and worked out a program of action to popularize the statement through public meetings, house gatherings, and, wherever possible, through the local press and radio.

United Arab Republic

WE WILL BUILD A NATIONAL FRONT

RECENT developments in Syria have entered a new phase marked by rapidly mounting popular hatred of the Nasser regime of terror and pauperization and signifying that it is becoming increasingly isolated. The new phase is accompanied by the growing struggle of the masses for urgent demands—workers, peasants, students, women, traders and other sections of the people, irrespective of party affiliation or political conviction, are becoming more active and persistent in proclaiming their demands. There have been many examples of mass actions in the past year. They have often ended in clashes with the police and the gendarmes. A mass base for unity of all patriotic forces is being built in this struggle.

The underground organ of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party recently published a programmatic article entitled "A National Front, the Tried and Tested Weapon, Is the Only Way Out." The article reminds the people that in their past struggle for independence and against Anglo-American imperialist intrigues, national unity had justified itself as the best means of achieving their objective. Everywhere in Syria today there resound the voices of patriots calling for a National Front. And it would be no exaggeration to say that this front is in fact already being built by the people in the course of their day-to-day struggle and finds expression in the most diverse forms.

Workers, peasants, students, officers and soldiers, women, representatives of the national bourgeoisie, in fact all the patriotic forces of the country—these are the social sections from which the National Front can be built. And the worker-peasant alliance will, undoubtedly, play the leading role in this Front.

What are the common aims that can unite these diverse social groups, political parties and organizations?

The National Front must fight for a radical revision of the union between Syria and Egypt; for the liberation of Syria from the fetters of

Egyptian rule; to put an end to the plunder of the country by the American imperialists; to avert economic catastrophe; to save the country from starvation, dictatorship and anarchy; to re-establish democracy and the dignity of the Syrian people; for bread and freedom.

These tasks conform to the interests of the country and mirror its urgent needs in the present situation; the Communists are prepared to discuss them with all parties, just as they are prepared to discuss any proposals which these parties may make.

The Communists believe that the liberation of the country and the re-establishment of democracy cannot be achieved through the struggle of any one class or any one party. What is needed is joint struggle by all the patriotic forces, the efforts of the various parties and organizations, of all public personalities.

Those who in the past fought side by side with the Communists for freedom and independence know that the Communists are absolutely true to their pledges and the common objectives; can vouch for it that narrowness is alien to the Communists, that they place the interests of their people and their country above everything else. The Communists regard the establishment of a National Front not as a tactical matter but as an objectively essential stage in the struggle for the national cause. And precisely for this reason they believe mutual trust between National Front parties and organizations to be an essential condition for the consolidation of its mass base and imparting to it the strength that will ensure victory.

The Communists see their duty in drawing all the sound forces of Syrian society into the National Front by marching in the forefront of the people and utilizing all forms of mass action, including immediate demands. They are convinced that the creation of a National Front will infuse courage into those whom the terror has caused to lose faith; that it will help to overcome the adventurist sentiments and the impatience of some people and groups who resort to actions harmful to the cause.

Syrians look hopefully to the emerging National Front and are prepared to support it in every way. It is the national duty of all patriots to contribute by word and by deed to the building of this front on a nationwide scale.

Thailand

FOR A BROAD PATRIOTIC FRONT

THE underground Communist Party has issued an appeal to the people to form a broad patriotic front.

The treacherous Sarit Dhanarat government, the appeal states, is tightening the strings binding Thailand to American imperialism, and is spending more than 50 per cent of the national budget for military purposes, including the building of rocket and nuclear bases. The government has allowed SEATO to conduct regular military maneuvers in Thailand and has adopted a hostile attitude to its neighbors and to the socialist countries. It supports the reactionaries in Cambodia, instigating them to overthrow the government which is pursuing a policy of independence, neutrality and peace; it is helping the imperialists to stifle the Malayan people's struggle for independence, meddling in the internal affairs of Laos and abetting the efforts of the fascist clique in Laos to provoke civil war. All this has heightened tension in South-East Asia.

The appeal further notes that the peoples are being subjected to brutal repressions, their conditions are worsening day by day, and the economy is in a state of decline.

Welcoming co-operation among all patriots and democrats, prominent personalities, parties and groups, the Communist Party advances four political points as a basis for uniting the nations:

1) overthrow the treacherous dictatorship of Sarit Dhanarat, oust the aggressive forces of American imperialism and form a government that would conduct a policy of genuine independence, neutrality, peace and democracy;

2) renounce the policy of support of American imperialism, withdraw from SEATO, annul the treaties undermining the sovereignty of the country, end the interference in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, no participation in military blocs, friendly and trade relations with all countries on the principle of equality, foreign aid without strings;

3) raise the state of emergency, repeal the Constitution, dissolve the puppet Constituent Assembly, convene a Constituent Assembly representing the various sections of the population, parties and groups, annul the "Struggle Against Communism Act" and other laws encroaching on the freedom of the people, unconditional release of political prisoners;

4) improve the conditions of the people, develop the economy with the emphasis on the national resources, transfer the land to the peasants, abolish unemployment.

ANNIVERSARIES

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY IS FORTY YEARS OLD

THE French Communist Party was formed during the powerful revolutionary upsurge engendered by the First World War and the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. On December 29, 1920, the majority of the delegates to the Tours Congress of the United Socialist Party voted to join the Third International. This decision found an eager response among the French working class. Most of the 180,000 members of the former Socialist Party, and the majority of its local organizations, joined the Communist Party, which thus came into being as a mass party.

In the course of hard-fought battles it acquired the qualities of a true leader of the working people. The Party took over the best traditions of the prewar socialist movement and the revolutionary traditions of the nation as a whole; it became the vehicle of progressive French thought. But to become a party of the new type, it primarily had to free itself from the survivals of reformism, philistine and anarchist individualism, and bour-

geois-parliamentary methods of work.

Then began the process of assimilating Leninism, the penetration into the Party ranks of the ideas of the great Lenin, and learning how to apply the general truth of revolutionary theory in the specific conditions of the country.

Overcoming the idea ingrained in the trade unions that the fight for the everyday needs of the working people was not its concern, the Party based all its activities on linking the ultimate tasks of the working-class movement with the immediate demands not only of the workers but of all working people.

Special care was taken to ensure the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The Party's first agrarian program met with the approval of Lenin.

Adopting proletarian internationalism as an organic and integral part of its world outlook, the French Communist Party was soon called upon to display this quality in practice: in speaking

out against the occupation of the Ruhr and for solidarity with the working people of Germany, the Party withstood the first serious test in internationalism. With its clear-cut and unyielding policy towards any manifestation of colonialism (the first test of which was awakening the masses against the colonial war in Morocco in 1925) the Party taught the working class that "a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free"; it inculcated contempt for racism and called for struggle against national discrimination.

An important contribution of the French Communist Party to the international communist movement was its fight for the Leninist idea of the united front. It was during the struggle against sectarianism, and to ensure that the Party would have an effective say in the political life of the country that Maurice Thorez was elected to the post of General Secretary.

The Party correctly assessed the lessons of the 1929-33 crisis, realized in good time the danger of fascism and worked out a policy and slogans which helped to rally the masses and crush the fascist putsch of February 1934. This was the policy of the Popular Front—the unity of all the democratic forces around the working class.

The social gains won by the French working people under the Popular Front government in 1936 are to this day the best argument in favor of united action.

The Communist Party fought consistently and steadfastly for collective security and supported the Soviet Union's efforts to prevent the outbreak of war. It advanced the idea of a "French Front" capable of rallying the nation in the face of the fascist danger. But the betrayal of Republican Spain by the Blum government, and later the Munich treachery, undermined the Popular Front, freed the hands of the reactionary forces and weakened France.

When the Second World War broke out the Communists' stand remained clear and firm; they declared: Fascism is Enemy No. 1. They denounced the "phoney war" as connivance in the fascist aggression and the fifth column, as a war of reaction against the working class and the people of France. The Communists were the first to oppose the "wait-and-see" attitude and to raise the banner of national liberation. Although they suffered heavy casualties, they resolutely gathered the forces of Resistance all over the country and played the decisive part in this movement.

After the war, true to the principles set forth in the program of the National Council of Resistance, the Communist Party worked out and pursued a policy of national regeneration which became a determining factor in industrial rehabilitation, the extension of democracy and the country's pro-

gress in general. But the Party was ostracized by international reaction in 1947.

With the intensification of the cold war, the efforts of the Party, as of the entire international communist movement, were concentrated on the fight for peace. Our Party devotes all its energies to the peace movement and actively supports the socialist countries in their struggle to lessen the tension, for disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

Exposing the "dirty wars" of the colonialists in Vietnam, and later in Algeria, the Party warned that these wars would not only exhaust the country's resources and discredit it in the eyes of the world—they are the media for reaction and fascism inside France. The reactionary forces, however, aided by the Right-wing Socialists, were able to divide the nation, with the result that one-man rule was established and democracy trampled underfoot.

The Party pointed out that the de Gaulle regime would not resolve a single crisis engendered by the rule of the Rights, that, on the contrary, these crises would deepen. The estimates made at the Party's Fifteenth Congress (1959) on questions of economy and policy, as well as its predictions as regards growth of the mass movement, were confirmed by subsequent developments. Proclaiming that the abolition of one-man rule was the main task, the Congress advanced a program of regenerating the democratic institutions and all national life with the forces of the united popular front.

Basing its policy on a profound analysis of the situation, the French Communist Party is doing its share, together with the Communists of all other countries, in developing Marxist-Leninist theory. At its Twelfth Congress (1950), for instance, it gave a realistic assessment of the significance of the peace movement and voiced the view that with the new alignment of social forces in the world prevention of war had become a tangible possibility.

The Party holds that with the working class heading the movement for democratic regeneration, the time lag between democratic and socialist transformation in France will not be very great. As far back as 1946, basing its conclusions on the outcome of the Second World War, it showed that the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism is not excluded in France.

True to the principles of creative Marxism, the Party has gained vast experience in the struggle against both Right and "Left" distortions of revolutionary theory and tactics, for ideological unity of the communist movement.

The French Communist Party, with its membership of 400,000, is a powerful organization, a truly national political force enjoying prestige among all sections of society.

What Are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class?

Contributions in this issue are by:

ECONOMIE ET POLITIQUE (France):

THE editorial board welcomes the initiative of *World Marxist Review*. The significance of the subject and the theoretical and practical interests of the discussion conducted on an international scale are obvious.

Our remarks apply in the main to the editorial comment summing up and analyzing the data contained in the previously published answers and posing a number of general questions broadening the discussion.

Growth of Clerical Employment

In France, as in the four countries from which came the first replies to the questionnaire, the number of office workers is growing rapidly. Compared with the number of workers at the point of production, the growth is both absolute and relative.

French statistics, however, being far less complete than those for the United States, Britain and West Germany, do not give a precise picture of the changes that are taking place. The only exact and complete census of the labor force is that of 1954. The figures of the previous censuses can be utilized for the purpose of comparison only after the voluminous work now underway to correct them has been completed. For the present only rough figures can be cited:

Number of Clerical Workers	(000)		1924 in % of 1931
	1931	1954	
In agriculture	6	17	283
In industry (including power industry)	613	1,064	173
In non-production branches (incl. transport)	2,067	3,021	146
Total:	2,686	4,102	152

Number of Manual Workers			
In agriculture	2,624	1,164	44
In industry (including power industry)	5,385	5,022	93
In non-production branches (incl. transport)	1,706	1,419	83
Total:	9,715	7,605	78

We thus observe two tendencies: on the one hand, a considerable (more than twofold) decline in the number of agricultural laborers and a certain fall in numbers employed in industry (including power industry) and transport; and, on the other, a growth in the overall number of clerical workers (over 50 per cent) and of those employed in industry, including power industry (73 per cent). In 1931 there was one office employee per nine workers in those branches, and in 1954 one office employee per five workers.

The data at our disposal confirm the reasons listed in the editorial comment for the numerical growth of clerical workers, namely, the expansion of state-monopoly capitalism, the growing parasitism of capitalist society, and the peculiarities of modern mechanized and automated production.

The same reasons explain why the number of civil servants has increased considerably in France. This is borne out by figures showing the dynamics of this employment:

1854 - 160,000	1936 - 682,000
1914 - 494,000	1946 - 1,038,000
1922 - 625,000	1956 - 1,100,000

The same can be said about trade and finance where employment has increased as follows:

	1906	1936	1954
Trade	1,992,000	2,355,000	2,444,000
Banks, stock exchange and companies	58,000	170,000	157,000
Insurance	23,000	69,000	92,000
Total:	2,073,000	2,594,000	2,693,000

These figures include employers, engineers, technicians and office personnel. Still, the tendency for the number of clerical workers to grow is unmistakable, the more so because the increase in the number of wage laborers employed in these branches is much bigger than indicated by the above figures, because not a few small businesses went bankrupt over this period.

