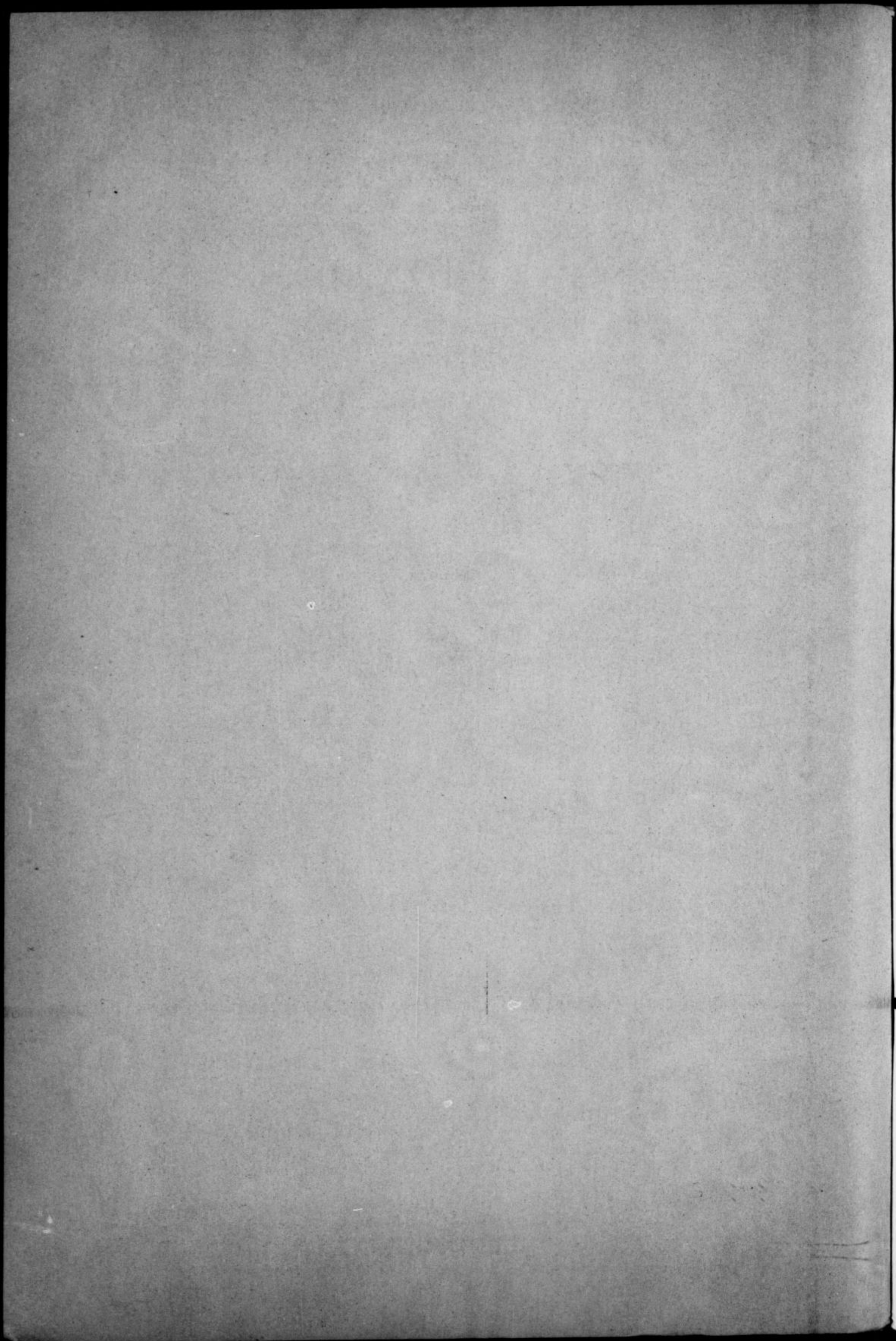


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

World Marxist Review

February, 1960
Volume 3, No. 2
35 Cents

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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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—\$6.00. Czech—\$6.50. Russian—\$3.50. Spanish—\$3.50. German—\$3.50.

An Initiative of Worldwide Significance

ON January 15, 1960, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law on "Another Substantial Reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces." Under this law the Soviet Union's armed forces will be cut by 1,200,000 men. In the last four years the armed forces of the USSR have been reduced by 2,140,000 men. The latest cut will bring this figure up to a total of 3,340,000. And to put an end to any speculation about the size of the Soviet armed forces, it has been officially announced that these will comprise 2,423,000 men.

It is interesting to compare the data on the strength of armies and military expenditure in some of the bigger countries. With the latest reduction the strength of the armed forces in relation to the population will comprise 1.15 per cent, whereas the share of defense in the current budget is 12.9 per cent. For France the respective figures are 2.53 and 42 per cent; for the USA 1.5 and 51 per cent; and for Britain 1.29 and 28.2 per cent. The figures for the Soviet Union are clearly the lowest. This is the result of the Soviet Government's consistent peace policy, a policy aimed at lessening world tension and ending the cold war, at ensuring peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and economic systems.

The latest Soviet measure has made a big impression. In India people said that "Premier Khrushchov is bringing nearer the day when man's cherished dream will be realized." "Inspiring news," was the comment in Iraq. Bulgarians said, "It brings joy to the nations." "An event of unusual importance for both East and West," said the West German *Westphaelische Rundschau*. Mr. Zilliacus, British Labor M.P., in a comment on Khrushchov's speech, said January 14 would be remembered as a day of one of the important events of our time, one that might well change the course of history.

This peaceful initiative has stirred millions of ordinary people everywhere, in the United States, Britain, France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Quantitative changes result in a qualitative leap and generate new processes, often of revolutionary significance. The peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government, the

steps taken by it and other socialist countries to normalize relations between states and avert war, the persistent efforts of the Soviet representatives in the United Nations, Khrushchov's visit to the United States, his address to the General Assembly on September 18, 1959, in which he advanced a proposal for general and complete disarmament—these are the factors which have contributed to hundreds of millions of people joining in the fight for peace.

The world is undoubtedly now at a turning point.

People everywhere are becoming aware of the insanity of the arms drive, of the nuclear war talk of the revanchists, bellicose generals and armament manufacturers in different countries. The people know that as things are now war can bring about the annihilation of millions of peaceful citizens. The working people now see who is really for peace and who pursues the hoary cold war policy, a policy already condemned by history.

The Soviet Government's peace initiative is influencing the thinking of the people who, with growing urgency, are asking why such huge sums are being squandered on armaments when the Soviet Union has demonstrated over and over again that it has no intention of attacking anyone and is cutting its armed forces.

Those politicians, military leaders and businessmen in the capitalist countries who still bank on war are going against the tide of world history, against common sense, against their own people whose opposition to their policy is mounting. The more far-sighted bourgeois statesmen understand this; in the face of the senselessness of the arms drive, and because of the Soviet Union's peace policy, they, listening to the voice of reason, are beginning to seek ways and means of ending the cold war.

We now see that the strength—military, economic, political and moral—of the socialist world is such that socialism is now exerting a very great influence on the course of history, it has begun to shape history, predetermining its development.

A billion people live and work in the socialist countries. Hundreds of millions of

people, awakened to conscious political life in the other countries of the world, are now heeding the voice of peace coming from the socialist countries, whose example and noble peace policy is an inspiration to them, and, closing their ranks, they are becoming a real force, influencing the policy of ruling classes and governments to an ever greater extent.

* * *

Fortunately for humanity it is the peace-loving Soviet Union that is leading in many branches of science and technology, that it wields sufficient military and economic strength to be unassailable. And thanks to its steadily expanding economy, to the consolidation of the moral and political unity of its peoples and of the socialist camp as a whole, the Soviet Union has been able to make a substantial unilateral cut in its armed forces.

The Soviet Union has attained such strength, and its achievements in building communism are so great, that the Soviet Parliament unanimously adopted the decision. In taking this step for peace the Soviet Government is confident of its strength, of the strength of the socialist camp.

In reducing its armed forces the Soviet Union will not be lessening its defense potential. And this is understandable: until agreement on general and complete disarmament is reached, the USSR will have everything needed for the country's defense, for repelling any attack and for smashing any aggressor. The new types of arms created by Soviet scientists, engineers and workers will ensure the adequate defense not only of the USSR, but of the entire socialist camp.

Some bourgeois sceptics, who like to look at events through the prism of the policy of strength, ask: why does the Soviet state call for abandoning military force as a means of settling international disputes at a time when it is far ahead in rocketry? What is this but "communist propaganda"? The answer is: let the Western powers engage in exactly the same "propaganda," and then the question of total disarmament will be solved in the matter of days.

The Soviet Union does not contemplate an attack on any country. If it did it would not have substantially reduced its armed forces. Armies are reduced by those who sincerely strive for peace, for strengthening confidence between nations.

This cut will add greatly to the economic strength of the Soviet Union and of the en-

tire socialist camp. The manpower and the means released will promote the upsurge of the socialist economy and further improve the standard of living. The socialist camp will be able to give more aid to underdeveloped countries.

The working people in the socialist countries and forward looking people everywhere have hailed the new peace initiative of the Soviet Union. Every honest man would be ready to sign the telegram sent by Soviet electors to their Parliament when it was debating the decree to reduce the armed forces: "Delighted. Agree. Adopt."

The Soviet people have endorsed the decision of their Parliament. They are proud of their country and confident of their communist future. This feeling was aptly expressed by A. Lazarev, a worker: "Mankind will never forget that the Communists were the first to propose the total abolition of armed forces. I am proud of this!"

* * *

The practical step towards disarmament testifies to the internationalism of the Soviet people in relation to their brothers in the capitalist countries. It will help them in their struggle against the arms drive and for delivery from the burden of swollen military budgets.

The reactionary bourgeoisie, conscious of the revolutionizing impact of the Soviet initiative on the working people throughout the world, have set in motion their propaganda machine in order to distort or at least to belittle it. If previously they prated about a "menace to the West" from the "numerous Russian divisions," now they are trying to create the impression that no great change has taken place.

They call for continuing the arms drive, for still greater military expenditure. Characteristic in this respect are the statements made by the West German Defense Minister Strauss and Vice-President Nixon who urged the NATO members to ignore the Soviet initiative and build up their strength. These calls are in line with the steps taken by the major NATO powers which, in the guise of talk about disarmament, have intensified the arms drive.

Influential imperialist groups in the United States, France, Britain and particularly in West Germany, while deploring the loss by the U.S. of the monopoly of nuclear arms, still cling, contrary to common sense, to the "positions of strength" policy in solving con-

troversial international issues. But if the imperialists do not agree to reduce their armed forces they will still be powerless to change the correlation of forces in the world which has been determined by the very course of history.

The working people in all countries ask: Why can't the Western powers follow the Soviet example? Why not cut military expenditure and allocate the funds released for increasing wages, for building homes, schools and hospitals? If Soviet "propaganda" serves the cause of peace, why not counter it with the same "propaganda"? Is not this the humanist propaganda so needed by all?

And these thoughts are taking shape in political slogans and appeals for unity of action which the Communist parties address to all working people and democrats. The steps taken by the Soviet Union for disarmament are supported by the international working-class and communist movement, and, simultaneously, they provide the latter with a new cogent argument in the fight for peace and progress, an argument which reveals the profound humanism of communist ideology.

"Communism," Khrushchov said, "is the most humane ideology. I would be against communism myself if the triumph of it was sought by means of predatory wars, by means of slaughtering people. Our aim is to create abundance, to secure the material and spiritual well-being of man, to rule out the possibility of war between states and conflicts between people."

These words are the key to an understanding of the Soviet action and its significance for consolidating the positions of the international communist and working-class movement.

The peace initiative of the Soviet Union has added to the hopes of the peoples for the forthcoming summit meeting. But the

success of this meeting will not come by itself. The peace supporters have no illusions that the imperialist powers will readily agree to disarmament. History does not know such miracles. The peoples will have to wage a persistent struggle to compel the governments of the Western powers to agree to disarmament.

In adopting the law providing for a reduction of the armed forces, the Supreme Soviet called on parliaments and governments in all countries to support this peace initiative and to embark on a similar path.

Members of Parliament in all countries, all those holding elective office and enjoying the confidence of the electorate, bear a heavy responsibility for peace and for the security of their countries. And the U.N. resolution, urging an immediate solution of the disarmament problem, will be of great help in their noble struggle.

Disarmament has gone far beyond the framework of conferences at the diplomatic level. An immediate solution is demanded by all except those capitalists who profit from the arms drive and the political gamblers associated with them. If the Soviet proposal were submitted to a referendum, said Khrushchov, it would be supported by the absolute majority of the people.

By cutting its armed forces, the Soviet Union has demonstrated its confidence in the strength of the peoples, of the international communist and working-class movement, in the possibility of upholding peace and averting another world war.

The peoples are faced with a grand and perfectly attainable aim: a world without war and armaments. And the surest way of achieving this aim lies through complete and universal disarmament. And the more resolutely the combined forces of peace and progress advance along this path, the sooner will humanity reach its cherished goal.

The Need of the Moment—Unity

THE Rome meeting of the 17 Communist parties of the European capitalist countries held at the end of last year was an important event. It carried forward the line of the Moscow meetings of November 1957, which laid a firm ideological and political foundation for international Communist unity. It was then found advisable to hold, in addition to bilateral meetings, broader conferences of Communist leaders to discuss current issues, exchange experiences and co-ordinate the struggle for common aims.

The subject discussed at Rome—*unity of the working class and the people in the struggle for peace, democracy and the social and economic needs of the working people*—is the fundamental political issue of the day. The Appeal to all workers and democrats in the European capitalist countries contains proposals concerning the defense of peace, democratic freedoms and the vital interests of the masses. This program of action has evoked a broad response and is becoming the property of the entire working-class movement, and of all the democratic forces.

* * *

Unity of the working class and democratic forces has always made the reactionaries retreat; such was the case in France in 1934 and in Spain in 1936. And conversely, the disunity of these forces (for which the Right-wing Socialist and other leaders supporting class collaboration are responsible) in the final analysis paved the way to Hitler's advent to power in Germany, to authoritarian rule in France and the onslaught of reaction in all spheres of public life. In view of this experience the Communist parties call on the democratic forces to end the division in their ranks. Only if the unity of all workers and all democrats is secured—unity of action for definite aims—can the vital demands of the masses be upheld, the arbitrary rule of the monopolies curbed and democracy and lasting peace maintained.

The Communists are well aware that there are many obstacles in the way of this unity, obstacles created by bourgeois ideologists through slander and intimidation. Unity is hindered also by the anti-communism of the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties who stand for agreement with the monopolies.

It will not be easy, of course, to overcome these obstacles. Hence, all the more reason to get on with the job. And the Communist parties in Europe call on the working people irrespective of their political views — Christians, trade unionists, co-operators and especially Social Democrats — to lend a hand in this.

It is common knowledge that before the Communist parties appeared on the scene the Social Democrats were the main organized force of the labor movement in Europe. And although as a consequence of the splitting tactics of the Right-wing leaders the prestige of these parties has slumped and their positions in many countries have weakened, while Communist influence has grown enormously, many workers still support the Social-Democratic parties. The Communists have again proposed to their Socialist comrades and the trade unionists and co-operators who support them that they should meet more frequently and discuss in a comradely way the vital problems facing the people.

However, the sincerity and readiness of the Communists alone are not enough. It is high time for the leaders of the Socialist, Christian-Democrat and of the other Democratic parties to shed their prejudice and some of their misconceptions. For instance, the Social Democrats think that if only the Communists could be elbowed out of public life this would enable them, the Social Democrats, to be the sole leaders of the labor movement and their influence would grow. Experience has shown how naive are such hopes. Quite a few Social Democrats in Germany who in their time turned down offers for united action came to realize only too late — in the concentration camps where they found themselves together with the Communists — the need for joint struggle against fascism. The fact that the West German Social-Democratic leaders have tacitly accepted the banning of the Communist Party, far from strengthening their positions, has weakened them, with the result that now not only Communists are being jailed but also other active fighters for peace and democracy, including Social Democrats.

The French Socialist leaders, Guy Mollet in the first place, by rejecting unity of action with the Communists, by refusing to form a

democratic bloc against the fascist threat, actually contributed to installing the one-man dictatorship, to splitting their party and to its decline. The anti-communism of the British Labor Party leaders was one of the reasons for their defeat in the last general election.

Communist-Socialist co-operation in Italy has proved beneficial not only to the two parties but to the entire labor movement of the country. The shift of the Socialist leaders to the Right, far from consolidating the party, has caused confusion in its ranks. There are grounds for believing that the Italian Socialist Party, which in principle maintains a class stand, will overcome the confusion and find the strength with which to further the unity of the working class.

The Communists do not in the least belittle the ideological differences which divide them from the Socialists and other reformists. But the Communists are convinced that life is the best teacher, and life calls for united action against the monopolies. In the fight against the oligarchy, for peace, for the vital needs of the working people, for democracy and its extension, the unity of all working-class parties and organizations is indispensable.

Where is the worker, whether Social Democrat or member of any other organization, who will favor worse conditions, support war or be against democracy merely because he disagrees with the Communists on some questions? No such worker exists. It was not accidental that as a result of the pressure exerted by the branches of the Socialist parties in a number of countries, the International Socialist Congress, held in Hamburg last July, included a paragraph on disarmament and the discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests. Nor is it accidental that influential Socialists and Social Democrats in Finland, Italy and Japan favor co-operation with the Communists while the local organizations of these parties often implement it in practice. There is, then, a basis for unity of all workers and other democrats — it is not the product of abstract reasoning. The basis is there.

Some Right-wing Socialists claim that Communist proposals for unity of action are a "stratagem" or a tactical maneuver. *But the line for unity is the constant political line of the Communist parties.* The Communists are convinced that united action is needed both in the struggle for peace and democracy, and in building socialism — when the time is ripe for this in one country or another.

Without abandoning their ideological standpoint, and pointing out the incorrectness of reformist tactics, the Communists concentrate not on looking for differences and harping on these, but on building and strengthening unity of the labor movement, on uniting all democrats in the struggle for the common aims. And they seek to do this through patient discussion and friendly contacts with the Socialist leaders, through co-operation with the rank and file.

* * *

What are these common aims for which all people of good will should unite? The Appeal gives an explicit answer to this question: *the struggle for peace is the noble aim of every sincere person*, irrespective of his political views or religious belief. Avert the danger of war, rule it out forever—that is task No. 1.

In the two years since the adoption of the Moscow Peace Manifesto by sixty-four Communist and Workers' parties the world balance of forces has changed in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. The Appeal says "a turn towards a relaxation of tension has taken place, the further development of which can end the cold war and establish new international relations based on mutual confidence, equal rights, and on coexistence and peaceful competition between all countries."

This conclusion is based on an objective assessment of the changes that have taken place as a result of the growing superiority of the forces of socialism. Why is it that no thoughtful capitalist politician has openly opposed Khrushchov's proposal for general and complete disarmament, and why has the United Nations unanimously approved it? Had this proposal been made by a government of a weak country, it might have been regarded as a step to safeguard its security. But it was made by a Great Power whose economic and cultural achievements, progress in space research, in rocketry, and in peaceful uses of atomic energy have astonished the world. This policy of peace derives from the strength of the U.S.S.R. and the socialist camp; moreover, it expresses the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries, including many capitalists who realize that with the ultimate weapons of mass destruction they have nothing to gain by war but everything to lose. It is precisely because of this that the idea of disarmament and peaceful competition is winning more and more support among the bourgeoisie.

But peace will not fall like manna from the heavens. It must be won. The evil forces who are ready to sacrifice hundreds of millions of lives for the sake of enlarging their fortunes are still with us. And the Appeal says: *"We cannot afford to wait! The struggle must be intensified!"*

The document stresses the special responsibility of the working class and the peoples of the European capitalist countries for peace. It was in Europe that aggression against the peoples of other continents was born. It was there that the conflagration of two world wars was kindled, and now in West Germany — in the heart of Europe — where rabid imperialists and former Nazi criminals are in power, everything is being done to frustrate peaceful coexistence. The main danger to Europe is centered there. The recent wave of fascist provocations and anti-semitic outbursts, reminiscent of Hitler, had its origin in West Germany. The West German revanchists are not alone. They are supported by the reactionary circles of the United States, Britain and France who are stepping up the equipment of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. The Appeal says: *"It is a common task of all our peoples to see to it that German imperialism is deprived of the possibility of doing harm."*

A number of developments occurred at the turn of the year: some of these have heartened all to whom peace is dear, others have caused dismay.

Peace supporters, for instance, were dismayed by the statement of the U.S. Government on discontinuing the moratorium on nuclear tests. The *New York Post* went so far as to describe this action as inappropriate and untimely. President Eisenhower's message of January 7, in which he said that the United States could pursue its foreign policy aims only from broadly based positions of strength, was likewise disquieting. No less so are the British Government's decision to supply the Bundeswehr with guided missiles carrying nuclear warheads; the intention of the French Government, contrary to the General Assembly resolution and world public opinion, to explode an atom bomb in the Sahara and the signing of a new "security treaty" between the United States and Japan in defiance of the Japanese Constitution and the will of the Japanese people.

Other events, however, have helped to improve the international climate and have given peace fighters added inspiration. Among these we could list the Khrushchov visit to the United States, the fixing of the date for

the summit meeting and the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet for a substantial unilateral reduction of armed forces — a step which, by showing how to pass from interminable talk about disarmament to practical measures, has won the admiration of the world. Then there are the economic, cultural and scientific achievements of the socialist countries. These and many other developments have imparted confidence to those who want to turn the thaw in the international climate into really good and warm weather.

An important feature of the Appeal is not only that it is imbued with optimism, not only that it is a summons to fight for peace, it shows the objectives on which the efforts should be concentrated. These are — a German settlement by signing a peace treaty with the two German states; recognition of the German Democratic Republic; settlement of the West Berlin issue; abolition of military bases on foreign territories and the establishment of demilitarized zones in Northern, Central and Southern Europe; recognition of the Chinese People's Republic; and, lastly, general and complete disarmament and, as a beginning, banning nuclear weapons and tests.

These are cardinal problems of concern to the peoples not only of Europe but of the whole world, particularly the enslaved peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. And these problems can and must be solved through negotiation, provided the combined forces of the peace supporters, including all political and social trends, act without waiting for peace to come. Only active struggle in the most varied ways will force the ruling circles of the capitalist countries to begin in real earnest to work for a peaceful settlement of the controversial issues.

Far be it from the Communists to prescribe the ways and means of fighting for peace. On the contrary, they are ready to support this struggle in every conceivable way; they will extend the hand of friendship to every fighter for peace, even though his ideals may differ from their own. The Appeal urges support for all the measures of the world peace movement which has won great prestige among the various social and political sections in all countries. *To instil among the people the conviction that war can and must be ruled out forever, to inspire the masses to fight against the war danger — this is the way to secure the triumph of peace.*

* * *

The changes now taking place in the world in favor of easing international tension facili-

tate the struggle for political freedom and democracy. Full advantage should be taken of this.

The situation in those countries whose Communist parties were represented at the Rome meeting differs greatly. This is also true of the countries outside Europe. But one feature is common to all: the monopolies have used the cold war to launch an attack on the rights of the people. It is true that in Europe the capitalist system lost ground after the war, and as a result of the defeat of fascism the working class and the democratic movement in many countries emerged stronger and are now better organized. In France, Italy and Finland the Communist parties have grown into mass parties and are a powerful political force. But this is not the case everywhere.

The Franco regime in Spain and the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal still hang on. The imperialists, through armed intervention, suppressed the democratic movement in Greece and restored the reactionary regime there. In these countries many of the best patriots have, on the basis of rigged trials, been thrown into prison and the people have been deprived of elementary civil rights.

The Appeal proclaimed the cause of the peoples of Spain, Portugal and Greece the common cause of all free people. It calls for a worldwide campaign to secure freedom for Manolis Glezos and his comrades in Greece, for the release of Simon Sanchez Montero and an amnesty in Spain, for freeing the political prisoners in Portugal and lifting the ban on the valiant Communist Party of Germany.

The reactionaries have attacked democratic freedoms not only in the fascist and semi-fascist countries. In recent years the parliamentary system in France has, in effect, been paralyzed, the reactionary elements in Britain have gained ground, and another attack on the trade unions in the United States has been launched. "Everywhere," says the Appeal, "the big financial and monopoly interests, whose power is constantly increasing, aim at controlling closely and for their exclusive profit, the political life of our countries."

Will it suffice, in face of this, merely to come to the defense of political freedoms and the workers' rights against the monopoly onslaughts? Attacks, of course, should be repelled, but that is not enough. The conditions are now here for a persistent struggle for a regeneration of the traditional democracy of the European capitalist countries, for

the all-round democratization of public life.

Naturally, the demand for democratization will be different in the various countries depending on the degree of democratic development. But there will be much that is common. For instance, the wresting of the elected national bodies from direct monopoly control so that they reflect the true relation of forces in the country. From this follows the need to fight to repeal unjust electoral laws and discrimination; to restore and extend the powers of elected bodies and their control over the executive bodies; to secure wider powers for the local authorities; to wrest from monopoly control all means of moulding public opinion, which are now used to misinform the masses and to smear democracy and socialism.

On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of modern capitalism the Appeal maintains that the struggle for democracy demands today *a fight to limit the power of the monopolies, and to restrict their domination in economic and political life*. Nationalization of certain monopolized industries, democratic management of the social economic sectors and democratic control of investments in industry and agriculture; agrarian reform and defense of small peasant holdings as well as of other small and medium manufacturers against monopoly domination — such is the program of social and economic changes which corresponds to the interests of all the patriotic forces in the capitalist countries of Europe, and not only in Europe. *The Communists call for a struggle to establish in each country democratic governments which would be able to carry out these changes.*

This, however, does not imply that the Communists have any illusions about capitalism gradually evolving into socialism through reforms. The Labor parties in Britain and Australia, the Socialists and Social Democrats in France, Belgium, West Germany and the Scandinavian countries — the protagonists of reformism — have, since World War I, headed governments for many years and in some countries they are still at the head of the government. Experience with such governments has shown on a world scale that reforms alone cannot abolish the exploitation of man by man as long as capitalism exists. The Appeal is clear and unmistakable about this. However, in the event of such reforms being effected ". . . they would limit the power of the monopolies; they would increase the authority and the political weight of the working class in the life of the country; they

would help to isolate the most reactionary social groups and facilitate the creation of an alliance of all progressive forces and strata which are the victims of the monopolies." Since these measures are of a democratic character, the Communists are ready to fight for them, though they consider them limited and insufficient.

The fight for peace and democracy is closely linked with the struggle for the everyday interests of the working class, for the just demands of the intellectuals, handicraftsmen, small traders and manufacturers and other middle sections exploited by big business. The Appeal shows that, despite the good business conditions that have continued for many years, capitalism "cannot ensure bread and work for millions of human beings, even in the countries where it was cradled." The growing concentration of capital and the organization of "common markets" and "free trade areas" by the monopolists presage even gloomier prospects for the working people. Are the working people to put up with this forever? Have they the means and the strength with which to uphold their vital interests under capitalism? Experience says: Yes. *The working class and the masses possess the strength with which to fight for their vital needs provided their forces are rallied, united and not dispersed.*

Everyday experience calls for the unity of the class interests of the workers and the people generally in their struggle against the monopolies, though their political views, religion and party affiliation may differ. The monopolists never ask the worker, farmer, handicraftsman, and intellectual about his religion or about his views on the social structure. The capitalists squeeze profits out of them and force them to serve their greedy interests. Would it not be sensible for the working people and the small proprietors, while retaining their political, ethical and moral views (until these change under the impact of life), to unite against the highly organized and closely welded class enemies—the big capitalists and landlords?

The Appeal, then, urges all workers and other democrats to achieve this unity without any conditions, and stresses the need for awareness of the identity of their interests.

* * *

It goes without saying that the call for peace and democracy, for satisfaction of the

everyday needs of the working people does not mean that the Communists have abandoned their aim of socialism. On the contrary, the march of events shows clearly that the advance to socialism coincides with the perspective of democratic development. The struggle for democratic aims, in addition to its immediate significance, helps to rally the masses around the working class and creates favorable conditions for extending the struggle for socialism. *That is why the Communists, while adhering to their class standpoint and not losing sight of their ultimate aim, are prepared to fight selflessly and to support to the end any movement for peace, democracy and well-being of the people, and to conclude for this purpose broad, long-term and firm alliances.* The Appeal is confident that in the new situation, with socialism manifesting its superiority in the political, economic and social fields, "the majority of the people in each of our countries will find ways and means to unite in order to bring about a socialist transformation of society—a transformation whose fulfilment requires the exercise of political power by the working class and by other strata of working people."

The meeting urged all the workers and other democrats in Europe to conduct three campaigns on an all-European scale: for general and complete disarmament, against reprisals and political persecution of Communists and other democrats, for a forty-hour week without reduction of wages. This is a program for *practical action* which should find millions of supporters among the masses. The call sounded in the Appeal will echo round the world: *"The cause of unity is the concern of the people everywhere. They must take it into their own hands everywhere, in the factories, in the towns and villages."*

The Communist parties, the champions of the interests of their people, in outlining their policy in accordance with the conditions prevailing in their countries, are linked by a common outlook, common ultimate aims, and proletarian internationalism. *Unity of views on the burning issues of the European labor movement—such is the important result of the Rome conference.* This unity, fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, and the principles of proletarian internationalism — these are the source of strength of the Communist parties in Europe and in other continents.

Czechoslovakia and Peaceful Competition with Capitalism

I. Sindelar, A. Kuibyshev

1. Solving the Main Economic Task

THE task of tipping the scales in world production in favor of the socialist system as against the capitalist system is being solved by all socialist countries on the basis of the socialist international division of labor, co-ordinated long-term planning, specialization and co-operation in production, and extensive scientific and technical exchanges. Each socialist country is doing its bit for the common victory in economic competition with the capitalist world.

Among the countries which have taken the path of socialism, no small part is played by Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia is contributing substantially to the economic progress of the entire socialist camp. A country with a highly developed industry before the war, the new Czechoslovakia has made great progress, particularly in machine-building. By 1958 its industrial output had more than trebled compared with prewar, with machine-building registering a fivefold increase. Today, industry accounts for over four-fifths of the gross output of the country.

Czechoslovakia is successfully competing with the leading capitalist countries in the economic field. It has outstripped many of them in per capita output for a number of items. For example, it has surpassed France, Italy and Japan in per capita generation of electric power; Japan, Italy, Austria, Canada and Sweden for pig iron output; France, Austria and Sweden for steel output; France, Canada, Japan, Sweden and Italy for coal extraction.

A nation's way of life, however, is determined not only by output, but also by the level of consumption. Per capita consumption of a number of foodstuffs in Czechoslovakia is also higher than in many capitalist countries: meat consumption, for instance, is higher than in Austria, Holland, Norway and Italy; consumption of milk and sugar is higher than in Belgium, West Germany, France and Italy. Footwear purchased in Czechoslovakia amounts to 3.8 pairs per head

of the population—the highest for all European countries. It should be pointed out that this sharp rise in consumption has taken place during the years of socialist construction. For example, compared with 1936 per capita consumption of sugar has risen from 23.2 to 34.9 kgs; fats from 14.1 to 17.5 kgs; meat from 34 to 54 kgs; eggs from 138 to 170, and fruit from 42.9 to 61.5 kgs.

In the period from 1953 to 1959 there were seven successive price reductions in Czechoslovakia, resulting in a gain for the population of some 18 billion crowns a year and in a 25 per cent rise in the purchasing power of the crown.

In the third quarter of 1959, compared with June, 1953, the general index of expenditure of a working-class family on food, rent, clothing and other essentials dropped to 79.7 points, that of a peasant family—to 76.2 points.

Simultaneously with this, wages and incomes rose. Real wages of factory, office and other workers went up approximately 38 per cent, compared with 1937, with the wages of factory workers increasing at a faster rate. The income level of the peasant family has in recent years drawn closer to that of the working-class family. These facts testify to a steady rise in real wages; unemployment has been abolished, and the annual intake of workers in the national economy is at a rate of about 100,000 a year.

Under socialism the well-being of the people is determined, in addition to wages, by the constantly developing social services. Take, for example, the generous children's allowances, old-age pensions and the big state allocations for social and cultural services. The sum paid in allowances for three children adds up to about a third of the average wage and increases proportionately with the number of children, plus a simultaneous substantial tax reduction. Pensions are granted not only to factory, office and other workers but also to country people, including individual peasants. Public welfare (pensions, scholar-

ships, health insurance) amounts to one-fifth of the income of the working man. In nearly all capitalist countries the cost of living is rising. According to bourgeois statistics, which hardly give the full picture, expenditure on rent, medical treatment and education in the United States, Britain, France and West Germany adds up to about 20 per cent of the family income. In Czechoslovakia rent averages 2-3 per cent of the family expenditure, while health services, medicine and education are free.

Czechoslovakia's high standard of living makes nonsense of the contention of capitalist apologists that industrial development in the socialist countries takes place at the expense of the well-being of the people.

The directives of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia provide for a high rate of economic development during the third five-year plan (1961-65). By 1965 industrial output will have risen 90-95 per cent as compared with 1957. The next few years will see a further substantial rise in the level of well-being. Compared with 1957 consumption per head of population will go up by approximately 45 per cent.

Special attention is devoted to housing construction in urban and rural areas. Dwelling space at present averages 12 square meters per person. During 1959-70 it is planned to build 1.2 million flats (i.e. a new flat for approximately every third family), which will completely solve the housing problem.

By 1965 Czechoslovakia will surpass Britain and West Germany in output per head of population; the United States, too, will be surpassed for most of the basic industries (per capita output of steel will reach 740 kgs, whereas the U.S. figure for 1957-58 was about 500 kgs).

A high rate of growth in industrial output is a general law of socialism. It is ensured by the socialist system with its planned development and its principle of sharing the national income, and also by the economic co-operation practised by the socialist countries, in which a new, socialist international division of labor is taking shape.

2. Czechoslovakia in the Socialist Commonwealth

In keeping with the decisions of the Moscow conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and the recommendations made at the IXth session (1958) of the Council in Bucharest, bilateral

talks on economic co-operation were held between Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, on the other.

Practical questions of co-operation were discussed in the commissions and at sessions of the Council. This stage of coordinating plans envisages further co-operation in trade and in carrying out important economic measures.

Long-term agreements signed by Czechoslovakia for 1958-60, especially the agreements for 1961-65, provide for a considerable growth of trade with the Council's members; in 1965 this trade will be double the 1957 volume. These agreements act as stabilizers for the economy and determine its prospects on the basis of the growing socialist international division of labor.

This is particularly true of machine-building — the key branch — which will turn out machinery for the chemical, power, iron and steel, food and light industries and equipment for building materials enterprises; as well as metal-cutting lathes, forging and pressing equipment, electric and diesel locomotives, automobiles, tractors, diesel-engines and computers.

Foreign trade plays an important part in the economy of the country. Czechoslovakia ranks first in the socialist camp for volume of foreign trade per head of the population; twenty-five per cent of the national income derives from this trade. At the same time our economy depends largely on imports of iron ore, non-ferrous metals, rubber, cotton, wool, hides and foodstuffs (mainly grain and meat).

Since imports of staple raw materials and foodstuffs and exports of machinery and equipment are vital for the country, Czechoslovakia, naturally, is interested in an all-round extension of trade with the socialist countries. At the moment this trade is over 70 per cent (the figure for the Soviet Union being 33 per cent) of her total foreign trade.

Imports are paid for chiefly by deliveries of machinery. The share of machinery and industrial plant in the overall export, negligible in 1937, is now in excess of 40 per cent. One-fourth of the output of the machine-building industry goes abroad.

By 1965 the export of machinery to the socialist countries will more than double compared with 1957. Czechoslovakia exports machinery and equipment for the power, mining, chemical and other industries. It will be

seen, then, that long-term agreements with the socialist countries create a sound basis for the rapid growth of our machine-building, particularly heavy machine-building. And vice-versa, the export of machine and industrial equipment to these countries helps them accelerate the growth of production.

Development of the basic industries, especially those producing coal, iron and steel and chemicals, looms large in the third five-year plan. This will ensure fuller satisfaction of home requirements and leave a considerable margin for export to the socialist countries. We have considerable deposits of coking coal and fire-clay for the iron and steel industry, and the iron ore needed is imported chiefly from the Soviet Union.

The planned increase in the output and export of coke and steel will greatly improve the supply of metal to the European People's Democracies. By the end of the third five-year plan steel exports to these countries will have increased more than threefold. Their own metallurgical industries will benefit from deliveries of Czechoslovak coking coal and coke which by 1965 as compared with 1958 will have increased 60 and 80 per cent respectively.

In line with the recommendations of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid concerning the extension of the raw materials and power base of the socialist countries, Czechoslovakia has concluded a number of agreements with the other European People's Democracies covering extraction of raw materials and production of coal and electricity in these countries for the years 1961-65; it has made available long-term credits for this purpose. For example, the credit to Albania for exploiting the deposits of iron-nickel and chrome ores will be refunded by deliveries of ores; the German Democratic Republic will refund the credit for increasing production of potash fertilizers by deliveries of fertilizers. The credit to Poland for increasing her hard coal output and for open-cast mining of sulphur and pyrites will be repaid by deliveries of coal and sulphur. Czechoslovakia will aid Rumania in power-plant building and some of the power will be transmitted in return. An agreement on the joint exploitation of copper ore deposits has been signed with Bulgaria.

Long-term agreements with the other People's Democracies are a step in the direction of specialization and coordination, first of all in the iron and steel and engineering industries. Agreements with Poland and

Hungary, for example, provide for reciprocal deliveries of rolled metal to the amount of four million tons during 1961-65. Poland plans to make bus bodies to fit the seven-ton chassis made in Czechoslovakia; the latter will supply Poland with turbine blowers for ships. The two countries will supply each other with different types of excavators; they will also co-operate in streamlining chemical production, in processing oil and producing chemicals from it, in making synthetic rubber and fibers.

An agreement with Hungary envisages specialization in the manufacture of agricultural machines, tractors, means of transport, electrical goods and instruments. In particular, Hungary will deliver to Czechoslovakia the harvester combine GM-330 (built from a Czechoslovak model and using a Czechoslovak engine). Hungary will make self-propelled chassis using Czechoslovak diesel engines and will supply us with corn threshers and silo-cutters, machines for vineyard cultivation, and various spare parts. Czechoslovakia will supply Hungary with tractors, machines for hop cultivation, flax, sugar-beet, and also threshers and binders. The agreement also envisages reciprocal deliveries of Hungarian self-tippers and diesel trains and Czechoslovak motor vehicles.

Czechoslovakia is co-operating with Bulgaria in producing chemical and transport equipment and equipment for food industry plants. Bulgaria will supply Czechoslovakia with storage-batteries, electric motors and electric trucks, with the result that the share of deliveries from machine-building will amount to nearly one-third of her total export to Czechoslovakia.

An agreement with the German Democratic Republic provides for co-operation in making equipment for cement and sugar plants; production and reciprocal delivery of trucks — seven-ton trucks from Czechoslovakia and 2.5-ton trucks from the German Democratic Republic; and deliveries of Czechoslovak wheel (over 30 h.p.) tractors, springs and axles for railway cars to the Democratic Republic.

But most decisive for Czechoslovakia is its trade with the Soviet Union. According to preliminary data, this trade will amount in 1965 to nearly 40 per cent of the total foreign trade. Soviet orders for Czechoslovak goods, particularly for machines, are important for keeping the factories at full capacity; these orders help to raise the technical level of Czechoslovak machine-building, the produc-

tion of new articles, specialization and switching over to assembly-line production of some types of machines.

Czechoslovakia supplies the Soviet Union with growing quantities of manufactured items. It should be stressed that Czechoslovakia is an important supplier of equipment for the new chemical factories now going up in the Soviet Union. By 1965 machinery and plant will make up more than 60 per cent of Czechoslovakia's export to the Soviet Union.

At the same time Czechoslovakia is greatly interested in growing deliveries from the Soviet Union of raw materials and foodstuffs, whose proportion in the volume of imports will reach nearly 60 per cent by 1965, and also in deliveries of Soviet machinery and equipment for a number of branches.

For example, this year's delivery of iron ore from Krivoi Rog (USSR) will be nearly three times the 1958 figure. This ore will go also to the big iron and steel plant now under construction in Eastern Slovakia; when completed this plant will greatly promote the economy of socialist Slovakia. Together with Ostrava and Kladno, Kosice will become a center of the iron and steel industry.

Deliveries of Soviet oil meet the requirements of the national economy in oil fuel; a new branch, the production of chemicals from oil, is developing. The chemical plants will produce plastics and synthetics without which technical progress is unthinkable.

The long-term plans for co-operation with the Soviet Union envisage extraction and concentration of iron ore; production of non-ferrous metals; the construction of a pipeline to take oil from the Volga region to Czechoslovakia and Hungary; increased extraction of raw materials for the chemical industry, and greater specialization and co-operation in the machine-building industry.

The members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid are strengthening their co-operation by means of bilateral and multi-lateral talks. This can be seen in the recommendations of the XIIth session of the Council which met in Sofia last December and which, in addition to other points, discussed the drafting of plans for the period after 1965.

3. Scientific and Technological Co-operation

Scientific and technical co-operation and mutual technological aid in numerous branches are also important factors in the economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries.

This co-operation is not motivated by mercenary aims, as is the case in the capitalist world. Exchange of specifications does not involve any cost (the only item being the expenditure in copying the documents).

Mutual technical aid enables all the countries to accelerate their socialist construction, expand production on the basis of modern technology and utilize the raw material and fuel resources in the most rational way.

In recent years Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries have exchanged specifications for capital construction, for machines and industrial equipment, and data on technological processes. More experts and groups of workers in various branches visit the countries for a first-hand study of technical innovations and production experience.

The Soviet Union has helped Czechoslovakia in building her aluminum industry and a penicillin plant, manufacturing ferro-alloys, bearings and synthetic rubber and other projects. Soviet experts rendered technical assistance in prospecting for and extracting oil, dressing iron ores and producing non-ferrous metals.

Czechoslovakia in its turn has shared technological experience in the production of forging and pressing equipment and textile machinery, reinforced concrete railroad sleepers, prefabricated building panels and cathode-ray tubes. Soviet experts have studied the technique of extracting iron from ores in rotary furnaces without intermediate processes.

Czechoslovakia is co-operating with the German Democratic Republic in the fuel, metallurgical, machine-building and chemical industries and in agriculture. It is helping China in many branches, mainly in the power and heavy machine-building industries, in the production of mining equipment and synthetic fibers; it is co-operating with Poland in producing cord fabrics, viscose and other chemical goods.

Czechoslovak researchers are now collaborating with their colleagues in the other socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Poland; these countries conduct joint research in the different branches of science and technology, jointly design machines and details and work out technological processes.

Of great significance for Czechoslovakia is its co-operation with the other socialist countries in the peaceful uses of nuclear

energy and in studying the atom nucleus. The Soviet Union is rendering all-round aid in establishing a Czechoslovak Institute of Nuclear Physics and in building an atomic power-station, a plant for producing heavy water and plants for processing uranium.

This scientific and technical co-operation is important from the standpoint of economy. During 1957 and 1958 Czechoslovakia's saving in this respect was in the neighborhood of 300 million crowns.

4. Aid to the Underdeveloped Countries

Czechoslovakia is extending economic contact with the underdeveloped countries. This contact is part of its contribution to the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. Czechoslovak deliveries to these countries include industrial plant, in particular for the first oil-processing plant in Syria, for sugar factories in India, the United Arab Republic and Ceylon, for cement factories in India, the UAR, Afghanistan and Pakistan, for power stations in India, Argentina and the UAR.

The directives of the third five-year plan provide for a more than one-third increase by 1965 in the volume of trade with the capitalist countries compared with 1957. It is anticipated that economic co-operation with the underdeveloped countries will develop much more rapidly. Czechoslovakia, which willingly helps those countries seeking to expand their productive forces, has signed a trade and credit agreement with India envisaging a considerable enlargement of trade between the two countries. Under this agreement help will be extended to India in fulfilling her five-year plan, especially in developing the Bhilai industrial center. A trade agreement has been signed also with Ethiopia. Industrial plant will be supplied to Brazil and Indonesia.

In all, the third five-year plan envisages a more than twofold increase in the export of machinery and plant. These deliveries, some on credit, will, together with scientific and technical aid, further the economic development of the backward countries. At the same time there are prospects of arranging long-term imports of foodstuffs from these countries.

Aid to the underdeveloped countries is ren-

dered on the principle of equality, with no political strings attached.

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The co-operation between the socialist countries, which is growing, derives its strength from the fact that it harmonizes with the interests of freedom-loving humanity, from the very nature of the countries in which people's governments are in power, governments which have no aim other than serving their peoples.

Czechoslovakia's economic relations with the other socialist countries are an example of the new type of international relations developing in the socialist world. These relations, imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, are being extended and perfected on the basis of the Leninist principles of equality and mutual respect for the national interests, fraternal mutual aid and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs; they add up to all-round, durable and mutually advantageous co-operation in many branches of the national economy.

Co-operation between the socialist countries, based on planned development, furthers the economic advance of these countries and paves the way to specialization and coordination of production in accordance with the natural resources, economic potential and the traditions of each country. It ensures a more useful and more advantageous allocation and development of the productive forces of the socialist camp as a whole, a more rational utilization of the natural resources of each country in the interests of the socialist world. This immeasurably increases the economic potential of the socialist countries, strengthens the international positions of socialism and ensures rising standards of living for hundreds of millions.

The economic co-operation between the socialist countries has entered a new phase, when the advantages of the socialist world system will make themselves felt in even greater measure, advantages which accelerate the progress of all members of the socialist camp. The division of labor between the socialist countries reinforces the friendship which unites them in the struggle for the common goal — the building of socialism and communism, preservation of peace, and victory in economic competition with the capitalist world.

Some Aspects of Organization Of the Polish Economy

E. Szyr

A FEATURE of the changes effected in Poland's political and economic life between 1956 and 1958 was the striving to eliminate the disproportions which arose during the six-year plan, to secure the fullest implementation of the principles of democratic centralism and socialist democracy.

During these years strenuous efforts were made to enhance the leading role of the United Workers' Party and to temper it ideologically, politically and organizationally. It was necessary to get rid of revisionism — the main danger — behind which the reactionary forces took cover. The revisionist arguments were also used by capitalist elements abroad.

The imperialist propaganda machine seized upon the slightest manifestations of revisionism in some organs of the Polish press and falsified Party policy. Vain, however, were the hopes of those who, on the basis of this false information, calculated that People's Poland would break with the socialist camp and that her unity and close co-operation with the Soviet Union would be undermined.

The fight against revisionism interfered with the carrying out of other important Party tasks, diverted attention from the pressing issues. The Party could not conduct its ideological work properly without waging a consistent struggle against the alien elements who had penetrated into this sphere, without helping those who had been misled by the revisionist hullabaloo, and without a struggle against the "frightened petty bourgeois" elements who sought solace in existentialism, bourgeois sociology and in the "new" schools of idealist philosophy.

Simultaneously, it had to overcome sectarianism and dogmatism among a section of the Party activists and rank and file. These tendencies had their source in a lack of faith in the masses, in hesitation to effect bold changes in the organization, forms and methods of Party and government work, the

objective necessity of which was convincingly shown by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Strengthening the leading role of the Party and raising its ideological level and militancy were at that time the essential conditions for the rapid building of socialism. And the efforts of the Party were concentrated on achieving these aims. But this affected its activity in other spheres, with resulting shortcomings and lapses in economic management.

The main thing in reorganizing economic work was consistent adherence to democratic centralism which presupposes a systematic strengthening of the central bodies and improving their work while relieving them of the need to busy themselves with matters of secondary importance; it presupposes, moreover, encouraging the initiative of the local bodies and enterprises and enlisting more working people in management.

These seemingly contradictory trends should be regarded as a dialectical unity of the objective process of modifying the institutions and legal norms of the proletarian dictatorship. Numerous dangers threaten the state if decentralization is not accompanied by strengthening the leading role of the Party and vigorous activity on the part of the mass organizations, first of all the trade unions and youth organizations. These dangers become greater still if extension of the rights of the local bodies is not accompanied by strengthening the central bodies, by better management and by utilization of scientific achievements for formulating the principles of economic policy and planning, which is the most important element of this policy.

Only the Party, which expresses the immediate and future interests of the working people, can effectively combat the tendency to particularism and group egoism displayed by some of the local bodies and groups of working people, and also the "local" patriotism which has its origin in too great a con-

centration on particular interests. It is necessary to enhance the leading role of the Party which cements the unity of the working people and conducts political, educational and economic activity aimed at eliminating conflicting social interests and bringing to the fore common interests, the common tasks of socialist construction.

Any attempt to belittle the role of the Party in this sphere, to deny its leading role in tackling these questions, runs counter to the objective requirements of the socialist development of society. Both the worker-peasant alliance and the close contact of the intellectuals with the toilers of town and countryside presuppose the leading political role of the Party in a broad system encompassing other allied parties, mass organizations and non-party activists.

The third plenum of the Central Committee of the Party held in October, 1959, pointed to lapses in adhering to democratic centralism and in developing socialist democracy. The central administrative and planning bodies were excessively weakened; in effecting decentralization measures, financial policy was violated, particularly in the sphere of wages and investment.

The rapid increase in purchasing power last year caused a disparity between it and the other indices of the five-year plan. Owing to the prolonged drought the rate of growth of agricultural output declined somewhat in 1959. In these circumstances the Party took measures to restore the balance in some branches of the national economy.

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In considering some of the main economic problems, the first thing to bear in mind is that, on the whole, the national economy has developed successfully and the working people have achieved splendid results. Compared with the prewar, industrial output has risen more than sixfold in total volume and more than sevenfold per capita. Consumption of basic foods has risen substantially.

During the past three and a half years real wages have gone up over 30 per cent, more and better goods are available, and a big improvement has taken place in the social services, especially pensions, family allowances, health and recreational services, education and science. Housing, too, has made good progress.

It should also be borne in mind that socialist relations do not as yet extend to a quite considerable section of the population, particularly in the countryside. About 85 per

cent of the arable land still belongs to individual peasants. Socialist reconstruction of the countryside in our conditions is a very difficult but inevitable task of the socialist state and of the peasant masses. Peasant farming with its small plots cannot ensure a systematic introduction of new machinery and a steady growth of investments and output.

The second plenum of the Central Committee formulated a program for large-scale collective ownership of machines and other means of production even before conditions are ripe for establishing producer co-operatives on a mass scale. This program will be modified as the Party and non-party activists among the peasants acquire experience. At the same time more attention is devoted to the economic and political strengthening of the existing producer co-operatives and to establishing new ones. The state farms are working much more efficiently and their output has risen; in the future they will play a greater part in socialist agriculture. This does not alter the fact that at present our main difficulty is that agriculture is not keeping pace with socialist industry and, consequently, the reason for this lies not only in the low level of the productive forces but also in the social relations in the countryside which act as a hindrance to expanding the productive forces.

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What is the trend of the changes in the methods of central leadership, planning and management?

The third plenum pointed to the need to enhance the role of the Planning Commission in co-ordinating all aspects of economic activity, all interdependent branches of the economy. It also suggested a wider use of economic balances and elaboration of a sound balance of the national economy.

During the transition period we should considerably improve our assessment and analysis of economic phenomena, especially in the peasant economy and in the income and expenditure of the population which cannot be determined statistically.

It is necessary to extend the so-called complex planning on a territorial, first of all regional, scale. Some regions are fundamentally different in economic and social respects. Alongside the regions with highly developed industry and agriculture there are agricultural regions with a very low level of cultivation and animal husbandry.

Complex planning on a territorial scale should encompass not only farms run by the

people's councils but also farms directed by central bodies. Attention should be paid, moreover, to ensuring better co-ordination of measures taken by ministries and central boards and to enhancing the role of the government in economic construction.

Empowering ministers to make decisions and formulate policy in the spheres of activity formerly under the control of the Planning Commission and the Council of Ministers has, undoubtedly, produced good results and has facilitated the work of the central bodies. There are, however, definite limits to departmental activity, caused by the growing division and mutual coordination of social labor. The number of questions that cannot be solved by the departments and require solution at the top is constantly increasing.

We should not underestimate the tendency of some administrative bodies to see nothing except their own problems and take a one-sided approach to complicated economic matters. Behind the talk about "efficiency," "know-how" and narrow specialization often lies ignorance of general questions, lack of a political approach to economic problems and, at times, even a reluctance to go deeply into the political content of economic activity. This narrow departmental approach and bureaucratic indifference cannot be compensated for by "know-how," "conscientiousness" and an outwardly proper way of carrying out assignments. That is why, while combating the narrow departmental approach and correctly coordinating the work of the central bodies, we attach paramount importance to selecting and training cadres for the state apparatus.

It is insufficiently understood that the manager in the new Poland should not be simply an "official," but a public figure who should be active in the socialist reconstruction and doing his bit in bringing the administration closer to the people.

This is an essential part of the labor effort now being made to secure a new style of work and to reconstruct the state apparatus in the spirit of Lenin's directives about combating bureaucracy and bringing the people into the work of running the state.

* * *

In discussing management in industry and building, prominence is given to relations between the ministries and the amalgamations and between the latter and the separate enterprises. Last year the amalgamations were vested with considerable powers in the sphere of coordinating their economic activ-

ity. They have replaced the central boards formerly under the ministries; they unite a number of enterprises and possess the necessary economic and financial means. These independent economic units have research institutes and designing and distribution agencies. In future they will also have technical information bureaus.

The amalgamations, then, have become well-equipped centers of guidance and control; they set assignments for the enterprises and work out plans for technical reconstruction in their particular branches.

The amalgamation has a twofold purpose: it acts on behalf of a group of enterprises in the corresponding departmental and planning bodies and represents the departmental and state interests in the enterprises. Each amalgamation is run by a board consisting of managers of the enterprises or the heads of offices. The board likewise has a twofold purpose: on the one hand, it is a forum for discussing the basic problems of the plan and technical and economic progress from the standpoint of the separate enterprises; and on the other, it is a school for training managers in the spirit of socialist co-operation and mutual aid, of understanding the priority of national interests. Relations of comradely co-operation and socialist solidarity do not come about automatically; they are possible under public ownership of the means of production, but to establish them we must wage a stubborn struggle against the survivals of bourgeois ideology, against red-tape in the relations between the amalgamations and the separate enterprises, and against the indifference to losses incurred as a result of inadequate co-operation and delay in rendering technical aid. Thus the boards of the amalgamations should, like the scientific-technical conferences, help train industrial cadres, promote socialist relations between the enterprises and assure the planned development of the given branch. The amalgamation should not interfere too much in the work of the enterprises, nor should it encroach on their independence by tutelage and bureaucratic management.

To influence correctly the economic activity of the enterprises means helping them in every way, using for this purpose the scientific and technical base of the amalgamation, by making a thorough comparative analysis of the technical and economic indices of the separate enterprises, of their financial and economic activity.

The role of the amalgamation should grow not only in the spheres of guidance and super-

vision but also in the financial and technological relations between the amalgamation and the enterprises.

The practical work of the amalgamations poses a number of new and important problems. The point is that with the present structure it is doubtful if there is an amalgamation which embraces all the enterprises of the given branch. Some enterprises are under the supervision of other amalgamations or departments; other kindred enterprises are supervised by people's councils or they come under the system of labor co-operation.

For example, the Ministry of Heavy Industry accounts for 65-70 per cent of the machines and equipment turned out in the country. A machine-tool amalgamation controls 70 per cent of the machine-tool output, and an amalgamation in the clothing industry — about 50 per cent. But proper economic interdependence, technical reconstruction and long-term development necessitate the amalgamation of all the enterprises in the given branch, for only such an approach makes possible the kind of planning which takes cognizance of the correlation between the branches on a national and local scale. In the course of the discussion it was suggested that amalgamations should analyze the entire complex of problems in their particular branch and should coordinate, within a given framework, the economic activity of the branch. We should, however, beware of a subjective, one-sided approach by the boards of amalgamations to the kindred enterprises in the local and co-operative industry, and should keep our eyes open for the many difficulties likely to arise in the process of co-operation, especially with enterprises under the supervision of other amalgamations and departments. The boards, then, should adopt a politically mature, objective attitude towards the smaller state and co-operative enterprises outside their jurisdiction, should respect the rights of people's councils, co-operative associations and the corresponding departments.

Co-operation should begin with the technical and organizational aid that the amalgamation extends to the enterprises not directly under the supervision of the former; capital investment plans, the range of goods to be produced and the location of the industry should be discussed with the enterprise managers and the higher bodies.

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The intertwining of "vertical" and "horizontal" management and planning poses difficult problems for us and requires much

theoretical work and practical experience. Our system of management is not immutable. On the contrary, its feature is the constant search for new forms and solutions in keeping with the needs of the rapidly expanding productive forces.

Immutable are only the general principles by which the Party is guided in its work to ensure that management and planning keep in step with the rapid socialist industrialization. These principles are based on democratic centralism, and their proper application presupposes free rein to the initiative of the lower economic and administrative bodies, presupposes a wider and more active participation by the people in discussing and carrying out national economic assignments.

The Party leadership and the Government have launched a drive to improve finances and labor discipline. The question may be asked: what is the connection between these measures and the drive for broad democracy in economic relations, for utilizing the experience of the masses in making decisions? Actually there is a very close connection. Inconsistency in applying the principles of democratic centralism, the easing of central supervision coupled with the lack of public supervision at lower levels, led to some weakening of financial discipline, to wrong practices in fixing norms, wage rates, overtime, etc. This was aggravated by the revisionist views which favored particularism and the striving to steer the enterprises away from the general stream of socialist co-operation.

During the debate in 1956-57 on the role of the enterprises, on central planning and guidance, some people called for complete autonomy for the enterprises and free competition between them, for granting each enterprise the right to fix prices and to share the profits between the workers and the state. Others held that group ownership should be regarded as being superior to state ownership. The criticism made by the Party about underestimating economic accounting and the law of value was used by some circles in their advocacy of a "free market," in making a fetish of the law of value. They seized on the criticism to which the excessive centralism and bureaucratic distortions had been subjected in order to put over anarchistic petty-bourgeois theories about "agreement" between the enterprise and the state, about eliminating the method of fixing targets in central planning and the replacement of planning by incentives, by reliance on credits, interest rates and so-called economic forecasting. The criticism to which the bureaucratic methods

employed in socialist emulation were subjected was used as a pretext for spreading revisionist theories which deny the importance of ideological and moral factors in social labor.

And this philosophy, imported from America, merged with the philosophizing of a disorientated *petty bourgeois*: "material reward is everything, it is the sole stimulus. In this world one should think only about himself"—"I'm all right, Jack." This new-fangled slogan has been taken up also by the "critics" of Marxism.

It would be wrong, of course, to overestimate the effect of these views and of those who peddle them. But in Poland in 1956-57 these views spread and merged with the various underground trends of the reactionary bourgeois opposition and with the subversive propaganda which flowed from the imperialist agencies. It is a fact that these views encouraged a happy-go-lucky attitude on questions of financial and labor discipline and on wages. And it is a fact that many managers and business executives who wasted public funds for the benefit of separate groups and, in the name of the "interests of the collective," violated the financial policy of the state, saw in these views justification for their socially harmful practices.

The Central Committee of the Party waged an intense struggle against these harmful tendencies, insisting that all energy should be directed towards cutting down excess staffs, eliminating abuses in disbursing the wage fund and other shortcomings and mistakes.

The third Party Congress has strengthened the Party ideologically and organizationally and initiated the socialist offensive in all spheres of ideological, political, economic and cultural life. This explains why the campaign to streamline the affairs of the enterprises and unswervingly to observe the socialist principle—to each according to his work—is of such political importance.

The eradication of wrong methods in calculating earnings and bonuses, and a strict attitude to every violation of financial discipline, have greatly improved the atmosphere in the enterprises. The measures taken have cleared the way for popular initiative, provided a moral interest and furthered socialist emulation. Combating the narrow departmental approach, particularism, and the attitude of neglect of the national interests facilitates the proper training of cadres and encourages the public to participate more in discussing local and national matters.

Simultaneously with this we are introducing economic accounting, regulating wages and prices, credit and financial policy, and improving the system of bonuses. Only the proper use of incentives and the appropriate ideological, educational and organizational work aimed at securing greater public activity can lead to the harmonious development of socialist relations among the people.

* * *

Hence the program of regulating the production relations, of organizing management and planning, reflects the enthusiasm displayed by the activists and the Party membership in tackling the numerous difficulties which we still encounter in socialist construction.

Socio-economic changes take place in the struggle between the old and the new. This, in addition to being a battle of ideas, is a struggle against the hostile activity of the reactionary elements, against the class enemies who have retired to their holes but who raise their heads from time to time. Consequently, it would be wrong to think that the socialist offensive on the ideological, political and economic fronts will be welcomed everywhere. The leading force of this offensive is the working class and its tried core—the Party. The number of intellectuals drawn from the milieu of the working people is growing. This new intelligentsia, having linked its destiny with the building of socialism, is wholly devoted to work in the spheres of education, science and culture in the interests of their country and of peace.

The peasants too are manifesting greater interest in public life, in the socialist perspective for agriculture, in well-being and scientific and technical achievements.

Socialism and communism are questions which, more and more, force themselves onto the agenda of the day in present-day Poland—socialism as the goal we are striving for now, and communism which grows out of socialist production relations and crowns the historic struggle of the revolutionary forces for a system that ensures well-being and a high level of culture, comradely relations between people and all-round development of the individual.

Consciousness of the irrevocable march of history which is taking the world onto the broad highway of socialism and communism is becoming a material force, rallying millions of people in the struggle for peace and socialism.

The grand achievements accruing from the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, the remarkable advance of Soviet science and technology—these are

the things that are creating extremely favorable conditions for our Party in building socialism.

For National Unity

D. N. Aidit

NEVER before has the relationship of international forces exerted such an influence on the solution of internal issues by each country as now.

The bold steps by the Soviet Union towards lessening international tension, the Khrushchov visit to the USA and especially his proposal at the U.N. General Assembly concerning general complete disarmament are extremely valuable contributions to world peace.

The peace movement and the movement against colonialism are inseparable; the movement for national independence cannot achieve full results without upholding peace. The people of Indonesia have adopted the slogan "*We want peace because we want independence.*"

We consider the movement for national independence not as a separate movement, but as an extremely important element of rallying all the peace-loving forces of the world which, together with the socialist countries, oppose imperialism and champion the national independence of all nations, democracy, peace and socialism.

Some leaders who determine the Republic's foreign policy want to be neutral or to stand between the growing progressive forces and the disintegrating forces of imperialism. The Indonesian Communists support what has been repeatedly stated by President Sukarno that, in the question of war and peace, of imperialism and independence, we are not neutral but side with peace and independence.

People may repeat a thousand times that "Indonesia does not choose blocs," yet it is a demonstrable fact that any policy hostile to the Soviet Union and the socialist camp benefits imperialism, and this is contrary to the interests of the Indonesian people who are waging a struggle against imperialism. When we say that first and foremost we stand for co-operation with the socialist countries

on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect in all spheres, this is not "choosing blocs" but implementing a foreign policy beneficial to the Indonesian people. Khrushchov's visit to our country is another important step towards consolidating friendship between the Soviet Union and Indonesia. It is yet another contribution to easing international tension, to peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The Communist Party holds that Indonesia's foreign policy should consistently be devoted to two things: to the task of achieving victory for the Indonesian revolution which is of a national and democratic character, and to safeguarding and strengthening world peace. As to the internal tasks facing the country, the Communist Party believes that democracy is now the most vital question for the Indonesian people.

Defense of Democracy Is the Main Thing

The slogan: "*For Democracy and a Gotong Royong Cabinet*" (i.e., a cabinet in which all anti-imperialist groups, the Communists included, will participate) is the main slogan, corresponding to the urgent needs of the Indonesian people. The Communist Party stands for implementation of this slogan.

The people of Indonesia need democracy now more than ever. As is the case in some Asian-African countries, our national bourgeoisie, which only recently came to power, is not in a position to solve the pressing economic problems and raise the living standards of the people as they promised before coming to power, when jointly with the people they fought against colonialism. They lack both the courage and the ability to oust imperialism from all spheres of life and to abolish feudal survivals. On the other hand, the masses, now a powerful force in the arena, are insisting on higher living standards, demanding an end to the influence of imperialism in all fields and the abolition of the survivals of feudalism.

In this situation some groups of the national bourgeoisie, jointly with the comprador bourgeoisie, want to take the road of military or personal dictatorship. If there is not yet a military dictatorship or personal dictatorship in Indonesia this is because there are powerful democratic and progressive forces in existence capable of thwarting this aim.

The demand for the formation of a "Gotong Royong" cabinet is the sum total of the experience of the people who, despite the frequent changes of cabinets, realize that no cabinet without Communists, not even one supported by the Communists, can effect the necessary changes in their life. The Indonesian Communists have always felt the situation in the country as their responsibility, and for this reason they are demanding participation in the government. Communist participation in the government would make for national cohesion, because the working people, regarding it as their government, would wholeheartedly support it.

Naturally, Communist participation in the government should not be regarded as a panacea for all the ills, since the ability or inability of the government to solve the pressing problems of the country depends in large measure on the composition of the government as a whole, and on its policy. Nevertheless, such participation would be a positive sign, i.e., a sign that all the democratic and patriotic groups are deeply aware of the gravity of the situation and sincerely want to remedy it. Clearly, this would arouse new hopes, create new possibilities and fresh enthusiasm among the people generally. These are some of the reasons as to why Communists, in line with President Sukarno's desires for the country, are insisting on the formation of a "Gotong Royong" cabinet.

Military or personal dictatorship is a latent danger in Indonesia as long as there is U.S. imperialism and its SEATO, and as long as there are Indonesians ready to sell their country to the imperialists. The frequent attempts to impose a military dictatorship in Indonesia met with failure chiefly because of three factors. Firstly, being a democrat, President Sukarno, who enjoys prestige among the armed forces and the people, refuses to become the tool of the militarists and therefore rejects military dictatorship. Secondly, revolutionary tradition is strong among the officers and non-commissioned officers and other ranks of Indonesia's armed forces so that it is not easy to lure them into betraying the Republic and democracy. Thirdly, the people,

in addition to wanting democracy, are able to defend it.

The Communists will fight to prevent any repetition of military dictatorship such as the people experienced during the Japanese occupation, irrespective of its form. However, should it prove impossible to avert military dictatorship the duty of every Communist is to resist it with all his might. The fight against military dictatorship means defending national independence and the Republic against the brazen attacks of the imperialists.

As to our attitude to the Sukarno-Djuanda cabinet, the first Presidential cabinet since the Presidential decree of July 5, 1959, which restored the 1945 Constitution, we will do everything to help the government realize both its program and the basic ideas contained in Sukarno's Political Manifesto announced on August 17, 1959, Indonesia's National Day, so long as the government does not impede the development of the movement for independence and democracy. The Communist Party wholeheartedly supports the Sukarno-Djuanda government and, in criticizing it, is guided by the principle: *unconditional support of its progressive policy, a critical attitude in relation to its policy of vacillation, opposition to those ministers whose policies are inimical to the people.*

End Imperialist Domination and Feudal Survivals

The struggle of the Indonesian people to end Dutch imperialist domination is not yet finished, the task of national liberation is far from being completed. Economically Indonesia is not yet fully independent and, in essence, is still a semi-colony. The Dutch imperialists are enemy No. 1. Our people are carrying on the struggle against Dutch imperialism, to liberate east Irian, to nationalize Dutch capital in the mixed enterprise BPM (Anglo-Dutch Shell Oil Company), to remove Dutch agents from important positions in the administrative apparatus and in the economy, to wipe out the armed gangs still operating in the interests of the Dutch colonialists, to put an end to Dutch air and naval reconnaissance over Indonesia's airspace and territorial waters, and to combat Dutch imperialist influence in education and culture.

Although the struggle against Dutch imperialism is not yet over, the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people at present is U.S. imperialism. This imperialism is at once the most aggressive and the most obdurate in pursuing its criminal designs. The U.S. imperialists are increasing their capital

investments and taking advantage of the fact that not a few Indonesians of high station are sufficiently naive as to believe that U.S. imperialism is not so dangerous.

While fighting to solve their basic contradiction with Dutch imperialism our people should be vigilant in order to combat the infiltration and intervention of U.S. imperialism. Rallying the forces with which to defeat Dutch imperialism—it is easiest to win the people for this purpose—signifies the rallying of the forces to rebuff all imperialism.

The maximum effort against imperialism can be mounted only if broad democratic liberties are guaranteed to the people and their organizations, and provided the peasants are won for this struggle. And they can be won if measures are taken to relieve them of the burden of feudal exploitation. The most important demand of the Communist Party in this respect is that the division of the crop between the peasant and the landlord, which usually stands at 5:5, be changed to a 6:4 division, i.e., the minimum share of 60 per cent for the peasant as against the maximum of 40 per cent for the landlord, the minimum being 25 per cent, except in those places where the landlord is already getting less than 25 per cent.

At the moment Indonesia is in the grip of an economic crisis. The reasons for the crisis are, first, the fact that Indonesia still remains within the sphere of the capitalist international division of labor, which for all practical purposes deprives her of the power and capacity to conduct and expand production in all spheres; second, the persistence of feudal survivals and, third, the fact that the state sector is still extremely weak. The crisis is characterized by industrial stagnation, dependence on unstable imports and exports, a growing volume of money in circulation, growing inflation and a constant increase in the price of basic commodities.

As the way out of this stifling economic crisis the Communist Party has suggested patriotic and very reasonable methods, the basic ideas of which are: (1) Indonesia should establish closer relations with the socialist countries where economic crises are unknown, and take measures against foreign big capital so as to step up the expansion of the national economy; (2) progressive measures should be taken in agriculture, and (3) the state sector of the economy should be developed so that it gradually takes over the "commanding positions."

With the nationalization of the enterprises owned by the Dutch colonialists and with the counter-revolutionary rebels in the main having been defeated, the diehard forces have lost considerable ground and the progressive forces have gained ground. The so-called middle-of-the-road forces remain much as they were. True, the prestige of their leaders has suffered because of their vacillations in the fight against the counter-revolution. The reason why the middle-of-the-road forces have retained their positions can be explained by the fact that the left wing of this group remained anti-imperialist, and also by the fact that some of the diehards joined with them. In addition, the middle-of-the-road people still exert an important ideological and political influence among civil servants and intellectuals.

Vis-à-vis these three forces, i.e., the progressives, the middle-of-the-roaders and the diehards, the task of the Communist Party remains the same: *to develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-roaders and isolate the diehards.* This means implementing the slogan: *"Improve national front activities, further isolate the diehard forces!"* Improving these activities means first of all better Party work among the peasants and establishing unity between the progressives and all the middle-of-the-roaders, not confining it to their left wing as is the case now.

Party work among the peasants, although we have made some progress, leaves much to be desired. The Party holds that *there cannot possibly be a genuine national front and that "it is impossible to talk of the leading role of the Communist Party in this front unless we organize and lead the masses of the peasants."*

The Party organized what we have called the "going down" movement with the implementation of the "three together" by the Party leaders (to work, live and eat with the peasants). This movement has given us a clearer picture of agrarian relations and the still deeply rooted feudal survivals in the villages. It has made clear also that the revolutionary peasant movement must be based on the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants, and that with the leadership of the Communists they can become the close ally of the working class in the struggle against all enemies of the working people.

Strengthen the Party Ideologically

The Communist Party can solve its tasks only by strengthening its ranks organizationally and, especially, ideologically.

The growth of the Party membership was stimulated by the First Three-Year Program of Organization and Education adopted by the Central Committee in July 1956. The implementation of this program facilitated the building of a national, Bolshevik type of Party of a broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. This success enabled us to draft the Second Three-Year Program, the task of which is to continue the general line of Party building.

A rapid increase in membership can have adverse consequences if it is not accompanied by large-scale Party education. Expanding membership can be considered correct only if it is obtained in the first place through mass action and if it is continuously followed up by intensive education. The majority of the cadres, beginning with those in the central bodies down to the local organizations, have been educated in line with the First Three-Year Program. It is the task of the new Program to educate *all* Party functionaries and activists, and to educate the majority of the rank and file.

Subjects like philosophy and the history of the international working-class movement, which earlier were taught only in the Central Party School and in some of the District Schools, should be taught in the Party schools at all levels. The history of the international working-class movement is very important for carrying out the Party policy of welding patriotism with proletarian internationalism, of defeating national nihilism and bourgeois chauvinism. In view of the frontal attacks of the bourgeoisie in the philosophical field it would be a grave mistake if the Communists were to adopt a passive attitude, because this would leave the philosophical fortress of the working class open to attacks by hostile elements, with the consequent weakening of the workers' movement and the movement of the working people generally.

The Party members are taught to use the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing the political situation, in appraising the class forces, and in investigating and studying the social and economic situation. They are obliged to master Marxism-Leninism and know the situation in order to make their work more effective. "Knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and knowledge of the situation"—this is the slogan of the Indonesian Communists in their studies and work, in their fight against subjectivism.

Hence, the Second Three-Year Program puts the stress on ideology. This does not mean that organizational matters should be neglected. Building the organization is important but ideological work is even more important. By emphasizing the Party ideology, an extensive and intensive development of its ranks will take place, and this signifies strengthening the backbone of the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people.