Economic and Social Boundaries of the Working Class

An exchange of views between French Marxist economists on this subject revealed a distinct tendency towards proletarianization among office workers. The latter tend to merge with the workers in overalls both by virtue of being exploited by the monopolies (office workers earn a livelihood by selling their labor power) and their conditions.

But the difference between *creating* surplus value and the *distributing* of it is still the underlying factor. Only those who *create* surplus value belong to the working class, but office workers are not creators of surplus value. It has not been demonstrated that the state-monopoly apparatus of production and distribution has become so integrated as to enable the capitalists to obtain surplus value both from the labor performed by workers at the point of production and by office employees. Consequently, to combine industrial and clerical workers into a single class does not seem to us scientifically substantiated.

To this it should be added that neither the tendency towards *levelling up* the remuneration for the work of factory and office workers nor their outlook (which express most strikingly the differences between the two categories) are in themselves adequate criteria with which to delineate the boundaries of the working class.

What is more, the numerical growth of the working class compared with the other classes, which can be demonstrated only if clerical workers are regarded as part of it, is not an essential condition for verifying the soundness of the Marxist concepts or for assessing the political perspectives of the working class.

In France, as in the other countries, the discussion of these questions by Marxist economists is continuing.

Technological Advance and Its Impact on the Structure of the Proletariat

The main thing here is automation. But, as cor-

rectly stressed by *World Marxist Review*, automation is still in its infancy in the capitalist countries. At the same time the growing mechanization has produced considerable changes in the structure of the working class.

As to the question on which *World Marxist Review* focussed attention—the effect on skills and qualifications—we are in agreement with the conclusions reached. Actually, a two-pronged process is underway: on the one hand, the level of skill is rising and, on the other, it is declining. And, as is perfectly clear, the trend towards *downgrading* is gaining the upper hand. This, however, is a very complicated matter since people are also changing trades, so that the available statistical data should be treated with caution.

In May 1959, H. Courval wrote in our journal about the investigation she carried out among Lorraine miners. Her findings revealed a number of vital changes in the structure of the working class caused by the postwar mechanization of mining:

—the numbers of employed in underground work showed a decline (20,359 in 1938, 15,699 in 1957) while the number of surface workers showed a slight increase (6,031 in 1938, 6,352 in 1957);

—the percentage of miners proper among the workers engaged in underground work has decreased (two-thirds before the war, one-third today) while the percentage of timberers, haulers, road men, electricians, mechanics, maintenance men, etc., has increased;

—skills, too, have changed. The old-time miner has been replaced by the man operating machines; officially his rating is that of a skilled miner, but in fact it is lower than that of the miner doing manual work;

—interchanging trades is another new tendency: many workers often have to change their occupations.

An investigation carried out at the Renault plants (J. Laplace, *Economie et Politique*, December 1958) indicated an increase in the numbers of unskilled workers: at the plant in Billancourt 40 out of the 47 workers tending the line turning out cylinder blocks are unskilled—practically all they have to do is to press a push-button. With the introduction of automation only seven workers were upgraded.

Among other effects of the technological advancement are these:

a) *structure of employment in industry* has changed. There are more workers in industries such as power, iron and steel, engineering, building and public works, chemical, paper and food industries. On the other hand, employment has declined in the clothing, textile, leather, wood-working, furniture and coal industries and on the

railways. These changes, which are well known, are typical not only of France. To obtain a better understanding of their significance, let us recall that in the half century 1906-56 the numbers employed in the French textile, clothing and leather industries declined from 2,734,000 to 1,277,000, i.e., by nearly one and a half million;

b) *concentration of industry* signifies larger numbers of production and clerical workers in the big enterprises; the significance of this concentration of workers, particularly pronounced in the recent years, is equally obvious;

c) a *changed geographical distribution* of the working class which was not mentioned in the questionnaire, is also pronounced. Here we observe a twofold process: on the one hand, the working population is concentrated more and more in the main industrial areas and, consequently, other areas, particularly in south-west and western France, are being de-industrialized with an accompanying fall in the number of workers; on the other hand, the monopolies, with the aid of the state, are building factories in the provincial towns.

A result of the first tendency is that workers spend more time travelling to and from work, encounter housing difficulties, etc. The second tendency implies the employment of workers born in the countryside, town-to-country migration of the workers, and the creation of new working-class centres;

d) *the numerical growth of clerical workers and the changes in skills* referred to above are also conditioned by the technological progress as a whole and are not just the consequence of automation alone;

e) *mechanization and automation of clerical work* is gradually eliminating the differences between the work done by clerks and officials and by industrial workers (although the number of clerical workers associated with automated machinery is relatively small);

f) engineers, technicians and foremen who create surplus value and therefore belong to the working class, are doing *more specialized work*. This process simplifies the labor of these categories and is a factor awakening them to struggle.

Replenishment of the Working Class

As mentioned above, the total number of workers has not changed substantially. For proof, we can cite the data on *employment in manufacturing and in the power industry* which in 1906 was 6,351,000; 6,248,000 in 1946 and 7,054,000 in 1956.

The influx of new workers is, apparently, greater than the general growth of the working class. This is explained by the fact that large numbers leave the ranks of the proletariat.

The main source of replenishment of the working class is, of course, the peasantry. The labor force in agriculture which in 1906 stood at 9,184,000 had declined to 7,054,000 in 1956, i.e., by more than two million. Artisans, too, are declining in numbers. But artisans are far fewer than peasants.

The influx into the working class from the trade sector is not too great, judging by the fact that employment in this sector has risen (1,922,000 in 1906 and 2,481,000 in 1956). Replenishments come from the immigrants who, for the most part, are workers. It should be pointed out that female employment in France has gradually fallen off during the past fifty years. The number of women workers has noticeably decreased, although there are more women clerks.

Labor Aristocracy

In our view the obvious differences in the first answers to this question can be explained by the different interpretations of Lenin's definition of the term. Lenin pointed out that, in determining whether a person belongs to the aristocracy of labor, three criteria should be taken into consideration: wages, educational status, and social democratic ideology. The use of only *one* criterion, that of the wage level, is insufficient, particularly at present when remuneration for the work done by the different categories of workers changes quickly, although in the last century this criterion undoubtedly played a greater part. Nor can belonging to a particular branch of industry, a criterion widely used in the British and American answers, be applied to France. With us the better-paid workers employed in the branches where wages are higher cannot be said to be particularly vulnerable to reformist ideology. The same can be said of those sections, printers for example, among whom the guild spirit and apprenticeship still prevail. As we see, a yardstick like high wages contradicts the ideological criterion.

Generally speaking, it should be emphasized that in France the question of the labor aristocracy should be viewed from a different angle than in the countries from which the first answers came. We should not forget that in our country there is a powerful Communist Party, while in West Germany, Britain, the United States and Austria reformism and social democracy still exert a dominant influence.

The key to the recent changes in the composition of the labor aristocracy should be sought, perhaps, in the persistent efforts made by the capitalists, using American methods, to bring considerable sections of the working people under their sway.

POLITICA ED ECONOMIA (Italy):

IN our answers we have avoided general statements and absolute definition of processes which have not yet been studied sufficiently. We have concentrated on the profound consequences for the Italian economy arising from the factors mentioned in the questionnaire.

The "Independent" Man on the Way Out

Although the 1936 and 1951 population censuses are not wholly comparable since they were based on different criteria of classification according to

job, they showed, nevertheless, an unmistakable growth in the numbers of wage-earners and a fall in the numbers of the self-employed. This disproves the concept that has been advanced by some economists to the effect that a feature of present-day capitalism is an absolute or at least relative decline (numerically) of the working class. We can adduce figures illustrating the basic changes that have occurred in the structure of the labor force from the middle of the last century to our own days.

ITALY'S LABOR FORCE IN 000's (1861-1959)
(excluding those looking for their first job)

Year	Agriculture		Industry		Trade and Services		Total			
							self-employed		wage and salary workers	
	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
1861	10,197	65.9	3,181	20.3	2,109	13.6	—	—	—	—
1921	9,783	56.1	4,262	24.4	3,403	19.5	—	—	—	—
1936*	9,048	48.6	5,147	27.6	4,429	23.8	8,885	48.4	9,455	51.6
of whom self-employed	6,514									
1951	8,261	42.2	6,290	32.1	5,026	25.7	8,011	40.9	11,566	59.1
of whom self-employed	5,573									
1959**	6,398	32.2	7,473	37.7	5,976	30.1	7,391	37.2	12,456	62.8

*Due to the specific methodology there were, in the 1936 census, certain differences between the data according to branches and the final figures.

**Figures are not wholly comparable with those for the preceding years.

As the table shows, the numbers employed in industry grew steadily between 1861 and 1959. This was true for the other non-agricultural branches as well. At the same time, the numbers engaged in agriculture declined, though to a lesser degree than in other countries (Britain, France, Germany, etc.) because of the resistance to capitalist penetration in the rural areas in Italy. This was a peculiarity of the socio-economic set-up in Italy. In recent years, however, the alienation of the labor force from agriculture has been accelerated and is now particularly significant, being the result of the structural crisis of Italy's agriculture.

By way of illustration we will quote Professor D. Demaria (L. Bocconi University): "... The numbers of the self-employed declined by about three million. . . . Today there are almost twice as many employed as 'self-employed'. But a bare 30 years ago these two groups were equal in number." As we see, even non-Marxist economists admit that "in all . . . spheres of activity there has been noticeable proletarianization if by this term we mean the growing number of wage workers."*

Where Does the Redundant Labor Go?

The majority of the labor force leaving the countryside or ousted by mechanization of farm work one and a half million between 1936 and 1959, whereas over the same period the numbers of wage and salary workers have grown by almost finds its way to building jobs. In some branches, for example the textile industry, employment is actually declining; in recent years employment in textiles has declined 15 per cent. Most of these "refugees" from the countryside go into the distributive sector, where they often perform work that is economically useless (re-selling, peddling and other occupations that are difficult even to define). But compared with the other branches of the economy there is redundant labor in this sector even without these people. In other words, the "flight" of the working people from the countryside does not bring them a place in the production branches and quite often relegates them to the fringes of economic activity. In Italy, unlike the more developed capitalist countries, this phenomenon is acquiring pathological forms. The rising unemployment in the above-mentioned branches, as

well as in trade and transport, mirrors the extremely contradictory character of the Italian economy, the result of the reluctance of the ruling circles to take economic action against the monopolies and to carry through a radical land reform, although such steps would be instrumental in dissipating the chronic unemployment which, in 1960, reached the level of nearly two million.

The unemployment would have been higher had automation been widely introduced. As yet automation is rare in Italy. In recent years, however, unemployment has declined somewhat in our country (it is difficult to illustrate this in figures because of the present statistical methods) largely because of the natural growth of the so-called tertiary sector (assembly and installation of electric appliances, establishment of trading agencies, repair shops, etc.). But this slight improvement has affected mainly the north and the center of the country.

"Social Mobility" Genuine and Sham

The redistribution of the labor force between the economic branches reflects the natural growth of employment in the non-agricultural — both industrial and non-industrial—branches, on the one hand, and the defects of the economic structure, on the other. The increased employment in the distributive sphere is such that it can no longer be regarded as an expression of normal capitalist development. As to the numerical growth of the industrial working class, it is due largely to the increased employment in the small and medium-sized enterprises in the developed parts of the country, chiefly in the north, although, of course, the opportunities available to these enterprises for using the new labor force are restricted. Nor can the older industrial centers and the main branches of production absorb the redundant labor of the other branches. In the big enterprises employment has not increased very much, and the increase is particularly insignificant when compared with the sharply increased output, achieved mainly thanks to the greater intensification of labor and new techniques. Moreover, these enterprises usually draw their labor from the traditional sections of the working class (families of industrial proletarians) and not from other groups of the labor force.

Hence, the absence of large-scale industrialization creates a disproportion between demand and supply where labor is concerned, a disproportion which can be eliminated only by far-reaching structural reforms.

Thus, "social mobility" in Italy is partly a reflection of the typically capitalist tendencies, and in particular the tendency for the labor force in agriculture to decrease and to flow over into the

sphere of industry and building. At the same time this "social mobility" is characterized, as we have seen, by a bloated growth of the non-productive branches. And the workers who cannot find a job in the production sphere flow into these branches. Only a fraction of the "deproletarianized" working people finds its way to the new intermediate sections (owners of small businesses and repair shops, trading agencies, etc.). In part they join the sections which make up the amorphous sphere (small shopkeepers, pedlars, second-hand dealers and others on the fringes of economic activity) somewhere between the lower boundary of the intermediate sections and the upper boundary of the lumpenproletariat.

Workers are being declassed mainly in those places where production has been considerably curtailed (in the north and in the south). Only few of the redundants remain in the same trade having found jobs either at home or abroad (France, Switzerland, etc.) while others find the kind of jobs of which we spoke above. Very few establish small enterprises of their own.