The experience gained in carrying out the First Three-Year Program enabled us to draw the conclusion that success can be achieved only if the Party loyally abides by collective leadership, by criticism and self-criticism and the mass line. The Indonesian Communists are striving for the style of work that will make their Party the real leader, capable of eliminating bureaucracy and sectarianism, of building the unity of the people everywhere and of organizing mass action in order to be master of the situation and influence its developments. In short, this style of work is: *"welding theory with practice, establishing close contact with the masses, and self-criticism."*

The rapidly developing revolutionary situation in Indonesia demands that the Communists continuously bring their Party organization into line with the situation. The Party should always be able to find the forms of organization needed to give an impetus to the movement. In order to build Party organizations in the thousands of islands of Indonesia, the Communists need strong "national solidarity" in Java to enable them at any time to send functionaries to the districts outside Java. The Java Communists, it should be said, are doing this because the weakness of the Party in these districts might result in a situation in which the popular forces in Java could be surrounded by reactionaries. This was especially felt some years ago at the time the separatist movement outside Java was rampant.

In the matter of Party building we act under the slogan *"strengthen, expand and renew the Party."*

By *strengthening* the Party we mean in the first place consolidating and developing the results of the First Three-Year Program, drafting a more purposeful Second Three-Year Program, successfully implementing it, revealing the weaknesses of the Party and overcoming them, and intensifying the work to preserve the purity of the Party's ideology. Our communist movement must be raised to the level of a mass organization which is

large not only because it embraces all nationalities and has more than eight million voters, but also because it is an active organization, the leading organization in each group of people, even the smallest. In short, strengthening the Party means improving its quality, the quality of all its organizations—committees, branches, and so on. It means improving the quality of each member.

By *expanding* the Party we mean in the first place closer contact between the Party and all nationalities in the country. This implies that the Party should be closely linked with the masses and their organizations—trade unions, scouts, sports, recreational and tourist organizations, youth movements, in a word, with all that can link the Party with the most politically backward, with those who display indifference to public life. It goes without saying that extending the Party's influence presupposes also more members and more branches, because only with a large number of individually active members can we build a broad and really solid national front; only through a large membership and numerous Party organizations can a broad, centralized and strong mass movement be created to uphold and extend the rights of the people and change the balance of forces.

Renewing the Party means, in the first place, amending its Rules in order to impart to it greater mobilizing and organizing power, to enable it to lead. It is also important that our cadres should work not sporadically or in a groping way, should not determine policy or work according to the mood of the moment, but on the basis of a study of the situation. Conclusions should be drawn from every undertaking. Renewing the Party also signifies raising the level of inner-Party life, in the first place continuously strengthening loyalty to the principle of democratic centralism and to the habit of criticism and self-criticism. Renewing the Party does not at all mean making "a new Party." Our Party will forever remain a Party of the Lenin type, a Party that renews itself ceaselessly, always ready to play the leading role.

Party leadership of the mass movement, notwithstanding some progress, is not yet sufficiently felt mainly because the enthusiasm of campaign work is not properly combined with everyday, painstaking work. Enthusiastic campaigns are frequently not preceded or followed up by painstaking work by the members among the workers and peasants, with the result that economic and

political mass actions are not followed up by consolidating the mass organizations and the Party branches. What, then, is the use of actions if they do not add to the strength of the mass organizations and the Party branches? The Party should be guided by the principle "stand on both feet" which means that the enthusiasm generated during campaigns which bring the masses into activity for clear-cut demands must be supplemented by painstaking work to help the people to solve the numerous problems of their lives such as those affecting the co-operatives, vocational training, sports, security in old age, etc.

Party work in the countryside is a matter of great importance. The CPI is unanimously resolved to raise the three co-operative banners: — *credit, producer and consumer co-operatives*, in order to combat oppression and exploitation and to improve the conditions of the working people in the villages. With a view to promoting producer co-operatives and boosting the production of rice, the Party launched a movement on the basis of five points: "Plough deeply, plant closely, use more fertilizer, improve seeds and irrigation." Experimental rice fields organized by the Party Committees for the purpose of demonstrating the importance of the five points have produced good results—a twofold crop increase.

In connection with increasing the services to the people in preparation for the Sixth National Congress, thousands of voluntary work brigades were formed in which Party leaders at all levels participated. According to incomplete data these brigades repaired and built 3,249 km of roads, 985 km of ditches, repaired and built 2,280 dwelling houses, 80 school buildings, 1,477 bridges and 139 dams; they opened 351 anti-illiteracy centers, etc. The Congress awarded banners to the branches which worked most and best in rendering services to the people, in developing the economy, and in various fields of Party work.

The Congress of Glorious Unity

The above-mentioned basic questions of internal and external policies were thoroughly considered at the Sixth National Congress of the CPI in September 1959.

Our members have called this congress the "*Congress of Glorious Unity*," because it demonstrated the great unity of the Communists and the working people.

Circulation of the Party materials to the public began long before the Congress (over six months) and the mass activities which were part of the preparation for the Congress helped to unite the Party with the masses, and made the Sixth National Congress not only politically but also in the practical sense a congress of the working people. These were the basic reasons which made it difficult for the reactionaries to isolate the Party and wreck the Congress.

Thousands of messages containing greetings were sent to the Congress, and were followed by contributions by the masses in money and foodstuffs sufficient to feed all participants in the Congress for a month, i.e., exceeding by far the actual requirements of the congress.

An exhibition of paintings, showing the results of the "going down" movement among progressive painters was held as part of the preparation for the congress. President Sukarno, a connoisseur of painting, jotting down his impressions of the exhibition, said that compared with previous exhibitions this one reflected noticeable progress.

An exhibition devoted to Party history was also held. It deeply impressed our cadres, encouraged them to make a deeper study of their Party's history and to collect materials for it.

During the Congress art performances were held in Djakarta, while popular festivals were held in towns and villages.

Messages of congratulation poured in to the Congress, including messages from Ministers and other prominent leaders. President Sukarno spoke at the reception held at the end of the Congress. In his speech which lasted nearly one hour and which was broadcast throughout the country, the President stated that ever since his youth he had cherished feelings of close friendship with the Communist Party, that he approved and appreciated the policy of the Party and its consistent struggle for a national front, and that he wanted the formation of a "Gotong Royong" cabinet.

The imperialists and the home reactionaries suffered failure in their attempts to isolate the Communist Party and its Congress from the democratic and patriotic forces outside the CPI and from the international Communist movement. On the con-

trary, the relations between the CPI and the national democratic and patriotic forces and with the international Communist movement are closer than ever.

The fact that the Congress was attended by delegations from the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Australia, the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the German Socialist Unity Party and the Communist Party of Italy was of great importance for the Indonesian Communists and the working people. Messages from thirty-six fraternal parties were warmly applauded, particularly the greetings from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

The Congress unanimously approved the Declaration of the twelve Communist and Workers' Parties adopted in Moscow in November 1957 and condemned the shameful practice of the Yugoslavian revisionists, who in words profess to be outside the imperialist camp but who, by slandering the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and by deceiving naive leaders of the national bourgeoisie in the newly independent Asian and African countries, actually help the imperialists in splitting the international front of those fighting against colonialism and for peace and socialism.

It is a fact that the Tito brand of revisionism has not found the slightest response in the Communist Party of Indonesia. This does not mean, however, that the Indonesian Communists should be passive in the fight against dangerous deviations. The internationalist duty of our Communists is to help safeguard the Communists and working-class movement of the world, continually to strengthen the international anti-colonial and peace-loving front. We know that the chauvinism fomented by the Right-wing of the national bourgeoisie in Indonesia is the soil on which revisionist ideas can grow, thereby endangering the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Party.

The delegates left the Congress with the spirit of unity in the Party and the spirit of devotion to the people. The Congress was a success not only for the CPI but also for the entire democratic and patriotic movement in the country.

The Situation in Argentina and The Tactics of the Communist Party

Victorio Codovilla

THE struggle waged by the working people in Argentina has taken on an unparalleled sweep.

Fighting for their basic demands, the workers, peasants, students, office employees, professional workers and housewives come out against the landlord oligarchy, imperialism and the big comprador bourgeoisie and for far-reaching economic and political changes. This democratic and anti-imperialist movement is powerfully influencing the people of Latin America and evoking the fury of the Argentine reactionaries and the North American and British imperialists.

The Communist Party of Argentina, seeking to unite all the democratic, patriotic and progressive forces, to resolve the national problems in a peaceful way and to consolidate national sovereignty, is gaining more and more support among the people. The Frondizi government, in a desperate but vain attempt to hold back the popular struggle and to isolate the Communist Party, has resorted to brutal reprisals.

Frondizi, Before and After Coming to Power

The Frondizi Government came to power as a result of the elections held in February 1958. At that time the Communist Party supported Frondizi and called on the people to vote for him.

Why, it may be asked, did we urge support of Frondizi and not some other nominee of the small bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie?

True to its policy of unity, the Communist Party put forward a five-point election program: broad democratic rights for the people; effective guarantees of the rights of the working people and satisfaction of their basic social and economic demands; land to the peasants; safeguarding the national resources from imperialist encroachment; an independent, peaceful foreign policy. The Party sought the support of the other democratic forces in order to conduct a joint election campaign with a view to establishing a broad democratic coalition government.

Of all the parties the Frondizi party alone expressed its agreement with the five points but held that it was impossible at the time to form a democratic coalition. The Peronists, who were then illegal, followed our line.

In supporting Frondizi, we took into account that his party was composed of Left elements from the petty bourgeoisie, office workers, professionals, artisans, etc., most of whom were, and still are, our friends and allies. Had the Communists not voted for Frondizi, the candidate backed by the ruling military clique of Aramburu would have won. The people would not have understood us had we not done so and, what is more, we would have isolated ourselves from the Peronists.

Our Party warned the working people that if pressure were not exerted on the Frondizi Government from the outset, the latter could become a potential danger, since it was confronted on all sides with the traditional forces of the oligarchy and imperialism. We should criticize each wrong step taken by the government, declared the Communist Party immediately after Frondizi came to power, and bear in mind that the reactionary forces were only biding their time, and that only by alerting the workers and the masses could the reactionary and imperialist pressure be resisted and the government made to honor its election promises.

Frondizi placed before the electorate a program of agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. But the moment he found himself in office he began zealously to uphold the traditional interests of the landlord oligarchy and of big capital associated with U.S. and British monopolies.

The case of Frondizi is no exception. Modern Argentinian history is full of instances of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders brought to power by elections or coups d'état and betrayals of the interests of the people. The Peron and Aramburu governments did so before Frondizi.

This has happened because the landlord oligarchy, the North American and British

monopolies and the big comprador bourgeoisie have succeeded in keeping their economic and political positions intact. Each time the people united and went into action for progressive changes, the armed forces intervened and placed the stooges of the ruling classes in power.

Actually we have had a kind of dual power—formal and real—in the past decades. The formal ruled under pressure of the real, that power which relied on the army, acting as arbiter at difficult moments and dictating decisions. These decisions were invariably in keeping with the interests of the landlord oligarchy, the imperialist monopolies and big comprador capital. This explains why a country with a population of a little over 20 million has 150,000 men and 50,000 officers under arms, plus 25,000 police, 10,000 gendarmes and political police.

Having come to power with the support of the masses, Frondizi is now a puppet in the hands of the military. In reality there are two cabinets in Argentina, the military and the civil. The first decides, the second obeys.

Frondizi could, of course, had he relied on the working population, have carried out a progressive program. And this would have meant a new national policy. But fearing an upsurge of the mass movement, he capitulated to home and foreign reaction and began to suppress the working class and the people.

He betrayed the people; but the 1958 election program became the program of popular struggle—a struggle in which those who voted for Frondizi, and those who voted against him but wanted to see radical changes, are participating.

The Crisis Deepens

The Frondizi program, though a piece of pure demagoguery on his part, answered the objective needs of political and economic development. Things had come to such a pass that progress was no longer possible—indeed, symptoms of regression had appeared—without a bourgeois-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and far-reaching transformations.

Agriculture is in a state of stagnation: last year 1,000,000 hectares less were sown to wheat than in 1958. Industrial development, too, is at a standstill and now, in accordance with directives issued by the International Monetary Fund, a number of state-owned enterprises will close down—they will either be swallowed by the imperialist mon-

opolies or, unable to stand up to foreign competition, will go out of business.

Working-class conditions have deteriorated considerably. Real wages have fallen by 50-60 per cent. Consumption of essential foods has declined—meat 34, potatoes 33 and milk 10 per cent, and the decline has not been halted.

The share of wages in the national income fell seven per cent in the first six months of 1959, and was expected to decline 20 per cent by the end of the year.

The latifundia, the number and size of which have not appreciably diminished, are the main cause of the crisis. Fifty-eight per cent of the land used by farmers and ranchers is concentrated in the hands of 13,000 landlords owning from 2,500 to 10,000 hectares or more (some own vast ranches ranging from 50,000 to 200,000 hectares); 30 per cent is owned by 88,000 landlords and ranchers with tracts ranging from 200 to 2,500 hectares. A mere 10 per cent is held by 450,000 smallholders (from 5 to 200 hectares). Less than one per cent of the livestock farms—3,000 out of 354,000—accounts for nearly 45 per cent of the cattle. Twenty-six million hectares are owned by Argentinian and foreign companies.

The big latifundists are engaged chiefly in cattle breeding. Some 63 per cent of the farmers grow crops on the land leased by the latifundists for cultivation.

There are many foreigners among the big latifundists. British companies own 540 big farms some of which range to 1,000,000 hectares. The Forestal company, for instance, has over a million hectares in the Chaco Province and in the north of Santa Fé Province and owns another 40,000 on the border with Brazil.

Big industrial and trading interests and capital, both home and foreign, are becoming interwoven to an increasing degree with those of the Argentine landlord oligarchy. During the Second World War and in the postwar period the big home and foreign capitalists made fabulous profits (over 300 per cent). With equipment difficult to come by, a large part of the profits, instead of being ploughed back, was invested in highly lucrative livestock and other farms. On the other hand, landed magnates and Argentinian and foreign companies invested some of their superprofits in business and industrial concerns. The interests of the landlord oligarchy and big national capitalists are inter-

locked and all of them are linked with U.S. and British monopolies. This means that the tasks of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution in Argentina can be solved only in the struggle against the landlord oligarchy, the imperialist monopolies and big industrial, trade and finance capital.

Lessons Which Have Not Been Lost

The working class is the decisive force in the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution in Argentina. All sections of the population, up to the national bourgeoisie, whose interests are affected by the imperialist monopolies, can be its allies. The struggle for national liberation and social progress should be conducted on the broadest possible front. This front will not include the big landowners, although in view of the fluctuations on the world market they occasionally protest against the action of the government of this or that imperialist state which does not buy their goods or pays too little for them. Experience has shown that only by establishing a worker-peasant alliance with the proletariat and its Communist Party vanguard playing the leading role, can the democratic forces be organized and brought into action and victory assured.

In this respect the people of Argentina have already had three lessons. One was under the Peron government (1946-1955) which engaged in unrestrained social demagoguery, started out by promising to abolish the latifundia and the imperialist monopolies and to create a "state of justice," and ended by capitulating to the traditional enemies of the people.

At that time, seeking to strengthen the corporative system, Peron formed his own trade unions alongside the unions led by Communists, Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists, and declared that only his unions were legal. As the Peronist unions were being joined by masses of working people (to whom important economic concessions were made thanks to the boom conditions of the war and early postwar period), our Party instructed its members working in the trade union movement to propose amalgamation between the other trade unions and the Peronist unions.

When the Peronists rejected this suggestion, the Communists put forward a proposal for the dissolution of the other trade unions and for the workers to join the Peronist unions en masse. A broad movement was developed in the Peronist trade unions for working-class unity, democracy and trade

unions without employer and government control.

With a view to preventing the growth of Communist influence, some of the Peronist union leaders sought to get class-conscious workers dismissed from their jobs, while the police department specializing in the persecution of Communists and democrats arrested and even murdered our comrades. Despite the difficulties, we continued to work in the Peronist unions and gradually won the confidence of the workers whose leaders had deceived them. Little by little the boards of the unions—particularly in the local branches—passed from the corrupt leaders to the worker activists—the Communists, Peronists and others. It was clear that the government was no longer in a position to bridle the unions and to use these, as was formerly the case, for its own ends.

Having lost popular support and reluctant to appeal to the masses and to arm them as the Communist Party demanded, Peron, under pressure of the conspirators, capitulated in September 1955. He was replaced by a group of generals who allowed him to leave the country.

The second lesson was given by the Aramburu government (1955-1958) which, in addition to backing from the conservative parties representing latifundist interests, had the support of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. It, too, promised the people "democracy and prosperity." What it actually did, however, was to prevent the growth of the democratic and progressive forces; it used force to crush the mass movement.

During these years the Communist Party continued to work for greater unity with the Peronists, with the trade unions under socialist influence, and non-party people.

The third lesson was provided by the present "Left" Frondizi government which has surrendered to the forces it pledged to fight.

Taught by bitter experience and enlightened by our propaganda, the working class and masses are becoming more and more aware of the need to fight for radical social and economic changes. A broad patriotic, national-democratic front is now taking shape in which the proletariat and the Communist Party can, and must, play the leading role.

With this prospect in mind, the Party is working hard to consolidate the unity of the working people. Two forces—the Peronists and the Communists—enjoy the greatest in-

fluence among the working people. Our Party has always held that, given the unity of these forces, they could undoubtedly rally around themselves all the democratic and progressive sections. The Party's efforts have already resulted in a unity pact between the unions under Communist influence, the Peronist unions and a number of autonomous trade unions. All in all, these unions unite about 3,500,000 workers and other employees.

The other unions, with a membership of up to 400,000, are led by reformists, many of whom are associated with the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers. The Frondizi administration, which has left no stone unturned in an attempt to break the unity of the working-class movement, is now using some of the Peronist union leaders for this purpose.

Many of these at once agreed to collaborate with Frondizi, in return for which he gave them the key posts in the unions and promised to restore the legal status of their party—always providing that they loyally support his government. This was tantamount to a refusal on their part to support the social and economic demands of the working people.

This betrayal, however, failed to disrupt working-class unity, which is growing stronger in the course of the struggle. As a result of the unity achieved between the majority of the unions, favorable conditions are being created for the victory of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. The Communists are working for the peaceful development of the revolution; the parliamentary way is not excluded.

Growing Militancy of the Working Class

The militancy of the working class of Argentina is growing steadily, despite the persecution of those taking part in strikes and demonstrations, despite the state of emergency and savage reprisals. The oil, road service and railway strikers were subjected to military discipline, forced to work during the whole day and locked up at night in barracks. The more active union members were arrested and charged under the Articles of War. But the moment they were released, the strikes began with renewed force.

The militarization enforced at the enterprises enabled the workers to establish contact with the soldiers, who saw the injustice of the measures taken against the working people. In a number of cases the soldiers refused to take action against the workers. At the state-owned meat-packing plant in

Buenos Aires, for instance, the tank crew refused to attack the building occupied by the strikers. When 2,500 men from the workshops in Junin (Buenos Aires Province) stopped work and occupied the yard with the object of releasing their arrested comrades, the soldiers refused to open fire on them. The entire population of the town sided with the workers, shops were closed, etc.

There was not a single trade union in 1959 that did not declare a strike for vital demands and in defense of trade union and democratic liberties. In the course of the struggle conditions were created for unity, co-ordination of the strikes, and other mass actions.

The general strike of September 23-24, embracing nearly four million workers, afforded proof of the militancy of the working class.

In the initial stages of the mass movement many Peronist union leaders opposed unity with the Communists. But the Communists and other supporters of unity intensified their work in the union branches, and formed joint strike committees. These committees exerted pressure on the Peronist union leaders and sought to win them over to the working-class program and struggle.

Because solidarity was lacking, several actions organized by the unions were unsuccessful, though the sentiment was militant. Bank clerks, for example, were on strike for 69 days. They organized street demonstrations and there were clashes with the police, but in the end they were forced to return to work. Some of them were victimized, and their demands were only partially met.

This, however, was a lesson to the working people under Peronist leadership. It helped them to understand the correctness of the Communist Party's policy which made it clear that, confronted with the combined forces of the imperialist monopolies and big national capital, it was essential to build a united front, help the strikers financially and morally, and hold solidarity strikes.

Until recently the Peronist union leaders held that the workers were free to strike, but should do so by remaining at home so as to avoid reprisals by the employers or government. The Peronist call "From home to work and straight home from work" was adopted by many workers. The Communists patiently explained that passive strikes and staying at home were no threat to the big capitalists and could not rouse the people to struggle.

The situation changed early in 1959 when the workers in the state-owned meat packing

plant elected a strike committee comprised of Peronists, Communists, Radicals and non-Party people. Not only did the committee lead the strike and the occupation of the enterprise, it organized the local people in a solidarity movement. Local inhabitants demonstrated daily, shops were closed in solidarity, and there were street clashes with the police who tried to disperse the demonstrations.

Since then the strikes have no longer been of a passive nature. They have been accompanied by street demonstrations and have been supported widely by the working people. The big demonstration in Buenos Aires on April 3, 1959, was a striking example of solidarity. Beginning in the evening and continuing till late into the night, the demonstration was a protest against the high cost of basic foodstuffs, against handing over the oil and electric power enterprises to imperialist concerns, a demonstration to safeguard democratic liberties and national independence.

The government subsequently accused the Communists of transforming the mass struggle into an insurrection and, on this pretext, banned Party activities, closed its premises, suppressed its newspapers and arrested some of its members.

The government took a number of measures to break the resistance of the workers and people, but did not meet with any appreciable success. It suborned some of the Peronist and reformist trade unions leaders whose treachery lost them the support of the masses. Terror, arrests, deportations, and victimization were used in an endeavor to behead the working-class movement, but the struggle continued. The government was intransigent — deliberately prolonging the strikes for weeks and victimizing the leaders. It declared strikes to be acts of rebellion, but the strikers were not intimidated. To the very end the working people preserved their unity, demanded economic concessions and the release of the prisoners.

Between January and October 1959 there were four nationwide strikes in Argentina and a number of general strikes in some industries. They involved in all 12,000,000 people.

On the eve of 1960 another wave of strikes started in which shop-workers, law, post and telegraph employees and transport workers participated. Thus, more and more sections of the working people are being drawn into

the strike movement. The front of the mass struggle is being extended.

During the course of joint action the workers' organizations drew up a militant program consisting of 13 points. In addition to specific working-class demands, this program contains national demands: reject the International Monetary Fund plan, which we call the plan of misery and austerity; protect and expand the national industry; take no denationalization measures; defend national sovereignty; lift the state of emergency, annul all repressive laws, observe strictly the Constitution; carry out a radical reform of the existing structure of the latifundia with the aim of transferring the land to the tillers.

The Peasants and the Middle Sections

Parallel with the growth of the labor movement, the struggle waged by agricultural workers and peasants gained momentum. Farm laborers struck work, demanding higher pay and better conditions. Small tenants are protesting against being driven off the land and insisting on retaining the plots which they have rented. Because of the inflation, the big landowners are trying to get rid of their tenants and to replace them by sharecroppers, in other words they want to go back to semi-feudal forms of exploitation. They no longer find it profitable to be paid in money, they want payment in kind. Sometimes they find it more lucrative to use the land for raising cattle.

The peasants, embittered by this action, are making insistent demands for agrarian reform. Shortly after Frondizi came to power, Parliament, under popular pressure, enacted a law for agrarian reforms, which, though limited, envisages that an estate with more than four tenants is declared to be national property, and the land is transferred to the tiller, whose possession it becomes, provided he pays for it, the price being determined by the average cost of output for the past eight years. The peasants who obtain land in this way are entitled to a bank credit to cover the compensation over a period of 25 years at a reasonable rate of interest.

The landowners, who violently resisted this law, calling it a "Marxist law," declared that it was the "Cuban" way of doing things. They fear that if they once agree to the principle of breaking up the latifundia, they will not be able to stand their ground in face of the peasants' movement for broader agrarian reform.

Large-scale peasant actions took place in different parts of the country. Delegates to the 47th Congress of the Agrarian Federation of Argentina demanded that the land tilled by the tenants be handed over to them, called for fair prices for agricultural produce, and for agrarian reform. In pursuit of this aim, they resolved to organize early in 1960 a march to the capitals of the provinces and to Buenos Aires.

The Congress also issued a call to the peasants to strike in protest against the government's policy. "We shall do no sowing until the sale of the land begins, until steps are taken to improve the lot of the working people in the countryside," the peasants declared. The Communist Party holds that the slogan "Don't sow" will hardly facilitate a successful outcome of the peasants' struggle. But be that as it may the decision is a manifestation of the militancy of the peasantry. It was decided at the Congress to set up unity committees in each locality to fight for agrarian reform. The Congress condemned the government's reactionary policy and the stabilization plan imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

It is noteworthy that the Congress was attended by workers—trade union representatives—who greeted the peasants on behalf of their organizations and promised support for the peasant demands and agrarian reform. The peasants in turn declared their solidarity with the working class. These facts demonstrate that favorable conditions are being created in Argentina for a worker-peasant alliance, and our Party is doing its best to improve the work among the peasants.

There is no social section, with the exception of the latifundists and compradors, that is not participating in the struggle for urgent demands, freedom and national independence.

The recent Congress of the Argentine University Federation elected a leadership consisting of Communists, Left Socialists, Radicals and Peronists. The Congress stressed that the interests of the students were closely linked with those of the workers and peasants and resolved to regard the demands advanced by the workers and peasants as their own demands. The Congress also declared its solidarity with all the actions of the working people.

The manufacturers and traders believed at first that the loans granted by the International Monetary Fund would benefit Argentina's national industry and trade. But, with

the knowledge that they have become the victims of deception, they too are beginning to oppose the government's policy of handing over the country's wealth to the imperialist plunderers. "... While all efforts are being made to attract foreign capital," reads the statement of the Industrial Confederation, "Argentine producers and industrialists are refused credits to expand production; a grave threat hangs over them; they are faced with the gloomy prospect of economic stagnation; a recession will benefit no one but the money-lenders and profiteers."

And indeed, since the International Monetary Fund forced its plan on the government, it has virtually controlled the important branches of the national economy. What is more, of the billion dollars promised by the Fund, only 130 million have been forthcoming so far. And even this sum was distributed as the Fund's agents saw fit, that is among the North American or mixed (Argentine-American, with state or private capital) enterprises operating in Argentina as subsidiaries of the U.S. monopolies.

The International Monetary Fund is not allocating any money for the construction of hydro-electric power stations which could help develop our heavy industry and provide the state-owned enterprises with electric power. The same is true for machine-building, raw materials, etc.

Credits granted by the U.S. imperialists have political strings attached. The International Monetary Fund, for example, is demanding the outlawing of the Communist Party and the removal from leading posts in the labor movement of Communists and Peronists loyal to the working class, and their replacement by the yes-men of the imperialists.

The Communist Party Will Not Be Isolated from the Masses

No matter how hard the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary elements at home try to isolate the Communist Party from the masses, they are powerless to do so. The Communists have long traditions of struggle for the unity of the working class and the people. Whether as a legal Party or in the underground, we have always found ways and means of maintaining close contact with the masses. The reactionaries are well aware of this and for this reason persecute the Party, charging it with nursing plans to organize an uprising and alleging that its members participate in terrorist acts.

But all the democratic parties know that the government banned the Communist Party and prohibited the activities of the Peronists in order to clear the way for naked military or civil-military dictatorship. For this reason all the national political parties, from the Christian Democrats to the Radicals, from the Socialists to a section of the Conservatives, and even many in Frondizi's own party have publicly declared their disagreement with banning the Communist and Peronist parties. Only the reactionaries in the Army and the clerical elements and a section of the Conservatives have called for this.

This opposition to banning the Party indicates that shifts have taken place in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, in which the supporters of democracy and unity are beginning to oppose the Rights.

Our Party maintains contact with all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, particularly with their Left forces. We are working for a democratic way out of the present situation. If it is able to take part in the elections then, together with the Peronists and the other democratic forces, it will undoubtedly obtain a parliamentary majority. And that is why the reactionaries want to prevent the Communist Party and the Peronists from taking part in the general election (to elect 50 per cent of the deputies) scheduled for March.

The Party is conducting a highly successful campaign to preserve its legal status. At the moment, it is banned, but not outlawed.

At first, in his attempt to "divide and rule," Frondizi wanted to restore legal status to the Peronist Party and to ban the Communist Party. He was supported in this by a section of the clergy that is led by Bishop Plaza and acts hand-in-glove with the government and the Vatican. The clerical condition for this support was that the Peronists should break with the Communists in the trade union movement and form a Social Christian party.

But the maneuver backfired, chiefly because of the opposition of decent Peronist leaders, particularly in the local organizations.

The reactionary Army officers also object to the Peronists being restored to legality, fearing that the Communists will reach agreement with them and secure the victory of joint candidates. The government, therefore, would like to outlaw both the Communists and the Peronists. This state of affairs is drawing the two parties closer together and greater unity is being achieved between them.

Now that international tension is relaxing, thanks to the consistent peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to the universal desire of the peoples for peace, the Frondizi government is adapting its foreign and domestic policy to the demands of the home reactionary elements and the North American imperialists, urging "defense from inside and outside" against "Communist attacks."

The Frondizi administration is not against letting the U.S. imperialists take care of "defense from outside," while "defense from the inside" will be left to the army and police, who are being trained for street fighting in order to avert, as the reactionaries put it, a revolutionary movement of the Cuban kind.

Strong because of its policy of unity, our Party will not fall for any provocation. The facts show that despite the repressions the working class and the people will continue their struggle for basic social and economic demands, for freedom and national independence; a national-democratic front will be established which will give rise to conditions for the formation of a broad democratic coalition government.

Faced with the prospect of mass unity, the reactionary army circles, particularly those under U.S. imperialist influence, are thinking in terms of another coup d'état, of establishing a naked dictatorship—with or without Frondizi. Frondizi is no longer able to hold back the growth of the working class and popular movement, and should the opportune moment come, the reactionaries will throw him to the winds.

Other military circles, and especially in the Navy, who in the main support the British imperialists, are also beginning to move. Their aim is to maintain the present administration, and this may lead to armed struggle between the various military groupings. One of these, known as the "Gorillas," with pro-British sentiments, has support in the Navy and is headed by Rear Admirals Rojas and Real. The "Dragon verde" (Green Dragon), known as the "Nasser" group, is led by Raimundez. Then there is the ultra-reactionary and anti-communist "Basilio" group of Osorio Arana. The "Martill y compas" (Hammer and Compass) group, composed of military engineers and technicians, is not affiliated to any particular party. The "Garro Frigio" (Phrygian Cap) nationalist group is headed by Favaron. There are still other nationalist groups in the Army under the leadership of

Bengoa and Uranga, and the Peronist "El Fogon" (Flame) group. Only a part of the Army, that led by Toranzo Montero and Larcher, supports Frondizi.

The democratic and nationalist forces have much greater influence among the soldiers and sailors than among the officers. In the event of any of these military groupings trying a coup d'état, the Communists will not be mere spectators. We will do everything we can to nip the plot in the bud, and will call on the people to join in the struggle. Not a return to the past of which some people dream, but the formation of a broad democratic coalition government will give the people bread, land, democracy, freedom and national independence. That is our demand.

Our Party will fight unceasingly to unite the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other democratic forces in a national-democratic front, in order to ensure the freedom and independence of the country by establishing a broad democratic coalition government. There is no doubt that this policy will triumph. The international situation and the conditions in Latin America are conducive to this.

* * *

The success of the Khrushchov visit to the United States and his proposal in the U.N. for universal and complete disarmament signify a turning point in the international political situation, for these factors are in great measure raising the spirit of the fighters for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism. More and more people in Latin America are being drawn into the struggle for these demands, including the people of Argentina.

We know that our path will be a thorny one. But it can be said with confidence that the Communist Party, steeled and tempered

in its 42 years of struggle, will achieve the victory of the people and make a contribution to the development of the world peace movement.

The steadily growing ranks of the Communist Party, and the fact that the political and ideological level of its members is rising are the guarantee of this. The Party has over 100,000 members, of whom 80,000 are active members. Although it has become more difficult to increase membership now that the Party is under a ban, it is growing both in numbers and in quality, particularly in the big enterprises. Women and young people are joining the Party in large numbers. Women now form 30 per cent of the membership.

The Party committees endeavor to give each member a definite assignment and supervise its fulfilment. This object has in the main been achieved, but in view of the steady influx of new members, not all as yet are taking part in definite activity.

The attention of our members is focused on organizing the young people and women, inspiring the mass movement for vital economic, political and cultural demands, and particularly for world peace.

Guided by the principle of the transition from immediate demands to demands of a general political character, the Party is pursuing its policy of unity through the mass organizations.

These mass movements are the basis on which the national democratic front is being built. The course of the revolutionary struggle is bound to lead to a widely representative democratic coalition government which will tackle the tasks of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and, when this takes place Argentina will step out with the peoples of the world in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The French Communist Party and The War in Algeria

Leon Feix

THE Algerian war, now in its sixth year, has taken a toll of hundreds of thousands of Algerians and tens of thousands of French soldiers and has devastated the country. For France this war, as was stated at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in September 1957, is an "ulcer devouring the vital forces of the country." This definition is even more significant in view of the fact that in the last twenty years (World War II, the war in Indo-China, the military operations in Tunisia and Morocco, and finally the Algerian tragedy) France has hardly known a day of peace. This situation confronts the working class and all the people with complex problems.

The not inconsiderable changes that have taken place in the Algerian issue are the result of the heroic efforts of the Algerian people and of the five-year struggle waged by the French Communist Party.

How has this struggle developed and what are its features?

I

In opposing the war in Algeria the French Communists were faced with widespread nationalism and chauvinism. Let us dwell briefly on the wellsprings of this chauvinism:

1. The colonial policy of the French bourgeoisie is based on a tradition *five hundred years old*. After a series of uncertainties Algeria became the first major colony of the new empire established in the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning with 1880 numerous other territories were added to it. In 1946 the French possessions—second only to the British empire—covered an area of more than twelve million square kilometers—an area twenty-two times as great as that of the mother country (550,000 sq. kilometers). These overseas possessions had a population of 73 million, while that of France was only 42 million.

Eloquently though these figures speak, they give only a one-sided idea of the importance which the French capitalists attach to their colonies. Before the First World War the colonies occupied a limited place in the eco-

nomic system of French imperialism. Being the main banker of Europe at the time, France retained the wealth of the colonies for herself, protecting it against encroachments by her rivals. In his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin wrote that "as distinct from British imperialism, that is, colonial imperialism, French imperialism could be dubbed usurious imperialism."

Beginning with 1920, however, changes took place in the nature of French imperialism, due to the fact that it had been weakened by World War I. And these changes proceeded much more rapidly after World War II.

Whereas in 1914 the share of French capital in colonial companies was only eight per cent of the overall export of capital, in 1936 it was 38 per cent and in 1958—70 per cent. The profits of these companies constantly increased. During the years 1947-1954 the declared profits of 104 colonial companies rose from 2,515 million to 21,444 million francs (at the 1959 rate of exchange).

These figures explain the frantic efforts of the French bourgeoisie, which has lost practically all its positions in Indo-China and largely in Morocco and Tunisia, to retain what is left of its colonial privileges.

2. Algeria occupies a *special place* in the plans of the French bourgeoisie.

First, due to its strategic position in the Mediterranean and in respect to the African continent. On October 13, 1959, Debré, addressing the National Assembly, said: "We cannot permit the West Mediterranean to be turned into a sea which would be fraught with the danger of creating an open frontier in the south." But no one is threatening France "from the south": what Debré and the imperialists united in NATO really want is to preserve in Algeria and if possible throughout North Africa bases for aggression against the socialist countries.

Second, for economic reasons. Algeria's economy is fully subordinated to the big French banks. Ninety per cent of her industry

and trade is in European hands, chiefly French. Wealthy settlers farm 2,381,000 hectares of fertile land. Finally, French interest in Algeria, particularly in the Sahara, has been enhanced by the discovery of oil and natural gas in the southern areas of the country.

3. Another complicating factor is the heterogeneous composition of the population. In the course of a century or so the French governors sought to turn Algeria, in contrast to the other territories, into a place for settlers. There are over one million people of European origin (French, Spaniards, Italians and other naturalized citizens of France) comprising about 10 per cent of the population. Many of these people were born there. There are quite a few whose forefathers migrated to Algeria several generations ago. To them Algeria is their homeland. Two hundred and forty thousand Algerians of European origin are wage-earners, employed in the following way: charge hands, foremen and supervisors — 35,000; officials — 40,000; office workers — 75,000; workers — 90,000 (including 40,000 skilled, 36,000 semi-skilled and 14,000 unskilled).