This picture of the economic and social changes shows that a considerable mobility of the labor force is a feature of capitalism. And this real mobility disproves the view current among bourgeois sociologists that the numbers and the role of the working class are declining with the development of capitalism, and that the proletariat is "moving" upwards to the middle sections. The data in this article show that the reverse is true, that the significance of the wage-earner in capitalist society is growing.

Growth of Clerical Employment: Italy No Exception

As a result of mechanization and rationalization in Italy as in other countries, the share of the office personnel and of engineers and technicians has grown not only absolutely but also in relation to the total number of workers employed in the industrial enterprises. This growth is a consequence of changes in the organization of labor which have taken place not only in the factories but also in computing centers. It reflects a number of features typical of the big modern enterprise: the state of the market is studied, the methods and rates of production are examined and controlled; the enterprise has its hierarchy of "overseers" of a new type, charged with political duties, etc. Simultaneously the tendency towards greater simplification and narrow specialization in clerical work in line with the latest efficiency systems results in the office worker coming ever closer to the industrial worker, so that it is often difficult to tell one apart from the other as far as the character of their labor is concerned. And this, objectively, tends to make most jobs alike in the capitalist enterprise.

*D. Demaria, Report Delivered at a Conference on "Technological Progress and Italian Society" and published in the book *Technological Progress and Modern Economy*, Milan, 1960, pp. 14-16.

The Class Status of Clerical Workers As We See It

It is clear, however, that the differences in the organization of labor, in its remuneration and in social environment (clerical employees work in a more individual capacity than industrial workers at the point of production) make it impossible to identify as such industrial workers and office employees. Living reality is too complex a thing for cut and dried schemes. Lenin held that in determining the class status of a particular group of people not only their relation to the means of production, which is the main thing, should be borne in mind but also their role "in the social organization of labor."^{*}

At the present stage of capitalist development it is not so much a matter of defining things but rather of divining the *tendencies* in the actual processes and comprehending their significance. The increased ratio of clerical workers in the total employed in industry by no means signifies a tendency for the working class to "disappear," nor does it give grounds for saying, as some capitalist spokesmen do, that "the future lies with the middle sections." On the contrary, the dynamics of Italian social life show that the numbers of wage-earners are growing. What is more, the growth of clerical employment can be regarded as confirmation of the tendency for the sphere of the wage earner to expand and this widening is bound to produce a lessening of differences between the manual worker and the office worker.

We are not implying that right now, at the present stage of technological development, one can put on a par the manual worker and the clerical employee whose labor approximates to that of the worker, nor can they be combined in the general concept of "working class" which in working-class literature from the time of Marx till our days has signified a definite thing. For example, we are dubious about the view that some categories of engineers and technicians are simply wage-earners like the ordinary worker. The difference between production labor which creates surplus value, and non-production labor, as Marx pointed out in his analysis, has a theoretical significance. Marx did not essay to draw hard and fast lines between the working class as such and the other social sections. As in nature, such boundaries cannot be

^{*}Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.

absolutely exact. And yet Marx noted a difference between engineers and workers—for example, his as the "principal class" (*Hauptklasse*) and to the former, as a superior class of workmen (*eine hoehere Arbeiterklasse*), some of them scientifically educated. This category, according to Marx, "distinct from the factory operative class," is simply aggregated to it.^{**} The difference between the engineer and the worker lies in the former's role in production (more complex labor), in organizing the production process (control), in his social functions, in the environment in which he lives, in his thinking. These are essential elements which should be borne in mind if we are to avoid a schematic identification of engineer and worker.

The Question of the Labor Aristocracy: The Need for a More Flexible Approach

The impression is that in Italy some of the classical features of the privileged section of wage-earners—the aristocracy of labor—are lacking. Absent, for example, is such a vital element as colonial superprofit which, in other countries, makes it possible to corrupt some sections of the working class. And even the relatively high wages of the workers on whom the employers look with favor (again for the purpose of dividing the working class) are not as widespread as in the past. But if there is in Italy a tendency—though less pronounced than in other countries—for a labor aristocracy to emerge, its roots lie in the monopoly structure (if by labor aristocracy we understand those workers who, for example, in the chemical plants of the Montecatini concern situated in the north enjoy much higher wages than those employed in the Montecatini enterprises in the south). On the other hand, the skilled and relatively well-paid workers are often more militant and better organized. So that in discussing the question of the labor aristocracy the subjective element, too (and above all, class consciousness) must of necessity be taken into account. The laying down of hard and fast lines in this respect will not help us very much. What is needed is a profound understanding of the overall process, which includes objective elements of the economic structure, the policy of the employers as well as the policy of the working-class organizations—in other words, ideological struggle.

^{**}Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I.

PAULINO GONZALES ALBERDI (Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina):

THE answers to the questionnaire and the first editorial comment can be regarded as an reference to the latter who operate the machines

into the typical features and peculiarities of the new sections of working people now joining the important contribution to Marxist-Leninist research

ranks of the proletariat. The significance of this research is clear. The formation of new detachments of the working class confronts the Communists with important political and tactical problems. And there can be no doubt that a broad international discussion of the changes in the structure of the working class will help resolve these problems.

The Argentine Working Class Past and Present

The industrial proletariat in Argentina was formed mainly from contingents of European immigrants. A considerable part of the rural proletariat, too, consists of immigrants. But during the Second World War when industry expanded and agriculture stagnated, the working class was replenished mainly from the peasants and agricultural laborers in the backward provinces.

Another source of replenishment was female labor, i.e., women who had not worked in the past, and youth. After the war, European immigration, particularly from Italy and Spain, was resumed, although on a smaller scale than at the beginning of the century. Labor flows into our country also from Paraguay, Chile and Bolivia.

Proletariat or Petty-Bourgeois?

Some Communist authors incline to the view that all clerical workers, engineers and technicians should be regarded as petty bourgeois. This attitude seems to me to be wrong. The stand taken by the authors of the contribution from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (USSR) and of the editorial comment is, I think, more correct. I maintain that the petty bourgeoisie consists of small producers and traders, people who at least formally are independent and who possess some means of production. It is quite possible that the petty bourgeois can employ hired labor, but in all cases his basic source of income is his own labor. It is incorrect to include in the petty bourgeoisie those groups of working people who sell their labor power to capitalists in exchange for wages or salary and who are concentrated chiefly in the big enterprises, in the department stores, banks, insurance offices and advertising companies.

To what class do those usually referred to as clerical workers belong? This, a complicated matter, is rendered more complicated because the social status of clerical workers has been so confused by bourgeois sociologists in their endeavors to prove that the division of society into classes is a thing of the past. They argue that the poor are becoming richer, while the rich are becoming poorer, and that humanity as a whole is being changed into a kind of "gigantic middle class."

In reality, however, things are much more prosaic. The "middle class" is an exceedingly diffuse term. Bourgeois economists and statisticians include in it extremely heterogeneous and at times

even directly opposed social sections. Engineers, for example, are found side by side with the workers in the factories. Their jobs do not differ greatly from those of the skilled workers; they take part directly in production and create *surplus value* for the capitalist. Much the same can be said about those who work in the factory laboratories, drawing offices and designing bureaus and whose function is to improve the machines and equipment and ensure the normal rhythm of the technological process. Automation, mechanization and rationalization of labor are narrowing the boundaries between the labor of the office and the factory worker. In our country, for example, skilled workers are being ousted by rationalization. Operations hitherto performed by foremen and skilled workers are not infrequently done by technicians and engineers.

There are, of course, categories of engineers (they are not very numerous) who perform managerial functions. This kind of engineer is usually a big shareholder in the firm. How, then, in these circumstances can we place all engineers and technicians in the "middle class" or regard them as petty bourgeois? Clearly it would be wrong to do so. In all probability the engineers of the first category belong, in a way, to the working class, but those of the second category, judged by their place in social production and their standard of living, either belong to the capitalist class, or are very close to it.

But social differentiation has become more pronounced even among the real, not imaginary, members of the middle sections, for example, among professional workers. More and more of this category, losing their independence, are forced to sell their labor power to the capitalists. For generations doctors have sold their services to the patients directly. Some still continue to do so. But medical service in capitalist society is fast becoming commercialized. Sanatoria and clinics provide the patient not only with medical treatment but also with food, accommodation, linen, recreation. Among the directors and big shareholders in these medical institutions there are well-known doctors who, in their capacity of business men, pocket the fruits of the labor performed by the low-paid medical personnel—laboratory assistants, nurses, etc. Marx wrote: "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of one sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference."*

For this reason we hold that not only the industrial worker but also the doctor, journalist, teacher and even categories in the sphere of the arts who work for an employer take part in creating surplus value. The owners of the enterprises employ-

ing these people sell a special kind of commodity—medical service, education, news, recreation, etc. On the other hand, office workers such as bank clerks and shop-assistants in shops and department stores, through their labor, enable the employer to appropriate, in the shape of interest rate, trading profit and ground rent, part of the surplus value created in industry and agriculture. In this sense it would be wrong, in my view, to put on a par a teacher working for an employer in a private school and a shop-assistant, because in this case the teacher creates surplus values whereas the shop-assistant simply enables his employer to appropriate part of the surplus value created in production. But in the matter of other class attributes, working people of this category are drawing closer and closer to the industrial proletariat.

More Attention Should Be Paid to the New Sections of the Working Class

While the questionnaire has shown that new groupings are joining the working class, it has also made it clear that these replenishments, more vulnerable than the industrial working class to the ideological influence exerted by the capitalists, tend toward petty-bourgeois vacillations and political inconsistency. I would add that in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries the new sections of the proletariat are more exposed also to the influence of bourgeois nationalism than are the industrial workers. This poses two tasks:

1. The Communist parties should provide political guidance to those proletarian masses who have not yet awakened to political consciousness; the ideological and educational work of the parties should be stepped up.

2. It is necessary steadily to improve the social composition of the Communist parties which should rely above all on the workers employed in the big enterprises.

Promotion of cadres from among the veteran workers is of particular significance in such conditions. Working to extend its ranks, our Party is concentrating above all on the most exploited workers in the big plants, particularly those owned by monopolies. But it also attaches significance to enlisting members from among the clerical personnel. In these enterprises the workers, technical and office personnel belong to the same Party branch.

At present Argentina and some other Latin American countries are experiencing a phase of big strikes and other mass political actions in which an active part is being played by the shop assistants, bank clerks, teachers and other sections of working people, who are gradually drawing closer to the industrial working class. In view of this the supreme task of the Communists is to provide clear Marxist-Leninist guidance to this host of working people

PROF. OTTO REINHOLD (GDR):

I FIND the discussion initiated by *World Marxist Review* most interesting. It has a political as well as a scientific significance, for successful struggle by the German proletariat against militarism and imperialism presupposes a correct assessment of the factors which exert an influence on the militancy of the working class. And one of these factors is the change in its structure.

The Majority of Clerical Workers Belong to the Working Class

Since the end of the war the working class in West Germany has grown steadily in numbers. We will be safe in saying that it comprises nearly 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population of the Federal Republic. Even bourgeois statistics adduce evidence of the numerical growth of the working class. The official *Statistical Year-Book of the Federal Republic* for 1957 contained the following figures concerning the dynamics of the structure of the labor force of West Germany (in per cent):

	1939	1946	1950	1956
Self-employed	14.0	17.8	15.5	13.5
Helping members of the family	16.4	14.7	13.0	11.1
Officials and office employees	18.9	20.4	19.7	20.9
Industrial workers	50.8	47.1	51.9	54.5
Workers, officials and office employees	69.7	67.5	71.6	75.4

These figures show that the working class is being replenished mainly from the middle sections—peasants, artisans, small shopkeepers, etc. Other figures show that the number of handicraft enterprises in the Federal Republic declined by 111,200, or 12.9 per cent, between 1949-56. Especially hard hit were the smaller enterprises employing up to four persons. Over a slightly longer period, between 1949 and 1958, about 191,300 small and medium-sized peasant households with up to 10 hectares ceased to exist.

*Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I.

A considerable part of the officials and office employees should be listed among the working class. True, their number includes also directors of concerns, etc., who in one way or another are owners of the means of production and, therefore, belong to the bourgeoisie. Still, among them are engineers, doctors, scientists and other intellectuals. And although most office employees are mental workers—people who sell their labor power to capitalists—they, for various reasons, are trusted by the bourgeoisie. That is why this group, while it has common interests with the working class, is distinguished from the latter by specific qualities. Automation under capitalism, which calls only for semi-skilled workers, does not remove these distinctions.

Spokesmen for the capitalists claim that the growth in the number of clerical workers is a sign of deproletarianization. In reality the reasons for this growth are: *First*, under present-day capitalism the numbers employed in the non-production branches and in the machinery of state grow faster than the numbers directly engaged in production. *Second*, in connection with mechanization and automation many workers in West Germany, and at times the entire personnel of enterprises, are deliberately classified as office workers although their social status remains unchanged. The only thing that changes is the form of the remuneration, and some questions pertaining to labor legislation are handled differently. *Third*, in some enterprises the number of technicians and engineers likewise listed as office workers has grown. At the same time considerable changes have taken place in the social status of the office workers not rated as intellectuals. Because of the mechanization and automation of administrative jobs the functions of growing numbers of office workers are limited to tending the machines, which signifies a very big change in the nature of their labor. Also significant is the fact that nowadays, in contrast to the past, the average salary of the majority of office employees is lower than the average wage of the worker.

It follows, then, that:

a) the growth in the numbers of office employees is by no means an expression of deproletarianization; on the contrary, the old-time distinction between the workers employed directly in production and the majority of the clerical workers is being steadily eliminated;

b) because of their social status the majority of clerical workers should be regarded as part of the working class.

It should be borne in mind also that the category designated in bourgeois statistics as "office employees" includes groups which instead of being

listed in the working class should be described as belonging to the intelligentsia.

The Monopolies Weaken the Proletariat by Dividing It

The labor aristocracy is that part of the working class which, because of corruption, is especially dependent on the imperialist bourgeoisie. The result is a division in the ranks of the proletariat and the emergence of the social base of opportunism. In the past this was achieved mainly through higher wages and other benefits from the monopoly profits to certain categories of workers. In recent decades and particularly in the postwar years other forms of corruption appeared in West Germany:

First, many forms of direct material dependence are practised, such as profit-sharing schemes, bonuses (for "good behavior," for example), pension schemes, factory houses, etc.

Second, a highly differential system of wages has been established. Different rates are fixed for one and the same job. Even the bonuses are differentiated. At the Siemens-Halske plants, for example, the system of "sharing in success" has been introduced. Bonuses range from DM 5 to 600. Workers with a service record of over 10 years qualify for bonuses 20 times greater than those paid to workers with a record of less than three years.

Third, many of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade unions have been bought over. Appointed to boards of directors and as production managers of concerns, etc., many of them have become so closely associated with monopoly capital that they are totally incapable of pursuing a working-class policy independent of the monopolies. In any case some of them can no longer be regarded as members of the *aristocracy of labor* but as members of the *capitalist class*. The trade union leadership headed by men of this type is bound hand and foot, through the enterprises run by the unions, to the capitalist economy. The unions run not only marketing co-operatives but also such enterprises as the "communal banks" (Banken fuer die Gemeinwirtschaft) with a balance sheet of over DM 2,500 million, the Alter Volksfuersorge insurance company, etc. These establishments supply capitalist enterprises with credits. Consequently, their success and their very existence depend in large measure on the development of the capitalist economy.

These multifarious methods engender an entire system of specific economic dependence of a sizeable part of the working class on the monopolies; they create artificial barriers between the various groups of the proletariat, thus weakening its militancy and its power.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

From Different Standpoints to a Common View

(Scientific Conference on the Problems and Development of Economically Backward Regions held in Naples, September 26-28, 1960)

THIS conference was not one of those only too frequent international meetings at which everything under the sun is discussed without the desired results being achieved. In Naples the talks were conducted on a concrete theme and in a business-like way. And although in the main attention was naturally focussed on the underdeveloped regions of Southern Italy, the general aspects of the problem of backward regions also came in for careful examination. Another feature was the representative nature of the conference. Prominent economists, both Marxist and non-Marxist, from the socialist and capitalist countries: the Soviet Union, Italy, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Belgium, Britain, Rumania, Hungary and Switzerland, gathered in Naples. Anti-Marxism and anti-communism were left outside the door, while a number of non-Marxist economists recognized the overriding importance of Marxist ideas. That was the third and, possibly, most considerable achievement of the conference which on the whole coped with its task of ascertaining how best to solve what was "a singular and most important problem facing economic science" (to use the expression of Giuseppe Palomba, Catholic, professor of the University of Naples).

The problem of the backward regions — engendered by the monopolies' pursuit of superprofits in the course of which backward countries and underdeveloped regions in the imperialist countries are reduced to the level of semi-colonies and used as sources of cheap labor and raw materials — mirrors the profound antagonisms obtaining in capitalist society. United Nations figures show that *entire countries* are in a state of extreme backwardness. According to these data some two-thirds of the population in the capitalist world subsist on one-eleventh of the per capita income of the remaining one-third. A similar situation obtains in the backward regions. Thus, in the South of Italy wages, even in the big enterprises, are 35 per cent lower than those in the North, while the per capita income of an inhabitant of the South is less than half of that in the North. Three out of 90 Departments in France account for 35 per cent of the national income; and 22 Departments north of the

Saint Malo-Marseille line account for 62 per cent of the industrial enterprises and 63 per cent of the labor force.

These contradictions have prompted many experts in the West to relinquish some of the economic fetishes which in the capitalist countries are still surrounded by an aureole. They subject to trenchant criticism the idea that the capitalist system of "free competition" is superior to any other, as well as the policy pursued by the bourgeois governments which pay no heed to the problems of the backward regions. Some non-Marxist specialists have arrived at conclusions which have much in common with the standpoint of the Marxists.

This was clearly felt in the main report delivered by the Italian economist Professor Palo Sylos Labini of the University of Catania. Examining the diametrically opposed patterns of economic development in the capitalist countries (domination of private enterprise, industrialization with priority development for light industry) and in the socialist countries (planned economy, priority development of heavy industry followed by increasing output of mass consumer goods), the professor noted that the first pattern gives rise to big disproportions between the branches of the economy and the regions in one and the same country. In capitalist countries with a considerable agriculture, the rapid growth of industrial concentration often takes place alongside economic deconcentration and splitting up of farms. The speaker and most of the others who took the floor arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the uneven economic development often takes noxious forms, while the disproportions tend to become chronic.

The speakers showed how the economic integration of capitalist countries with different economic structures tends to make the wealthier nations still richer, with the result that the gap between poor and rich countries is becoming wider. A striking example is the situation brought into being by the European Common Market and similar associations whose measures so far have merely succeeded in aggravating the antagonisms.

The Naples meeting was almost unanimous in recognizing certain basic principles: 1. Partial

measures which do not envisage industrialization cannot overcome the backwardness of separate regions; 2. The problem of the backward regions is a profoundly social, as well as an economic one and calls for a comprehensive economic policy; 3. State capital investments are essential not only for public works and expansion of branches of the economy of secondary importance, but, and chiefly, for industrialization; 4. In the socialist countries solution of this problem has been facilitated by the economic policy and the planning of capital investments and production conducted by society and by the state, which is the expression of this society.

Soviet, Polish, Rumanian, Czechoslovak and Hungarian economists, among whom were heads of central planning bodies and research institutes, told the conference of the results achieved in the socialist countries. Thus in his report Professor Bolgov, and A. M. Rumyantsev, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, in the debate on Professor Sylos Labini's report, showed that industrialization is the decisive factor in overcoming the backwardness of underdeveloped regions or countries. They made it clear that had the Soviet Union not built up a heavy industry and ensured it a higher rate of expansion than the other branches, it could not have upheld its independence or developed light industry and agriculture in the required measure, for it would not have been in a position to supply the necessary machines. The Soviet scientists were supported among others by Professor Maurice Dobb of Cambridge University, and by Sylos Labini in his concluding speech.

Of course, countries which embarked on socialist construction after the USSR had completed industrialization, can, with Soviet aid, overcome much more easily the disproportions between the regions and ensure a more rational balance between the various branches. The basic principle of expansion, however, holds good — only if power is transferred to the working class and the people as a whole, if the production relations are radically changed and structural changes effected, can the conditions be created for the real solution of complex economic problems, including that of the backward regions. Differences in historical and economic conditions call, it goes without saying, for different economic measures in the particular countries. This is especially true now that there is a socialist world system with a division of labor between the member-countries.

Emphasizing the numerous and incontestable advantages of general co-ordinated planning, economists from the socialist countries also told the conference about the measures taken by certain countries to avoid excessive "public spending" on

industrialization, and ensuring full employment, and to prevent discrepancies in living standards between the various groups of the population. They showed that the growth of investments in socialist society — especially because it is accompanied by the rapid growth of employment — cannot and does not reduce consumption; on the contrary, it makes for its growth.

In his report Professor Djamalov (USSR) stated that all work is now 95 per cent mechanized in Soviet Central Asia, whereas a bare 30 years ago there was no mechanization at all. Average rates of growth of state investments in the industry of Central Asia have always been higher than the average for the Soviet Union as a whole. Industrial production in Turkmenia increased 20-fold (heavy industry 33-fold); in Tajikistan 31 times (heavy industry 1,157-fold); in Kirghizia 50-fold (heavy industry 868 times).

In the 12 years of people's rule there have been built in Slovakia, which was a backward, agrarian area under the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic, 212 plants and 16 hydro-electric power stations, while 72 per cent of the gainfully employed population now work in industry and transport.

Public education is developing rapidly and living standards are rising in the formerly backward regions of the socialist countries. Thus in Uzbekistan, there are double the number of specialists with a higher education per 10,000 of the population than in France, and 28 times as many as in Iran. Slovakia in 1946 had 3,000 students as against 24,000 today.

Compared with the measures taken in other countries, the socialist way of developing backward regions has proved to be superior. And when speakers pointed to the need for industrialization, a higher material and cultural level for the working people and state planning, they, consciously or not, based themselves upon the experience of the socialist countries.

This contributed in no small measure to the Naples conference almost automatically rejecting the two ways of developing backward regions still advocated by some (although in point of fact they cannot even be called ways, for both lead to the same blind alley). These are "regulated" capitalism and reform, neither of which restricts monopoly domination, nor does their implementation enjoy mass support. The speeches, moreover, showed deep mistrust of the potentialities of the capitalist system and in some instances even took the form of highly pessimistic assessments of the perspective under capitalism of the democratic struggle waged by the progressive forces. Conference participants, both Marxist and non-Marxist, sharply criticized the half-measures of the Western governments. Typical in this respect was the speech by a Sicilian professor who with typical

southern fervor branded the policy of monopolies and governments which condemn entire regions to poverty.

This professor, like most Italians, is indignant over the Christian Democratic government's policy vis-à-vis the South, a policy conducted through a special South Fund founded in 1950 under mass pressure for the express purpose of carrying out "emergency" (actually clearly insufficient) measures to abolish, over a period of ten years, the backwardness of the South. The government plan, as Professor Alessandro Molinari justly emphasized, applies to some branches only and at one time even resulted in smaller state investments in industry in the South. These measures, confined in the main to public works of relatively secondary importance such as road construction, land reclamation in mountainous areas, etc., provide for no real industrialization as such. Although there is some expansion in production in the South, the latter continues to remain a poorly developed region and lags behind the industrial North more than ever. In 1951 the per capita income in the South was 51 per cent of that in the central and northern regions of the country, and now it has fallen to below 45 per cent.

It was, apparently, to cover up the failure of its policy of the past ten years that the Christian Democratic Party held a conference in Bari on the problems of the South. It can hardly be mere coincidence that the conference took place just one month after the Naples meeting and at the height of the campaigning for the local elections in November. It failed to outline constructive measures. At the same time, through its press and election leaflets, the Christian Democratic Party proclaimed that it intended "to accelerate the economic development of the South." These assurances are demagogic, if only because not a word about the South was mentioned in this party's election program adopted a few weeks before. This was only to be expected, for the monopolies in the North, whom the Christian Democrats do their best to

please, are opposed to the industrialization of the South.

The verdict pronounced by the electors was also to be expected. The belated Christian Democrat kowtowing to the people in the North and the South did not help them. This party lost about a million votes in the elections, while the Communist vote went up by more than 100,000.

In his closing speech Sylos Labini noted that one of the prerequisites for the solution of the backward regions problem was "an analysis of the political and social forces pressing for, or in favor of, state planning and a study of the role played by these forces."

These words show that the Naples meeting outlined the only way possible under capitalism — the way of deep-going economic and political transformations (structural reforms) and mass struggle. To take this path means taking the first step towards a radical and final solution of the problem under discussion. Italian specialists, Professor Sereni, parliamentary deputy Napolitano, Spesso, Barca and Vitello, pointed out that these changes should promote rapid industrial expansion based on large-scale state investments, should raise wages and improve living standards not only in the towns, but also in the countryside and in the backward regions generally.

This economic policy should take cognizance of the role of the working class and all other working people in society. As Giorgio Napolitano underlined, "the struggle for higher living standards and more employment cannot be considered apart from the struggle for far-reaching social and economic transformations, a bold industrialization policy and agricultural reform." Independent actions by the working class and other social forces who want to see the existing imbalance removed have been the main factor in stimulating government investments in building new industrial centers. This shows that mass struggle can surmount the obstacles placed by capitalism in the way of the proportionate development of the economy.

Enrico VERCELLINO.

Reviews

Involuntary Admissions and Vain Hopes

(Apropos of E. Boettner's "Soviet Economic Policy at the Crossroads")

EVER since the October revolution in Russia a feature of official bourgeois literature on the "Soviets" has been the denial of any achievements of socialism. Until fairly recently the book market in the capitalist countries had been inundated with tracts which, as a rule, ended with predictions about the imminent collapse of the socialist system.