The bourgeoisie talks about the European population in order to support the idea of a "French Algeria." This thesis is often supported because many French families have relatives or friends living in Algeria. These facts shed light on the complexity of the Algerian problem and on the opportunities at the disposal of the bourgeoisie to foment nationalism.

4. The French bourgeoisie, however, does not dare speak openly of its class interests and colonial privileges: it is aware that it will meet with the opposition of the working class and the majority of the people. Hence its maneuvers. It pleads the national interest in order to cover up its actions and uses for this purpose the governmental machine and the propaganda means. The bourgeoisie has spared no pains in poisoning the minds of millions of children with the venom of colonialism and racism. This has been practised for generations, from the moment the child enters the elementary school. All the textbooks laud the "civilizing mission of France." According to them Algeria became a rich country "thanks to the efforts of the French settlers." And further: "... doctors came to take care of the sick; schools were built. . . ." The textbooks, however, fail to note that 85 per cent of the Algerians are illiterate because the colonialists in the course

of 130 years failed to provide the money for schools. Nor do they say that outside the towns there is only one doctor to every 10,000-50,000 inhabitants. What is more, the French bourgeoisie has pursued a policy of assimilation, doing everything it can to destroy the national culture of the oppressed people. Arabic, which is the language of 80 per cent of the Algerians, is regarded as a foreign language.

Official circles have for more than a hundred years looked upon Algeria as a province of France. The purpose of their claims is to make it appear that there is no national problem in Algeria, only economic and social problems. Bourgeois slogans were augmented by Right-wing Socialist slogans of a "social" and "democratic" nature. In saying that the time has come for "big national assemblies," the pseudo-Socialists assert that national independence for Algeria is an "antiquated" matter. They have even claimed that before national independence can be achieved it will be necessary to liberate "each man" and "each woman." According to them Algerian independence signifies a return to feudalism.

Beginning with 1956, with the discovery of rich deposits of oil in the Sahara, a new element appeared in the policy of the French bourgeoisie. To it oil is a source of power, an item of trade and a means of blackmail in respect to its "allies" and rivals in NATO. With the support of Guy Mollet and his henchmen, the bourgeoisie developed a new propaganda theme: "In order to possess the Sahara it is necessary to hold Algeria. Oil means that in a few years France will again become a great world power; Sahara oil is the morrow of the well-being of every Frenchman."

This political mystification has enabled the French bourgeoisie to cultivate a spirit of nationalism, chauvinism and racism and, thanks to this, to prolong the war in Algeria.

II

The French Communist Party grew and gained strength in combating colonialism. The working class and the democratic movement in France were bred on the great traditions of struggle against colonial oppression. Jules Guesde and Jean Jaurès, early leaders of the French socialist movement, were firm anti-colonialists.

The Communist Party always sought to link the Marxist-Leninist standpoint on the national-colonial question with the traditions of the French labor movement. This was not always easy, particularly in the early years

of the Party's existence. Social-Democratic views, reflecting colonialist influence, had to be combated. However, these difficulties were overcome in the main in 1925 when the Party fought against the war unleashed in Morocco by the French and Spanish imperialists.

Ever since then the Party line on the colonial question has been consistent. In March 1932, Maurice Thorez, who had become General Secretary two years earlier and who before that had headed the National Committee of Action against the war in Morocco, defined this line in these terms: "Each blow struck at the French bourgeoisie by our brothers in Indo-China or Algeria is a direct aid to our movement. And by the same token each blow struck by us at our bourgeoisie is a direct aid to the slaves oppressed by it in its colonies. The proletarians of the mother country and the oppressed peoples of the colonies should help one another in the struggle against the common enemy; to do so is in their common interests. It should be affirmed again and again that we, the French Communists, will fight in every way for the emancipation of the peoples oppressed by French imperialism."

The French Communist Party has never departed from this line. Take, for example, the postwar period. The French Communists condemned de Gaulle's refusal to grant independence to Syria and Lebanon, the brutal reprisals against 40,000 Algerians in Constantine in 1945 and against the 90,000 people in Madagascar in 1947, and also the bloody provocations in Black Africa in 1949 and 1950. The Communists launched a broad anti-colonialist campaign and inspired the non-stop action during the seven and a half years' war in Vietnam. The Party actively supported the struggle of the peoples of Morocco and Tunisia for national independence. And in the Algerian question, too, it firmly adheres to this line.

Twenty years ago the Party General Secretary pointed to the distinctive national features of Algeria. Even then, when all bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party advocated assimilation and claimed Algeria as a province of France, Maurice Thorez, addressing a meeting in Algiers on February 11, 1939, spoke of the Algerian nation which was taking shape "as a result of the intermingling of two dozen nationalities." After the war, the national-liberation movement in Algeria, as in other colonies, developed in a big way. Life had come into its own, the Algerian nation had become a reality. The French colonialists refused to recognize this fact and on November 1, 1954, the Algerian uprising

began; this was a manifestation of the resolve of a freedom-loving people to win independence. The uprising became a part of the broad front of the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

The French government, however, far from meeting the desires of the Algerian people for independence, hastened to send reinforcements. Mendès-France, then Prime Minister, declared to the National Assembly: "Algeria is France, from this basic principle we shall not move."

The French Communist Party alone opposed the colonial policy from the very first day of the war. On November 8 the Political Bureau published a statement: "The main reason for what is happening in Algeria is the refusal of the French government to satisfy the national demands of the vast majority of the Algerians, and also the growing impoverishment which is the direct consequence of the colonial rule in that country."

Instead of a policy of violence, the Party suggested a peaceful solution through negotiation. It proposed an "immediate end to the reprisals and recall of the military units and police forces sent to Algeria; recognition of the grounds on which the Algerian demand for independence is based, and discussion of this demand with the authorized representatives of Algerian public opinion."

The Party made its position clear from the very beginning of the war. Based on the fact of the existence of the Algerian nation, it fully corresponded to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on the national question. In its struggle the Party sought to expose the policy of war, to lay bare its character and to demonstrate the correctness of the Communist policy; to organize united action against the war, for peace and negotiations; to effect the political changes which would lead to negotiations.

Not for a single moment did the Party cease to campaign against the shameful colonial war in Algeria. It protested in the columns of the newspapers, in Parliament and public speeches.* Thanks to the Party, the people learned about the torture and executions without trial, about the "suicides," and about the "missing" Algerian patriots. The names of Djamila Bouhired, Maurice Audin, Ali Boumendjel, Henri Alleg, Ben M'Hidi, Aissat Idir — victims of the atroci-

*In addition to the thousands of public meetings, lectures and talks, as well as articles in newspapers and journals, the written propaganda of the Central Committee comprised 29 booklets about Algeria, issued in 10 million copies, 43 posters printed in nearly two million copies and over 80 million leaflets.

ties — sounded as a call for rallying the forces of peace to save the honor of France.

Despite the confiscation of its newspapers, the fines amounting to millions of francs, the persecution of its leaders and activists, the Party exposed the crimes of the colonialists: the Melouza provocation engineered in May 1957 with a view to discrediting the Algerian liberation movement (it was followed by the maltreatment of hundreds of Algerians); it exposed the air raid on the Tunisian village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef in February 1958, and the opening of "concentration centers" — concentration camps — housing a million Algerian women, children and aged people.

In exposing the atrocities of the colonialists the Party spurned the attitude of those who confined themselves to pleading for a "humane war." The Party's stand was: *end the war*; it ceaselessly urged the way of negotiation and recognition of the rights of the Algerian people; it demanded that the Algerians, like the people of the other colonies, be granted the right to self-determination. This attitude harmonized with both the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the national interests of France. Only this attitude could lead to the cessation of war and clear the way for new, equal and mutually advantageous relations between France and a free Algeria. From this basic standpoint the Party urged that negotiations be started with the National Liberation Front and, later, with the Provisional Government of the Republic (the moment it was formed) whose representative character was recognized by the entire resistance movement in Algeria, including the Algerian Communist Party.

* * *

From the very beginning of the war the French Communists made every effort to organize the masses to fight for peace and negotiations. Two objectives were pursued. On the one hand, the Central Committee and the Party branches initiated various kinds of action; on the other, the Communists actively participated in measures undertaken by such mass organizations and movements as the Peace Movement, the General Confederation of Labor, the Union of French Women and the youth organizations.

Much was done to organize joint action with the rank-and-file Socialists. This was vital, first, because in view of the political situation then taking shape the Communist-Socialist alliance could have been the main link of the united front of the working class; second, because the Right-wing Socialist lead-

ers had played, and continued to play, a major role in pursuing the policy of war in Algeria. In addition to contributing to the ideological arsenal of the bourgeoisie, they helped directly to extend the war in Algeria. For a number of years they personally were responsible for this policy — Guy Mollet as Prime Minister and Lacoste as Minister for Algerian Affairs. They did all in their power to split the anti-war movement.

This explains why the French Communists fought so vigorously for united action with the rank-and-file Socialists. The Party took a number of steps towards this end. On January 6, 1956, when the majority of the electorate expressed itself in favor of peace in Algeria, the Party proposed to the Socialists and Radicals jointly to discuss "ways and means of reaching an agreement in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the people." This desire for unity was one of the reasons why our Party on March 12, 1956, voted in favor of granting special powers to the Guy Mollet government. The Central Committee statement said: "In voting at the end of the recent debate on the Algerian question for the Guy Mollet government while protesting against the military and repressive measures, the Communist group created favorable conditions for substantially strengthening the united front and for a powerful advance towards a new Popular Front, for joint action to prevent the reactionaries from returning to power, for a Left orientation of the legislative body of the new Assembly." The significance of this vote was much greater than that of a parliamentary debate. At the same time the Central Committee called on all Communists to *take advantage of the favorable conditions* for the purpose of "multiplying the contacts with rank-and-file Socialists and their organizations, of working jointly with them for a cease-fire and for immediate negotiations with the genuine representatives of the Algerian people."

Although this important proposal was not sufficiently popularized among the masses, the development of joint Communist-Socialist action at the *branch* level demonstrated that the Communists had acted correctly in voting as they did in Parliament. The sweep of the action forced the Socialist leaders, at the Lille congress held in June 1956, to adopt decisions which, as Ferhat Abbas, leader of the Algerian National Liberation Front, said, if carried out would clear the way for ending the hostilities.

The Communists initiated other actions aimed at establishing unity with the rank-

and-file Socialists. In October 1957, Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos on three occasions approached the parliamentary groups which claimed to be Left with proposals for a compromise solution which would restore peace in Algeria and for definite steps to this end. The compromise, naturally, did not mean that the Communists had abandoned their main demand, namely, independence for Algeria. But the Communists have never insisted on "all or nothing." They have invariably supported any step likely to bring the liberation of colonial peoples nearer. This explains why the French Communists upheld the agreements with Tunisia and Morocco concluded after 1954, which helped these countries to achieve national independence. The compromise suggested by the Communist Party in October 1957 (which depended on the approval of the Algerian resistance movement) was likewise in line with this desire.

During the dramatic developments in May 1958 the Party again approached the Socialist Party with proposals for joint action aimed at preventing de Gaulle from coming to power and his one-man rule.

The numerous attempts made by the Communists to conclude an alliance with the Socialists failed, however, to bring about broad unity of action. Still, they were useful because they helped to draw many Socialists into the joint struggle alongside other democrats, particularly Catholics and Radicals; their number included Socialist workers and activists, municipal Councillors and Deputies. Moreover, these attempts awakened many sincere Socialists to the disastrous course pursued by Right-wing leaders of the Guy Mollet type.

Persistent Communist activity in rallying the masses for ending the war in Algeria paved the way to thousands of actions which it will not be amiss to recall. The form of these actions depended on the conditions: petitions, meetings, departmental and national conferences and strikes involving millions of men and women of varying views and belonging to different social sections. There broke out powerful strikes of soldiers who had been recalled to the army after the expiry of their term of service. The soldiers were supported by civilians.

Many soldiers, mostly members of the Communist Party, displayed courage in refusing to use arms against the Algerian people. Speaking in the National Assembly Jacques Duclos said that these young people had shown the world "a France the very opposite

of that conjured up by the efforts of the colonialists and torture experts." The Party paid high tribute to these young people. In line with the Leninist principles of Communist work a member of the Communist Party is obliged to work everywhere; the duty of the Communist soldier, sent to fight an unjust war, is to go there in order to combat it.

Such, briefly, are some of the basic aspects of the struggle of the French Communists since the beginning of the war in Algeria.

* * *

The five years that have passed since November 1, 1954, have been years of severe trials for the Party. And the Party faced them conscious of its special responsibility as a Communist Party in an imperialist country.

The Party has never wavered from the tried positions of Marxism-Leninism. It spurned those who would have liked it to withdraw its support from the Algerian people's right to independence as it did those who would have liked to provoke it into making a rash and adventurist move which would have cut it off from a part of the working class and from other sections of the people. *It has always combined proletarian internationalism with defense of genuinely national interests.*

Acting in this way the Communists were able to repel the numerous attacks. The Party held its own during the reprisals launched by the bourgeoisie. It emerged with honor from the difficult period at the end of 1956. It boldly combated the chauvinism and nationalism implanted by the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats.

The persistent struggle of the French Communists has yielded fruit. The explanatory work carried out by the Party during the past five years and the mass activity inspired by its members have enabled millions of French people to recognize the unjust character of the war against the Algerian people, to understand why the Algerian patriots are waging their heroic and costly struggle, to appreciate the need to enter into negotiations with those against whom this war is waged.

Thanks to the efforts of the Party the nationalist trend is losing ground. The young people are beginning to see through the policy of moral degradation into which they are being drawn and which runs counter to the interests and the honor of the nation. Today the workers and all other groups of the working population are conscious of the tie-up between the war in Algeria, which is costing the country three billion francs a day (at the 1959 rate of exchange) and the refusal of

the employers and the Government to satisfy the just economic demands of the people. Confronted with the attacks made by fascist groups and mutinous army officers, the democrats now realize the truth of the words used in his day by Jules Guesde and now reiterated by the Communists: "colonial wars have always been a school of civil wars."

Today many Frenchmen recognize that the positions of strength policy pursued in respect to some of the colonial peoples is actually a policy of national betrayal, an anti-French policy. It is common knowledge, for instance, that the French rulers rejected the proposal made at one time by Ho Chi Minh for a union with France, with the result that she lost practically all her positions in Indo-China, while the American imperialists have established their domination in South Vietnam. De Gaulle tried to thwart the implementation of Guinea's right to independence and immediately the interests of France in that country suffered. The same thing can be expected throughout Black Africa. And there will be a repetition of this in Algeria unless the war is stopped. Awareness of this is growing not only among the working class and the working people generally, but also among the middle sections and even the bourgeoisie.

The shift in French public opinion, the growing hostility of the world public and above all the heroism of the Algerian people are imparting new aspects to the Algerian drama. On September 16, 1959, de Gaulle officially announced that the *right of the Algerians to self-determination* would be recognized. In effect this signifies abandoning the old colonialist formula of a "French Algeria" which has been propagated ever since the country was conquered in 1830, and in the name of which the war has been waged for so many years. It would never enter anyone's head to recognize such a right for the inhabitants of the various regions of France, say, Paris, Brittany or Gascony; they are French, and their destiny is indissolubly linked with the common destiny of the French nation. Recognition of the Algerians' right to decide the future of their country is recognition of the fact that they are not French but Algerians.

The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic said on September 28, 1959, that they agreed with the principle of self-determination proclaimed by the French head of state. They also declared their readiness to enter forthwith into negotiations with the French Government "to discuss the political

and military terms for a cease-fire and the conditions and guarantees of their right to self-determination."

However, notwithstanding de Gaulle's announcement and the reply of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, the hostilities are still going on. At the same time it is indisputable that since September 1959, the war in Algeria has entered a new phase.

III

How is the change in the attitude of the big bourgeoisie, as reflected in de Gaulle's statement, to be explained? The main force behind the one-man rule, as the Communist Party has pointed out, is monopoly capital. The dominant policy makers—"monopoly capital, the big banks, precisely what is implied by imperialism—are interested above all in the oil of the Sahara. They believe that oil can be secured by means other than war." (Speech of Maurice Thorez to the Central Committee meeting on October 4, 1958.)

The new trend in de Gaulle's policy after his statement on September 16 testifies to the desire of the monopolies to solve the Algerian problem by "means other than war." The simple reason is that the positions of strength policy hitherto pursued has failed completely.

In the first place *the defeat of this policy in Algeria* is obvious. It was defeated by the heroic struggle of the Algerian patriots, and this is the root of the problem. No stone was left unturned in the attempt to break the resistance of this freedom-loving people. After a series of demagogic maneuvers the de Gaulle government decided early last year to intensify military operations. They launched a plan aimed at erasing entire areas. Torture was used on a bigger scale and cases of "missing" Algerians increased. Efforts were made to seal off the frontiers with Tunisia and Morocco. *These efforts were of no avail.* Despite talk about the "last quarter of an hour" of the war, the French rulers cannot seriously hope for a military victory.

The defeat suffered by de Gaulle's policy *on the international plane* is no less evident. The Washington government pointed out to its French counterpart the grave inconveniences caused to U.S. policy and to NATO by continuing the war in Algeria; the Asian, African and Latin American countries are displaying an increasingly hostile attitude; there is a growing opposition sentiment among the public in the United States, and there is a contradiction between the developments in Algeria and those in favor of relax-

ing tension. The difficulties faced by de Gaulle's policy on the international arena are evident from the fact that at the last General Assembly session 39 delegations expressed themselves in favor of negotiations between France and Algeria; only 22 voted against, and some (including the U.S.) abstained.

De Gaulle's policy has failed in France, too. If in September 1958 many voters, confused by the failure of governments which ignored the will of the people even after the January 1956 elections, said "Yes" during the referendum, they did so solely because they believed in de Gaulle's ability to find an early solution to the Algerian problem. More than a year has passed since then. And while not all the illusions about the General's personality have yet been dispelled, much has become clearer. There is a growing opposition to the line of falling in with the German militarists; the people are against the preparations of French atom-bomb tests, against the intrigues aimed at thwarting the summit meeting. Anti-war actions by workers, officials, municipal workers, war veterans and peasants are increasing. During the past few months the desire to end the war has become much greater. And this is true not only of the masses but also of some bourgeois sections who realize that exploitation of the Sahara oil is impossible while the war goes on and that everything might be lost not only in Algeria but also in Tunisia, Morocco, Madagascar and Black Africa. Hence the contradictions among the French bourgeoisie, between the "classical" type of colonialism and the neo-colonialism of the monopolists, manifested particularly in differences inside the reactionary parties that form the basis of de Gaulle's majority and also between the parties.

In sum, the foregoing is the reflection of official recognition of the right of Algerians to self-determination. It should be said that this confirms the soundness of the stand of the French Communists who have always fought for the right of the Algerian people to decide their fate in accordance with their own desires. The official confirmation of the principle of self-determination is *irreversible*. It is a formula that is today accepted by the people altogether apart from the ulterior motives of its originators.

In September 1958 Guinea chose the path of independence. In a few weeks the Mali Federation which includes Senegal and the French Sudan will likewise become independent, at least politically. The other African

nations in the de Gaulle "Community" will, in the near future, as shown by the example of the Cameroons, take the same path. The independence scheduled to be granted this year to Togoland and Nigeria can only accelerate this movement. And with recognition of the right of the Algerians to self-determination, even though formal, the same thing will happen.

It follows, then, that since the de Gaulle statement of September 16, the Algerian struggle has taken on a new aspect. Why continue the war when the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic have both agreed on the principle of self-determination? Why not begin negotiations for a cease-fire and for terms on which the Algerians' right to self-determination can be implemented? It is around these questions that the French Communists are campaigning for talks and for peace which are now demanded by growing sections of the people.

The fact that the struggle for peace in Algeria has been helped by recent developments does not mean, however, that end of the war is in sight. De Gaulle has refused to negotiate with the members of the Provisional Government who have now spent over three years in French prisons and who have been authorized to act as representatives in the talks with the French. Moreover, the de Gaulle men continue to make pronouncements which run counter to the announced right to self-determination. For instance, Delouvrier, delegate-general to Algeria, misses no opportunity to declare that France is still fighting for a "French Algeria." General Challe, commander of the French forces in Algeria, said: "The purpose of our struggle has not changed. In fighting for French Algeria we are fighting for France, for the West, for freedom. . . ." Many similar examples could be cited. Neither de Gaulle nor his Prime Minister have disowned these statements. Why? Because one-man rule, being weak and unstable, is dependent on the Algerian ultra-colonialists and the rebel generals associated with them. It was the help of the latter that brought de Gaulle to power. This also explains the fact that while de Gaulle continues to affirm self-determination, he avoids talking with the representatives of the Algerian people. On the contrary, he insists on accomplishing "appeasement," that is, on bringing the war to a victorious end.

In these circumstances the further course of events depends in large measure on the efforts made by the French people to force

the opening of negotiations. The desire of the people for peace and their efforts in this direction were not the least of the reasons that impelled de Gaulle to acknowledge the right of the Algerians to self-determination. And if this struggle grows and gains momentum it will sap the forces of the ultra-colonialists and the fascists and make negotiations imperative. This will result in the Algerian people being granted the right to self-determination which has now been recognized. In this new situation our Party calls on the Communists to redouble their efforts to achieve unity of all the working people and other democrats, and to strengthen and extend, together with the Socialist workers, the ranks of those working for an early termination of the war in Algeria.

Thus our Party is faced with a big struggle. The fight, clearly, will be a hard one, but it is developing under favorable conditions. The experience of the past five years impels the French masses to insist on talks. A profound crisis is maturing in the Socialist Party. Guy Mollet's policy is being criticized by large numbers of activists and even Party

officials. The formation of the Autonomous Socialist Party, which upholds Algeria's right to independence (many of its members reject the anti-communism of the Socialist Party) is a reflection of the changed outlook of the rank-and-file Socialists. Unity of the working people, and above all Communist-Socialist unity, is making headway in the struggle for economic demands and in defense of secular education. This unity is being reinforced also in the fight for peace negotiations with Algeria. Lastly, the Communist Party has never enjoyed such influence and prestige as now, proof of which can be seen in the gains of the Communists during the by-elections in a number of constituencies.

The French Communist Party will multiply its efforts in order to give new impetus to the movement for an early end to the Algerian tragedy. It is firmly convinced that peace will be a vital step on the way to re-establishing and regenerating democracy. This was the slogan of its Fifteenth Congress, and the Party will fulfil its duty to the working class, to the people of France and to the international working-class movement.

Theses for the Ninth Congress Of the Italian Communist Party

E. Berlinguer

THE international and home situation on the eve of the Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist Party differs radically from that which preceded the previous congress held in December 1956. The broad discussion held throughout the Party was based on the Central Committee's report and draft theses which analyzed and assessed the changes at home and abroad, the perspectives, and the tasks facing the working-class movement and the Party in the struggle for peace, democratic and socialist regeneration.

In this article we restrict ourselves to the more vital of the many complicated issues, those which determine the Party's general line.

In the first place the documents dwell on the changes now taking place in the international situation, which is characterized by a profound crisis of the cold war and the positions of strength policy and by the open-

ing of a new phase, that of lessening tension in inter-state relations. These changes, which determine the need for coexistence and peaceful co-operation, are the result of the persistent struggle for peace waged above all by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the people generally; of the profound, irreversible changes that have taken place in the economic and political structure of the world; of the level of development reached by human civilization.

Stressing first the importance of the economic, political and scientific successes of the USSR, of the growing strength of the socialist camp, and pointing to the steady disintegration of the colonial system, the theses analyze the economic and political changes that have occurred in the capitalist world and draw the conclusion that considerable sections among the ruling bourgeois groups now realize the impossibility of continuing

the policy of the cold war and Atlantic extremism.

Humanity, then, is faced with the urgent, though fully realizable and essential task not only of averting a new and devastating war, but of ending the cold war and opening a new era in which war would become impossible and the two systems would compete peacefully.

However, the latter course can be pursued only if the opposition to relaxing the tension is overcome, opposition emanating from the imperialist camp and manifested especially in Western Europe. Only ceaseless and persistent struggle for peace waged by entire peoples and states (and not only progressive forces) can defeat the more aggressive imperialist forces, secure a further easing of world tension and make possible definite steps towards disarmament and peace.

The political struggle for peace should have a "clear national content, based on the historical and political background and linked with the aspirations of the people and with the major issues of the day;" it is in this spirit that the Communists should act when working in the peace movement or any other movement pursuing definite aims in the struggle for peace, disarmament and the easing of international tension. The theses stress the need to work for a foreign policy which would stand for general and complete disarmament, prevent Italy from being turned into an atomic base, resist the claims of West Germany and de Gaulle's France to hegemony in Europe, reject any foreign intervention in home affairs and pursue the aim of friendship, exchanges and contacts with all peoples.

Concerning the perspectives the draft theses say that the "profound changes in the economic and political structure of the world and the new international situation have created new and more favorable conditions for democratic regeneration and socialism." The lessening of tension and the transition to peaceful coexistence are by no means indicative of any "change in the nature of capitalism and imperialism or amelioration of the class struggle." It would be a grave mistake to think that social regeneration will come about automatically, as a result of the steady growth of the economic and political strength and the international prestige of the socialist countries. "Social regeneration has never been achieved and never can be achieved except through political and social victories won by mass movements developing independently, in keeping with the conditions

of each country." This is a basic law of social development.

Features of the present situation are the growing differentiation between the various ruling bourgeois groups and the major changes in the attitude of the political forces both in respect to international issues and economic and social problems at home. The aggressive and rabid reactionary groups opposed to a détente are in conflict with considerable sections of the public and with the objective need for peace and progress. This is a new vital element in the situation. It opens possibilities for isolating the more reactionary and aggressive groups, for concentrating the main blow against them, while simultaneously "creating conditions for broad understanding and co-operation between the working-class vanguard and new political and social alignments on the basis of common interests in the struggle for common progressive aims." These processes enable us to carry on a more effective struggle for peace, for profound economic and political changes with a view to restricting and abolishing the power of the big monopolies, extending democracy and the movement for social regeneration, in other words, the struggle for socialism. In this connection the question of the unity of all forces associated with the working class acquires particular importance as does the question of how the working class will assume the leading role among the progressive forces and, by doing so, link up its struggle for immediate needs with the "broad common struggle for economic reforms, to defend, restore, and develop democracy, impart a new content to the traditional democratic parliamentary institutions and to make them capable of fundamentally reshaping the social system. The advance towards socialism thus becomes a definite process utterly alien to passive expectation, a component of the general advance of civilization towards higher aims: peace, well-being and freedom."

It follows that in the capitalist countries our movement has the real perspective of developing along an ascending line. "But in order to do this the Communists should be aware of the features of the present situation, should know how to head the movement for peace, for reform of the economic structure and for a democratic regeneration in conformity with the specific conditions in each country. This goal will not be reached unless the success gained in the struggle against revisionism is consolidated and unless dogmatism and sectarianism are overcome."

The draft theses emphasize the economic and political changes which have taken place in the country in recent years. In Italy, perhaps more so than in any other Western European country, the cold war and the anti-communist crusade have been used by the reactionary groups as ideological and political weapons, with which to discriminate against the working-class parties, split the democratic forces, subordinate various social and political forces to the clerical-capitalist forces, and also to preserve anti-socialist prejudices. But the new turn in the international situation has struck hard at the political and ideological positions of the ultra-reactionary groups in Italy.

Economically the extension of monopoly power has resulted in the appearance of "islets," that is, in restricting the process of development to smaller areas and in further aggravating all the disproportions from which Italy suffers. Exploitation has intensified. There are still two million unemployed in the country. At the same time the traditional disparity in the economic development of the North and South has become more pronounced; there is economic and social decline even in the formerly prosperous areas. The tightening grip of the big monopolies on the countryside has aggravated the already acute crisis of small peasant farming and has squeezed out hundreds of thousands of farm laborers, sharecroppers and small and medium landholders from agricultural production.

In the political sphere the monopoly drive has resulted in a further degeneration of the policy of the Christian Democratic Party which has abandoned some of its traditional program points (for instance, agrarian reform and protection of small-peasant farming). At the same time the state machine has been subordinated to an ever greater extent to the big capitalist groups. This trend has culminated in attempts to restrict the prerogatives of Parliament and the local authorities, to infringe the democratic rights and liberties of the working people, particularly those employed in industry.

However, the attacks of the monopolies and the ruling clerical circles have come up against the opposition of the people. Mass action, though unable to abolish the political monopoly of the clericals and the employers, has been instrumental in effecting a considerable change in the political situation at home. The growth of this opposition and mass movements of the past few years are featured in detail in the Central Committee report. The

report points out that the period following the Eighth Party Congress was marked in its early stages by savage attacks on the part of anti-communists and revisionists aimed at undermining the unity and strength of the working-class movement, at turning the Communist Party into a minor political force and thus open the road to reactionary transformation in all spheres. As is universally recognized, the onslaught against our Party failed as did all the efforts undertaken by the ruling classes in recent years to smash the Party. More favorable conditions for the democratic forces are now to hand.

Highlights of this period were the failure of the attack launched by the revisionists; the inability of the Christian Democrats to secure an absolute majority in the 1958 general election; Communist and Socialist gains in the election; a successful struggle in the second half of 1958 against the Christian Democrats who attempted to establish a totalitarian regime of a corporative type; the rapid growth of the working-class and mass movement (which in 1954-56 was on the decline); preservation of unity of action by all working people in the trade union and political struggles despite the attitude adopted by some socialist leaders who sought to deepen the differences between the two working-class parties.

The working people and the middle sections under the direct and indirect influence of the Christian Democrats are more actively opposing the reactionary leadership of the party, demanding a new policy which would restrict the power of the monopolies and ensure satisfaction of the immediate needs of the workers. This tendency was manifested in trade union and other forms of mass action during the recent period, in which many Catholic workers, and very often Catholic organizations, took part. At the same time a process of differentiation can be observed in the Christian Democratic Party — a process marked by acute struggle at all levels in the Party, including the leading functionaries, many of whom realize the need for a new policy.

Among the other active anti-communist political forces there is also opposition to the domination of big capital, to the political monopoly of the clericals, an opposition which favors a new course. In many areas these factors have resulted in a rapprochement between the working-class parties and other political forces. In some regions (Sicily, Valle d'Aosta) these forces are working jointly in the local governments.

In view of these changes the draft theses reaffirm and proclaim anew the perspective and the general strategy and tactics of the democratic and socialist revolution as outlined by the Eighth Congress. The line adopted at that congress — "The Italian Road to Socialism" — was based on the assumption of the necessity and the possibility of advancing towards socialism, battling the while to safeguard the democratic and parliamentary institutions and develop them, to secure far-reaching economic and political reforms which would restrict and undermine the power of the monopolies through a broad mass movement headed by the working class and with the participation of the middle sections. In working for this aim it will be possible gradually to replace the social and political groups now in power and eventually to bring the working class and the masses to the leading political positions. It goes without saying that this line derives from the specific national features in Italy and from the general principles of the struggle for socialism formulated at the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957.

The theses declare that at a time when various countries are making greater efforts to base their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and when simultaneously the big monopolies are threatening democracy, lowering living standards, infringing on the interests of the majority of the people and retarding economic development in an attempt to dominate society, the struggle for fundamental democratic reconstruction becomes especially vital, and conditions favor advancing along this path to socialism.

The definite aim which the theses place before the working class and other progressive forces is to fight for a democratic line in political and economic development. It is opposed to the line of accelerated monopoly concentration now pursued under the pressure and leadership of the big bourgeoisie.

In this connection the document stresses the need for speedy reforms aimed at restricting, controlling and abolishing monopoly power, at radically altering the course imposed upon the economy by the monopolies. These reforms are:

General agrarian reform which would give land to the tillers and guarantee the existence and development of the small and medium peasant holdings.

Nationalization of certain branches (first of all of the monopolies controlling the power resources and the chemical industry)

to be accompanied by a "complex of anti-monopoly measures and struggle by broad social and political sections" in order to establish control over investments, cost of production, monopoly prices, monopoly profits, etc., and systematic democratic control over monopolies in the interests of the entire nation.

An all-round program of state intervention in the economy with emphasis on the development of state-owned industry free from monopoly control and on the other levers of state power; a system of elected regional and local government bodies in which all the mass organizations of the working people and the other non-monopoly sections could actively participate.

The struggle for economic reforms should be closely linked up with the reform of the state system by abolishing the concentration of political power in the hands of the monopolies. That is why the draft theses call for decentralization of political power, for regional administrative bodies, for strengthening local government bodies and recognizing the right of trade unions to have a say not only in determining the conditions of hiring labor but also in the entire political and economic activity of the democratic state. On this plane it is vital also to guarantee the prerogatives and the free functioning of Parliament, to extend its rights in "elaborating ways and means of economic development and supervising their implementation."

The struggle for a new, democratic line of economic and political development is based, naturally, on the struggle of the working class and the masses for higher living standards and above all for full employment, for higher wages and extension of the right of the working-class organizations to conclude collective agreements. The fight for immediate demands, however, should not be relaxed or counterposed to the fight for structural reforms; it cannot be weakened in the expectation of reforms, it must be a constituent part of the struggle for democratic and socialist transformation.

It goes without saying that the slogans of economic and political development along the democratic path and the struggle for structural reforms have nothing in common with reformist policies by means of which certain paternalist changes are to be made in the capitalist system from above. In our understanding the policy of democratic development and structural reforms means that, on the basis of mass action, fundamental changes can be wrought in production so as

to strike a blow at the concentration of property and power in the hands of the monopolies. This movement should be stimulated not only by propaganda slogans but also by feasible demands, answering the conditions of the working people at the given moment. If these two points are not separated the struggle for structural reforms will acquire a positive character and will lead to actual gains.

The struggle for democratic development creates a broad base for an alliance of the working class not only with the peasants (primarily on the basis of general agrarian reform and the defense of peasant holdings) but also with the masses of small and medium producers, thereby excluding only those restricted groups which, notwithstanding their secondary role, wield power on a par with the monopoly bourgeoisie. At the present stage of monopoly capitalism the interests of the middle sections, such as handicraftsmen, small and medium manufacturers and traders, come into sharp conflict with the policy of the monopolies which seek to oust them from the market and out of production in general. The draft theses set out demands to enable the small and medium producers to withstand the pressure of the monopolies and to develop independently. Co-operation between the working class and the middle sections can be maintained not only in the present struggle against the monopolies but also during the subsequent advance towards socialism and also during socialist construction in Italy. In a country such as ours the socialist system would encourage maximum development of the productive forces and give free rein to the initiative of the middle sections which is now curbed by the monopolies and which in the process of building the new society could play a definite role. Thus the alliance of the working class with the middle sections rests on a firm and permanent foundation; conditions are being created to overcome the old ideological prejudices and fears of the broad middle sections in respect to socialism.

* * *

The general program for deep-going changes advanced by the Communists is in tune with the demands and the struggle for a democratic government of the working people. "In our understanding this would be a government which, relying on the broad mass movement and reflecting the disintegration of the old conservative bloc and the need to replace the ruling classes, would carry out all the reforms stipulated in our Constitution,

and reveal, through democratic legislation, their profound social and democratic significance. The Communists maintain that both now and in the future — during the advance towards socialism and in the actual process of building socialism — the existence and co-operation of the different parties will not only be possible, but desirable and necessary."

However, it would be wrong to think that these political and economic reforms can be effected only with the advent to power of a democratic government. "Some economic and political reforms can be carried out before this aim is achieved because the need for them is felt by other social forces and political groups with which we can and must come to agreement, though partial and provisional, in order to carry out the vital program."

The entire political set-up shows that we can and should work for a new democratic majority reflecting the consolidation of the anti-monopoly forces and their determination to uphold and regenerate our democracy.

The draft theses pose the question of unity and co-operation of the forces which could help to create this majority; they note that "the new features of the situation, the contacts and co-operation with non-proletarian social groups call for new methods, for a broader approach and more flexibility. The old formulas of united-front and people's-front action may no longer meet the situation and the tasks that must be carried out to achieve a far-reaching democratic regeneration."

Two problems, now acquiring new aspects, are thoroughly examined in the document: one is co-operation between the Communist and Socialist parties, which for Italy is the question of political unity of the working class, the other is the attitude of the working-class movement to the Catholics and their organizations. The stand adopted by the leadership of the Socialist Party is criticized because it seeks to restrict Communist-Socialist co-operation to united action through the trade unions, other mass organizations and local government bodies. The theses stress the need for co-operation also in the broad political sphere because the tasks of fundamental regeneration now confronting the working class necessitate joint political action by the two working-class parties. This political co-operation is not an obstacle to (as some of the Socialist leaders claim), but a condition for, broader unity of all the democratic forces and for taking advantage of the

crisis in the Catholic movement and in other political groupings.