With the passage of time, however, it became clear that a flat denial of Soviet economic successes no longer washed. The striking advance in economy, science, technology and culture, manifested in the Sputniks, space rockets and space-ships, demonstrated the superiority of socialism. The political leaders of the capitalist world, who provide the orders for this anti-Soviet literature, became victims of their own propaganda. When this painful hangover passed away, some of the bourgeois ideologists, conscious of the bankruptcy of the traditional anti-communism, began to look for new and more flexible ways and means of refuting socialism and defending capitalism. The aim, of course, is the same — to sow doubt in the soundness of the road taken by the people in the socialist countries.

The tone of the anti-Soviet propaganda has changed somewhat. Bourgeois economic literature on the USSR is compelled to recognize the vitality and the potentialities of the socialist system. But the involuntary admission is designed to buttress the thesis — and here we get the essence of the modern bourgeois critique of socialism — that the Soviet economic system is advancing because it . . . is copying capitalism, developing along capitalist lines and using capitalist methods of economic management.

This tone, in our view, is echoed in *Soviet Economic Policy at the Crossroads**, a book by E. Boettner, which recently appeared in West Germany.

As early as 1955 the prominent West German economist Hofman noted, not without concern, in his *Whither the Soviet Economy?* that the turn in economic policy effected by the Soviets had bewildered the Western experts. And in 1959 Boettner wrote: "When studying the economic policy of the Soviet Union we come to the terrifying con-

clusion that the totalitarian dictatorship is fully coping with the social problems confronting it." Boettner added that he "deliberately stresses this thesis as the underlying idea of his book not for the purpose of being conciliatory in relation to dictatorship but rather for the purpose of looking the truth in the face, though this truth may be unpleasant to the opponents of the dictatorship."

And true enough, much of what Boettner says will not be to the liking of the "opponents of dictatorship," for it contradicts, and in quite a big way, the nonsense written by bourgeois propagandists about the Soviet economy. When after forty years of slander a book appears by a bourgeois author who, on the basis of Soviet statistics (the objective value of which is no longer doubted), acknowledges the achievements of Soviet industry and agriculture, recognizes the merits of socialist planning and the rational ideas of the "new course," and points to the Soviet educational system as an example for the West, is it not clear that this signifies a serious defeat for bourgeois ideology, a sign of the deep-going crisis of the old, traditional methods of struggle against communism?

But that is not all. In the battle of ideas between the two ideologies the most telling defeat of those who predicted the inevitable bankruptcy of socialism is linked with candid recognition of the stability of the socialist system, the political unity of Soviet society. Two theories have long been current in bourgeois literature, expressing the hopes of bourgeois ideologists for the collapse of socialism under the pressure of the growing contradictions in socialist society. One claims that under socialism there are contradictions between the working people, i.e., the industrial working class and the peasantry, and the "élite," implying the intelligentsia. The other says that capitalism can be restored as a result of anti-socialist sentiment on the part of the intelligentsia who, at heart, dream of private property and the "ideals of the free world." Boettner stresses the utter fallacy of both theories. He admits that the development of social relations in the Soviet Union "disproves the thesis that the technical intelligentsia will in time become the 'grave-digger of the political regime'. . . ." (p. 107). The political regime in the Soviet Union, he writes, is not threatened by "internal dangers." On the contrary, po-

*E. Boettner, *Die sowjetische Wirtschaftspolitik am Scheidewege*. Tuebingen, 1959.

litical workers and technical specialists enhance its vitality (*Ibid.*).

The author categorically rejects the thesis, current in bourgeois propaganda, that the socialist economy rests exclusively upon compulsion, coercion of the working people (pp. 65-74).

These statements and admissions by a bourgeois author are important and symptomatic. The reasons for them should be sought first of all in the brilliant and evident achievements of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union, which has entered upon a new stage — the stage of the all-out building of communism.

How do the bourgeois ideologists link the recognition of socialist achievements with their anti-communism, how do they explain them and what do they prescribe as an "antidote" to communism? Acquaintance with Boettner's book brings out an interesting point. The author is preoccupied not so much with an objective study of the laws and specific features of the Soviet socio-economic organism as with a persistent search for "sound" tendencies in modern capitalism. Hence the source of his "discovery" which on the one hand enables him "boldly" to oppose the bourgeois publicists and on the other to please his masters by writing a defense of capitalism. While recognizing the economic successes of the Soviet Union Boettner parrots the hackneyed thesis that the socialist methods of running the economy are applicable only in underdeveloped countries. He ignores the fact that the one-time backward Russia could quickly overcome its backwardness and, within a quarter of a century, take the lead in Europe for volume of industrial output only thanks to the socialist reconstruction. During this period the Soviet country, despite the Hitler invasion, has increased its output many times and is now catching up with the United States. It should be remembered, moreover, that Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, already highly industrialized, greatly increased their rates of growth after taking the socialist road and are now developing their economies two or three times faster than the capitalist world as a whole. All this makes nonsense of the claims that socialist methods are effective only in backward countries. On the contrary, the more developed the economy the better it demonstrates the advantages of socialism.

Even more absurd is another Boettner assertion about the Soviet economy. It is now clear that the USSR is a highly developed industrial country in which new economic successes are the order of the day. To explain these and at the same time blacken socialism Boettner argues that the Soviet state employs . . . capitalist methods of management which, allegedly, enable it to advance rapidly. Everything real and effective in the develop-

ment of the economy and the "social structure in the Soviet Union," writes Boettner, "is simply a belated repetition of the things already achieved under capitalism" (p. 291). This theory is just what the political leaders of the capitalist world want. Nixon, for instance, loses no opportunity to say that the successes of the Soviet Union are possible only because it has copied the methods of the "free world."

In what do the Boettners and Nixons see the "copying" of these methods? They see them, apparently, in the measures taken by the Soviet Government in recent years. The change in the methods of planning, the elimination of excessive centralization in industrial management, the setting up of the economic councils, the sale to the collective farms of the machinery owned by the machine and tractor stations, the added material incentive and other steps are seen by the enemies of socialism as evolution towards capitalist principles, as attempts to "combine competition with planning." Boettner tends to regard these measures as the first step in the direction of a repudiation of socialism. This, he hopes, "may bring with it other far-reaching reforms with the result that the entire picture of the Soviet economy and society may undergo a radical change" (p. 201). This is a case of the hungry hen dreaming about millet. For only the blind or, to be more precise, people blinded by class hatred can fail to see that the economic measures taken by the Soviet government are simply designed further to develop socialist economic principles and to strengthening the socialist relations of production.

Take, for example, socialist planning, the changes in which are for Boettner evolution in the direction of capitalism. True, planning develops in keeping with the requirements of the rapidly growing national economy. But it has always been based on public ownership of the means of production and on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The economic councils, the enterprises and collective farms have now more powers in matters of planning. But does this give ground for talking about restoration of capitalist principles? Is the fundamental principle of socialism — public ownership of the means of production — violated? Can it give rise to competition? Insofar as the form of ownership of the means of production remains inviolable centralized planning cannot but remain; price policy and the sale of products are based on the state plan. The strengthening of the role played by the local bodies gives free rein to labor initiative and activity of the masses which makes the Soviet economic system more flexible and effective.

Or take another example — the measures carried out in agriculture, first the sale of machinery to the collective farms. The Boettners are ready

to see in this a return to the joint-stock company. Yet the plain fact is that these measures have only strengthened the publicly-owned property of the collective farms, with emphasis on their *non-distributable* funds which, by their content, are acquiring features of state property, the property of the whole people. This, clearly, greatly facilitates raising all collective-farm co-operative property to the level of state property. Hence, the measures taken by the Communist Party are aimed at results that are the opposite of those on which Boettner and those who think like him calculated; it would be much truer to say that these measures accelerate the transition to communism.

To reassure the reader who is bound to be non-plussed by the claim that the Soviet economy is simply going through the stages already traversed by capitalism, Boettner decides to stake his all. We, he writes, advance the thesis of a radical change in the form and substance of Marxism in the Soviet Union, and we shall try to prove it. This is truly a Herostratian task.

Practice and actual development in the Soviet Union, Boettner claims, have parted company with the aims of Marxism. What boldness, what a flight of fantasy! It appears that the basic task of the socialist revolution, as laid down by Marx and Lenin — abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, abolition of exploiting classes and of the exploitation of man by man, and the construction of communism — is not being carried out.

The difference between socialism and capitalism, we discover, is not that the latter rests on private ownership and is characterized by antagonistic social contradictions, whereas the former introduces public ownership of the means of production, and therefore, knows no exploitation, crises or unemployment, and guarantees genuine democratic freedoms to all. No, according to Boettner, the difference is that socialism means "totalitarian dictatorship."

As we see, anxious for the limelight, Boettner, the man bold enough to come out against the non-objective portrayal of Soviet reality by official bourgeois literature, ends by saying the same thing. For capitalist propaganda has always levelled the charge of "totalitarian dictatorship"

against the Soviet state. We shall not recall the facts about socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. We shall ask Boettner just one question: does he really hope to convince others that the socialist state or his "totalitarian dictatorship" based, as he admits himself, on the free access of all citizens to the levers of political and economic administration, is less democratic than capitalism under which all posts are "freely" sold and bought, that is, are in the hands of those who run monopolies?

Boettner's idea of meeting the socialist challenge is a sarcastic one, indeed. In order "to retain its superior strength" the West, he suggests, should "restrict freedoms in the democratic states" (!). The economic weakness of the capitalist world is explained by him not by the rottenness of its system but by . . . its democratic institutions. He sees the way out in abolishing democracy and installing the neo-fascist dictatorship of monopoly capital.

This statement demonstrates once again the correctness of the Marxist tenet that the decline of capitalism as a socio-economic formation engenders among the ruling classes the desire to halt social progress by restricting democratic freedoms, by reaction all along the line, whereas the development of the communist formation is accompanied by the blossoming of a genuinely humanist socialist democracy. Thus, "the single theoretical concept" contained in the book is simply a hotch-potch of nonsense and sophisms.

In military terminology we can say that the bourgeoisie, incapable of holding the front against the general offensive of the forces of socialism, is beginning to maneuver and to employ new weapons. One of these maneuvers on the ideological front is the attempt to depict the victories of socialism as a sign of a turn towards capitalism. In this way the bourgeois ideologists try to comfort themselves and others with the "vitality" of capitalism in its competition with socialism. But the downright absurdity of this "new" concept clearly shows the predicament of the apologists for capitalism, reveals their inability to offer any arguments to the triumphant march of socialism and socialist ideology.

V. DROBYSHEV, B. KOROLYOV.

Professor Hook's Anti-Communist Magic Potion

ANTI-COMMUNISM, like the armaments racket, is one of the bigger money-making businesses in the United States.

True, like American business in general, it has its ups and downs, its crises and its booms.

During the Second World War, for instance, when military-political considerations forced the United States government to join the anti-fascist coalition against the Axis powers, the market for anti-communist literature was in the doldrums.

Then, when the Pentagon launched the cold war, this market, like the armaments market, began to show signs of recovery. Like wasps buzzing around a jam pot, men like McCarthy, FBI chief Hoover and a host of lesser lights, cashing in on the boom, began to churn out tract after tract all lavishly advertised as sensational exposures of communism and the Communists. In this turbid stream of shrill, shrieking literature, a literature of deadly fear, not the last place is occupied by the book *Political Power and Personal Freedom**, by Professor Sidney Hook of New York University.

A more appropriate title for this ponderous tome of nearly 500 pages would be *The Gospel of Anti-Communism*, as expounded by Professor Sidney Hook. Unlike his fellow gospeller Billy Graham, Hook brings to his trade erudition and academic honors. He functions as Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University, President of the American Philosophical Association (Eastern Division), author, Voice of America broadcaster, socialist (self-styled) and, doubtlessly, ideological consultant to the cold war councils and agencies.

Hook's book, a collection of thirty-four essays written at different times throughout the cold war, touches on practically all the vital issues of the times. We find in it "Studies in Democracy," "Studies in Communism," "Problems of Security and Freedom" and, lastly, "Socialism, Freedom and Survival." There are, in addition, four appendices, consisting of reply and counter-reply to the English philosopher Bertrand Russell who is chided by Hook for his advocacy of peaceful coexistence. As we see, the list of subjects handled by the Professor is a pretty ambitious one.

Although the blurb tells us that the essays have been "integrated and partly revised for continuity and timeliness," the passing of the years has been most unkind to the Professor's airy generalizations.

The Hook theme is simplicity itself — communism is the incarnation of all evil, the Communists are guilty of all the deadly sins, whereas the "free world" in general and the United States in particular are almost without blemish.

Hook's message is addressed primarily to intellectuals and especially to those forward-looking people in the United States who, to their credit, defied the McCarthy inquisitors and who belong to one or another of the organizations working for peace. These people, and they are many in the United States, who refuse to be converted to Hook's anti-communist gospel, are anathematized by the crusading Professor as "ritualistic liberals."

The essence of the chapter devoted to what our Grand Inquisitor terms the "fallacies" of this

"ritualistic liberalism" is that no schoolteacher or university lecturer belonging to the American Communist Party should be allowed to practise his or her profession in any educational establishment in the United States. He or she could slave, say, on the cotton fields of a Southern planter, but teach in a university, no. And should the colleagues of the Communist hold a campus meeting to protest against his victimization, Hook would fulminate against them as "dupes" of Moscow.

Sometimes he speaks a language identical with that used in his day by Goebbels. Who, for example, will fail to recognize the Goebbelsian overtones in the sentence on page 203: "All members of the Communist Party are carefully classified in terms of their vocational activity and social connections, and their records transmitted to Moscow." Or in the statement repeated on page after page that "each" of the 36 million members of the 86 Communist parties throughout the world is "a spy," a "conspirator working for Moscow."

Having "exposed" the practice of communism through the medium of the Goebbels' archives, our Professor turns to theory. It would be unfair to say that Hook hasn't read Marx. He has, and he even uses scraps from his writings, torn, you may be sure, out of context. He writes off Marxism "as a philosophically primitive system" and turns Marx into a respectable Victorian liberal. That Marx was above all a revolutionary, a man who throughout his lifetime worked to "change the world," on this Hook is silent. He does not scruple to falsify Marx and, after doing so, says that the contemporary Communists, especially the Russian Communists, have abandoned Marx.

Hook is angry because American Communists, along with being active in the trade unions, belong to peace committees and other bodies which, with his flair for jargon, he calls "communist front organizations."

Curiously enough the one instance of Hook's "proof" of the "conspiracy" of the American Communists is a paragraph culled from their newspaper the *Daily Worker* for July 16, 1944. The particular item is a guide to the Party members on organizing local issues. How an item published in a daily newspaper for all to read can be classified as conspiracy is strange, to say the least. Clearly, in this case, the Professor's anti-communist valor has run away with his discretion.

* * *

In Hook's book the truth, in Hamlet's words, "is more honored in the breach than in the observance." This is the case particularly with the pages on which the philosopher rants about the way of life in the Soviet Union. For the purpose of imparting a semblance of objectivity to his gospel, Hook plays with the inroads on democracy which took

*Sidney Hook, *Political Power and Personal Freedom*, Criterion Books Inc., New York, 462 pp.

place during the years of the personality cult. But, so "objective" is our investigator that he "omits" the all-important fact that these things were openly condemned and rooted out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that striking examples of genuine democracy are a daily feature of Soviet life.

In the whole of the book there is only one reference to the gains of the October Revolution. It reads: "It is indisputable that the Soviet regime has great accomplishments to its credit." But even this grudging admission is cancelled out by insinuations which doubt any merit at all in the Soviet system. Even such an avowed enemy of communism as Winston Churchill could bring himself to say the Soviet army had torn the guts out of the Hitler war machine and saved Europe from nazism, but not Professor Hook — he would sooner jump from the top of the Empire State Building than utter even a faint cheer for his communist enemy.

Of the many unforgivable sins which Hook attributes to the Communists, none is repeated quite so often as the "kidnapping" of words such as "democracy," "peace," "freedom," etc. These words, apparently, have citizenship solely in the "free world" and, it follows, are denied citizenship in the socialist world. Hook achieves this result by an exercise in semantics.

The truth, we fear, would confront the Professor with a dilemma. Were he to speak frankly and openly he would qualify his democracy in the United States as bourgeois or capitalist democracy, i.e., class democracy. This "democracy" or "free culture" presupposes capitalists and non-capitalists, presupposes wage slavery and exploitation of man by man. But these nasty things do not exist in Hook's transatlantic Arcadia. It may be that our Professor, sheltered behind the wall of the New York University from the storms that rage around Manhattan Island, is ignorant of the facts of life. If so we will remind him of one instance, a typical one, which rudely shatters the idyllic picture of America painted on the pages of his book.

The General Electric Company, as Mr. Hook knows, is one of the biggest monopolies in the United States; in its 166 plants this giant octopus employs 240,000 workers. On October 2 in reply to the demands submitted by the International Union of Electrical Workers, the Company made its offer in the shape of an ultimatum — either accept our conditions or . . . we close the plants for a whole year if necessary. The Union, naturally, since the offer fell far short of the demands, rejected the ultimatum, and so the plants were closed. General Electric then made it clear that, with the exception of one department, it wanted no government mediation in the matter. The de-

partment in question was the police department because the police would be needed to protect the strikebreakers — in other words, an alliance of General Electric and the police against the workers. On October 22, after three weeks' struggle, the workers, weakened by the treachery of one of their leaders, were forced to accept General Electric's ultimatum. And the millions of American workers know that what General Electric did yesterday, General Motors and the other corporations will try to do tomorrow.

There is, then, a world of difference between the gospel of democracy and personal freedom as preached by Hook and the grim reality experienced by the General Electric workers on the picket lines outside the plant in Schenectady. They were free to vote for either Kennedy or Nixon, but had no freedom to decide the level of their pay envelopes. In matters of bread and butter they had no vote. The will and the desires of a quarter of a million workers are nothing — the will of the tycoons who run the big monopoly is all powerful — such is the real nature of bourgeois equality and freedom. The diktat of the General Electric bosses showed where political power rests and again demonstrated how restricted is the personal freedom of the workers.

A rather apt commentary on personal freedom in the United States was made at the recent Scarborough Conference of the British Labor Party. One of the delegates, Mr. Pitt, had the hall rocking with laughter as he described how he had seen Mr. Nixon, like a good politician, shaking hands with Africans during the Ghana independence celebrations. "Mr. Nixon," the delegate said, "approached an African and asked: 'Well, how does it feel to be free?' The man replied: 'I do not know anything about freedom. I come from Alabama'."

While most people know about the absence of rights for the eighteen million fellow Negroes of the man from Alabama, it is not so widely known that many people in the United States are unable to enjoy "personal freedom" even in the graveyard. This was the case, as reported in the press, with the American Indian, George Vincent Nash, member of the United Automobile Workers, who died on August 7. Nash was denied burial in a Detroit cemetery because he was Indian. The body had been lowered and the grave was being filled in when officials intervened and ordered the coffin to be removed. Newspapermen who queried this act of racism were told by a cemetery official that the Supreme Court of the United States had upheld the legality of the arrangement. "Even in death," said Emil Mazey, one of the leaders of the United Auto Workers, "there is no refuge from the lash of bigotry."

Why is it, we are entitled to ask, that Mr. Hook, who appears to be a man in search of a cause,

and who finds nothing whatever right in the socialist world, has so little to say about the wrongs right on his own doorstep?

Our Professor makes great play with what he describes as the "institutionalization of the principle of freely given consent." This institution, according to Hook, gives every adult American the right to vote at election time for the Republican or Democrat of his choice. But what is the real worth of this "consent"? Let us turn, for example, to the recent Presidential election.

The first thing that strikes the eye is that no working-class party participated in the campaign. The millions of worker voters were restricted in their choice to one of the two parties of the monopoly bourgeoisie. To obtain the "consent" of the electorate these parties spent, according to the *New York Times*, something like \$200,000,000. An example of the ethics of the campaign was provided by Lodge, the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency. In a speech in Harlem, New York, where Negro voters number close to a million, Lodge "pledged" that in the event of a Republican victory, a Negro would be brought into the Nixon Cabinet. Next day, speaking in an anti-Negro reactionary stronghold in the South, the same Lodge, repudiating his Harlem pledge, fell back on the excuse that he had been wrongly reported.

Nixon for his part assailed his Democratic opponent with such epithets as saboteur, unpatriotic, etc. Bent on getting his "room at the top" in the White House, he did not scruple to assassinate the character of Kennedy. Nor did Kennedy restrict himself in the choice of epithets, although, to be fair, he did not sink quite so low as his opponent. And the "free" American press, enjoying this unedifying spectacle, far from doing anything to raise the ethics of the campaign, evaded the real issues and concentrated on the trivial. Readers discovered that "Mrs. Kennedy pays more for her clothes than Mrs. Nixon," and "Mr. Nixon powders his nose and paints his face before going on TV." For one reason or another, the campaign clowning appears to have disgusted the public so much that on election day, November 8, about 40 million of the 107 eligible voters withheld their "consent."

* * *

Parroting the old means and ends slander, Hook declares that communism knows no ethics. For the Communists, says Hook, all means, and the fouler the better, are justified. What are the facts?

Myriads of examples show that Communist morals are of the highest, and that the enemies of communism are utterly unscrupulous in their political activities.

Let us turn to one of the most momentous events in modern history — the Munich agreement of 1938 which abandoned Czechoslovakia to the fascist

wolves and which precipitated the Second World War. This agreement, perhaps the most shameful in the history of diplomacy, is the classical example of means and ends. The means — appease Hitler by presenting him with Czechoslovakia, regardless of the fate of the 14 million Czechs and Slovaks, and the end—turn Hitler eastward against the Soviet Union, then the only socialist country. The signatures on the Munich agreement are, alongside Hitler's and Mussolini's, those of the "free world" politicians, Chamberlain and Daladier. There is no communist signature on this perfidious document.

What were the means and what the end of the Communists at the time of Munich? On September 23, 1938, addressing the Political Committee of the League of Nations apropos of Czechoslovakia, Litvinov, the Soviet delegate, uttered the proud words: "I (am) the representative of a Government with a clear conscience and clean hands in the sphere of fulfilment of international obligations."* In Paris, the Communist Gabriel Peri, foreign editor of *Humanite*, shot by the Gestapo in December 1941, spoke the prophetic words: "The blackguards (the men of Munich) are leading the country to a catastrophe"***; in London the Communist leader Palme Dutt, speaking in September 1938, warned: "If Chamberlain's policy . . . goes through, then fascism, enormously strengthened in Europe, will at last be able to turn upon the democracies, and the British people will then have to fight all the same, but under immeasurably worse conditions."*** In Prague, the Communist leader Gottwald, on behalf of his Party, declared that the Communist Party and the people were ready to go into action against fascism, but they were deprived of the opportunity.

As everybody knows, the State Department's hands are not spotless with regard to Munich.

Or take the case of Cuba today. When the bloody dictator Batista, the State Department's man in Havana, filled his torture chambers with freedom fighters, this was regarded as normal. But when the Cuban people overthrew the tyranny, the United States Government in 1960, forgetful of their country's noble war of independence against the colonial yoke, reacted in much the same way as the English King George the Third did to the American revolution in the 1760's.

What about the U-2 incident, when the President of the United States made in the space of a few hours utterly contradictory statements. That, surely, shows the level of the ethics of the top echelons of bourgeois society. Or another example — the West German bishop Dibelius — who preaches

*New Documents on Munich. Orbis, Prague, 1958, p. 115.

**See Andrew Rothstein's *The Munich Conspiracy*, p. 303.

***Ibid., p. 304.

that the use of the H-bomb is justified because if it kills a million people they will get to Paradise all the quicker. What are we to expect next?

As to the Communists, they demonstrated their devotion to freedom and humanism in Tsarist dungeons, in Gestapo torture-chambers and during the Resistance to nazism. They are displaying these features today by their selfless struggle for peace and disarmament, against colonialism, against reaction and oppression, for genuine freedom for all. Such are the facts, and we challenge the Hooks to deny them.

* * *

Hook not only belabors the Communists, he also scolds his fellow anti-communists, but, of course, for different reasons; the fault of the latter is the inept way, in his view, in which they have handled the Communists. He complains (p. 106) that at every major conference the innocent "Western statesmen have been had" by the clever Communists. If only the Western statesmen had had the common sense to take the clever Sidney Hook with them to the conference table they would not "have been had"! The Pentagon, he laments, missed the bus when the United States "failed to use its monopoly of atomic power" (p. 421).

Then, after mixing a magic potion, like the witches in Macbeth, he utters the admonition: "Beware of the communist slogan of peaceful co-existence," it "is a deception," a "Kremlin trap." And stirring up his brew, he continues, not coexistence but relentless "political warfare."

Hook is quite explicit about the direction of the main blow: "All efforts of political warfare must be ultimately directed to weakening the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." And, resurrecting the rhetoric of Dulles, he calls for the "most massive concentration of the weapons of propaganda and education" on this supreme task. Success here, he holds, would guarantee victory. The aim of the political warfare — "to keep the Soviet Union indefinitely in turmoil."

It is in this way that Hook, like thousands before him, hopes to see "the gradual transformation, within the ideological tradition of Marxism-Leninism, of the totalitarian system of communism . . . into a libertarian culture." But, as we see, the philosopher has no great faith in this gradualism, for he hastens to prescribe something more radical. The hysteria, becoming wilder and wilder as we near the end, at last bursts out into

a mock heroic cry to fight and die for freedom (read capitalism) even to the extent of using nuclear weapons.