On the other hand, Communist-Socialist co-operation by no means means a fusing of the two parties or restricting their independence. Nor does it mean relinquishing arguments on ideological and political issues. Quite the contrary, these are all the more important at present in view of the different standpoints of the parties on many fundamental political issues. However, basic for the positive growth of such dialectical relations between the two parties can and must be co-operation and agreement in order to enable them jointly to analyze events critically and "help achieve that higher level of unity which is of fundamental interest to the working class and the people of the country." For this reason the draft theses, taking into account the situation and the attitude of the Socialist leaders, set forth a number of proposals with a view to ensuring better co-operation between the two parties, though not necessarily by way of written agreements. The suggestion is made, for instance, that the leaders of the two parties, their parliamentary groups and their organizations in the localities, should meet and exchange views not only on particular questions but also "whenever the Communists and Socialists face an electoral fight or a political struggle of general importance."

As to the Catholic movement the draft theses point out that the main Catholic forces, as clearly revealed by the last congress of the Christian Democratic Party, are moving to new positions, insisting on decisive struggle against the monopolies and on far-reaching social changes. It is true that among those opposed to the present Catholic leadership there are some who, as in the past, adhere to a policy of anti-communist discrimination and are doing everything they can to dampen the democratic and anti-monopoly strivings of the Catholic followers and to direct them along the path of compromise and paternalism.

This being the case, our Party cannot afford to trail in the wake of the reformist opposition groups or to restrict itself to criticizing these groups. In order that the crisis of Christian Democracy — which is at once a crisis of its ideology and of its so-called inter-class policy — should lead to democratic solutions to the issues facing the country it is essential to intensify the struggle for deep-going social and political regeneration and to prevent the ruling groups from glossing over the contradictions by means of com-

promise. For this purpose contact should be established and common ground reached for understanding and agreement with the Catholic followers.

The soundness of the traditional policy of our Party for agreement with the Catholic world is reaffirmed by the facts. The draft theses carry this policy further. It is based on "Gramsci's analysis of the motive forces of the Italian revolution, that is, on the recognition of the fact that in Italy the Catholic Church and the Catholic movement influence not only sections of the working class but above all a large part of the peasantry and the middle sections which, like the peasants, are the indispensable allies of the Italian proletarian revolution. And since the victory of socialism in Italy will depend on the formation of a much broader alignment of forces than the alliance of the workers with the poor peasant strata, action for agreement with the Catholic world must be envisaged as a component of the Italian way to socialism, as a long-term perspective of joint struggle and of alliances not only with the Catholic followers but also with their organizations."

* * *

In order to ensure success in the struggle for democratic development and help form a new alliance of forces it is vital to strengthen and extend the network of democratic mass organizations, first of all the trade unions and the peasant organizations. The draft theses also examine questions relating to the political and organizational development of the Party itself.

Both the C.C. report and the draft theses stress that the Party has done well in carrying out the slogan of the Eighth Congress—"Overhaul and strengthen the Party!" In addition to repelling the anti-communist onslaught, to reaffirming that the Party is a decisive force in the political life of the country, the Italian Communists succeeded in consolidating and extending their contact with all sections of the working people. As before, our Party remains a mass Party. Although members were lost in 1957, the total is 1,787,338 members. The branches are now displaying more initiative. The Party is more united and more members now have a better understanding of its platform of struggle for the democratic and socialist regeneration of Italy. Inner-Party democracy, now greatly extended, has enabled the membership to combat more effectively bureaucratic methods of leadership and work, and also the method of one-man leadership, to eliminate misunderstandings, obstacles and passivity

and to enhance the prestige of the leading committees, a prestige which rests not on a formal basis but on the ability to pose burning questions of Party activity and to solve them.

Both the report and the draft theses, however, caution against such a dangerous form of conservatism as complacency, with resting on laurels, and stress the need for a strict critical and self-critical approach which would reveal the shortcomings and the reasons for them. The reports of the Party federations are also permeated with the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. And this spirit, it should be said, is the condition which will enable the Party to make a new leap forward, to master the art of working in a new way and to display the political initiative necessitated by the new situation.

Our basic aim is to strengthen the political unity of the Party and to overcome, through full and frank discussion, the misunderstanding and resistance which up to now have hindered us from carrying out in full measure the policy outlined by the Eighth Congress. The report clearly defines these phenomena. The firmness and ability displayed by the Party leadership and the branches in combating the revisionist tendencies in some sections of the Party in 1956 and 1957 ensured the political defeat of these tendencies. This was combined with the struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism which hindered the Party from fully appreciating the tasks posed by the march of events, from fulfilling them in due time. However, revisionism still remains the main danger in the labor movement due to the activity launched by Catholic reformists and some Socialist groups. In order to vanquish revisionism "the Communist Party should recognize, raise and solve the new problems posed by the development

of the class struggle and national life. For this reason it is imperative to get rid of dogmatism and sectarianism."

Sectarianism and dogmatism in the Party are the main obstacles in carrying out our political line. They are manifest in the form of primitive extremism in some of the branches and leading committees and in "belittling the importance of independent research and creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory, in bureaucratic rigidity, in restricting democracy and in schematism in political activity and leadership." Sectarianism, therefore, "should be combated by persistent political struggle and educational means, and any temptation to be soft or conciliatory must be firmly resisted. At the same time it is imperative to combat all tendencies and obstacles of a reformist type as manifested in economism, corporatism and localism and in renunciation of the struggle for structural reforms. In practice reformism and sectarianism lead to a conservative wait-and-see attitude, hindering all the more the steady development of the policy of social reconstruction necessary for moving along the Italian road to socialism."

To overcome these defects and to strengthen the unity of the Party, the theses point out that it is necessary to follow the line of democratic development and broad discussion throughout the Party. This is also the condition for broader participation by the membership in elaborating and carrying out the political line and in developing initiative in the branches.

Lastly, the theses, dwelling on organizational matters, point out that a mass Communist Party is essential for democratic development along the road to socialism and call on the members to work might and main for a membership of two million.

Among Our Contributors

- I. SINDELAR: *Member of the staff of the State Planning Committee, Czechoslovakia.*
- A. KUIBYSHEV: *Soviet economist.*
- E. SZYR: *Deputy Prime Minister of Poland.*
- LEON FEIX: *Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party.*
- ENRICO BERLINGUER: *Secretary of the Central Committee, Italian Communist Party.*
- PAUL FRIEDLAENDER: *Economist, German Democratic Republic.*

German Neo-Colonialism in Action

Paul Friedlaender

THE postwar boom in West Germany, the result of a number of transient factors, has strengthened the economic positions of German imperialism and, accordingly, the latter is now trying to extend them into other spheres. Not only is it staking a claim to "equal" status among the nuclear powers, it also seeks to participate "on a parity basis" with the big imperialist powers in plundering the countries whose development has been retarded by the centuries-old colonial yoke.

The history of German imperialism shows that not even developed capitalist countries, to say nothing of underdeveloped countries, have ever been safe from the danger of its expansion. Afro-Asian peoples suffered for decades from the brutal colonial oppression of German imperialists. It is pertinent to recall these facts now that German imperialism is trying to conceal them and other black pages in its history. It tries to impress on the peoples that have shaken off the colonial yoke or who are still fighting for freedom, that colonialism is utterly alien to it and that it has never pursued a colonial policy. What is more, the West German "benefactors" aver that they have always favored the liberation of these countries, and that their one thought now is to help the Afro-Asian peoples overcome their economic backwardness.

It will not be amiss to recall that the German colonialists conducted punitive expeditions before World War I, butchering whole tribes, as was the case with the Hottentots and Herero. The thirst of the German imperialists for new colonial gains was one of the causes of World War I. Nor have they ever relinquished the idea of regaining their colonies. Their plans for seizing the Middle East were thwarted only by the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War.

Since the war the new national states in Asia and Africa have been one of the main objectives of German imperialist expansion. In recent times German imperialism has become much more active in these countries. Its policy, both in content and purpose, is identical with the policy it pursued in the colonies before the First World War and in Eastern Europe and the Balkans before the

Second World War. True it has put on a different mask, since the conditions of German imperialism have changed, though its essence remains as before.

Among the new conditions we should mention above all the existence of the socialist world system, its moral and political unity and its economic, scientific and technological successes, which exert a powerful influence on the international situation. Thanks to this the national-liberation movement has spread rapidly and has greatly accelerated the disintegration of the colonial system. Most of the former colonies and semi-colonies favor close co-operation with the socialist countries; they stand for social progress and national freedom.

The existence of two German states affects, in a big way, the new conditions in which German imperialism is again making claims. The German Democratic Republic, the first state of this kind in German history, bases its relations with the young nationalist states on equality, mutual respect and help in their struggle for independence and peace. This has forced German imperialism to resort to new forms of interference in the affairs of the newly-liberated countries.

Economic Expansion — the Chief Instrument of German Neo-Colonialism

In its attempt to re-impose fetters on the countries which have won political independence, imperialism now resorts chiefly to economic pressure. The rusty chains of military domination are being replaced by gilded ones, but this, of course, does not mean that the imperialists have renounced plotting, intrigue and military gambles as instruments of their colonial policy.

Faced with the growing national-liberation movement, the imperialist powers are pooling their efforts in order to defend their colonial privileges, and, in jointly conducting their camouflaged colonial policy they, so to say, allocate the roles beforehand. Everybody knows that the peoples fighting for freedom have a particular hatred of British and French imperialism. Consequently the main function in colonial policy is allocated to U.S. imperialism. But since the colonial methods of the latter are becoming more and more discredited,

West German imperialism is beginning to play an increasingly greater role in modern colonialist policy. Thus, for example, commenting on the role of the German monopolies in the Middle East, the *Financial Times* wrote in August 1958 that West Germany should be regarded as a particularly important ally though in the field of trade it is a very dangerous rival.

After the Second World War the colonial policy of German imperialism acquired certain specific features conditioned by a number of historical, political and, above all, economic factors.

The myth of the "economic miracle" was for a long time an effective propaganda means in the hands of West German rulers. Not much of the glitter remains now — suffice it to recall the huge stocks of unsold coal in the Ruhr and other economic difficulties. But the Bonn propagandists have nevertheless managed to produce an impression in some of the underdeveloped countries that the West German industrial barons have, for the first time in history, overcome the anarchy of capitalist production and that rapid economic expansion will be preserved for a long time. This facilitated West German penetration into the underdeveloped countries.

For the latter the role of West Germany as a supplier of machinery and industrial plant has often been greater than of the other developed capitalist countries. This, of course, is explained not by philanthropic sentiments but by the specific structure of West German exports. With a view to securing high monopoly profits, West Germany is forced to export far more industrial equipment than her rivals. Her share in the export of equipment is greater than that of other capitalist countries. For this reason she is particularly interested in purchasing cheap raw materials. The Federal Republic's dependence on foreign trade whets her appetite for intensified exploitation of the underdeveloped countries through unequal exchange—the typical feature of the trade relations between the developed capitalist countries, suppliers of manufactured goods, and the underdeveloped countries, supplying raw materials. While the price charged on the world market for West German machinery and industrial plant has been rising notwithstanding the crisis symptoms, prices paid for the important raw materials which West Germany imports from the Middle East and Africa have showed a marked decline. This has resulted in fabulous profits for the West German monopolies. Thanks to this difference, the monopolies, ac-

cording to their own figures, cleared between January-April 1958 about 650 million marks. It is obvious that over a longer period this sum will swell to billions. Such is the tribute exacted by West German monopolies not only from the present colonies but also from the former colonies which are not yet economically free.

Together with the exploitation of the working people at home these profits are an important source of capital accumulation. The vast gold and foreign exchange reserves accumulated by the Federal Republic have enabled it to be second only to the U.S. in granting credits and loans.

A detailed plan drawn up in Washington jointly with West German experts was approved by the other imperialist powers at the New Delhi session of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. According to this plan the gold and foreign exchange surpluses of the Federal Republic will be invested in the underdeveloped countries with a view to strengthening the positions of imperialism.

As was the case before the two world wars, the shock force of West German colonialists consists of monopolies such as the Mannesmann concern whose North African interests date back to the last century, the concerns Haniel (*Gutehoffnungshütte*, *Ferrostaal*), AFG, Krupp, Siemens, IG Farben and others. The Hamburg *Der Spiegel* commented on June 26, 1957, about the "front-line experience" of the German industrial chiefs in industrializing the underdeveloped countries. The same idea was stressed by the *Time* magazine (February 23, 1959): "The historic Berlin-to-Baghdad ambitions of the Germans got nowhere politically under the whip of Kaiser or Fuehrer, but before the peaceful push of West Germany's prosperous economy, they are succeeding surprisingly well. Armed now with sample case and blueprints instead of howitzer and battle plans, West Germany's businessmen are aggressively pushing ahead with a more realistic version of the old 'Drive to the East'."

The Present Positions of the German Colonialists

The strongest rivals of German imperialism — the USA, Britain and France — still have vast colonies, semi-colonies or currency zones, where they find both profitable markets and sources of cheap raw materials. The United States dominates the dollar zone and other regions, chiefly Latin America; Britain has her Empire, and France has the so-called

French Community. Since these areas are their permanent source of profits and components of their economic and political might, German imperialism, as far as its economic potential permits, is feverishly seeking similar spheres of influence. In order to attain this goal it uses various methods of economic expansion — export of goods, credits for export, export of capital in varying forms and technical “advice.”

The basic lines of this expansion stretch to the Middle East and South-East Asia. In Latin America, too, German concerns have regained and even strengthened their positions which were fairly strong before the Second World War.

The positions of German imperialism in the Middle East can best be judged by its successful export operations. Between 1950 and the first half of 1958 the share of West Germany in the overall imports of the Middle Eastern countries rose from 8.8 to 19.9 per cent, while that of Britain had fallen from 39.6 to 28.0 per cent; France's share fell from 11.7 to 7.1 per cent, Italy's from 10.1 to 9.4 per cent.*

The share of the United States, which in 1938 was a mere 10.8 per cent, has remained more or less stable in recent times, amounting to about 28 per cent.

In export of goods to Middle Eastern countries West Germany has outstripped Britain and is second only to the U.S. in some countries (Turkey and Israel); and in other countries is in first place (Iran, Greece, Syria). Many West German concerns have made important capital investments in Egypt and Turkey, while West German oil companies have obtained concessions for prospecting in Turkey, the UAR (both Egypt and Syria), Libya and Greece.

In Africa the monopolies operate along two lines. Skilfully playing on the hatred harbored by the African peoples for the British and French imperialists — their rivals — they are concentrating mainly on the countries which have won political independence. Capture of the markets is accompanied by intensified credit activity and technical-economic aid.

At the same time German imperialism is trying to penetrate into the African possessions of Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and Portugal. This aim has been facilitated by the incorporation of the French and Belgian overseas territories into the European Economic Community. The Federal Government, furthering the interests of the monopolies, has

allocated 850 million marks — a sum almost six times the West German private capital investments in Africa — for the so-called EEC overseas investment fund; this is the price paid for the right to take part in exploiting the French and Belgian colonies in Africa. Further expansion is foreseen by the participation of West German monopolies in exploiting the important iron ore deposits in Tindouf, Fort Gouraud and Mekambo, the bauxites (the Inga and Kouilou projects) and the oil fields (Hassi-Messaoud). This explains the financial and political support given to the colonial war in Algeria. Commenting on Bonn's financial help to France (some 1.5 billion marks) *Die Welt* noted that this subsidy would be used “directly or indirectly for the Algerian war.” The same can be said about the projected French-West German A-bomb tests in the Sahara. The intertwining of the “oldest” and the latest forms of German colonialism in Africa simply confirms the identical essence of the two.

The visit paid by Minister of Economy Erhard in 1958 to South-East Asia (with a suite of nearly 100) was a particularly striking expression of the neo-colonialist claims of German imperialism in that area. On behalf of the West German monopolies he demanded protection of their investments in these countries, the return of their property confiscated during the war, and also the right to buy a controlling interest in local enterprises, to transfer profits irrespective of the currency situation, etc. The West German *Handelsblatt* wrote on November 10, 1958:

“Immediately upon his return Minister Erhard stated that the practical question was: who would play the main role in the economic life of South-East Asia — China or India. What the Chinese are doing evokes alarm. Clearly, it is necessary to help India. . . . Above all what we should bear in mind here is the political essence of the matter.”

These considerations prompted West Germany to grant India a credit of nearly one billion marks, which corresponds approximately to her 1958 exports to that country, and is the biggest long-term credit ever granted by West Germany to any underdeveloped country. With this sum behind them, the German concerns have succeeded — to the disappointment of their British rivals — in getting an important toe-hold in India. With the British share in Indian imports remaining at the same level and the American share falling, that of West Germany is increasing.

*The share of each of the above states is calculated on the basis of their total exports to the Middle East.

A feature of the economic relations between India and West Germany is that the latter is trying hard to bar Indian goods from appearing on her markets, whereas she is striving might and main to sell goods on the Indian market. In 1956 West German deliveries to India were eight times as great as Indian exports to Federal Germany, nine times as great in 1957 and 10 times as great in 1958. As a result of the payments deficit India's debt to West Germany mounted to 2.5 billion marks in the space of three years. Thus, the "generous help" in the shape of credits is only a relatively small part of the Indian debt.

About 30 per cent of all the private investments made by West German concerns abroad go to Latin America, i.e., 710 million out of a total of 2.4 billion marks (the mid-1959 figure). For export of capital to Latin America West Germany has in recent years moved into second place (after the USA), ousting Britain from her prewar positions. British exports of manufactured articles to Latin America are also falling: whereas in 1928 Britain supplied about 20 per cent of Latin American imports, the 1957 figure was down to 6 per cent. And while it was chiefly the United States which took advantage of this, we should also bear in mind that West Germany, now covering only part of the territory of the former Reich, in addition to retaining her share in Latin American imports — which before the war amounted to 10 per cent — has now reached second place on the Latin American market.

West German interests are now concentrated in Brazil and Argentina. Over one-half of West German capitalist investments in Latin America have been made in these countries by IG Farben, Mannesmann and Siemens. In Brazil alone 500 million marks have been invested, i.e., one-fifth of the total private direct investments of West German capital abroad, or three-quarters of the total invested in Latin America. Along with being a source of an exceedingly high rate of profit — much higher than that in West Germany — these investments pave the way for getting a grip in many spheres of production. The Mannesmann concern, for example, has a monopoly of the production of high-grade steel and tubes in Brazil, the IG Farben people have a monopoly in chemicals, while the Flick (Daimler-Benz) concern dominates in the production of trucks in Argentina.

Through the medium of investments the German imperialists try to secure political positions in a particular country. It is com-

mon knowledge, for example, that many of the reactionary Peronists in Argentina hold big blocks of shares in West German daughter companies. Such alliances, spearheaded against the national interests, signify fabulous enrichment for the German monopolies and the local reactionary rulers at the expense of the Argentine people.

The Main Object of West German Expansion

As mentioned above, the Middle East is the main object of the neo-colonialist strivings of German imperialism. This is explained by a number of reasons of which we will mention only a few: the eclipse of the imperialist positions of Britain and France; the traditional contact between German imperialism and the reactionary rulers of Turkey and Iran; and the special support of U.S. imperialism. Then there is the important fact that West Germany is relatively closer to this region. The expansion in the Middle East reveals, most clearly, the entire "mechanism" of the neo-colonialist methods employed against the national-liberation struggle, and also the general and the specific features of West German policy, which is quick to seize upon the economic and political conditions in each of the Middle East countries.

One method is the long-term credits and other forms of export of capital, which puts a heavy burden on the West German taxpayers.

The fact that the export of state capital is almost ten times that of private capital testifies to a concerted utilization of state-monopoly capital. These sums, granted in connection with agreements on technical and economic "aid" and "advice," have always played an important part in the neo-colonialist aspirations of German imperialism in the Middle East. The long-term credits and other sums, which ensure profits and strengthen German imperialism, are in the region of five to six billion marks (all in all they amount to 20 billion). The operations guaranteed by the Government and conducted through the medium of the Hermes insurance company, to take only one example, amount to 2.5 billion marks. The credit of nearly 600 million marks granted recently to Egypt testifies to the particularly keen "interest" evinced by West German imperialism in the United Arab Republic. This was frankly admitted by the *Wehr und Wirtschaft*, a military journal, which in March 1959 carried an article by Colonel S. Beer entitled "The Strategic Position in the Middle East." "Comprehensive eco-

conomic aid," the colonel wrote, "must become a more reliable defense in the Arab region than the Sixth Fleet."

The impressive credits also show that the West German monopolies are bent on stepping into the shoes of British imperialism in Egypt. And true enough, after the Suez aggression, these monopolies, taking the place of their British counterparts, have extended their influence in the UAR. According to American reports, over 500 representatives of West German monopolies and other big firms have turned Cairo into a stronghold of their activity in the Middle East.

Another reason for West German concentration on the UAR is the prestige which the socialist countries enjoy there. At the critical moment of the imperialist attack on Egypt, the Soviet Union extended sincere support and continued to help her during the subsequent economic blockade. The construction of the Aswan Dam by the Soviet Union is a clear manifestation of this friendly policy. West Germany, of course, was one of those countries which, characteristically enough, "recalled" only after the Soviet Union offered its aid, that they also could provide the credit for this project.

While announcing its readiness to extend credits, West Germany at the same time made certain demands on the UAR Government; in particular it demanded that the bulk of the German property confiscated during the war be returned. Similar demands are made, often brusquely, when credit agreements are entered into with other Middle Eastern countries.

As a result of new credits made available to Turkey, the total sum of West German financial help to that NATO bastion in the Middle East — stronghold of the U.S. Sixth Fleet — reached 500 million marks, according to official figures. Turkey is traditionally known as a happy hunting ground of the German monopolies. Characteristic of the present West German-Turkish relations is the treaty which stipulates that Turkey will deliver munitions to West Germany to the value of 400 million marks.

On the initiative of the Federal Republic, Turkey has obtained big credits from the OEEC. Commenting on this, *The Times* wrote: "The credits Turkey needs may be advanced by OEEC, mainly as the result of an initiative by West Germany. . . . Prospects for this source of further aid are probably now bright enough for the Turks to call off any major transaction with Moscow." This reveals once again the true aims of West

German state-monopoly credits. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that German property confiscated in Turkey after the war is estimated at almost 120 million marks, which is several times the figure of the present West German investments in Turkey. Acting for the monopolies the Federal Government is doing everything in its power — threatening even to discontinue the credits promised — to expedite the return of this property.

The biggest credit to a Middle Eastern country was that granted to Israel. Under the agreement signed in 1952 concerning compensation for damage, Israel will receive goods from West Germany to the sum of 3.5 billion marks.

The "compensation for damage agreement" has enabled German imperialism to consolidate its economic positions in that country, having secured for the West German monopolies a considerable slice of the Israeli market. On the pretext of atoning for its old sins German imperialism is preparing a base for fresh crimes against the peoples of the Middle East and Africa.

Greece, too, occupies an important place in the expansionist plans of the German monopolies. The West German monopolies are interested not only in the raw material sources of Greece but also in her traditional and extensive contacts with this vast area. Greek traders are even required to sell West German goods. The Federal Republic has promised Greece a credit of 600 million marks. The agreement covering this credit stipulates an extensive part for the West German monopolies in developing Greek industry. In an article on Greek-West German co-operation which appeared in 1957 in *Wirtschaftsdienst* about the plans for using Greece as an imperialist springboard against the national-liberation movement in the Middle East, we find the following:

"Greece could make a contribution to the Eisenhower doctrine by granting good conditions for building industrial enterprises. The sale of the goods produced by these enterprises in Greece would not, of course, encounter political resistance or hostility in the Middle East. The participation of the world-famous German firms would be the guarantee of the quality of goods."

This plan of the monopolies was fully supported by Vorwaerts (January 23, 1959), organ of the German Social Democratic Party, a fact which testifies to the inimical attitude adopted by the leadership of this party to the national-liberation movement. "The agreement," said Vorwaerts, "will not

only enliven and improve relations, it will help substantially in building a bridge from Central Europe to an area of tension — the Middle East."

In their efforts to entrench themselves in the Middle Eastern countries the monopolies rely on the help of the international finance organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development — financed chiefly by the United States and West Germany — and the recently established Middle East Industrial Projects Corporation. Participating in this "regional" and "private" corporation are 13 capitalist and nine Arab countries — West Germany being represented by the largest number of firms (31). Abs, the big finance magnate, is earmarked for the post of chairman.

Joint West German-American action is particularly evident in the Middle East. Upon granting a credit to Egypt the West German *Industriekurier* frankly stated on May 24, 1958: "The Federal Republic is becoming an outpost of the United States now that it is increasingly clear that the latter looks upon her as the most precious European partner." The *Saarbruecker Zeitung*, advocating the common interests of French and West German capital, was equally outspoken:

"The Federal Republic is now the only partner of the Atlantic Alliance possessing not only a concentrated industrial power and a vast export potential but also enjoying an unstained reputation in the eyes of the Arabs. In the Levant there is talk about a tacit West German-American agreement according to which the Federal Republic, after the failure of the Entente countries (during the Suez gamble—Ed.), is to secure, in its capacity of an unsuspected middleman of the West, the orientation of the Middle East to the free world."

Although the co-operation between the West German and U.S. imperialists is still quite close in the Middle East, there are signs of growing rivalry, especially in these markets. The extent to which the West German monopolists are making demands even on their senior partner — the United States — can be seen from an article which appeared in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* on October 24, 1958. Commenting on the West German "auxiliary functions" it made brazen counter-demands on the U.S.: "Today," it said, "the Americans call upon us with good reason, but in their own interests, to align ourselves with them in the economic competition with the East. This justifies us in telling them bluntly that the return of German property held in

the U.S. would be of great help in extending aid to the underdeveloped countries. It would help because German industry would then be rid of the need to make new investments in the United States with funds which could be invested in the economically backward countries."

It should be pointed out that German property confiscated in the United States during the war is of no little value. Most of the other countries which acted in the same way have so far refused to return the property to West Germany, basing their refusal on the attitude of the United States. Hence the West German monopolies maintain that the return of this property by the United States would evoke a chain reaction in the other capitalist countries, thus adding approximately 16 billion marks to their private foreign capital investments, a sum several times greater than the present figure.

The hopes cherished by West German monopolists for the "unstained reputation" of an unsuspected middleman are gradually melting away. West Germany's alignment with the Atlantic bloc, the fact that her territory was used for military operations against some Middle East countries and her co-operation in the colonial war against Algeria — this helps the peoples to see the true face of German imperialism. Little wonder, therefore, that in the March (1958) issue of *Die Aussenpolitik*, a journal specializing in foreign policy, an article headed "The Arabs Vs. the West," lamented the "lost love" of the Arab peoples for West Germany. The sympathies of the other nations for the German people are turning more and more to the German Democratic Republic—a state of workers and peasants. Proof of this is the growing economic ties between the GDR and the young Afro-Asian countries and more particularly the cordial reception accorded the GDR government delegation headed by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl in Cairo, Baghdad, New Delhi and other places.

In connection with the declining influence of the Federal Republic and the rising prestige of the Democratic Republic in the Middle East, the *Afrika-Post*, a Pretoria journal representing West German interests in Africa, commented on what it described as "collapse of the Bonn line." One of the reasons for this, according to the journal, is the dissipation of illusions in the Arab world concerning the "non-participation of the Federal Republic in colonialism."

In summing up we should stress: now that power in West Germany is in the hands of

the same old monopolies headed by the *self-same* people, pursuing as before the aim of unrestricted extension of their domination, the underdeveloped countries are one of the chief objects of German imperialism, while economic penetration of these countries in the guise of "aid" becomes the principal means of realizing its colonialist designs.

German imperialism has become even more expansionist and for this reason is a grave danger to the peoples fighting for independence. These peoples have every reason to be on the alert in order to expose, in good time, the neo-colonialist intrigues and uphold their political and economic independence.

Pages from History

Thirty Years of the Working People's Party of Vietnam

Ho Chi Minh

OUR PARTY is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. We would like to cast a retrospective glance at the path traversed and the battles fought and won, and to generalize the valuable experience accumulated in order correctly to determine the revolutionary tasks of the present stage and of the immediate future.

Just as the changes that have taken place in our country are inseparable from international developments, so the strengthening of our Party is inseparable from the growth of the fraternal parties. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which made a big breach in the walls of capitalism, opened to the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples the way to liberation. In 1919, under Lenin's leadership, genuine revolutionaries founded the Third International. Communist parties were formed in many countries. Under the impact of the October Revolution and with the direct help of the Communist parties of China and France, Marxism-Leninism penetrated the iron curtain lowered by French colonialism and reached Vietnam.

From 1924 on the revolutionary movement in our country began to grow; the working class, which fought first for economic demands, soon went over to political struggle. The union of Marxist-Leninist theory with the working class and patriotic movement led to the *formation, early in 1930, of the Communist Party of Indo-China* (since March 1951 the Working People's [Lao Dong] Party of Vietnam).

This event, which marked a turning point in the Vietnamese Revolution, showed that the working class had matured and was capable of heading the revolutionary struggle.

Our Party passed through several important stages: underground activity; revolutionary struggle ending in the August Revolution; the years of the victorious patriotic war. Now the northern part of the country has entered the stage of socialist revolution, that of the struggle for the national reunification and the completion of the democratic revolution throughout the land.

* * *

During its almost fifteen years of underground activities the Party was savagely persecuted by the French colonialists, whom it fought relentlessly. The jails, including the penal prisons on the island of Pulo Condore, in Lao-bao and in Son la, were filled with Communists. Many Party functionaries and members died the death of the brave in the struggle. But we firmly believed in the ultimate victory of the Party and the Revolution, and our ranks continued to grow and gain in strength.

Ever since its inception the Party has held aloft the banner of the national-democratic revolution and has led the national-liberation movement. At that time the feudal class capitulated to the imperialists, while the bourgeoisie, being weak and fearing economic destruction, sought to come to terms with imperialism. Despite the ferment in their midst

the petty-bourgeois sections had come to a dead end. The working class alone, as the most revolutionary class, kept up the struggle against the colonialists. Equipped with advanced revolutionary theory and the experience of the international proletarian movement, it proved itself the most able leader, one worthy of the confidence of the people.

Educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party pursued a correct revolutionary policy. As early as 1930 it enunciated the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution: *struggle against the imperialists and feudal lords*, the winning of national independence and the transfer of the land to the peasants. This program was fully in keeping with the aspirations of the peasants, who comprised the majority of the people. In this way our Party succeeded in uniting large revolutionary forces around the working class, while the parties of the other classes either suffered a fiasco or found themselves isolated. The leading role of the Party, the Party of the working class, was confirmed, and its prestige grew.

Shortly after its formation the Party organized and led the *mass movement for Soviets in the Nghe-An and Ha-Tinh provinces*. The workers and peasants in these provinces threw off the imperialist and feudal yoke and established worker-peasant-soldier rule and proclaimed liberties for the working people.

Although the movement was savagely crushed, it will testify for all time to the heroism and the will to fight of the working masses. It promoted the growth of the forces which subsequently accomplished the August Revolution.

When, in 1936, the menace of fascism and the threat of world war became obvious, our Party aligned itself with the international anti-fascist democratic front and the Popular Front in France. It initiated the *struggle for the formation in Indo-China of a democratic front against fascism and colonial reaction* and led mass actions to win democratic liberties and better conditions. This movement embraced millions of people, awakening them to the political struggle. The prestige of the Communist Party mounted among the working people.

Shortly after the beginning of the Second World War, Vietnam was occupied by the Japanese aggressors who sought to dominate the country; for this purpose they aligned themselves with the French colonialists. The Party changed its tactics in time. Viet-Minh (League for the Independence of Vietnam)

and mass organizations of national salvation were established in 1941. With a view to rallying all the patriotic forces in a single anti-fascist and anti-colonial bloc, the Party temporarily withdrew the slogan for agrarian revolution, confining itself to demands for lower rents and lower interest rates, for confiscation of the land belonging to the imperialists and traitors and handing it over to the peasants. In this way we sought to unite all forces in the struggle against the imperialists and their stooges, to draw the patriotic landlords into it and to extend the National Front for the Salvation of the Country.

The Party's policy furthered the growth of the revolutionary movement. Resistance bases were set up, and the first units of the Vietnamese Army of Liberation formed. The Communist Party started *guerrilla warfare against the Japanese invaders*, and played an active part in the international anti-fascist struggle.

This made it possible, immediately after the Soviet Army had smashed fascism, to carry out the *national uprising for the conquest of power*. This was in fact the victorious August Revolution of 1945 which gave birth to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In 1945 our Party, which had been formed from a few Marxist study groups, had only about 5,000 members, many of whom were in prison. But it had been steeled in hard battles and although numerically small, it was able to unite the people and lead the uprising to victory — the first great victory won by Marxism-Leninism in a colony.

* * *

Not long after the August Revolution the French Government violated the agreements it had signed with our Republic and unleashed an aggressive war.

At that time the country was in dire straits. We had not got over the famine caused by the policy pursued by French imperialism and Japanese fascism. The enemy had considerable land, sea and air forces equipped with modern weapons. We had only a few newly-formed, poorly equipped infantry regiments with little combat experience. But the Party decided to organize resistance. Heading the patriotic struggle to preserve the democratic republic, it simultaneously carried out a number of important social and economic measures. When the resistance became widespread, we took the course of *carrying out an agrarian reform, and mobiliz-*

ed the people under the slogan of "Land to the Tillers!" This was a correct policy. The Resistance forces, joined by increasing numbers of peasants, grew rapidly and began to win one victory after another.

Our country had been under the French colonialist yoke for some eighty years. In the nine years of the patriotic war a real army had grown out of the first few detachments. The people rallied in an indissoluble union. The first small regular units, guerrilla detachments and the people's militia expanded into an army of heroes, confident of victory and ready for any ordeals.

The unity and self-sacrifice of the army and the people won the historic victory of Dien Bien-Phu in May 1954. The French colonialist troops never recovered from this defeat and were compelled to agree to a cease-fire. Agreements signed in Geneva brought about peace on the basis of the recognition of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the peoples of Indo-China.

For the first time in history a small colony had emerged the victor in single combat with a big colonial power. This was a victory not only of our people but, simultaneously, a victory of the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Once again Marxism-Leninism illuminated the path for the working class and the people, and led them to triumph in the struggle to save their country and safeguard the revolutionary gains.

* * *

After the restoration of peace, the country found itself temporarily divided into two parts. Socialism is being built in the liberated, northern part of Vietnam, while the imperialists and their underlings, now converting the South into an American colony and military base with the object of embroiling us in another civil war, are lording it in the South. The American imperialists and their stooges, the sworn enemies of the Vietnamese people, are brazenly violating the Geneva agreements, putting roadblocks in the way of convening a consultative conference to arrange for free elections and the peaceful reunion of the country.

In this situation two tasks confront the Vietnamese revolution: first, the construction of socialism in North Vietnam and second, the completion of the national-democratic revolution in the South. The fulfilment of these tasks will strengthen peace and pave the way to reunification on the basis of independence and democracy.

This is how the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam defined the tasks facing the people: "Consolidation of the national unity of the people, vigorous action for the reunion of the country on the basis of independence and democracy, completion of the national-democratic revolution in South Vietnam, strengthening all the forces in the North and leading it towards socialism, establishing a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous state, safeguarding peace in Indo-China, in South-East Asia and throughout the world."

North Vietnam advances steadily along the socialist path. The feature of the transitional period in our economically backward agrarian country is the *direct advance towards socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development.*

The French imperialists left us an economy in a bad plight. Small peasant farming prevailed in the countryside. For all practical purposes there was no industry. Fifteen years of war had ruined the economy. The situation was made worse by the economic sabotage carried out by the colonialists before withdrawing from North Vietnam.

In these conditions the cardinal task was to build the material and technical base of socialism, gradually to expand the national economy, develop a modern industry, agriculture and educational system. The reconstruction of the old and the creation of a new economy calls for constructive labor over a long period.

Between 1955 and 1957 the No. 1 problem was *rehabilitation*. It was necessary to restore agriculture and industry, to heal the wounds of war, stabilize the economy and improve living standards.

Thanks to the efforts of the people and the fraternal aid accorded us by the socialist camp, the rehabilitation was successfully completed by the end of 1957. The level of industrial and agricultural output was approximately that of 1939. Impressive results were achieved in raising food crops: North Vietnam, which in 1939 produced about 2,500,000 tons of paddy, harvested 4,000,000 tons in 1956.

This period witnessed radical changes in the production relations. The agrarian reform abolished the system of feudal land-ownership and released the productive forces in the countryside. The cherished dream of 12,000,000 peasants, the dream that the land would be divided among them, had now come

true. The economic monopoly of the imperialists was abolished. The state took control of the economic levers and began to build a socialist economy. Thanks to the generous aid rendered by the socialist states, primarily the Soviet Union and China, 29 old industrial enterprises were reconstructed and 55 new ones built.