In this respect Hook outdistances the men of Munich. Their slogan of the 1930's, Better Hitler than the Communists, wasn't quite so totalitarian as our Professor's gospel for the 1960's, Better Death than Communism.

But will Hook fare any better than Hitler and his Munich allies? Does he really think that Americans will respond to his trumpets of despair by descending from their skyscrapers to buy tranquilizers in the drugstore and bury themselves in underground shelters. We hardly think so. It is our belief that ultimately, on the issue of peace or war, the American people will favor the same policy advocated by the supporters of peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems.

A last word. Hook says, and here we agree with him, there is a great need to tell the American people the truth about life in the socialist world. To be fair to him, we should add that he implies by this an anti-truth pill for the American people which brings on visions of "enslavement" in the Soviet Union, People's China and in the other socialist countries, while for the people in the socialist countries he envisages a highly glamorized Hollywood film showing all the girls dancing the can-can, all the young men relaxing in Disney-land, the General Electric boss enjoying a 'Coke' with the workers on the assembly line in the Schenectady plant, and Mr. Lodge dining with a Negro plantation worker in the Deep South.

Yes, the communist challenge to peaceful competition presupposes also telling the truth about life in the two worlds. But, frankly, we are doubtful about Professor Hook's ability to take part, and not because of age or lack of skill, but because of his fanatical anti-communist obsession.

This obsession, making his book malicious as well as negative, prevents him from even attempting to explain why communism, as he puts it, has become the greatest mass movement of the day.

The imperialists, and their ideologists like Hook, trying desperately to stem the tide of the times, are going against the peoples. The Communists are marching in step with the peoples, and that is why, despite the spate of anti-communist books, their movement is growing and gathering strength all over the world.

JAMES P. MITCHELL.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

CONTENTS FOR 1960

(Nos. 1-12)

	No.	Page
D O C U M E N T S		
Communique on the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties	12	3
Communique on the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries	8	7
Lenin Documents	8	3
Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties	12	4
An Appeal to the Peoples of All the World	12	25

E D I T O R I A L S

The Communists Are Stepping Up the Struggle for Peace (from Statements Issued by the Communist Parties)	7	3
An Initiative of Epoch-Making Significance	2	3
Leninism Lives On and Is Triumphant	4	3
Meeting of the Editorial Council of Problems of Peace and Socialism	6	80
The Need of the Moment — Unity	2	6
On the Threshold of 1960	1	3
The People Demand: Curb the Aggressor and Ensure Lasting Peace	6	3

A R T I C L E S

H. AGOSTI—Ideological Problems in Argentina	6	36
D. AIDIT—For National Unity	2	21
A. AIKIA—The Crisis of Social Democracy in Finland and the Struggle for Working-Class Unity	11	51
M. ALICATA—Solidarity Between the Communist Parties	4	51
ALI YATA—The Moroccan Communist Party Will Fulfil Its Duty	6	24
E. ARAB-OGLY—1960 Is Africa Year	5	30
Y. ARBATOV—The Dialectics of Militarism	6	6
K. BACKSTROM—Swedish Social Democracy and Working-Class Unity	5	18
O. BAUMANN—Against Aggressive Monopolies	4	56

	No.	Page
E. BERLINGUER—Theses for the Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist Party	2	42
L. BOHR—Combining Principle and Flexibility	9	18
I. BUCK—New Conditions and New Perspectives	3	18
V. CHEPRAKOV—Uneven Economic Development of Capitalism	12	28
F. CLAUDIN—Unity—The Way to Victory	4	39
V. CODOVILLA—The Situation in Argentina and the Tactics of the Communist Party	2	27
K. DEL CAMPO—Lessons of the Revolution in Guatemala	6	30
E. DENNIS—On Peaceful Coexistence: A Critique of "A Western View"	4	19
J. DIENNE—The Peace Movement and the Struggle for Disarmament	9	3
J. DUCLOS—Lenin and the French Communist Party	4	14
R. P. DUTT—The Responsibility of the Working Class in the Struggle for Peace	11	11
M. ENNAFAA—Tunisia's Independence and Neo-Colonialism	10	11
L. FEIX—The French Communist Party and the War in Algeria	2	35
— L. FIGUIERES—Defend and Develop Democracy	4	53
P. FRIEDLANDER—German Neo-Colonialism in Action	2	49
F. FUERNBERG—Nationalization under Capitalism — Attitude of the Communists	7	25
T. GALINSKI—Culture in New Poland and Its Development	11	59
R. GARAUDY—The Struggle for Communism is the Way to End the "Alienation" of Man	10	18
V. GRISHIN—Soviet Trade Unions and Communist Construction	5	11
G. HALL—The Heartland of Imperialism Faces the Future	9	10
F. HAVLICEK—New Constitution of Czechoslovakia	8	24
J. HELLMAN—U.S. Farmers: Their Problems, Life and Struggle	6	40
N. INOZEMTSEV—U.S. Foreign Policy: Trends and Perspectives	7	10
N. IRIBADZHAKOV—The Bankruptcy of Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy	1	24
A. ISKENDEROV—A Continent in Ferment	1	42
— L. JUNTILA—For Unity of Action	1	37
V. KAIGL—The Economic Possibility of Disarmament	11	18
J. KANAPA—The Catholic Social Doctrine in the Service of Capitalism	3	36
E. KOLMAN—Modern Natural Science Confirms Lenin's Prevision	4	28
J. KOPLINIG—A Model of Peaceful Coexistence	8	17
I. KOTELES—The Church and Religion in the Hungarian People's Republic	10	31
H. KUUSINEN—Democratic Forces of Finland Struggle for Peaceful Coexistence	3	3

	No.	Page
O. KUUSINEN—Perspectives of Development of Modern Monopoly Capital	4	7
S. LAKOS—Problems Concerning the Party's Ties With the Masses in Hungary	3	9
LI CHONK OK—Socialist Industrialization in the Korean People's Democratic Republic	3	24
J. LINDSAY—Lenin and Humanism	7	33
E. LISTER—The Aggressive Triangle	9	26
L. LONGO—For a Democratic Regeneration of Italy, for Socialism	4	46
L. LONGO—A Big Success for the Anti-Fascist and Democratic Forces in Italy	9	16
A. NATTA—Italian Communists for a Democratic Reform of Education	12	35
I. NORLUND—The Communist Party and the National Interests	1	31
G. OBICHKIN—Lenin and the Party	5	23
A. OBRETENOV—The Wealth of Life — The Wealth of Art	10	25
P. PETERS—German Militarism and West-European Security	6	12
J. PLOJHAR—Successful and Fruitful Co-operation	12	41
N. POGODIN—A Playwright on Lenin	4	35
G. POKROVSKY—Modern Science and the Conquest of Space	10	38
M. REIMANN—Peaceful Coexistence and the Class Struggle	10	3
B. ROCA—Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba	11	37
W. ROCHET—The Peasant Movement in France and the Work of the Party in the Countryside	11	44
V. RUMML—Ideology and Science	7	44
A. RUMYANTSEV—Edvard Kardelj's "Verbal Dialectics"	11	24
B. RYURIKOV—Man and Socialism	1	9
A. SAZANOV—Socialism and Property	3	29
SA CHER—South Korea and the Peaceful Reunification of the Country	8	36
E. SCHARF—The Left Socialists and their Role in the Labor Movement	10	51
I. SINDELAR, A. KUIBYSHEV—Czechoslovakia and Peaceful Competition with Capitalism	2	11
A. SOBOLEV—The Main Link in the Transition to Communism	11	3
E. SZYR—Some Aspects of Organization of the Polish Economy	2	16
S. TANAKA—The Japanese People Strike a Blow at American Policy	8	32
V. TEITELBOIM—Literature and Socialism	3	45
S. USTUENGEL—The Overthrow of the Menderes Government in Turkey	8	39
E. VERCELLINO—The Policy of Broad Alliances	7	18
A. VIEUGUET—A United Front at All Costs!	6	18
P. VILLON—War and the Working Class	5	3

	No.	Page
T. WEGENER—Apologetics of Capitalism (Apropos of the New Program of the Social Democratic Party of Germany)	1	17
Y. ZHILIN, V. ZAGLADIN—International Developments, Summer 1960	9	30
T. ZHIVKOV—Peace: Key Problem of Today	8	9
K. ZILLIACUS—The British Labor Party Today	10	43
In Memory of Wilhelm Pieck	10	59
In Memory of Harry Pollitt	8	44

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

The Struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties Against Revisionism

Contributions by E. KALMAN, LI MAN TRUONG, T. DANISZEWSKI, P. REIMAN, S. MANUSHI, TSIANG CHUN-FAN, L. EINICKE, G. VAN MOERKERKE, TJOO TIKT TJOEN, S. AVIRMIID, P. GEORGIEV, I. NORLUND, J. ROSNER, N. DONIA, J. CHAMBAZ, N. GOLDBERGER, L. GRUPPI, J. JACOBS	1	64
--	---	----

The Struggle for Working-Class Unity

Contributions by G. VASILICHI, V. JOANNES, H. R. NECOCHA, K. VASILEV, F. KNITTEL, G. VAN MOERKERKE, E. SERENI	2	74
---	---	----

What Are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class

Contributions by the U.S. Labor Research Association, Marxism Today (Britain), the German Institute of Economics, Die Arbeit (Austria)	5	37
The First Comment on the Questions and Answers	5	48
Contributions by the journal Vor Tid (Sweden), J. BUCKING, (FRG), G. ARDAYEV, A. WEBER, V. SOLODOVNIKOV (USSR)	9	67
Contributions by the journals Economie et Politique (France) and Politica ed Economia (Italy), P. ALBERDI (Argentina), O. REINHOLD (GDR)	12	64

The Economic Role of the State Under Socialism

K. OSTROVITYANOV—How the State Makes Use of Economic Laws in Building Communism	7	61
F. STRANSKY—Economic Co-operation Between the Socialist Countries—a New Function of the Socialist State	7	64
SUNG E-FANG—The Role of the State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Changing the Production Relations	7	68
S. KUZINSKI—The Socialist State and the International Division of Labor	7	71
O. BOGOMOLOV—Background to the Co-ordination of the Economic Plans of the Socialist Countries	7	73
M. POHORILLE—Some Aspects of the Working of Democratic Centralism	7	76
I. RACHMUTH—The Basic Difference Between the Economic Role of the Socialist and the Capitalist State	7	78

	No.	Page
W. BERGER—The State Leads in the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture	8	56
K. DOBREV—The Socialist State and the Use of Economic Laws	8	58
J. FRISS—Socialist Changes in Hungarian Agriculture	8	60
K. POLAK—Economic Policy and Socialist Democracy	8	63
YUI KUANG-YUAN—The Role of Politics in Speeding Up Development	8	65
H. MARA—Aspects of the Economic Role of the Socialist State	8	68
S. ANGELOV—Yugoslav Leaders Revise Marxist-Leninist Teaching on the Socialist State	8	69
R. MOLDOVAN—The Socialist International Division of Labor	8	73
F. BARUCH—Socialism's Power of Attraction	8	74

PAGES FROM HISTORY

HO CHI MINH—Thirty Years of the Working People's Party of Vietnam	2	55
D. IBARRURI—The Heroic Path	10	61
Patriotic Deeds of the Communists (15th Anniversary of the Defeat of Hitlerism)	5	57
M. THOREZ—The Seventh Congress of the Communist International	7	43

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

H. BEGUM—New Forces Awaken to Life	3	54
L. BEHRING—Our Worries, Efforts and Perspectives	3	53
Day of Struggle and Solidarity	3	51
M. FUENTES—"In Defense of Life, Labor and Culture"	3	57
Women in the Socialist Countries	3	58

IN THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM

E. APEL—The Basic Economic Task of the German Democratic Republic	6	49
A. KRCEK—Work and Live in the Socialist Way	6	58
L. POL—Relations of Friendship and Mutual Assistance	6	54
N. TIKHONOV—Along the Road of Technological Advance	9	43
TO HUU—A New Culture Is Being Moulded in Vietnam	9	38
R. TRAUTMAN—Tackling the Housing Problem in Hungary	9	48
K. TSVETKOV—Developing Socialist Democracy in Bulgaria	6	65
WANG KUANG-WEI—The Big Leap in China's Economy	6	45