In many districts the peasants united into *mutual-aid teams*, embryonic forms of socialism. Experimental *agricultural co-operatives* were formed, and the handicraftsmen have combined in production groups.

Private industry and trade switched over to state capitalism — working on government orders and using the raw materials provided by the state; supplying traders with the goods from the state-owned organizations, etc.

After the rehabilitation the Party mobilized the people for fulfilment of the *Three-Year Plan* (1958-60). This plan aims at reconstructing agriculture, handicraft production, industry and trade along socialist lines. It was agreed that the emphasis should be laid on the socialist reconstruction and expansion of agriculture as the fundamental condition for the industrialization of the country. Industry and foreign trade can expand only on the basis of a prospering socialist agriculture. When completed, the reconstruction of agriculture, as envisaged in the plan, will create favorable conditions for the rapid building of socialism. Having adopted this policy, the Party is now working to get individual peasants gradually to join the mutual-aid teams, which contain the rudiments of socialist relationships, agricultural co-operatives of the lower, semi-socialist type and, eventually, co-operatives of the higher, socialist type.

Being densely populated, the North Vietnamese countryside has only a limited amount of land; implements are antiquated, and labor productivity, consequently, is extremely low. But simple forms of peasant co-operation, improved methods of cultivation and better management have already produced a higher productivity than the individual farmer can show. Our peasants are aware of this. They have their own revolutionary traditions, boundless confidence in the Party and respond readily to its calls. The peasants are enthusiastically joining the mutual-aid teams and the agricultural co-operatives; they are taking the socialist way. The co-operatives now unite more than 40 per cent of the peasant households.

The consolidation of socialist production relations will, undoubtedly, ensure the advance of agriculture and this, in turn, will further industrial development without which the countryside cannot get electric power, water for irrigation and the agricultural machinery it needs.

Another task of paramount importance is *the peaceful remoulding of the national bourgeoisie along socialist lines*. In the sphere of economic relations we are pursuing a *policy of compensation*, not of confiscating means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie. In the political sphere the national bourgeoisie have definite rights and their place in the Patriotic Front.*

In the past the colonial status of the country always precluded the national bourgeoisie from becoming an important class force. The imperialists and the feudal lords retarded their development and relegated them to the background. And precisely for this reason a considerable section of them joined the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and took part in the patriotic war. By virtue of their class nature the national bourgeoisie are reluctant to stop exploiting others and nurture the hope that further development will take place along capitalist lines. But our advance to socialism rules out this possibility. The national bourgeoisie realize that they can retain their place in the national family only by agreeing to socialist reforms. Most of them appreciate that their future is bound up with participation in the socialist reconstruction of society.

The results in the sphere of education are most gratifying. Over 85 per cent of the population was illiterate under French rule — now illiteracy has in the main been wiped out in North Vietnam.

Below is a table showing the number of pupils and students in educational establishments:

	1939 Whole of Indo-China (no. of students)	1959-1960 North Vietnam only (no. of students)
Universities	582	7,518
Technical schools	438	18,100
General education schools	540,000	1,522,000

The following data relate to the health service:

*Established in 1955 on the basis of the United National Front of Vietnam.—Ed.

	1939 North and Central Vietnam	1959 North Vietnam only
Hospitals	54	138
Village health centers	138	1,500
Doctors	86	292
Nurses	968	6,020
Sanitary and public health personnel in the countryside	—	169,000

Our achievements to date are clear proof that it is the aim of socialism to abolish worry and poverty from the lives of the working people, to provide them with employment, to make them happy and prosperous. It is the duty of the Party and the people to exert every effort to produce more, faster, better and with more economy.

On the basis of the progress made, we shall now have to draw up long-term plans.

* * *

How is our success to be explained?

The explanation is to be sought in the fact that our Party, which has always *taken a firm class proletarian stand and placed the interests of the people above everything else*, has applied Marxist-Leninist theory correctly to Vietnamese conditions and charted a correct political course. The Party has ceaselessly combated the reformist tendencies of the bourgeoisie and the political adventurism of the petty-bourgeois sections in the national movement; the left phraseology used by the Trotskyites in the working-class movement; and the right and "left" deviations in the Party, both in hammering out and in implementing the strategic and tactical lines at the different stages. Marxism-Leninism helped us to withstand all the storms and stresses. This enabled our Party not only to lead the revolutionary movement, but to keep a firm hold on the leadership and repel the onslaughts of the bourgeoisie, who are contending with us for the leading role.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, we realized that in a backward agrarian country like Vietnam, the overriding national issue was the peasant question, that the national revolution was, basically, a peasant revolution, carried out under the leadership of the working class, and that people's power was worker-peasant power. Basing itself on this teaching, our Party *correctly understood and solved the peasant question and worked indefatigably to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance at each stage*. It combated the right and "left" deviations which underrated the role of the peasants in the revolution, deny-

ing that they were the chief ally of the proletariat, and that as the strongest numerical force, they, together with the proletariat, would build socialism. Both the right and the "left" failed to perceive that the worker-peasant alliance was the backbone of the National Front and people's power. The Party's revolutionary experience illustrates that its correct decisions, reflecting the aspirations of the peasants and strengthening the alliance of the working class and peasantry, have always accelerated development of the revolution.

The Party succeeded in *rallying* all the patriotic and progressive forces into the *United National Front of Vietnam* and in establishing the unity of the people in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. And with the workers and peasants as the main force in the national bloc, their alliance has formed the basis of the National Front. In matters concerning the formation, consolidation and development of the National Front, the Party always combated sectarianism, isolationism and unprincipled compromises. Thirty years of experience in uniting the national forces show that only by combating these tendencies can we ensure for the Marxist-Leninist Party the leading role in the National Front and reinforce its worker-peasant base.

Our Party grew and developed in the favorable international conditions created by the victory of the Great October Revolution. The achievements of the Party and the people are inseparable from the fraternal support accorded us by the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement and the national-liberation movement and also the peace movement. We were able to surmount all difficulties and lead the people to glorious victories because the Party *did not divorce the revolutionary movement in its own country from the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples*.

We are sincerely grateful to the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China, who have helped us to become a party of the new type. We shall always remember the generous support given to our Party and the people in their revolutionary struggle by the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, China and France.

Successfully building socialism in North Vietnam and fighting for the reunion of the country, the Working People's Party of Vietnam will continue its efforts to strengthen the

international solidarity of the working class. It will do everything in its power to consolidate the might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to educate the people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, which is inseparable from genuine patriotism, to extend contacts between the revolutionary movement in its own country and the struggle waged by the working masses and the oppressed people in other lands for world peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

* * *

Much will have to be done to fulfil this difficult but honorable task. The Party must raise the level of ideological and organizational work, ensure the growth of the Party organizations, train new members from all sections of the working people, first and foremost the working class, with the object of strengthening its proletarian core.

Party functionaries should make a deeper study of Marxist-Leninist theory, deepen their class proletarian consciousness, study the laws of development of the Vietnamese revolution, comply with revolutionary ethics, vigorously combat individualism, strengthen proletarian collectivism, be industrious, thrifty, work in close contact with the masses, and place the interests of the revolution and the people above everything.

Socialist construction in North Vietnam demands from our members that they work tirelessly to raise their cultural, scientific and technological level.

The Party is confronted with the task of giving better guidance in all spheres of activity. The Union of Working Youth should be the Party's right hand in organizing and educating the rising generation in the spirit of fidelity to the cause of building socialism and communism. The trade unions should be a school of administration, economic management and cultural guidance for the working class. Under the leadership of the Party the agricultural co-operatives should become shock brigades in the battle waged by the millions of peasants to produce more and build a prosperous, socialist countryside. It is the duty of our People's Army to work assiduously to raise its political level, assimilate techniques and strengthen its military preparedness, and be ever ready to uphold the independence of the country, to defend the peaceful, constructive labor of the people.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism our invincible Party, confident of the victory of the army of Communists, will close its ranks. It is leading the working people boldly towards new victories in socialist construction and for the reunification of the country.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

This Is a Warning

THE wave of fascist provocations and anti-semitic incidents which swept West Germany and spread to other countries of Western Europe, to America and Australia, has shocked people all over the world and irrespective of their views and political convictions has stirred them to protest. All the efforts of the defenders of neo-fascism to palm off the infamous outrages as acts of hooliganism, as having nothing to do with politics, failed to allay the universal indignation it aroused.

The suspicious coincidence of the fascist incidents both as to their nature and their timing, leaves no doubt of the existence of an organization, centered in West Germany, behind this broadly conceived provocation committed at a time when international tension has lessened and hopes of peace have become more real.

Powerful protest demonstrations in London, Paris and West Berlin, meetings and rallies in Vienna and Amsterdam, interpolations in the parliaments of France, Italy, Argentina and Uruguay, denunciations in the world press and action taken by trade unions and other mass organizations have compelled the fascists to retreat; they have slunk back into their rat-holes. But is it not clear to everybody that their actions were a probing effort, that those who are bent on frustrating peaceful coexistence, on installing fascist regimes in one form or another and on trampling upon democratic rights, have no intention of giving up the ghost? The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party in a call to end racialism justly said:

"That fascist forces have again come into the open and launched extensive activities is far from being accidental. It is the result of the policy pursued by the Western powers of conniving with and systematically fostering the militarist and fascist elements in West Germany . . .

"The Political Bureau holds that the wave of anti-semitism now spanning the globe is a desperate attempt by the forces of fascism to prevent consolidation of the spirit of co-operation between the nations. The fight against racialism is, therefore, inseparable from the fight for democracy and the worldwide struggle for peace."

The inspirers of these attacks, which recall the dark years of fascist barbarity, are trying to cover up their tracks. Adenauer, hypocritically deploring the outbreaks, has declined all responsi-

bility for the fascist revival in West Germany. But in vain! Sitting alongside him in the Bonn government are ex-Nazis and war criminals. The capitalist press, naturally, is trying with all its might to belittle the significance of the connivance with the Nazis. The purpose of these attempts is to lull vigilance and to enable the fascists to bide their time and to prepare better for it.

But that which the people have learned from experience cannot be disproved by the craftiest propaganda. By their actions the reactionaries have confirmed the correctness of the conclusion reached in the Manifesto issued by the 17 Communist parties of the European capitalist countries that the German revanchists are the main danger to peace, that they have accomplices among the ruling circles of the United States, France, Britain, Italy and other countries, that it is necessary to cement the unity of all democratic forces in the fight for peace, against the intrigues of reaction.

The fascist provocations are forceful reminders of the need for the unity of all democrats. In a letter to Ollenhauer, German Social-Democratic leader, Max Reimann, Secretary of the German Communist Party, recalls the lessons of the past and, in view of what has taken place, stresses the need for joint action.

"Both of us," he writes, "have experienced the horrors of the fascist dictatorship, the brutalities of German imperialism and militarism. I was in concentration camps together with many Social Democrats, and we vowed to each other never to allow a recrudescence of fascism, militarism, revanchism and anti-semitism in Germany.

"But that which now, 15 years later, we are again experiencing in the Federal Republic, fills us with bitterness. The spreading wave of anti-semitism is the sorry outcome of the events of the past 15 years . . .

"Nothing can be more dangerous than to underestimate this outbreak of anti-semitism. . . . It is increasingly clear that the ruling groups in the Federal Republic—Adenauer, Strauss, Schroeder, Oberlaender and the other spokesmen of the big monopolies and the Bundeswehr behind them—while preparing for a revanchist war, are cultivating nationalism, jingoism, anti-communism and anti-semitism. Those who make anti-communism an official doctrine repeat the crime which was

conceived at the time of the Weimar Republic and ended in the catastrophe of 1945. Anti-semitism and anti-communism are twin brothers. They are instruments for the psychological preparation of war, for crushing democratic rights and paving the way for a military dictatorship. Our responsibility to our own people and to all other peoples requires that we face these things clearly, give them their right name and act accordingly."

Emphasizing the growth of fascism in Federal Germany and the firmness with which it has been uprooted in the German Democratic Republic, Reimann writes:

"Despite differences on a number of fundamental questions it is necessary and possible for us to take joint action on the decisive issues in the fight for peace, against atomic armament, against advocacy of war, revanchism and racism of every description.

"At meetings, rallies and in pamphlets the attention of the broad public should, in my view, be drawn to the anti-semitic incidents in order jointly to conduct a large-scale struggle against this fascist-militarist danger, as pointed out in the resolutions adopted by trade unionists in Mannheim and other towns. . . .

"Dear Comrade Ollenhauer,

"I am writing this letter with a sense of responsibility and in the common interests of the working class and the people. Just now it is not a question of merely combating the recrudescence of fascism, since the forces who are now preparing another national disaster already dominate in the Federal Republic. We can no longer let the 'big thief' shout: 'Stop petty thief!'

"The working class must fight in unison, the people must unite in order to wrest the atomic weapons from the hands of Strauss, Schroeder and Oberlaender, and thus enable West Germany to pursue a policy of peace and peaceful reunification."

The Communist parties in the capitalist countries regard the fascist incidents as a warning; they have headed the mass protest movement which has surpassed the anti-fascist actions of the thirties. They are working to ensure the banning of racial and anti-semitic propaganda and racial discrimination, to make such things punishable by law, to outlaw fascist organizations, ban all newspapers and journals that propagate racism, and to remove the fascist elements from the police.

The lesson of vigilance cannot and will not be in vain.

Time for a Change

THE draft resolution "The Situation in the Federal Republic and the Fight for Peace and Democracy," prepared for the forthcoming Party conference, is now being discussed in the Communist Party of Germany.

"The popular forces," the document reads, "are now strong enough to effect a change in the Federal Republic. But the people are still in the grip of fear and alarm arising from atomic armament. They see how their country is being covered with foreign rocket bases, how manufacture of rockets is being speeded up in West Germany . . .

"After the horrors of the two world wars our people want a lasting peace. This explains why they breathed freely when Khrushchov submitted his proposal for general and complete disarmament at the United Nations. This proposal was hailed with enthusiasm because it expressed the aspirations of all peace-loving mankind." All nations are faced with the alternative: "Either the arms race, increased production of the weapons which herald the most devastating of all wars, or peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems for the purpose of making life better, of

ensuring greater satisfaction of the needs of all people."

Considering it necessary that the two German states make their contribution to an international détente and disarmament, the Communist Party proposes that they immediately agree on the following: renunciation of atomic weapons; discontinuation of all tests of these weapons; an end to the rearming; conclusion of an agreement on the numerical strength, armaments and location of the armed forces; conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic; formation of an all-German committee to draft a peace treaty and clear the way for reunification; an atom-free zone in Europe and gradual disengagement.

"The ordinary people in West Germany who made sacrifices during the last war and are now paying for the rearming," the resolution goes on, "should now take their destiny into their own hands. They should no longer allow the forces of war to determine the destiny of Germany. They themselves should be the makers of their history and, by so doing, ensure a turn for the better."

In the Van of the Fight for Peace and Democracy

The draft resolution explains that the Communist Party—the party of the working class and the people—was the only party which, after 1945, based its policy on the vital interests of the nation.

“The Communist Party was banned in August 1956,” the document reads, “solely because at all stages after 1945 it championed the peaceful, democratic and national interests of our people, because it vigorously opposed the *revanchist* and aggressive policy of the German imperialists.

“At the time the Party was outlawed Gerhard Schroeder, Minister of the Interior in the Federal Republic, declared: ‘We shall destroy the CPG!’ But the Party replied: ‘The Communist Party is part of the working class and to destroy the working class is impossible, because it embodies the future of the nation! The Hitlers came and went, but the Communists remained. The Adenauers come and go but the Communists remain.’

“In the past few years the working class and the people have had ample opportunity to test the truth of this. The Communists have been in the forefront of the fight against atomic death, for democracy; they are with the workers who are fighting for their rights as is now the case with the Ruhr miners. When at Geneva it was necessary to declare the will of the West German people for a lessening of tension and for peace, the Communist Party alone among the political parties in Federal Germany sent a delegation to Geneva and submitted its proposals . . .

“If West Germany had taken the path suggested by the Communist Party in 1945—a path which was in line with the Potsdam Agreement and which was the logical consequence of the two world wars—West German policy would not have reached a dead end. And the people would now be enjoying peace, security and rising prosperity.”

Post-1945 developments have shown how the will of the West German population was ignored, democracy gradually abolished and the progressive legislation enacted after the war repealed. Germany has been split in the class interests of the big bourgeoisie and foreign monopoly capital, and an agreement on rearmament, kept secret from the people, has been concluded between the U.S. imperialists and Adenauer.

The ruling bourgeois circles and the Western occupation powers have been able to pursue this policy solely because of the help accorded them by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who have persisted in dividing the working class. For-saking an independent policy, the Social-Democratic leaders have entered into collaboration with home and foreign monopoly capital.

The GDR Shows the Way

“Whereas the Right Social-Democratic leaders claim that Marxism is outdated, the progress made by the German Democratic Republic testifies to the correctness and vitality of Marxism in the struggle for a democratic solution to the basic issues facing the nation . . .

“The path taken by the GDR harmonizes with the laws of Germany’s development and presages a bright future for her people, the way of peace, of occupying a place of honor in the world.

“The tremendous national significance of the GDR is that it personifies the first peace-loving state in German history, the very existence of which tells the people that the vital issues can be resolved without wars . . .

“If peace-loving Germans in the Federal Republic compare their own proposals for ensuring peace and national reunification on a democratic footing with those advanced by the Socialist Unity Party, by the parties and organizations affiliated to the National Front, and by the GDR government, they will see how they coincide on all essential points.”

The draft points out that inasmuch as the Adenauer government in its attitude to the GDR banks not on lessening but on exacerbating tension, on provocations, it is essential that the peace-loving democratic parties and organizations in West Germany act independently and take the cause of establishing normal relations with the GDR into their own hands.

Program of Joint Action

“The Communist Party holds that its duty and its sole task in present conditions is—jointly with the working class, the Social Democrats and trade unions, with all peace-loving people in town and countryside—to work for a change in West German policy in order to ensure a peaceful and democratic future for all. This is our main task, and it defines the path and aims of our Party.”

In order to put an end to this dangerous situation, to unite the masses in common struggle and show the path and aims of this struggle, the Communist Party proposes the following program of joint action by the peace forces in Germany: immediate discontinuation of atomic armament; abolition of conscription; establishment of an atom-free zone; general and complete disarmament; setting up on a party basis an all-German commission with a view to easing the tension in Germany, drafting a peace treaty, and preparing for reunification; prohibition of all militarist and jingoist propaganda.

The Bundestag should be sovereign in all matters of policy and legislation. The government being the executive body, is obliged to carry out the decisions of the Bundestag.

Restoration of its legal status to the Communist Party; an amnesty for all political prisoners, and an end to the persecution of those championing peace and democracy; freedom for the trade unions and extension of their rights; abrogation of all laws and regulations facilitating enrichment of the monopolies and their growing dictatorship.

A national agrarian policy; application of the land reform and land settlement laws enacted in some of the Laender; transfer of the confiscated land to the settlers and peasants with small holdings; adequate old-age pensions for peasant women upon reaching the age of 55 and for men at 60; low-interest credits and subsidies to the small and medium peasant farms; safeguards for the middle sections and artisans, and for small and medium enterprises against the pressure and exploitation of the big monopolies; equal rights for women and young people.

Safeguarding and developing the progressive, democratic national culture and ensuring peaceful, humanistic development in all branches of culture. . . . Secondary and higher schools should be reorganized and the present educational privileges abolished. The arts, literature and science should serve peace, mutual understanding and lessening the tension both on a world scale and in Germany.

In submitting this program for public discussion the Communist Party is confident that its realization will create in the Federal Republic the conditions that will make peaceful reunification possible.

Forces Capable of Effecting the Turn

Are there, in West Germany, forces capable of pursuing a policy of peace and democracy? The draft resolution answers in the affirmative.

"The most important social force is the working class. If, as a result of purposeful and united action, the working class displays its full strength, the popular forces will be in a position to curb the militarists and to effect a change in policy . . . United working-class action will give a powerful impetus to the peasants, intellectuals, the urban middle sections and all peace-loving citizens opposed to atomic armament.

"For the Communists united action by all peace supporters is not a maneuver but a firm component of their policy.

"We are for close and lasting co-operation between the working-class parties and organizations, for an alliance based on sincere co-operation of the working class, peasants, intellectuals and the urban middle sections."

It is most essential, the document stresses, to effect a radical change in the relations between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. This view is shared also by many rank-

and-file Social Democrats and functionaries who realize that the independence of their party is jeopardized solely by the Bonn government and the Adenauer group ensconced in the Social Democratic Party (Brandt, Erler, Mommer, Deist).

"If Eisenhower and Khrushchov can confer in the interests of peace and seek ways of ending the cold war, all the more reason why the Social Democrats and the Communists should come together in West Germany where they are directly confronted with their worst enemy."

A large part of the working class in the Federal Republic is made up of Christian workers who "have repeatedly demonstrated their opposition to the arbitrary rule of the monopolies, and who are united with the other workers in the struggle for democracy and social progress. They are a thousand times closer to their Social-Democratic and Communist fellow workers than they are to the monopoly chiefs in the leadership of their party. . . .

"We do not want the workers to quarrel over religion. Our desire is that the followers of the Christian Democratic Party and the Communists should freely uphold their views. We respect the religious feelings of the Christian working people. We appreciate the stimulus deriving from Christian convictions to fight for social justice and peace.

"We are for the unity of our people, for saving the world. We are for peace between the Germans in the two German states. We are for peace and friendship with all other peoples. We love our country, our working class and our people. We have faith in our people, and are convinced of their strength and their readiness to secure a peaceful future for themselves. We are aware of the laws of social development, and for this reason we foresee the triumph in the not-too-distant future of the cause of peace and democracy in the Federal Republic.

For an Effective Party Policy

"The Communist Party, being a democratic party, is anxious to settle all issues together with the people and through the people. It is striving for a broad exchange of views on the policy set out in this draft. A feature of the non-democratic situation in the Federal Republic is that the Party that has prepared this document fully in accord with the interests of the working class is proscribed. But the proscription does not alter the fact that the Party exists in thousands of enterprises; it is active among the working class, taking part in all popular actions for peace, democracy and social well-being. It misses no opportunity to appeal to the people orally, through its publications

"The Party should be with the masses wherever they are in motion, should take an active part in and over the radio . . .

their struggle. In this way it will be able to overcome the sectarian tendencies which still hamper its work. The main thing here is to improve relations with the Social Democrats. The Party organization whose members do not co-operate with the Social Democrats cannot solve the tasks facing it, cannot fulfil its duty . . .

"In its ideological work the Party should devote special attention to economic matters, for it is precisely in this sphere that bourgeois ideology is widespread among the working class."

The draft also points out that lack of clarity in the Party on some political and ideological questions has resulted in a wait-and-see attitude among members, in wavering, and in concessions to the adversary.

"In the struggle for peace and democracy it is necessary to explain that a principled Marxist-Leninist attitude is incompatible with lack of flexibility, rigid views and sectarianism.

"Yet these are still widespread in the Party. We still meet with an obdurate inflexibility in political speeches, in putting forward our policy, in arguing with opponents and in our propaganda among the

workers and the people as a whole. Not all is well in our approach to the masses and their organizations. It is this above all that hampers united working-class action and unity of all the peace forces . . .

"Not a single major event and not a single question agitating the working class and the masses should be left unanswered by the Communist Party. It should explain the meaning of events, and above all show the people how success can be achieved in the struggle for their demands.

"Neglect of mass work, still pronounced in the Party, should be overcome. All Party organizations, all members and functionaries should take full advantage of every opportunity afforded by the law to conduct its activity, particularly in the enterprises, in the trade unions, and in all working-class organizations."

The draft resolution concluded: "Our international duty is to redouble our efforts in the common struggle waged by all the peoples to end the cold war, against German imperialism, for peace and democracy, so that in West Germany, too, a contribution is made to the solution of the task of the day—ensuring peace."

Peace Forces on the March

IN the Netherlands the Political Bureau of the Party has circulated the Appeal of the 17 Communist parties among all its organizations.

Commenting on the Appeal the Party press emphasized the unanimity with which it was adopted by all the participants in the Rome conference.

In an article in *De Waarheid*, Paul De Groot, Secretary-General of the Party, wrote:

"The Appeal points out our important common goal for the coming period—to end the cold war, and disarmament.

"The Appeal declares that the time has come when war can be ruled out forever. Life without wars, a world without armies! The prospect takes our breath away. But in our times this is perfectly feasible as a result of the changes that have taken place in the balance of forces between the two camps—the socialist and the capitalist. Some of the bourgeoisie are alive to this prospect, not a pleasing one for them, but with which they must live unless they want to commit suicide . . . Others, pretending that nothing has happened, continue to fan the cold war. But the characteristic feature of the present situation is not that the warmongers are still able to make a lot of noise, it is that they are on the defensive! The peace forces are on the march. The Appeal shows the aims and the

methods of the struggle; it shows, in addition, where the main danger lies and who is the chief enemy working against any let-up in the tension and disarmament. It is Adenauer Germany . . .

"Consequently the 17 Communist parties placed on the agenda not only those tasks which confront them in their own countries, but also the vital task which they must solve jointly—to remove the road blocs erected by West Germany and help the peace-loving Germans in the Federal Republic to rid themselves of the inheritors of Hitler."

The Appeal, the article continues, is aimed against the so-called European integration and its supranational bodies as the chief enemies of peace, democracy and national sovereignty; it defends the interests of the workers and those among the peasants and the middle sections who are hit by the Common Market and monopoly "integration." The Appeal proclaims the basic aim of the working class throughout capitalist Europe—the struggle for a 40-hour week, which is reminiscent of the heroic struggle waged by our fathers for the 8-hour day.

In the new situation which has taken shape in the world the Communist parties call once again on the Social-Democratic parties to act jointly, to

meet for an exchange of views at national and international levels.

The Dutch Communists and all unbiassed people, the author emphasizes, will find in this Appeal the demands which our Party has championed persistently and uncompromisingly, repelling the attacks of the revisionists and sectarians.

"The attitude of our Party to trade union unity and to the proposals of the EVC 58 (the United Trade Union Center) is fully in line with the ideas of the Rome Appeal.

"Solidarity with the Moscow Declaration of 1957, as stressed repeatedly in the Appeal, is irrefutable proof of the firm unity of the international communist movement.

"On some tactical questions the activity of the Communist party in a country can, and even should, differ from that in other countries, depending on the circumstances.

"Meetings such as the one held in Rome in no way affect the independence of each Party. They are concerned only with what is *common* to all the parties.

"This is true for both the Communists of capitalist Europe and those all over the world."

In order to cope successfully with the tasks set by the new situation, the Central Committee of the Party calls upon all members and all organizations to improve their work in keeping with the slogan: "Closer to the Masses!"; to do everything possible and as quickly as possible to recruit three thousand new members and to build new branches.

The C.C. has also decided to hold a discussion on the subject of democracy and its extension in Holland, and on the question of economic reforms in favor of the workers, peasants, small manufacturers and all whose interests are injured by the big monopolies and "European integration."

Defend and Extend Democracy

THE Appeal of the 17 parties has been hailed by the Central Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria. After the detailed discussion which followed the report made at a C.C. meeting by the Party's Chairman Johann Koplenig, conclusions were drawn for the work of the Party in connection with the changes in the international situation.

In Austria, too, a country keenly conscious that German imperialism—the main danger to peace in Europe—is bent on frustrating all attempts at an international détente, the fight for disarmament occupies a prominent place. The recent parliamentary debate on Austria's attitude to the Common Market showed the extent of the influence wielded by German imperialism in the two ruling parties. Although the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor lauded neutrality, proposals were put forward in favor of Austria "associating" herself with the Common Market. This necessitates that all politically conscious Austrians should be on the alert in order to bar the way to another Anschluss, this time in a "cold" way, since the direct way is blocked.

Active defense of neutrality and independence, now threatened by the intrigues of West German militarism and its reactionary associates in Vienna, is an important aspect of the struggle waged by the Austrian Communists for lessening the tension. Urging that no effort should be spared in working for international disarmament, the Central Committee has decided to address a letter to the President of Parliament requesting that the appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the parlia-

ments of all countries on general and complete disarmament should be made a special point on the agenda. "Our demand," said Koplenig, "is that Austria should do everything possible to end the cold war and the policy of discrimination. The slander campaign conducted by the state-owned radio against the socialist countries should be discontinued, all organizations on Austrian territory which engage in subversive activity against the neighboring People's Democracies should be banned, and normal diplomatic and economic relations established with the German Democratic Republic and People's China."

The change in the international climate presents new opportunities for defending and extending democracy, and for socialism. The Appeal contains a number of points aimed at regenerating democracy. These points are highly important for Austria also.

One of the central issues facing the Party is the anti-democratic electoral system which deprives the Communists of parliamentary representation. Another important task is to render abortive the attempts now being made to turn the army into an obedient tool of reaction, and to secure a reduction in military expenditure.

The points advanced by the Central Committee are levelled also against the efforts of the leaders of the two ruling parties to reduce the workers to the humiliating position of passive executors of the orders issued by the central departments and commissions. Though the so-called Parity Commission, consisting of representatives of the

employers' organizations and the trade unions (in the guise of "wage and price control" this body is designed to cover up the boosting of prices by the monopolies), they want to prevent the workers from demanding wage increases without the consent of the capitalists. Acting in the spirit of "social partnership" the Socialist-led Trade Union Center recently condemned the token strike of 10,000 oil workers who wanted an increase to compensate for the rise in prices. The decision to hold this strike was unanimously approved by all groups. In view of the undemocratic system prevailing in the trade union movement, the Central Committee of the Party regards the struggle for extending the rights of union members as a priority task.

The recent elections for the production councils (factory committees) showed a swing to the Left, particularly in the large factories. At 43 enterprises in Styria the nominees of the Communist-led Trade Union Unity group gained, according to incomplete figures, 4,489 votes and 47 seats compared with 1957, whereas the Socialist faction lost in the same enterprises 4,223 votes and 42 seats. The swing to the Left, which has alarmed the capitalist press, is an expression of growing dissatisfaction among the workers with the Socialist Party leadership, with its policy of class collaboration and particularly with its retreat on wage and prices. The C.C. resolution called for support for the factory and office workers now seeking wage increases in view of the rise in labor productivity, the constantly soaring prices and the forthcoming increase in postal charges and railway fares.

The Appeal of the Rome meeting points out that the struggle to regenerate democracy is linked with the fight to restrict the power of big capital. In Austria this necessitates that the reactionary drive against the nationalized industry be beaten

back; that the influence wielded by big capital in the nationalized enterprises be abolished and workers' participation in running these undertakings extended; that further nationalization should be carried out, which would make possible further restrictions on the rule of big capital.

The C.C. will shortly hold a conference of production council members and other functionaries employed in the nationalized enterprises for the purpose of drawing up demands on these issues.

The Party cannot agree with those Socialist Party leaders who, following the ill-starred example of their British and West German colleagues, have suddenly decided to abandon further nationalization. Their decision is at variance with the new program of the Socialist Party and above all with the needs and possibilities of the class struggle in Austria. Although big business has had its wings severely clipped by the extensive nationalization, it has succeeded in its power thanks chiefly to the policy of capitulation pursued by the Right Socialist leaders.

This policy is particularly dangerous in view of the fact that the employers' association, taking advantage of the crisis in the People's Party (Catholic), is trying to introduce "reforms" which presage another reactionary onslaught. Encouraged by these machinations, neo-Nazi groupings, too, made efforts to come into the open. They were, however, actively resisted by the Communist, Socialist and Catholic youth—proof of the anti-fascist sentiment among the people, particularly the youth. Nevertheless, the fascist sorties are an indication of the seriousness of the situation; at the same time there is a growing awareness of the need for mutual understanding and unity among all democrats, in the first place the Socialist and Communist workers.

The Martinique Communists

THE Second Congress of the Martinique Communist Party is scheduled for February. Two years have passed since this affiliated federation of the French Communist Party in Martinique was reorganized into an independent party. This was done with the help of the French Party whose experience the Martinique Communists are using in their work.

The reorganization took place at a difficult time for the Communists. The counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary signaled an unbridled anti-communist campaign. Much harm was caused by the treachery of one of the leaders who, speculating on the errors committed by the Party and using

the Hungarian events as a pretext, set out to split the Party.

At the inaugural Congress the attacks on the Party were defeated. The Central Committee, headed by Camille Silvestre, its political Secretary, had the main task of defending the Party and renewing its contact with the masses. I make a special point of this not because we lost touch with the masses—on the contrary, we obtained 65 per cent of the votes and were supported by the trade unions which unite some 90 per cent of the workers in town and countryside—but because the disruptive activity of the traitors had caused confusion and blunted interest in the class struggle.

The task of the Central Committee was to prevent the disruptors from deflecting the workers from the class struggle, which was an indispensable condition for abolishing colonialism. The policy documents adopted by the Congress pointed out that the immediate task of the Party was to organize a broad anti-colonial front with a view to gaining a new political status for the island—to secure self-government while preserving the union with France along economic and cultural lines.

International developments and the national-liberation movements in Africa and in other colonies enabled us to advance steadily along our chosen path. Our Party has made a contribution to the liberation struggle of the Algerian people. Our actions have demonstrated to the working people the correctness of our policy, particularly the demand to end the costly unjust Algerian war. During the Khrushchov visit to America we kept the islanders informed about the peace efforts of the Soviet Union and the changes in the international situation. For two years now we have been working for a broad anti-colonial front, for a new status, for industrialization and a higher standard of living. And we extend our call for help in this work to all except the big capitalists and colonialists. Unity, however, is hampered by the pro-colonialist policy of the Social Democrats who still lead a considerable section of the working class. But the economic and social situation on the island is such that it is helping to awaken the masses. Unemployment is growing, and the colonial grip has been tightened since de Gaulle's advent to power. Reprisals are taken against workers who go on strike, and wholesale dismissals are becoming increasingly frequent. The result is that

the masses are abandoning their passivity and are beginning to act. The changes taking place in the world and in our country, and the patient persuasion and explanatory work of the Communists have enabled our Party to take its place in the forefront of the progressive forces of the country and to further the growing militancy of the working people.

The farm laborers are the backbone of the Party. The Communists have a majority in seven of the island's communes, and the Party branches in these communes are influential bodies. For example, the Thorez branch in the Lamentin commune with a membership of 20, performed successful work in the last local elections. It also conducts important explanatory activity among the farm laborers, sells 300 copies of our newspaper, *Justice*, in the villages and in the mountains, and has collected considerable sums for the Party.

Since becoming an independent Party we have won many new members and our influence has grown. Today we devote close attention to strengthening the Party ideologically. The Central Committee has drawn up an extensive program of political education. Study groups are now functioning and they are helping members and sympathizers to prepare for the Second Party Congress. The Congress will discuss a number of questions, taking into account the specific features of the country, and will help to elaborate the policy calling on the masses to work for direct and democratic management of their affairs.

Philibert DUFEAL,
Secretary of the C.C.,
Martinique Communist Party

By-Passing Reactionary Court Injunctions

DURING the winter of 1958-59 the employers in British Columbia, Canada, taking advantage of the economic slump, launched an offensive against the working class aimed at lowering wages and whittling away hard-won working conditions. The 1959 spring session of the Provincial Parliament passed an Act which made the trade unions legal entities, thus making it possible for the employers to sue unions in the civil courts for damages caused by strikes or work stoppages. The Act prohibits strikes and other solidarity actions.

The Provincial Committee of the Party responded to this immediately. In a statement issued on July 3, 1959, it warned that the workers could expect widespread use of court injunctions by the employers, based on the new Act, to prevent picketing and to prefer criminal charges against militant

workers and their leaders. The Committee called for the maximum unity of the labor movement and for agreement on action to overcome the court injunctions.

The Central Trade Union Council received telegrams from 26 unions demanding a general strike to force the repeal of the Act. But the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership of the Council chose to ignore the militant mood of the workers and agreed to use the law courts as the battleground. They sought to spread among the workers the idea that the only sure way to defeat the new Act was to elect Social Democrats to the Provincial Parliament; in the meantime the workers would have to make the best of the new law. This, of course, was a sell out to the employers.

However, a strike began at the docks of the Northland Navigation Company (Vancouver). The rank-and-file workers supported the strike at this dock as the best means to fight the new anti-labor Act. And they fought in a way which involved thousands of members of the various trade unions.

The dock was being worked by a small number of strikebreakers supplied by the racketeer-ridden Seafarers' International Union. The dock workers threw a mass picket around the Northland dock. Their union appealed to the B.C. Federation of Labor for support of their contemplated action. Due to the militant action of the workers and the mass support for the Communist proposals for maximum unity, the Federation officials declared all Northland Navigation cargo "hot," called upon all trade unions to act accordingly and endorsed the mass picket line.

The splendid solidarity was "illegal" according to the new Act. In the meantime several hundred dockers had marched to the Northland dock and removed the strikebreakers, established a mass picket-line complete with banners and placards bearing solidarity slogans.

The company officials countered by hurrying to the court to secure an injunction directing the B.C. Federation of Labor and all its member unions to discontinue picketing. Within four hours the court had granted the injunction and the police arrived ordering the picket-line to disperse. However, there were no union officials on the picket-line and consequently the police had no one on whom they could serve the injunction. The picket, said they, would comply with the order to disperse provided the police served an injunction on all the members of the picket.

The police gave the picket one hour to disperse. At the end of the hour the picket-line had doubled in size. However, a transformation in the picket-line took place. It was no longer an official B.C.

Federation of Labor picket-line complete with banners and slogans. It became a mass group of citizens observing the situation with no placards indicating the trade unions represented and making no overt demonstration. The "observer line," manned by all member unions of the B.C. Federation of Labor, swelled to over a thousand. The police were powerless to disperse it as they had no new court order to do so. This new line was maintained for 24 hours a day for five days when the company acceded to the demands of the strikers.

The advice of the Party to the workers that "the best way to fight court injunctions was to ignore them" was interpreted by the rank-and-file workers in their own way, that is, formally, to comply with the court order but to defy it in practice.

Two weeks after the strike the B.C. Federation of Labor endorsed the tactic of "observer lines" — the so-called "Northland Formula" — for the big strikes which took place in British Columbia later on with thousands of workers participating.

Hence, out of a small strike the trade union movement evolved a special form of struggle to overcome reactionary legal obstacles. In essence this was mass defiance of an anti-labor law, the very thing that the Right-wing leaders of the B.C. Federation of Labor refused to do.

In the early thirties the French workers employed the method of "sit-down" strikes in their fight against anti-strike legislation; later on it was widely used in the USA. The action of the Canadian workers can be regarded as a new contribution to working-class methods of struggle. The "observer lines" proved a powerful weapon in the hands of the united trade union movement. The mass militant character of these "lines" effectively squashed the court injunction tactics of the employers.

B. YORK

Diary of a Branch Secretary

Harry Herzog is a worker in the carbide factory of the Bunawerke Chemical Complex in Schkopau, the German Democratic Republic. As secretary of the Socialist Unity Party branch in the factory Herzog is popular with his work-mates who respect him for his principles, for the diligence with which he goes about things, and also because when discussing matters with them he never evades the thorny points.

Herzog keeps a diary, from which, with his consent, we print below a few pages. Although only a bare outline of the work of the branch, the entries show the difficulties which the secretary comes up against and how he tackles them.

. . . July 1958, Making the round of the factory. The chaps question me about the political situation and the way work is going; they seem to be worried that we're not reaching the target. One said: "The furnaces were in a pretty bad way—not enough power and the coke hopeless." Others joined in, talking about the planning, about the power supply and offering suggestions for getting out of the rut.

. . . August 1958. Union work is not satisfactory. The men blame the shop committee, saying meetings are held only rarely, and that it does little to improve production and their conditions.

We discussed the work of the shop-committee chairman—a Party member—at a Party meeting and all agreed that he was falling down on the job. He has promised to do better. However, the more closely we follow the work of the committee, we cannot help reaching the conclusion that the chairman tends to be rather bureaucratic in his approach. He is a young fellow, inexperienced and has a lot to learn. So we must be patient.

In discussing trade union work some of the men argued that the union should not bother about labor productivity. We had to explain that this was a wrong view. One of the more persistent in this attitude was a chap named Salomon. This prompted me to write a leaflet in which I called a spade a spade. Here is what I wrote:

"We spent much of the time at recent meetings discussing ways and means of improving trade union work with us doing our share in our factory for successful completion of the tasks set by the Fifth Congress of the Party.

"The stand taken by us at the meetings was clear and simple:

"First, socialism can be built in the GDR only by steadily raising the productivity of labor.

"Second, the union should be strengthened in every way; the shop committee should provide better guidance.

"Third, talks and discussions should be arranged with a view to correcting wrong views, refuting hostile attacks and making the workers convinced Socialists.

"The tasks of the Fifth Congress can be fulfilled only if each does his bit. We all should think about the ways and means of raising labor productivity and make our suggestions.

"Our colleague Salomon in the 'B' shift is of another opinion.

"He doesn't like the new program; the workers in our factory, he says, are passive, they never open their mouths at meetings, and never say what they really think about what Salomon says are worsened conditions, etc.

"Not so long ago he even attacked us, saying that in urging the workers to increase their productivity we were betraying their interests. Salomon's greatest dislike is directed against the best workers. He even called the stoker Fleischmann a traitor.

"What a prophet! On what planet does he live?

"Why is he so blind to life in our factory where most of his fellow workers are keen on surpassing the targets in the full knowledge that by so doing they will strengthen the Republic and further the cause of peace?

"Our workers have never concealed their views; they say what they think frankly and sincerely, and without the slightest hesitation. And this being so, we say to colleague Salomon: You are on the wrong track, have another think. Maybe he was asleep at the time when, as the result of the suggestions made by the workers and technicians, our carbide output rose from 270,000 to 500,000 tons?

"Our seer, evidently, turns a blind eye to the developments in our factory. Our people know that by working in a socialist way today, they will be living in a socialist way tomorrow. In the past, too, we had prophets who doubted our strength. When the first five-year plan was adopted they called us dreamers. Time, however, has dealt harshly with these wise men.

"Compared with the achievements of the working class these Jeremiahs are a puny lot. And it will always be so. Our working people are selflessly raising the edifice of the new society, and all the Salomons in the world cannot shake their belief in the triumph of socialism."

The leaflet was of great help in overcoming backward views, it helped to improve the work. Union work, too, has improved . . .

. . . *January 1959.* How shall we work this year this is the topic of discussion today. Everybody agrees that we should change the style of work and link up political and educational activity with our production problems. The Mamai work-team* at the works in Bitterfeld shows us the correct way.

We are forming socialist labor teams, but this is no simple matter. Some think that such teams have long been in existence, that all we need do now is add the word "socialist." They do not understand that for this man of a new type, a genuinely socialist man should be educated.

. . . *February 1959.* The annual meeting for the election of Party officers. Discussion centered on the reasons why the 1958 plan was not fulfilled, on how to work better in 1959. We concluded that fulfilment of the reconstruction plan should become the index of the efficiency of our Party activity, and decided to help the technicians and designers in rebuilding No. 3 furnace. In order to do this we decided to establish "red teams" and to help them in every way to fulfil their assignments ahead of schedule; during the reconstruction period we should see to it that the other furnaces overfulfil their plans to the utmost.

. . . *March-April 1959.* We are starting a drive for maximum saving of time. The Party branch, the socialist labor teams and all other workers and technicians, regardless of the difficulties, pooled their efforts and were rewarded with success — the furnace, a six-story giant, was rebuilt in 49 days; previously the world's best time for such an undertaking was 56 days.

At the same time the other furnaces overfulfilled their plan — yielding 13,500 tons of carbide in excess of the planned figure. We reported our success to the regional Party conference.

. . . *May 1959.* We are threatened with a serious break-down. Power supply is decreasing. One after another the electrodes go out of order. The excess plan output for which we had worked so hard is now dwindling, the workers are becoming despondent.

The Party bureau, the shop committee and the management are taking urgent steps. A leaflet was issued and a production conference was held, attended by representatives of the State Planning Commission responsible for the power supply. The workers asked: "Why the shortage of electric power? We have pledged to fulfil 80 per cent of the

plan by the tenth anniversary of the Republic." A spokesman of the planning commission replied: "We just cannot give you any more than you are getting." He then went on to say that if every factory were to follow our example of producing in excess of plan this would play havoc with power allocation.

The reply aroused indignation and protests. Lastly, a joint decision was reached to economize on electric power in the factory and to find ways and means of allotting more power for the carbide production. The main thing here is that a beginning is being made in socialist co-operation between the power supply authorities and the workers.

New problems are coming to the fore, the chief one being the growing gap between labor productivity and the technological level of the factory. We have worked for years to make the furnaces and all the equipment correspond to the requirements of modern technology. Many manual operations have been mechanized. But as yet not everybody understands that some workers can be switched to other important sectors. And again the example set by the best worker helps. The crew of No. 6 furnace have demonstrated that four men instead of five can do the job provided the work is organized in a new way.

The Party meeting discussed the method suggested by the innovators and resolved that all members should, in their respective sectors, head the movement for a four-man crew at the furnace. But it is easier to say than to do. The main thing is that the work-teams should themselves decide on the new labor organization, but to get this many wrong views have to be overcome. One comrade said, for example: "The movement for a four-man crew will, no doubt, help raise labor productivity, but not all the workers understand why this is necessary, we'd better wait." Others replied to him: "If we were to do as you say, we would never succeed in building socialism." Some of the less politically conscious workers feared that the new method would mean intensified labor. But the veteran workers, foremen and engineers — those who had had experience of working under capitalism, showed that their view was incorrect. We explained that what was meant was a more rational organization of labor to ensure higher productivity, and that only in this way could we ensure a higher standard of living.

These useful discussions furthered the political growth of our personnel. The workers made over 90 rationalization suggestions, and the factory produced tens of thousands of tons carbide over and above plan.

*Work-team named after the Soviet Miner Nikolai Mamai.

Short Notices

Indonesia

A BIGGER CIRCULATION FOR THE PARTY PRESS

A fund-raising campaign has recently been organized by the *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily), organ of the Communist Party of Indonesia. A special column in the paper features the names of the donors and the amount donated. Donations have been made by workers, office employees, students, housewives, peasants and fishermen — the latter setting aside part of their catch for the fund. Tens of thousands of rupiahs were collected in the matter of a few weeks.

For six days between the two important dates — November 7 (the October Revolution in Russia) and November 11 (the uprising against Dutch imperialism in 1926) — the sellers of Party publications competed among themselves in the five biggest towns.

On November 7 the leaders of the Party, including its Chairman D. N. Aidit and Deputy Chairmen Lukman and Njoto, together with the other members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, M.P.s. members of the Supreme Consultative Council, provincial committees, local executive bodies and legislatures, sold *Harian Rakjat* at factories, offices, universities, railway and bus stations, in market places, etc.

Thanks to the participation of the Party functionaries and the well organized manner in which the campaign was conducted, it took in nearly every house, and the results were gratifying.

At a public meeting in Djakarta, attended by over a thousand, Comrade Aidit presented *Harian Rakjat* prizes to the members and branch committees who had excelled in selling the paper in the capital.

The outcome of the campaign was that the readership was substantially increased. The Party leadership has decided to extend the circulation campaign from the five cities to the other parts of the country, and periodically to award prizes to the sellers achieving the best results. The editorial board has been instructed, in addition to increasing the circulation, to make the paper brighter and better.

Iran

RESTORING PARTY UNITY

The Central Committee of the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran and the C.C. of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party have published a declaration on the restoration of a united working-class party. The

declaration points out that the anti-popular regime has brought to power the extreme reactionary circles of the ruling classes, has wiped out the gains of the liberation movement, and has trampled on democratic rights and liberties. All sections of the population, those anxious about the future of the country should, therefore, unite against the regime and its imperialist patrons. The situation in the country imperatively calls for unity of the working class, for strengthening its political and trade union organizations.

The efforts to unite the leadership and organizations of the two parties have been crowned with success. Agreement has been reached on establishing a united working-class party.

"The delegations of the People's (Tudeh) Party and the Democratic Party," the declaration goes on, "taking cognizance of the fundamental need for a united working-class party as the basic condition for ensuring the political and organizational unity of the workers of all nationalities in the common struggle against colonialism and reaction, and also bearing in mind the important tasks facing the working-class party and its serious responsibility in heading the revolutionary movement, announce their decision to restore at the earliest the unity of the working-class party throughout the country."

The All-Iranian United Party will be restored as the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran and its C.C. will be the single leading center for all Party organizations in the country; the Azerbaijan organization will retain its name—the Azerbaijan Democratic Party — and will have its own C.C. with the rights of a regional committee. It was also agreed that the name of the united party would be submitted to the next Congress (the Third Congress of the Tudeh Party) for its approval.

Sudan

PROTESTS AGAINST REGIME OF TERROR

A WAVE of arrests swept the Sudan last December. Some 70 leaders of the Anti-Imperialist Front and well-known trade unionists were jailed without trial or deported to the southern border where they are held in isolation. No charge has been brought against them.

Abdel Khaleb Makhguba, Secretary-General of the Anti-Imperialist Front, who was arrested earlier, is being tried on the basis of false evidence supplied by suborned witnesses; the allegation against Makhguba is that he is Secretary-General

of the Communist Party. Makhguba is denied the right to defense counsel—a lawyer who volunteered to act in this capacity was clapped into jail.

The frame-up and the faked evidence have evoked popular indignation. The Sudan Civil Rights Committee has called on politicians, trade unionists, lawyers, youth organizations and other public bodies throughout the world to send telegrams of protest to the Sudanese government, and to visit the Sudanese embassies.

Although the Communist Party has been proscribed, its members are working actively among the masses. Its leaflets appear regularly and are distributed in most towns and villages. In the bigger towns they are to be found in cafes, in sports and recreational establishments, in cinemas and in residential areas.

The effect of the Party leaflets is such that the government cannot afford to ignore them. When the members of a students' committee who had demanded the restoration of democratic rights and the release of political prisoners were seized by the police, the Party immediately issued leaflets calling for support for the students. The workers organized a solidarity movement, and the government, sensing the danger, was forced to retreat. Although the Minister of the Interior has issued an order for the arrest of anyone found circulating Communist leaflets, the leaflets still come out, and they are gaining in popularity.

Finland

BRANCH SECRETARIES CONFER

SECRETARIES of the Party committees in industrial enterprises gathered in Helsinki for an exchange of experiences and to clarify the new elements in their work. The speakers mentioned instances of successful joint action with the Social-Democratic and other workers. Communist prestige is rising, whereas growing numbers of the Social-Democratic rank and file are criticizing their leaders for openly siding with the Coalition Party and opposing joint action with the Communists. Not always, however, do the Communist Party branches draw conclusions from the changing situation. At one of the biggest enterprises the

number of Party members remained unchanged for years, and it was held that the winning of new members was an impossible task. But when the Communists began to hold individual talks with workers and intensified their mass work, seven new members were won in the course of one month; one of these had been a member of the Social Democratic Party until quite recently. He said that earlier no one had bothered to explain to him the principles of Communist activity. All seven are active members.

The conference criticized the tendency to conduct all Party work through a small group of activists. Some of the Party members are overloaded with work, while others do hardly anything; they feel that everything will be done for them, and that all they need do is pay dues and attend meetings.

Examples were given showing how the work improved when each member was given a definite assignment, even though a minor one. The practice of making each member personally responsible for conducting work among those with whom he is directly in touch was praised.

Unimaginative methods of work are criticized. It was stressed that account should always be taken of the specific nature of the enterprise, the composition of the workers, their skills, the shifts in which they work, and their place of residence — town or countryside.

If local features are not lost sight of, gains can be made even in the most difficult conditions. One factory owner, for example, in addition to exerting pressure on the workers, invokes paternalism with a view to making the workers "docile and obedient." Social circles are organized and workers are served with coffee "for breaking records"; but let anyone collect signatures to a peace appeal — he is shown the gate immediately. The Party organization effectively exposed these dodges, so much so that the workers now ridicule the boss's "coffee" and, abandoning the paternalistic circles, are actively joining in trade union work. The Party organization in the factory has increased its membership.

The experience gained at the conference is being used to improve Party work in the enterprises, to win further successes before the Twelfth Party Congress.

Exchange of Views

The Struggle for Working-Class Unity

The International Conference of Institutes of Marxism-Leninism and Institutes and Commissions on the History of the Party attached to the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Bucharest, also studied the experience of the struggle for working-class unity.*

GHEORGHE VASILICHI (Rumania)

WORKING-CLASS unity, comrade Vasilichi said, is an objective necessity deriving from the general laws governing the development of the proletariat in capitalist society.

But a number of factors which divide the proletariat act against this objective tendency. The impact of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology on the backward sections of the proletariat, the splitting policy pursued by the bourgeoisie, and the existence of a labor aristocracy generate diverse reformist and opportunist trends in the working-class movement and divide its forces, thereby facilitating the economic and political rule of the exploiting classes.

Leninist theory which takes these conditions into consideration sets forth guiding lines for working-class unity and points to the role played by agreements and blocs with other proletarian organizations.

The speaker recalled the struggle for unity waged by the Rumanian Communist Party in the 'thirties, and defined the historic role of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, a congress which opened up a new stage in the struggle of the Communist parties for unity of action in the working-class movement.

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VICTOR JOANNES (France) spoke of the lessons of the struggle for unity in France.

The first important victory in many years of stubborn struggle for working-class unity, he said, was won after the fascist putsch of February 6, 1934. This victory was followed by the signing on July 27, 1934, of an agreement for united action between the Communist and Socialist parties. The agreement opened up broad vistas for the development of the two parties and the working class as a whole. It led to the reestablishment of trade

union unity in 1936, to the formation of the Popular Front, to its victory in the 1936 elections, and to many social gains. The Popular Front rallied around the leadership of the working class, the peasants and the urban middle sections who were being ruined by the capitalists.

The top sections of the bourgeoisie did not conceal their anti-democratic and anti-national tendencies, and advanced the slogan: "Better Hitler than the Popular Front."

Under the guise of pacifism some intellectuals preached that it was "Better to bend the knee than to die." This, in effect, was a call to give up the ghost. The idea of abandoning the struggle and the embryo of the split were thus implanted in the working-class and democratic movement, leading ultimately to the abolition of the Popular Front and the breakdown of the united working-class front.

But the Communist Party kept up the fight for working-class unity, and continued its efforts to rally the national and democratic forces. Throughout the Hitler occupation the Communists worked tirelessly to unite all patriots and anti-fascists. This unity, forged in the liberation struggle, resulted in the establishment of local and departmental liberation committees all over the country, and subsequently in the formation of the National Resistance Council.

The unity of the working class and its trade unions and a broader unity of the democratic forces made it possible, after the liberation, to restore the great gains of the Popular Front and to win important new ones.

Given a truly democratic government, these factors would have facilitated the economic and social rehabilitation of the country and opened up the prospect of transition to socialism.

Comrade Joannés went on to speak of how the Right-wing Socialist leaders again split the working class, thus rendering decisive aid to the reactionary

*Conclusion. See No. 1, 1960.

bourgeoisie in its counter-attack on democracy and the working class.

Important lessons can be drawn from the great experience of our Party, he continued. The defense and development of working-class unity necessitate above all painstaking ideological and political work. Unity cannot be achieved without criticizing Social Democratic ideology, which urges abandonment of the struggle, without exposing the treachery of the Right-wing Socialist leaders who seek to persuade the workers to adopt the bourgeois standpoint. But the criticism should distinguish between the Socialist leaders and the Socialist workers. Our criticism aims at rousing the masses for independent, organized struggle. United front policy should be based on close and constant contact with the masses. This makes it incumbent upon the Communists to seek possible and necessary compromise with those whose views differ from ours on many points, proceeding from the demands of the masses, unimportant though these may seem at times.

In this sense contacts, talks and exchanges of letters are useful—they help to prepare the ground for the common struggle. The important thing is to act, to give more attention to establishing all kinds of unity committees at lower levels. The main weakness of the Popular Front and later of the National Resistance Council was that, despite our efforts, they became mere agreements between the leaders.

In order to establish and consolidate the united front the Communist Party should never give up its propaganda work or cease to organize actions on the basis of its own policy and slogans. Independent action by the Party is necessary in order to help the more backward sections of the working class draw closer to the vanguard.

This underlines the need for a strong Communist Party closely linked with the masses, a Party firm on principles, but with flexible tactics.

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HERMAN RAMIREZ NECOCHA (*Chile*) spoke of the failure of the first Communist attempts to achieve unity of the progressive forces in 1920-21, of the difficulties of the struggle for a united front when the Party was underground (from 1927 on), and then dwelt on the Popular Front organized in Chile in 1936, which included the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties. The same period saw the establishment of the Confederation of the Working People of Chile which amalgamated the majority of the country's trade unions and joined the Popular Front. These factors resulted in the Popular Front candidate, a Radical, being elected President of the Republic in 1938.

What were the specific features of the Popular Front? Actually it was an alliance between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie and some sections of the bourgeoisie. But it was not headed by the proletariat. That is why the Front proved incapable of forming a dynamic government able to carry through far-reaching reforms. It did, however, maintain the bourgeois-democratic system under which the proletariat grew and became organized. The Communist Party became one of the most influential forces in the country. The Right Socialists, however, started an open fight against the Communist Party, and this was the decisive factor in breaking up the Popular Front and weakening the trade union movement.

These factors, and particularly the conditions created by the Second World War, gave rise to the Right deviation and Browderism in our Party. In pursuing a policy for national unity and against fascism, we at times deviated to the policy of class collaboration and abandoned independent action. We underrated the strength of U.S. imperialism or incorrectly understood its aims. We did not, therefore, make much progress in building working-class unity.

In 1946 the new President, Gonzalez Videla, brought three Communists into the cabinet—for the first time in its history the Communist Party was represented in the government. But the Liberal Party, the party of the big bourgeoisie, was invited, too. In the meantime the political and trade union struggle between the Communists and Socialists was growing in intensity.

The Communist Party thus found itself ensnared. On the one hand we were isolated from a considerable section of the working class since relations with the Socialist Party had been severed, and, on the other, we were unable to do anything in the government where the decisive role was played by the Liberal-Radical bloc. We committed a serious blunder; the consequences of Right deviation were making themselves felt.

Our isolation from the masses made things hard for us, with the result that the President, at the bidding of the imperialists, ousted us from the government and began to oppose us openly. Then, in 1947, the Party was outlawed.

We experienced a difficult time between 1948-58. While underground, however, the Party carefully reviewed its past activities and made a thorough study of the situation in the country. Proclaiming the policy of unity, it established friendly relations with one of the factions that had broken away from the Socialist Party. Shortly afterwards the two factions into which the Socialist Party had split reunited and a Popular Action Front was established, composed in the main of the Com-

munist and Socialist parties. The Radical Party, the Party of Labor and the People's Socialist Party also participated in the Front.

A united trade union center embracing the majority of the organized workers was formed simultaneously. The center includes Communists, Socialists, Radicals and even Anarchists.

Thanks to the struggle waged by the united working class, the reactionary "Defense of Democracy Law" was repealed in 1958 and the Communist Party regained its legal status.

What are the features of the Popular Action Front? It is an alliance of various political groups with a program for national liberation, for the economic, social, political and cultural development of the country. This alliance is based on fraternal and firm unity of action of the Communist and Socialist parties. So firm is the alliance that the possibility of forming a united working-class party was raised in a letter sent by our Party leadership to the Socialist Congress last year.

The Communist Party makes no secret of the ideological differences dividing it from the Socialist Party; but the differences are not now a bone of contention, but the subject of comradely discussion. We know that there are anti-communists among the Socialists who never tire of sowing discord; some of them have adopted the standpoint of modern revisionism, just as in the past they adopted the Trotsky line. And, lastly, we are aware that the two parties have different approaches to the other social sections. The Communist Party holds that imperialism is the main enemy and that all forces, including some bourgeois sections, which for definite reasons are in conflict with imperialism, should be rallied under the leadership of the united working class.

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KIRIL VASILEV (*Bulgaria*) said that his Party unhesitatingly adopted united front tactics as far back as 1922, at its Fourth Congress, but grave mistakes were made in carrying it out. The Communists obviously overrated their success in rallying the working class, and proposed to the members of the reformist unions and of the Social Democratic Party that they should merge with the General Workers' Trade Union Center and the Communist Party. This approach shows that at that time the Party had not yet learnt to be flexible. Taking advantage of the fact that the democratic forces were disunited and that the workers had little contact with the peasants, the big bourgeoisie staged a fascist coup d'état on June 9, 1923, and inflicted a heavy blow on the working-class movement.

The experience of our Party teaches how profoundly mistaken are those who take a one-sided

view of Social Democracy. Some make its progressive tendencies absolute and forget its "evil spirit" of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. This is a revisionist deviation. Others make the negative features of Social Democracy absolute and refuse to have anything to do with it. This leads to dogmatism and Leftism.

The Leninist revolutionary approach presupposes a firm and irreconcilable ideological and political stand in relation to revisionism, and, simultaneously, constant contact with the rank and file, clear calls to joint action against the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces.

In 1929-34, when the Party C.C. pursued a Left policy, we failed to achieve working-class unity although the conditions were favorable. By putting forward sectarian slogans which were out of tune with the times, the Central Committee isolated itself from the masses. Party leadership was neither concrete nor creative—it was, in fact, dogmatic. The united front slogan was advanced without the real conditions being taken into account and failed to make any impact. The workers began to lose confidence in the Central Committee. As to the Social Democratic Party, the Left sectarian leadership which prevailed in our Party at that time denounced it as a "social fascist" organization.

After the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the C.C. meeting held early in 1936 put an end to the Left sectarian policy and worked out a new, Bolshevik—Dimitrov policy. The Party began actively to carry it out. Developing it during the occupation and unrestrained fascist terror, the Party rallied around itself and united in the Patriotic Front the entire working class and all democrats and patriots. A revolutionary army was formed which, with the help of the Soviet Union and under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the fascist dictatorship and cleared the way to socialism.

By 1948 unification of the political forces had been completed. The Social Democratic Party unconditionally adopted the theory and tactics of Marxism-Leninism and fused with the Communist Party. The slogan "One Class—One Party" became a reality.

* * *

Some speakers posed important questions relating to the struggle for unity at the present stage.

FRITZ KNITTEL (*German Democratic Republic*) said that the Socialist Unity Party had proposed a united action agreement to the Social Democratic Party so that the two could fight together for the vital interests of the working class and the people as a whole. This is a general democratic task, and its solution will help preserve

and extend the democratic rights of the working people of West Germany and consolidate peace.

At present, two points of view, corresponding to two opposed class policies, stand out among the Social Democrats in West Germany. A bitter struggle is in process between them. On the one hand, there is the policy of the Right leaders—Mommer, Brandt, Deist and others—who have adopted the bourgeois standpoint, uphold the foreign policy of the West German imperialists and favor close collaboration with the Christian Democratic Union; and on the other, there are the growing numbers of rank and file and functionaries who more or less openly oppose atomic rearmament and militarism. These contradictions are reflected in the SDPG plan for the solution of the German question.

In an open letter sent last April to the leadership of the Social Democratic Party and to all its organizations and members, the Central Committee of our Party stressed apropos of this plan that "real conditions obtain for reaching agreement." This letter, one of the most important documents of the German working-class movement since 1945, is an example of the struggle for working-class unity of action.

When prominent Social-Democratic leaders say that their Party will not co-operate with us because of their opposition to Marxism, we answer: co-operation with us does not imply recognition of Marxism-Leninism by the Social Democratic Party, it means that the two parties should fight jointly for general democratic aims and demands.

Our Party and the Government are doing their utmost to re-establish united action by the entire working class. Every year increasing numbers of Communists, Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and trade unionists take part in the all-German workers' conference held at the Leipzig Fair, and their decisions exert considerable influence on the struggle for united action in West Germany.

The exchange of delegations between the mass organizations and the enterprises of the two German states is also of tremendous importance. The delegations of West German workers who visit the GDR have every opportunity to study our social life and to exchange views, and this is helping to change the outlook of the working people in West Germany.

The fact that the working class is in power in the GDR creates favorable conditions for united action throughout Germany. This is being realized to an increasing extent by the West German workers who now see what the working class can do when it combines its forces and acts vigorously.

GERARD VAN MOERKERKE (*Belgium*) spoke of the tendency—at least in Western Europe—to regard working-class unity solely from the standpoint of relations between the Communists and the Socialists and to ignore the fact that the working class is not only influenced by these two parties but also by other political groups which claim to be its leaders.

The influence of the Christian Democratic movement should not be underrated. In Belgium, the Christian trade unions are every bit as strong as the Socialist unions in which Communists also participate. Nor should we disregard the fact that the Catholic youth organizations, including the Catholic Working Youth, are much stronger than the corresponding Socialist and Communist organizations, and they are conducting activities on a vast scale. The Christian trade unions are mass organizations and are composed chiefly of workers. It goes without saying that, in compliance with the will of their leaders, they pursue the policy of dividing the trade union movement.

The Christian trade union movement is bitterly anti-communist. But as far as immediate issues (wages, etc.) are concerned it is under increasing pressure from the rank and file and, contrary to the will of the leaders, is forced to take up the cudgels for the working class. There is no doubt that if the pressure is kept up the Christian unions will, sooner or later, have to change their attitude on political issues, too.

That is why in the Socialist unions we are working for the rapprochement of the two big trade union organizations in their day-to-day struggle for the workers' demands. This is not an easy matter. I shall confine myself to one of the difficulties. We often speak of sectarianism in our ranks; our sectarianism is nothing compared with what we meet in the Social-Democratic organizations. The feature of the Social Democrats' action for better conditions is not so much the desire to win demands without delay as the sectarian phrasemongering and the bitter attacks on the Christian workers' organizations. This merely deepens the rift and lessens the chance of success. At crucial moments the Social-Democratic leaders come to terms with their Christian-Democratic opposite numbers, and jointly capitulate to the employers.

We are also working to get the Christian Democrats, who at the moment form part of the big clerical party and are actually led by its reactionary wing, to break with the Christian Social party. Here, too, we encounter great difficulties.

Whereas Social Democracy is strong in Belgium, the Communist Party is relatively weak. Moreover, with rare exceptions the provincial, communal and parliamentary elections show that we have been losing ground since the liberation.

There are, it is true, specific factors which partly explain the situation in this or that country. And this as yet unfavorable situation is common to a number of West European countries. This cannot be explained by national peculiarities alone. There must be some common reason.

I merely pose the problem. I attempt no solution.

I think that in this respect our historians will be able to help us. The strength of Social Democracy in the Western countries is of fairly long standing. It dates from the 'twenties and is still maintained today. Evidently there are historical reasons for this stability, some kind of a law governing it. I think our historians will find the work of discovering these reasons highly interesting.

I shall pose yet another general question which has a bearing on the subject: what is the explanation for the fact that Social Democracy has not taken root in the underdeveloped or in the less developed countries, that it is very strong in the economically advanced capitalist countries of Europe, while practically non-existent in such a highly developed country as the United States?

* * *

EMILIO SERENI (*Italy*)

We all agree, said Sereni, that the documents of the Moscow meeting are the natural and common point of departure in our discussion which, however, should not be reduced to mere verification of the historiographic value of these documents, or to illustrating their significance on the basis of the experience of a particular national movement at a given stage of the struggle. Our Marxist historians can and must make an important contribution, a contribution that will help to raise the level of our propaganda work and the political initiative aimed at achieving and strengthening the revolutionary unity of the working class. In our view it is most important that there should be a constructive approach to the problems of the present stage of the struggle for unity waged by the working class in the capitalist countries. For it must be admitted that since the Seventh Congress of the Comintern the rich national and international experience on these questions has not, in the capitalist countries, been elaborated and generalized to the same extent—nor has it produced such results—as in the socialist countries, where epoch-making results have been achieved not only in practical activity but also in theoretical study and in generalizing the problems of unity.

Today, when working-class unity and broad alliances with other sections have become the urgent task in all capitalist countries, it is more imperative than ever thoroughly to analyze the objective conditions and the specific features of our struggle. We have always made a deep analysis of the

situation in our country. And we have done this not to find "objective" excuses for our failures and weaknesses but, on the contrary, to eliminate our shortcomings and make good the consequences of our failures; to be in a position better to see the contradictions, to develop political initiative and organize actions necessitated by our national life and the interests of our people, actions capable of anticipating and directing the bursting of one or another contradiction, actions which would strengthen the unity of the working class and extend its alliances.

Comrade Sereni went on to speak of the Party's struggle against the revisionist attack on international working-class unity in 1956-57, against dogmatic routine and sectarian narrowness in the Party. Even after the Eighth Party Congress some of our members had difficulty in grasping the prospects which the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU opened up to the international working-class movement both in relation to unity and its system of alliances. Not all our members correctly understood the lesson of the struggle waged by Khrushchov and the CPSU against the anti-Party group. Not everybody realized that the new methods and the new style of work and leadership, with their broader appeal to the masses, should be accepted by all Communist parties in carrying out the important tasks set forth by the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, the fulfilment of which will bring communism nearer.

The Moscow Declaration focuses attention on the "unity of the international working-class, national-liberation and democratic movements." The unity for which we are fighting in the capitalist countries is not unity on any conditions, but the revolutionary unity of the working class which, led and inspired by its Marxist-Leninist Party, is conscious of its role as leader, as the vanguard class of the nation, the champion of the interests of the people, and which places the question of power on the agenda of the day.

But in no capitalist country—and Lenin in the struggle against Menshevism and Trotskyism taught us this—can the working class really pose the question of power unless it has solved the question of allies, unless it has displayed its political initiative, and its ability to be the leader of the other classes, to lead, instead of being led, in the struggle. And if it is true that the unity of the working class is an essential condition for forming broad and strong alliances then it is equally true, in my view, that the policy of broad alliances guarantees the revolutionary unity of the working class.

To substantiate this idea Comrade Sereni cited a number of examples showing how the political initiative of the Communists (the fight against

using Italian airfields for aggression in Lebanon and Jordan, against the Common Market Treaty, the efforts on the agrarian front, etc.) rouses the masses of workers, draws the peasants, intellectuals and the middle sections into the struggle and compels Nenni, despite his illusions about "finding a way out of the blind alley not through struggle, but maneuvers," to act in a spirit of working-class unity.

Concluding, Comrade Sereni said: We are, apparently, still a long way from having fully assimilated the lesson taught us by the great Lenin who told us not to be afraid of errors which are bound to occur when a new and difficult undertaking is begun, and to go among workers influenced by the capitalists in order to win over the majority of them.

Others who participated in the discussion were JAKOB ROSNER (Austria), SOTIR MADHI (Albania), BALINT SZABO (Hungary), J. JACOBS (Britain), LI MAN TRUONG (Vietnam), a representative of the Communist Party of Germany, SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE (India), ISMAIL BAKRI (Indonesia), WILLIAM SYDNEY (Canada), KIM GHEN IN (Korea), LAIBUUDIN DUGHERSUREN (Mongolia), SEWERYN AJZNER (Poland), MIROSLAV BOUCEK (Czechoslovakia).

The conference discussed and in the main approved the plan and the outlines of a textbook on the history of the international working-class and communist movement. To prepare its publication, which is scheduled for 1963, it was decided to form an editorial commission composed of representatives of the institutes of Marxism-Leninism, institutes and commissions on the History of the Communist Party of China, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland, Rumania and the USSR. Co-ordination of the work (writing, discussion and publication) was assigned to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the C.C. of the CPSU. All the documents will be concentrated there, and all suggestions, observations, etc., should be sent to it.

It was decided that controversial points and chapters of the textbook should first be prepared in the form of theses, and discussed by the editorial commission.

The conference called upon all institutes on the History of the Party and all Communist historians to take an active part in preparing the textbook by writing some of the chapters, supplying materials and making suggestions.

Reviews

A Call to United Action

THE ink had hardly dried on the Rome agreements on European "integration" when their sponsors began to flood the book market with propaganda to the effect that the Common Market was the panacea for capitalist Europe. The chorus was gaily joined by the top Social-Democratic leaders. But as the difficulties grew and as the contradictions became sharper, and also as a result of the explanatory work carried out by the Communist parties, the idyllic picture painted by the ECM fathers became somewhat dimmed.

Defining their attitude to the European inter-monopoly agreement, the six West European Communist parties — of West Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy and Luxembourg—clearly stated: "It is necessary to put an end to the European Coal and Steel Community and to prevent the realization of the Common Market" (Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of six West European countries, April 1959).

Even those who until recently were zealous advocates of the Common Market are now criticizing it. A revaluation, true a somewhat timid one, of particular aspects of the "Market" is taking place also in the Social-Democratic and Socialist parties of Western Europe. Some complain that the EEC shows no interest in the vital problems facing the working people. Others go farther and call (in words as yet) for uniting the efforts of working-class organizations in the struggle against the consequences of the Common Market. Then there are those who say that trade union struggle cannot yield results unless it is supported by the big trade union centers—the general confederations of labor in France and Italy.

The authors of a book on the Common Market* recently published in France — members of the Union of Left Socialists — can be listed as belonging to the third group. They, their names are not given, speaking on behalf of their party, specify the task confronting it. For this reason, and particularly when we bear in mind the present split in the French Socialist movement, the book can be regarded as the unofficial program of a definite section of Left-wing Socialists.