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

S. AL—Guatemalan Party of Labor Holds Congress	10	71
S. ANTONIADIS—The Fight for Peace—a Supreme Task	9	57

	No.	Page
— J. ARAUCO—Patriotic Stand of the Communists	8	46
B. G.—Forward Along the Democratic Path	12	57
J. BLUME—Forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium	4	62
J. BOGUSZ—Mass Campaign for Cutting Costs	8	51
CHANG YUN-HOU—Publication of Lenin's Works in China	5	65
P. DUFEAL—The Martinique Communists	2	67
K. ESTERLING—From the Defensive to the Offensive Against the Monopolies and the Militarists	11	73
E. V.—Discussion on Scientific Progress and Social Development	1	53
M. FYODOROV—Mass Initiative and Technological Progress	9	52
W. GAISCH—A Fresh Breeze	4	70
R. GENOVEZI—United by Common Interests	5	70
J. GONZALEZ—Instructive Experience of Mass Action	5	71
H. GURALNICK—For Neutrality and Disarmament	9	55
HAN WEN—Taking Part in Physical Labor	9	59
I. HOFFMANN—Our Everyday Efforts	12	59
P. KEUNEMAN—Success for the Policy of Unity	10	73
L. S.—The Cuban Revolution Is Developing and Deepening	6	60
F. MARGULIES—Automation and the Working Class	7	56
J. MATOS—Nothing Will Break Us	9	61
K. MOHL—Conference of the Communist Party of Germany	5	67
F. NAUMANN, A. PETERSEIM—"Jugendweihe"	7	54
J. NIEDZWIECKI—Masses Discuss Technological Progress	4	69
H. OSTLER—National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand	7	53
P. G. A.—The Lessons of the Argentine Elections	6	69
I. PTASINSKI—Relying on the Activists	12	55
— M. RODRIGUEZ—Growing Support for the Communists	3	71
— R. ROJAS—Recruiting New Members	1	57
— J. SANTOS RIVERA—Fiasco of a Frame-up	4	68
S. TANAKA—Unity is Strength	4	66
K. TELL—Our Year's Plan	1	55
— E. TORRES—Unity is Strength	6	66
A. VAN TURNHOUT—Real Step Towards Unity	6	62
V. VASILYEV—Public Efforts	12	53
H. VERHEY—"De Waarheid" Celebrates Twentieth Anniversary	11	78
E. VIERA—The Newspaper and Mass Campaigns	10	76
V. VORONTSOV—Participation of the Public in the Soviet Press	11	71

	No.	Page
M. YASIN—Aspects of the National Struggle in Somali	11	75
B. YORK—By-Passing Reactionary Court Injunctions	2	68
Algerian Communists and the War of Independence	5	64
A New Day in the Life of the Party (USA)	3	68
Appeal of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries of Europe to All Workers, to All Democrats	1	46
Call to Unity	8	47
Communists Denounce the Murderers of Asanuma	11	67
Conference of the Dominican People's Socialist Party	8	49
Defend and Extend Democracy	2	66
Diary of a Branch Secretary	2	70
Discussing Vital Problems of the Day	10	67
Educational Activity in the French Communist Party	1	58
For Peace and Independence	6	71
Further Advance of Soviet Agriculture	3	62
Iraqi Communists Combat Opportunism	4	63
Mexico: the Party Enters Upon a New Stage	9	50
Ninetieth Anniversary of Lenin's Birth	4	60
Party Building at a New Stage	11	68
Party Language Is the Language of the People	12	46
Party Propaganda in Present-Day Conditions (USSR)	3	65
The People of South Korea Will Fight to the End	7	51
Peace Forces on the March	2	65
Peaceful Coexistence and Work of the Communists (USA)	1	51
Results of the Mid-Term Elections in Kerala	4	65
Solidarity of Fraternal Parties	12	52
Solidarity with Revolutionary Cuba	11	66
Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa	11	74
Some Experiences of Propaganda Work	8	49
The Communist Party of Greece Demands Legality	6	72
This Is a Warning	2	61
Time for a Change	2	62

BOOKS AND JOURNALS

N. ALEXANDROV—Lenin Documents	4	70
A. M.—A Problem of Concern to All	3	81
E. ARAB-OGLY—Executors of John F. Dulles' Will	10	83

	No.	Page
J. DEL PRADO—A Book that Calls to Action	1	83
A. DEWHURST—Our Fight for Canada	8	76
D. O.—The Journal "Zenei"—a Weapon of the Working-Class Struggle in Japan	11	82
V. DROBISHEV, B. KOROLYOV—Involuntary Admissions and Vain Hopes	12	76
R. P. DUTT—Lenin, Imperialism and Mr. Strachey	4	78
S. EFIROV—From Revisionism to Bourgeois Ideology	5	77
J. HANEVICH—A Journal of Creative Marxism	8	83
J. JAVUREK, J. NETOPILIK—A Criminal Philosophy	11	86
L. KRASUCKI, J. WACLAWEK—Some Aspects of Ideological Work Carried Out by the Polish United Workers' Party	8	79
N. KULAGIN—Technology and Social Progress	1	80
A. KUZIN—A Fighter for Peace	9	84
I. LAPONOGOV—Lessons of the Agrarian Movements in Russia	3	74
A. B. MIRZA—Socialism or Mysticism?	6	75
J. P. Mitchell—Professor Hook's Anti-Communist Magic Potion	12	79
J. NAGY—The Ideological Weapon of Hungarian Communists	1	85
T. OLEINIK—The Economic Basis of Socialism in Rumania	6	73
Y. POPOV—A Call to United Action	2	80
Y. POPOV—Belgian Monopolies at Home and in the Congo	9	81
W. RUEHN—True to the Ideals of Humanity	2	89
F. SA—Foreign Capital in Brazil	3	79
K. SACHER—Trade, Not an Arms Drive	2	83
M. STRANG—Things Are Not What They Seem	1	89
S. V.—The Inviolable Principles of Socialist Foreign Policy	10	79
S. VILAR—Doubting and Searching	2	86
H. WOLKER—Under Cover of the Common Market	9	78
Y. S.—Soviet Philosophy Through the Distorting Mirror of a Theologian	4	96

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

S. AGIRRE—Achievements of Agrarian Reform	8	88
E. AMBARTSUMOV—Historians in Congress in Stockholm	11	91
Y. ARBATOV—"Ny Tid" Commits a Forgery	10	89
A. R. D.—An Unjust Act	11	95
A. BAYER—Triumph of Life or a Crusade?	10	87
T. BORG—German Imperialism and War	5	87

	No.	Page
B. BROOKS—Uphold Socialist Aims	4	92
A. COATS—Mistakes or Falsification?	2	93
T. DOCKTAIL—A Shadow of the Past	1	91
C. ESPOSITO—Once Again About Peaceful Coexistence	3	90
A. FERRETO—The Lessons of a Strike	8	91
C. FUENTES—Letter from Tegucigalpa: Developments in Honduras	9	87
J. GARTNER—Injured Innocence	7	88
K. HAFID—What President Nasser Says and What He Holds Back	6	84
C. HAROCHE—What Is Happening to Farjallah Helou? (A Letter to the Editorial Board and our Reply to Comrade C. Haroche)	1	90
— P. LAFUENTE—Iron Will	6	87
L. G.—Apostles of Cold War	2	94
R. MATEO—The French People Fight for Democratic Education	5	84
PERICLES—Cyprus and Its Road of Advance	4	90
S. RUMYANTSEV—New Center of Modern Education and International Brotherhood	8	86
K. SACHER—From Marxism to Religion and Back Again	1	92
S. V.—Apropos of a Falsification	6	81
P. VILLON—A Remarkable Visit	6	78
S. WAGNER—Some Aspects of Cultural Work in the German Democratic Republic	3	83
Hands Off the Peace Fighters!	2	92

Against the Persecution of Democrats

E. O. ABDELKADER—Frame-Up in Algeria	8	94
A. M.—Union of South Africa	5	91
K. LULES—Greece (Letter From the Aegina Prison)	5	90
F. MAHMOUD—The United Arab Republic	3	86
A. NIKOLANDIS—Anti-Communist Trials in Athens	8	93
J. RAMIREZ—Colombia	3	89
— J. RAMIREZ—Lives of Political Prisoners Are in Danger!	7	91
S. R.—Colonial Terror in Angola	9	90
M. STRANG—United States of America	5	92
— For Amnesty in Spain and Portugal	4	95
Statement by the Eleventh Session of the General Council of the WFTU	7	92
Terror in Jordan	4	96
— The Struggle Goes On	4	96

No. Page

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

K. BRUTENTS—A Form of Peoples' Solidarity	7	82
E. VERCELLINO—From Different Standpoints to a Common View	12	73

SUPPLEMENTS

Expanding Economies—A Survey of Economic Development in 1959 in the Socialist Countries	!	93
---	---	----

NEW BOOKS

(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
the titles here are given in English)

Bibliographic Materials on the History of the Polish Working-Class Movement (1918-39). Vol. I. Warsaw, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960, 580 pp.

M. Markov. Class Changes in the Bulgarian People's Republic. Sofia, the BCP Publishing House, 1960, 176 pp.

S. Kovalev. Communist Education of the Working People. Moscow, Socekiz, 1960, 526 pp.

Concerning the Effectiveness of Czechoslovak Industry. A symposium edited by E. Vopicka, J. Slama and F. Valenta. Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1960, 362 pp.

Experience of Socialist Collective Work. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1960, 175 pp.

K. Marx and F. Engels. The First Indian War of Independence, 1857-1859. Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960, 246 pp. (In English.)

F. R. Pintos. History of the Working-Class Movement in Uruguay. A supplement to *Gaceta de Cultura*. Montevideo, 1960, 427 pp.

The Laws Governing the Rise and Development of Socialism and Communism. (Selected Works) V. I. Lenin. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1960, 711 pp.

Lecture-Aids to the Study of the History of the Rumanian Workers' Party. Institute of Party History of the C.C. of the RWP. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1960, 659 pp.

K. Marx. Notes on Indian History (664-1858). Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960, 206 pp. (In English.)

Problems of Modern Capitalism. A symposium edited by J. Zawadzki. Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1960, 582 pp.

E. Santarelli. The Region. (The Idea of Regional Government in Its Historical, Political and Constitutional Aspects). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1960, 200 pp.

G. Mury. Rise or Decline of French Catholicism? Paris, Editions sociales, 1960, 320 pp.

Dev Raj Chandra. Slavery in Ancient India. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1960, 203 pp.

Some Problems of the Development of Slovakia. Material of an all-Slovakia seminar on ideological questions organized by the C.C. of the Communist Party of Slovakia on April 11-12, 1960. Published by the propaganda and agitation department of the C.C. of the CPs. Bratislava, 1960, 144 pp.

We Are the State. A symposium of articles on the growth of socialist consciousness and the role of the state. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1960, 188 pp.

F. Marek. What Is Marxism, Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, Freedom? Vienna, Wiener Verlag, 1960, 63 pp.

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

The collage displays multiple covers of the journal 'Problema' (The Problem) in various languages:

- French:** 'Probleme de la paix et du socialisme' (top left), 'Probleme de la paix et du socialisme' (top right), 'Probleme de la paix et du socialisme' (middle right), 'Probleme de la paix et du socialisme' (bottom right).
- Russian:** 'ПРОБЛЕМА МИРА И СОЦИАЛИЗМА' (top left), 'ПРОБЛЕМА МИРА И СОЦИАЛИЗМА' (top right), 'ПРОБЛЕМА МИРА И СОЦИАЛИЗМА' (middle right), 'ПРОБЛЕМА МИРА И СОЦИАЛИЗМА' (bottom right).
- Chinese:** '世界和平与社会主义问题' (top left), '世界和平与社会主义问题' (top right), '世界和平与社会主义问题' (middle right), '世界和平与社会主义问题' (bottom right).
- English:** 'World Marxist Review' (top left), 'World Marxist Review' (top right), 'World Marxist Review' (middle right), 'World Marxist Review' (bottom right).
- Other:** 'PROBLEMA DOKOJU SOCIALIZMU' (center), 'PROBLEMA DOKOJU SOCIALIZMU' (bottom left), 'PROBLEMA DOKOJU SOCIALIZMU' (bottom center), 'PROBLEMA DOKOJU SOCIALIZMU' (bottom right).

The covers are arranged in a scattered, overlapping manner, with some featuring a star emblem and others having the title in large, bold letters. The collage is set against a dark, textured background.

Progress Books,
4200 Stafford St.,
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada

**Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles**

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION:
Stredisko pro rozširovani tisku,
Praha 6, Sadova 3
Czechoslovakia

Guozi Shudian,
38 Suchouhutung,
Peking, China

ALBANIAN EDITION:
Ndermarja Shtetnore Botimeve
'Naim Frasheri'', Tirane

Raznoiznos,
1. Rue Tzar Assen,
Sofia

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam-W

GERMAN EDITION:
Deutscher Buch-Export und -Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C 1, Leninstrasse 16

HUNGARIAN EDITION:
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V .
Vorosmartyter 4

ITALIAN EDITION:
Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION:
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

KOREAN EDITION:
Central publications distribution office,
Phyongyang, Korea

Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Stalina, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION:
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G,
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:
 Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
 Praha 6, Sadova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

SWEDISH EDITION:
Arbetarkulturs forlag,
Kungsgatan 84,
Stockholm K

VIETNAMESE EDIT!ON:
S'ò' xuất nhập khẩu sách báo 32,
Hai Bà Trưng, Hà-nội