**Le Marche Commun. Chomage ou prosperite?* Paris, Editions du Monde Ouvrier, 1959, 263 p.

The Common Market. Unemployment or Prosperity? Paris, Editions du Monde Ouvrier, 1959, 263 pp.

We will say at once that we do not agree with everything that is written in the book. The authors give the impression that they are still in the grip of illusions which are dangerous for the working-class movement. Above all there is the utopian idea about transforming the Common Market from an instrument of the monopolies into an instrument of the working class. Ignoring the specific social conditions of the six Common Market countries, the authors hold that such a "regeneration" is possible. This is followed by a series of claims which in our view are equally incorrect. The negative effects of the Common Market for the working people are toned down, while their political struggle is underrated.

Still, while not losing sight of the fact that a number of the concepts in this book could do harm to the working-class movement, it is important to dwell on its positive sides — the criticism to which it subjects many aspects of the Common Market, and the call which it makes, though an inconsistent one, for unity of the Left forces in Western Europe.

* * *

A good feature is that in contrast to the books written on the subject by other Socialists, the authors instead of lauding the Common Market, try to probe into the essence, to visualize the consequences for the West European working class.

The monopoly character of the Common Market is taken for granted. Although the Rome agreements contain provisos formally prohibiting monopoly amalgamations, the fact is they do the opposite. We are told that "hundreds of agreements have already been signed between employers" (page 26).

The book shows that the leading bodies of the Common Market are the faithful servants of their masters — the big monopolies. Some of the members of the Commission of the European Economic Community are characterized in these terms. Walter Hallstein, Chairman, has functioned "in the post-war years as Chancellor Adenauer's immediate assistant . . . a true friend of the United States" (page 45). Robert Marjolin, Vice-Chairman, has pro-American leanings arising from his personal contacts with U.S. bankers and industrialists. The executive body of the Common Market consists of "two diplomats, two professors of political econ-

omy, a big capitalist and four centrist or conservative ex-ministers" (page 48). And no one will disagree with the authors when they say that the nine are exceedingly remote from those social and political circles which could satisfy the aspirations of the working people of Europe.

The book is no less critical of the Common Market Assembly — the "parliament" of the Six in which the Left parties are not represented and which therefore does not reflect the public opinion of these countries. The collusion of the reactionary majorities in the French and Italian parliaments means that not a single M.P. belonging to the Communist party or to Nenni's Socialist Party has been admitted to the Common Market "parliament," i. e., 25 per cent of the French and 37 per cent of the Italian voters are not represented. The general confederations of labor, the most influential trade union centers in France and Italy, are barred from the Common Market Economic and Social Committee. "This shows the weakness of democratic supervision in the Common Market; the Left parties of two of the three big countries have no representation in Strasbourg; the opportunities for control are extremely limited; the right of parliamentary initiative is, for practical purposes, non-existent. In these conditions it will be no exaggeration to say there is only the semblance of democracy, not genuine democracy" (pages 52-53).

One senses a critical attitude also in the section which deals with the consequences of the Common Market. It says that the dependence of the Common Market countries on U.S. monopoly capital is growing and that no agreement can abolish the inter-monopoly contradictions. In recent years, according to the authors, these countries have been buying in the dollar zone twice as much as they sold. "This simple example suffices to show the groundlessness of the loud talk about the independence of the Six with regard to the United States" (page 137).

The Common Market agreements signify a still greater disproportion in the economic development of the Six, and widen the gap between industry and agriculture. Industry is developing along the lines of privileged industrial centers. And of these the chief one, undoubtedly, is the Ruhr industrial complex.

The section dealing with the consequences of the Common Market for the working people is much weaker. The utopian idea of the authors about the Market becoming an instrument in the hands of the working class makes them embellish even the immediate consequences of the agreements. This leads them to conclusions which in addition to being illogical are at variance with their earlier pronouncements and, what is more important, with

reality. They claim, for example, that the Common Market will not result in large-scale unemployment, and in almost the next breath say that there is now a permanent army of three million unemployed in the Common Market countries. What is this if it is not large-scale unemployment?

Discussing the standard of living the authors, as if to comfort themselves, cite the example of the European Coal and Steel Community; in all its member-countries, they assert, the real incomes of the workers engaged in the two industries have risen. But let us turn to the verdict of miners on this score. Delegates to the Third International Miners' Conference in Poland last July (who represented 4.5 million workers) unanimously approved a resolution which said in part: "The Conference affirms that the experience of the Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market shows that the promises made to the workers and the people are malicious propaganda . . . Today when the productivity of each miner has risen substantially, the conditions of his life and work have worsened. The increased productivity has brought profits to the capitalists and has been detrimental to the miners . . . The cost of living has gone up, while the purchasing power of the miners and working people generally has declined considerably."

The authors speak only about possible consequences of the Common Market, forgetting that right now the working people in Western Europe are shouldering the burden of expenditure incurred by the agreements. The devaluation of the French franc was a severe blow not only to the working people of France but also to tens of thousands of Belgian workers employed in the French border areas. Wholesale dismissals in Belgium, Italy, West Germany and France, the wiping out of a number of the social gains of the working people in the Saarland — these are some of the tangible results of the Common Market. And if the monopolies are unable to go full speed ahead with their policy the reason is that the working class and the working people, generally firmly opposed to the united front of big capital, are winning their demands in the bitter struggle. As has always been the case, the Communist parties are in the van of this struggle.

The splendid fight put up by the Borinage miners and the powerful demonstrations and marches of the Ruhr workers are still fresh in the minds of all. The protracted struggle fought last year by Italian metalworkers secured the satisfaction of their demands and better agreements. In recent months we have seen a wave of working-class struggle in France.

This, unfortunately, the authors forget. In their view, wages depend on the state of the economy — rising automatically during a boom, and falling during a recession. Such a harmful illusion is spread by them among the working people.

* * *

“How to counter the employers’ front already established and now in the process of consolidation? How to build a front of the working people? Sooner or later the necessity for joint struggle will compel the Left in Europe to unite. Numerous examples show that this is indeed the trend” (page 200). This subject, an important one, is discussed in the last section, the most interesting part of the book. What kind of program do the Left Socialists offer?

They stand for full employment, resistance to the monopolies, a higher standard of living to be secured by means of wage increases, shorter hours without reducing wages, the 40-hour week, improved working conditions and social security, houses for the workers, etc.

These demands, formulated by the working-class political parties and trade unions in the Common Market countries in the course of their day-to-day struggle, serve as the basis for united action. Last year, for example, the local organizations of the Communist Party, the Autonomous Socialist Party and the Union of Left Socialists entered into unity agreements in some departments in France.

The trade unions in the six countries, irrespective of their international affiliation, advance common demands which could be a platform for united action. On the initiative of some of the unions belonging to the World Federation of Trade Unions a number of international meetings were held at which representatives of the workers in the Common Market countries discussed questions of unity. Mention could be made, for example, of the meetings of Belgian and French miners, of West German and French metalworkers — all held last year. United action was also discussed at international gatherings of building, transport and shop workers, which were attended by representatives of trade unions of varying trends. This urge for unity is influencing the Left wing of the Socialist parties in Western Europe and the leaders of some of the unions affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

For example, André Renard and Raymond Latin, Belgian Socialists who hold important union posts, have publicly declared for united action by all trade unions in the Common Market countries and above all with the French and Italian general confederations of labor. At the end of 1959 the Congress of Brussels trade unions (Belgian General Federation of Labor and the ICFTU) unanimously

adopted a resolution which stressed: “The Congress holds that it is necessary, without delay, to make contact . . . with the most representative trade union organizations of the countries concerned, whether they are members of the ICFTU or not. It holds, further, that any effort aimed at restoring international trade union unity should be welcomed” (*Drapeau Rouge*, November 12, 1959).

It is not surprising, therefore, that now when unity of action, despite the obduracy of the splitters, is making headway, the authors arrive at the correct conclusion: “The working people of Europe are interested in combining and co-ordinating their action on an international scale, as is now being done by the capitalists” (page 248). This being so, the question naturally arises: why is it that the efforts of the working people in the Common Market countries are not yet united in a way which would correspond to the scale of the working class movement in capitalist Europe? But to this question we find no definite answer.

It is common knowledge, however, that the Communist parties of the six countries have repeatedly suggested that the forward-looking forces in Western Europe should act jointly against the Common Market. This call can be found in the statement issued by the French and Italian Communist parties in December 1958, and in the statement, mentioned above, issued by the conference of the six Communist parties in Brussels last April.

The trade unions affiliated to the WFTU are wholeheartedly in favor of unity. In January 1959 the French and Italian general confederations of labor addressed a joint letter to the trade union centers in the Common Market countries, irrespective of their international affiliation, suggesting a meeting for the purpose of drawing up a program of common demands.

The co-ordinating committee of the unions in the Common Market countries, established in September 1958 on the initiative of the trade union bodies affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, is likewise working for unity. At its meeting in Luxembourg last October the committee addressed a letter to a conference of the ICFTU unions of the six countries, suggesting a meeting to discuss unity.

It should be noted that so far neither the Socialist parties, the ICFTU, nor the ICCTU have replied to the calls made by the Communist parties and trade unions of the six countries. And it is a matter for regret that the Union of Left Socialists in France has not replied, either. It is not fortuitous that the authors of the book, when defining the immediate task of the Left Socialists, confine themselves only to strengthening the contact

between the Socialist parties. The anti-communism which has crept into the book prevented the authors from drawing sound conclusions. It is perfectly obvious that today no one can talk seriously about successful struggle by the working people without a firm alliance with the Communist parties which represent the advanced and most militant section of the working class.

The authors readily grasp the necessity of an alliance with the French and Italian general confederations of labor, but reject joint action with the Communist parties. This is a reflection of the anarcho-syndicalist tendency in the West European Socialist movement — separating the economic struggle from the political struggle and trade union unity from unity between political parties. This attitude hinders realization of even the aims outlined by the authors.

* * *

Despite a series of wrong concepts, some of them of a fundamental nature, this joint work by a group of French Left Socialists is of no little interest. In sum, it reflects the gradual dissipation

of the illusions about the Common Market, its essence and aims, a process which can be observed not only among the French Left Socialists, but also in the Left wing of the Belgian Socialist Party and throughout the Socialist movement of Western Europe. This development will further the unity of all Left forces and, above all, of the political parties of the working class. An alliance of the democratic forces against the policy of big capital is both necessary and possible. There is a real alternative to the Common Market — expansion of international trade, and in the first place between the capitalist and the Socialist countries. The times of the acrid debates in European parliaments on the Common Market have passed. Today the working people are paying dearly for the monopoly policy.

That is why it is more important than ever to secure a genuine alliance of all Left forces in Western Europe — of the political parties as well as the trade unions — which would force the monopolies to retreat and clear the way to far-reaching social changes.

Y. POPOV

Trade, Not an Arms Drive

THE greater the economic power concentrated in the hands of the monopoly groups which profit above all from the arms drive and militarization of the economy, from preparing aggressive wars, and the stronger their grip on the governmental apparatus the greater the resistance put up by those capitalists who, suffering from the rivalry, are interested in unrestricted foreign trade, export of capital and security against inflation. The influence of these, relatively less aggressive, groups is felt in growing measure as the policy inspired by the ultra-aggressive groups suffers fiasco.

Differences of this kind can be observed also in West Germany. While the more influential groups of monopoly capital are bent on intensified atomic armament, on preparing another aggression, other groups put the emphasis on development of world trade and economic expansion, though, of course, they do not differ from the former in their common class aims and in their attitude to the working-class movement and socialism.

The interests of the latter groups are, to a certain extent, reflected in the last book by Professor Adolf Weber.*

The author is mainly concerned with restoring the division of labor throughout the world although

he is aware that the pre-1917 days (when the capitalist system had undivided sway) will never return. Weber recommends that the West, above all the Federal Republic of Germany, should engage in vigorous trade with the socialist countries, and above all, with the Soviet Union. Although his book appeared after the 1957-58 economic crisis had ended, he points to the "recession" (the latest bourgeois term for the crisis) in order to emphasize the importance for the capitalist countries of trade with the East (pp. 224, 258-59).

Weber disapproves of the policy of "discrimination against Soviet foreign trade." The U.S. embargo of 1951, he writes, was "the culminating point in the cold war" detrimental to both sides. He criticizes the late Secretary of State Dulles for his rejection of the Soviet proposal made on June 2, 1958, for a comprehensive trade and credit agreement with the USA.

In contrast to the capitalist countries which for political reasons have always obstructed trade with the socialist countries and, consequently, the international division of labor, the Soviet Union has always stood for "extensive international trade, and economic co-operation between all countries" — a point reaffirmed by A. I. Mikoyan in an interview granted to *Der Volkswirt* on April 14, 1958. Weber quotes these words typical of the Soviet attitude on this question.

*A. Weber, *Sowjetwirtschaft und Weltwirtschaft*. Berlin-Muenchen, 1959, 296 S.

A. Weber, *The Soviet and the World Economy*, Berlin-Munich, 1959, 296 pp.

The author is at pains to prove that the explanation for this positive attitude of the Soviet Union to trade with the capitalist world should be seen in the chronic and growing deficit of capital which, in his view, constantly affects the socialist planned economy because of its inherent "fundamental errors." This deficit, we are told, will be further increased by the "gigantic" targets of the Seven-Year Plan. It is hardly necessary to give all the quotations showing Weber's scepticism in relation to the plan; for him the industrialization of Siberia is "unrealistic," while the expansion of industry producing means of production, which signifies an "unprecedented technological progress," is "fantastic." Can this be done, he asks, while simultaneously raising living standards, "by the remarkable growth of agricultural production" and by the extensive housing program plus a considerable reduction in hours of labor? (Page 116.) Over and over again he repeats that what the Soviet Union needs is "an unusually large amount of productive capital" which, in his view, can be obtained only from the capitalist states.

In view of the splendid results of the 1959 plan his claim that the Seven-Year Plan can be "taken out of the realm of utopia only if the free world helps with abundant long-term credits" (page 275) makes strange reading. But it is good that the author is wholly in favor of granting such credits. "In its own interests the free world," he writes, "can but welcome the successes of the Soviet economy achieved on a peaceful basis and serving peaceful aims . . ." And further: "Credits in themselves are the life-blood of international trade. If used correctly, they can also further political rapprochement of the nations . . . The Russians, too, can cite impressive figures showing that they have granted and will continue to grant credits to the underdeveloped countries on terms advantageous to the latter" (pages 234-235).

One cannot but agree with Weber that the socialist countries should take advantage of the division of labor with the capitalist countries. And it is true, as the Soviet leaders have repeatedly pointed out, that the peaceful labor of the Soviet people would benefit from long-term credits. But the facts, which even the most "sceptical" anti-communists cannot deny, show that without capitalist credits the socialist planned economy is growing and developing much more successfully than the capitalist economy lauded by the author. In view of this it is difficult to understand why he has risked losing his prestige (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, organ of the big bourgeoisie, calls him the Nestor of German political economy) by devoting a large part of his book to the vain attempt to "prove" the "bankruptcy" of the planned economy in the Soviet Union and in the other

socialist countries (the latter are dealt with in one of the 12 chapters).

* * *

In justice to Weber it should be said that he cites facts testifying to the tremendous progress of the socialist countries. Soviet technological achievements are, in his view, "admirable"; the figures attesting to the "breath-taking progress of the neighbouring great China" are "really impressive," while the Bulgarian example "shows how under Soviet influence an agrarian country is rapidly becoming a country of industry."

Weber shows, moreover, that the Soviet Union "allocates very substantial sums for social and cultural measures" (page 110), that "in recent decades no country has done so much to foster human activity (Wirksamkeiten) by means of all kinds of education as Soviet Russia" (page 28), and that the "wonderful progress" of public health is "quite a remarkable plus for the Soviet economy in the interests of promoting human activity" (page 44).

And yet, if we are to believe Weber, "the standard of living has not been raised" (page 16). Just before saying this he quotes widely from the book *The USSR National Economy* published in 1956. But upon reading the book, he could have observed on page 37 that between 1940-55 real income of the Soviet factory and office workers rose by 75 per cent, while the increase in retail trade was 108 per cent, i.e., more than double.

Why, it may be asked, didn't Weber quote these figures? The answer, evidently, is that had he done so he would not have been able to say that "the Soviet economy is a long way from having attained the socio-economic success enjoyed by the Federal Republic" (page 19). This contention is backed up by figures according to which between 1938-55 the real hourly wages in West Germany rose 33 per cent, and between 1936-55 personal consumption rose from 29 to 51 million marks, i.e., 76 per cent.

But even these figures (and taking account of the doubtfulness of bourgeois statistics) show that the standard of living is rising more rapidly in the Soviet Union than in West Germany. And this growth guarantees that in the near future the Soviet Union will catch up with and surpass the standard of living in the highly developed capitalist countries, which as yet is higher in certain respects. In assessing the standard of living in the USSR it is necessary to recall the exceedingly low standards in tsarist Russia compared with the West, which Weber admits (pages 259-260), and also the fact that it was only in 1928 that the Soviet Union, having completed the rehabilitation of its economy which had been shattered by the imperialist and civil wars and the foreign intervention, began to

reconstruct it along socialist lines. Then, a bare 13 years later, this peaceful construction was again interrupted, this time by the Hitler invasion.

Here we cannot overlook the sleight of hand to which Weber resorts, one that will hardly win him a reputation for impartiality. He sheds tears about the postwar difficulties experienced by West Germany; but assuming an air of injured innocence, he asserts that at the same time the Soviet Union gained advantages from what he calls "satellite states" and from the "vanquished nations." Of course, he knows that "for Russia, too, the war was a devastating calamity" (page 15; note the word "too"!), but not a word is said about the fact that it was the fascist rulers of his country who attacked the Soviet Union, causing damage which surpassed by far the losses sustained by any other country, Germany included. Surely Weber is not unaware that the reparations to the Soviet Union were but a negligible part of the damage caused by Hitler Germany, while the aid rendered to West Germany under the Marshall Plan and through other channels played the decisive role in reconstructing (and rearming!) the Federal Republic.

Weber, it goes without saying, cannot find in Soviet conditions proof for his assertion that the socialist planned economy, knowing no objective laws and obligatory standards, is dominated by chaos and confusion. In contrast, the "long-tested" capitalist system, although it "needs improvement in details",* has, nevertheless, resulted in "a splendid division of labor and co-ordination of labor," as Weber triumphantly expressed it at one time.** And so relying, for instance, on "data" supplied by a defector who fled his country in the 'thirties, he makes the ridiculous statement that in the USSR the allocation of funds to the various economic branches is determined not by objective necessity and possibilities, but by the "lawyers' cunning" (page 99) displayed by the departmental heads of a particular branch. Or he attributes to "a top-ranking Bolshevik official" a statement made, allegedly, during a talk with a German industrialist, to the effect that both the productive forces and the consuming power are "in the Soviet economy completely unknown quantities" (page 94)!

The list of howlers picked up by Weber from dubious sources could be prolonged. They merely testify that the author hasn't even the haziest idea about the functioning of the law of value under socialism, the theory and practice of price formation, economic balances, the new content of such politico-economic categories as money and credits,

in short about the rich experience acquired during the four decades of Soviet planned economy.

In any case we see that Weber has no scruples about the means he employs in an effort to "prove" that the Soviet economy, having "backfired," has reached a stalemate. He tries, of course, to substantiate this absurdity. And he does so not only because he is an ideological opponent of communism and an ardent believer in capitalism, but evidently because he believes that come what may he must stick to his "scientific" theories, even though they have been refuted hundreds of times, that he must cling to his predictions, even though they will make him blush to the end of his days.

In his *World Economy*, a book we mentioned above, Weber described the Soviet planned economy as some kind of a model utopia; this is what he said about the first five-year plan: "The Russian rulers, undoubtedly, employing massive means and straining all the spiritual and physical energies of a strong, self-sacrificing people, have undertaken to carry out the most magnificent experiment of a planned economy, an experiment such as has never been undertaken before, and which in all probability is hardly likely to be repeated on a similar scale" (our italics—K.S.)*.

Everybody knows that the first five-year plan was followed by another four five-year plans, all of them eminently successful, while the fulfilment of the current seven-year plan indicates that without doubt it will be completed ahead of schedule. But for Weber, who as early as 1932 predicted that "the Bolshevik experiment with economic planning has failed" and that "the hysteria of planned socialist economy is doomed to inevitable failure,"** the Seven-Year Plan, too, is, as we have seen above, utopia. . . .

* * *

It will be seen then that Weber is hardly the "critic standing on scientific ground" that he claims to be. Had he, in keeping with his promise, analyzed economic life in the socialist countries "without prejudice and arrogance," his correct basic conclusion—the most valuable thing in his book—would have had a much greater effect. This basic conclusion, typical of those capitalists who are more interested in the export of capital and in expanding world trade rather than in the non-productive and inflation-fraught armaments, culminates in the demand for a "controlled and complete disarmament and utilization of the means thus released for raising economic productivity. This would mean using the great technological progress not to destroy productive capital but to multiply it" (page 276).

*Ibid., p. 258.

**Ibid., pp. 267-268.

*A. Weber, *Kurzgefasste Volkswirtschaftslehre und Volkswirtschaftspolitik in einem Bande*. Muenchen, 1935, S. 20.

**A. Weber, *Weltwirtschaft*. Was jeder davon wissen muss. Muenchen, 1932, S. 269.

This demand corresponds to the proposal made by Khrushchov on behalf of the Soviet Government at the United Nations, a proposal which has met with worldwide approval. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries there is now a prospect that the question of disarmament will at last emerge from the stalemate. The rapidly growing might of the socialist world is the chief reason for the improvement in the international climate, for the hoped for period of peaceful coexistence, which Weber, too, is anxious to see.

But he should address his call only to one of the sides, namely, to the monopoly groups who are particularly active in West Germany and who, still doing well on military orders, look on war as a highly lucrative undertaking. It is no secret that one of the chief aims of the cold war was to keep the economic forces of the Soviet Union in check by imposing on it the burden of armaments. This calculation, it is true, has gone awry, but acceptance of the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament would, as recently stressed by Khrushchov, greatly accelerate the switching over to a six-hour day. On the other hand, it is not

fortuitous that Weber is compelled to criticize the "silly" arguments of U.S. official circles who laud military expenditure as being "instrumental in increasing the aggregate social product." The heavy burden of armaments hampers the advance of all, replies Weber, and he adds that the time will come when "the growing military expenditure . . . will be bound to destroy the foundations of a prosperous economy" (page 272).

Weber is also against using technological achievements for purposes that do not benefit the economy, the "result of the merciless demands of military departments and the megalomania of the leading politicians." He ends his book by quoting from the manifesto of the Pugwash conference (mid-1958) which declares that science, instead of being used for the arms drive, should help to harness the forces of Nature for the good of all. "A modest contribution to this help—that is what this book should be," such are the concluding words and we want to take them as such, notwithstanding the incorrect and absurd things we find in the book, and despite the fact that its author is an irreconcilable opponent of communism.

Karl SACHER

Doubting and Searching

AMERICA IN DOUBT,* the latest book by Alexander Werth, a British writer, is based on his direct observations in the United States, and on talks and correspondence with American friends. As such, it makes no claim to being the last word in investigation.

Werth lectured for several months at Ohio State University on modern European history. During his stay he had long and frank conversations with students, tutors and fellow journalists, and he vividly recaptures the thinking of the people he met. With a few deft strokes he portrays the ordinary young Americans, thoughtful, restless and really sympathetic. What stands out in Werth's book is the critical attitude of these ordinary Americans towards U.S. foreign policy and many aspects of the "American way of life." The author, naturally, restricts his conclusions to the people with whom he came in contact and who, as he puts it, are not *untypical*. This attitude was completely unthinkable in McCarthy's days which, after all, are not so very far away.

Clearly, the impact of public opinion, both in the United States and abroad, and the growing discontent with the cold war policy should be listed among the factors which have led to a shift in

U.S. foreign policy from cold war to talks with the Soviet Union. Werth notes the first open manifestations of this sentiment, and the facts testify that its subsequent growth contributed to the agreement for an exchange of visits by Khrushchov and Eisenhower. It should be said that in the United States the uneasiness over the cold war policy was slower in making itself felt than was the case in other capitalist countries. Still, this process is developing, and it would be wrong to disregard it.

Werth's book convincingly shows the failure of reactionary propaganda which seeks to conceal the great changes in the world behind thick clouds of misinformation. The questions and doubts agitating American students, writes Werth, "are vaguely shared by millions of other young Americans in these days of sputniks, ICBMs, cosmic rockets, and the global technological, ideological and economic duel between the Big Two."

The main question which is making young (and not only the young) Americans think, is—where is the world heading: towards a devastating war, catastrophe, or towards an as yet unknown peaceful order? "The first sputnik, which the Russians launched . . . made these young people think furiously about the future of the world, about the future of America." Everyone feels that humanity has crossed the threshold of a new era of wonder-

*A. Werth, *America in Doubt*. London, Robert Hale, 1959, 214 pp.

ful accomplishment; the "beeps" transmitted by the Soviet sputniks and the shine of the Soviet space rockets cannot be obscured by the fog of propaganda. There is a desire to know more about the Soviet Union which this propaganda had painted as a kind of hell upon earth, or at any rate as a backward country. But the desire to learn the truth about the Soviet Union contradicted official policy. For, the first conclusion reached by many Americans after the staggering news of the Soviet scientific achievements was that the cold war policy was unnecessary, that it could solve nothing, and the sooner the U.S. leaders abandoned it the better things would be. There is the feeling, Werth writes, that total war is no longer an answer the reactionary circles wanted to give to vital international problems.

Although many years have passed since the cold war began, U.S. reactionary circles are farther away from their object than at the outset when they proclaimed the "American Century" which, as somebody said bitterly, "has lasted twelve years—exactly as long as Hitler's 1,000-year Reich." The cold-war men are being asked: Why is it that the USA, the "leader of the free world," finds itself in a situation which even the more cautious Americans describe as "a crisis of trust"? Why is it that the USA, quite "unexpectedly," has lost its leadership in many vital fields of science and technology? Werth's book shows that many Americans are beginning critically to reappraise the postwar foreign policy of the State Department.

Some of those with whom Werth talked, the people who are not greatly interested in politics, correctly assessed this foreign policy and were aware of the reasons for its growing unpopularity. "Brinkmanship" resulted in a situation in which foreign policy found itself at variance with the basic trend in international relations—the desire for peace. "The trouble," one of the young people said, "is that . . . it is infernally difficult for America to attune her world propaganda to a 'peace pitch' — at which the Russians are so very, very good." The point, of course, is not that the United States cannot attune its policy to the common "peace pitch." This can be done provided the ordinary Americans make the demand, and if at the top the people who want peace and not a "cold" or a "hot" war are allowed a say in deciding policy.

As Khrushchov has pointed out, the American people want peace, but the forces resisting the relaxation of world tension are still very strong. The indications of this are the bellicose, cold war speeches made by Acheson, Truman and Rockefeller. The cold war policy is also supported by Meany and Reuther, leaders of the AFL-CIO. These gentlemen, as Harry Bridges, president of the

Longshoremen's & Warehouseman's Union, wrote in the *National Guardian*, are the leading warmongers in the United States.

Werth reproduces the criticism made by Americans of the foreign policy pursued by Truman and Dulles. The point, however, is not only, and not so much, in the personality of an Acheson, Dulles or "the inferiority-complex-ridden Truman," "the arrogant little megalomaniac." Lenin taught us to see behind the social phenomena and behind the actions of political leaders the interests of a particular class. And behind Acheson, Truman and Rockefeller stand the forces which influence United States policy.

The need to revise many of the basic concepts of U.S. foreign policy during the cold war, a need occasioned by the successes of the USSR and the other socialist countries in peaceful construction has, naturally, affected colonial policy also.

Critically-minded Americans denounce the meddling of the United States in the internal affairs of other countries, in particular the support for puppet regimes. G.I.'s who had been in Korea, said student Drew, "say that it's horrible and degrading for America to have to support an odious regime of crooks like Syngman Rhee's . . . We spend 500 million dollars a year on keeping Syngman Rhee going; half the money is stolen, anyway; and everybody in South Korea hates our guts."

Drew's relative, who has a job in South America, said South Americans think "we look upon them as a source of cheap raw materials and don't want them to develop industrially." Werth was told that U.S. policy in many Afro-Asian countries has aroused suspicion and resentment. What is to be done? ". . . SEATO and the Eisenhower Doctrine," said one of the students, "are very amateurish; and we don't really know how to go about it when it comes to including Asia in the American Century." On the whole, said another, "there seems to be some terrible uncertainty about how to deal with underdeveloped countries, especially with Asia." This criticism is also voiced in the allied countries. "Thank God for Sputnik," said a Frenchman to Werth when the latter returned to Europe. A new situation has arisen "in which America may not be listened to . . . Dollars or no dollars, we can now afford to be more independent than before. Again, three cheers for Sputnik!" The Americans are dubious about the role their country will play in the world—the author concludes. One thing is clear: the policy of the past years, described by one of Werth's acquaintances as "negative", is not to their liking.

No less interesting are things Americans say about home affairs and the way of life. What worries them is the "unhealthy fact that the whole American economy has come to depend on colossal

military spending." Ordinary people in the capitalist world (and this is well brought out in the book) feel that a crisis is impending. They react, promptly and painfully, to even the slightest signs of a recession. This uncertainty and fear of the morrow is handed down from father to son. The crisis has "become like a grim and humiliating nightmare to many an American family." Many young Americans have memories of the earlier crises; they recall how their fathers had been out of work for months and years, how they went hungry in their teens. They remember, too, the humiliation of standing in the soup-kitchen lines. Why should crises be inevitable in our country, they ask, and why is it that the Soviet Union isn't plagued with them?

The answer, which they have not yet found, is that in the socialist countries production is carried on for the benefit of the people, for the satisfaction of their growing needs, whereas in the USA and all capitalist countries the sole purpose is profit. The working people, Lenin wrote, will perform wonders undreamed of under capitalism when their initiative is released and when they are freed from the yoke of capitalism. And this creative activity of the people under socialism is the "secret" of its impetuous and irresistible growth. This "secret" is closed to the capitalist countries, they do not and cannot possess it. The USA spends vast sums on rocketry. But Werner von Braun, the rocket expert, does not think that money can speed up the present missile program.

Americans are now comparing the system of educating and training technicians and research workers in the USSR and the USA. "I don't believe people invent Sputniks because they're scared of the police," said the student Fred. It means that there are other incentives unknown to the United States.

Talking about working conditions in the USSR, Americans noted that the best workers are made Heroes of Socialist Labor, their names appear on "tables of honor," they are awarded medals and elected members of the Supreme Soviet. "It would take a long time to find a single genuine manual worker in Congress!" said one of the boys. How these young Americans have correctly sized up the situation! Labor cannot be a matter of valor and heroism in countries where there are exploiters and exploited, capitalists and proletarians, where private ownership of the means of production dominates and where the working man is uncertain of the morrow.

The socialist country, as Lenin put it, would influence international relations mainly through its economic achievements. This is confirmed daily. "People here are shaken," Werth writes, "not so much because the American system is so faulty,

but because the Russian system seems so infernally efficient."

Even a mere enumeration of the points cited shows that the Americans really have something to think about. The main question is how to find a way out of the foreign-policy stalemate. "What should we do?" queried one American in a letter to Werth. "I just don't know. But I care—terribly. . . ." Some had found the answer even at the time of Werth's stay. "Mightn't be a bad thing if we and the Russians got together and came to some lasting agreement," said a student. "We'll have, sooner or later, to come to terms with Russia," wrote another American, after Werth had returned to Britain. Had the book been written, say, at the end of last year, its author would have found more American adherents of this view. For proof one has only to turn to the friendly reception which hundreds of thousands of Americans accorded Khrushchov; it is seen also in the broad American support for the policy of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Our review does not profess to be a detailed analysis of Werth's book. Not everything in it is of equal value; nor can one agree with all that the author says. But in one thing it is quite clear—it shows the beginnings of the process which developed later.

The easing of the international tension could not but affect the United States. But the conditions in which the thaw is developing there are complex; it is constantly resisted by the cold-war men. Another book *Face to Face With America*, written by a group of Soviet journalists who accompanied Khrushchov during his tour of the United States, quotes a statement made by an American war veteran. No one, he said, even Khrushchov or Eisenhower, can change the climate on our planet overnight. But something has changed in the world, and the change is for the better. The book by the Soviet journalists mentions only a few of the letters received by Khrushchov from Americans. In their totality they would make up several volumes. But even the few reproduced in the book give grounds for saying that above all the American people want to end the cold war and to live in peace and friendship with the Soviet people.

The Werth book shows that many ordinary Americans are beginning to doubt the official propaganda; they want to grasp the meaning of events and to have their own opinion.

It is not only ordinary Americans that have doubts. Even supporters of the postwar foreign policy of the United States are beginning to have second thoughts. Walter Lippmann, an influential spokesman of "the Atlantic community," has acknowledged that the ideas he advocated no longer

have the same pull, and those who supported them do not now find the same comfort in them. "It was soon evident," he wrote in *New York Herald Tribune*, "that in the postwar world the Atlantic community, with the British-American partnership at its core, was no longer the paramount power in the world." Lippmann explains why affairs have taken such a turn. "We are no longer members of the world order which is accepted by mankind as being universal. There are other world orders which challenge ours and which compete with it." In justice to Lippmann it should be said that he is sensible of the change. "It is that so much of the world is in the midst of revolutionary changes of which we cannot now foresee the out-

come." Lippmann, unlike those described by Werth, is no ordinary American. Lippmann, for all his questioning, remains a staunch supporter of imperialism. It is doubtful, as the Werth book shows, if ordinary Americans will be guided by preconceived ideas of justifying and embellishing imperialism. They are wondering what the future will bring them. They are thinking and searching for the answers to the questions now facing people everywhere. And this is a good thing. The more the ordinary people in the USA and elsewhere think in terms of the basic problems of politics, of the future, the sooner a common language will be found in international affairs. And this will help the cause of peace.

S. VILAR

True to the Ideals of Humanity

A MEMORIAL—a sculptural group—the work of Fritz Kremer, has been erected in Buchenwald, the notorious Hitler concentration camp. The figures are expressive and passionate: tormented, emaciated, but unconquered people. The prisoners preserved their spirit, their courage and human dignity; they towered above their fascist persecutors.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has published two books, one a collection of letters written by German anti-fascists who were murdered in Buchenwald—*The Human Race Will Rise*, with a preface by Wilhelm Pieck, the other—*The Front Was Everywhere*, reminiscences of German underground fighters against fascism, with a preface by Walter Ulbricht.* The cover of the first book bears a picture of the sculptural group. And this is very apt. For the materials of the collections are imbued with the same spirit of struggle and courage as the sculptural group created by Fritz Kremer.

The two books give us a better insight into the thoughts and feelings of the anti-fascist fighters; they help us to gain a better understanding of the meaning and significance of their activity. One cannot read unmoved the letters written by the anti-fascists in their last hours, when a man is left alone with the truth, reviews his life and thinks of the future he will not see.

Fiete Schulze, a Hamburg docker and a comrade of Ernst Thaelmann, a splendid working-class organizer in Northern Germany, was betrayed to the Nazis. According to fascist law, Schulze had

to be sentenced to death *three times* on three charges, and on other charges to a total of 260 years' imprisonment. But he had only one life to live . . .

On June 6, 1935, Fiete Schulze was beheaded in Hamburg. On the day of his execution, with only a few hours between him and death, when a man wants to express his innermost thoughts, he wrote to his sister: ". . . I am dying so that many others will not have to die a premature death by violence . . . I have not been fated to see the success of my cause. But this cannot and will not delay the outcome. The wheel of history cannot be reversed."

Georg Lechleiter, a type-setter and one of the founders of the underground anti-fascist journal *Herald*, executed in September 1942, wrote to his wife and son: "Man's noblest aim is to live for the good of others, to sacrifice for the sake of others."

Georg Groscurth, a doctor who did much to help the victims of Hitlerism, addressed his wife with the words: "Let me embrace you. Always remember that we are dying for a better future, for a life without hatred between people. I have loved people very much, and of course, I could still have done a lot of good. But this is not to be."

Pilot Otto Schreiber, executed for "high treason," wrote to his relatives: "Freedom has been the highest ideal for me . . . The man who dies with the thought that his life and death have benefited his fellow men dies happy."

Georg Spettmann, a Communist, called to the army and sent to the Tallin area where he contacted Estonian partisans, was sentenced to death by court-martial. The last letter to his mother reads: "Were I to begin my life again I would gladly travel the same path . . . I am going to

**Erkaempft das Menschenrecht*. Lebensbilder und letzte Briefe antifaschistischer Widerstandskämpfer. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 694 S.

Die Front war ueberall. Erlebnisse und Berichte von Kämpfern des Nationalkomitees "Freies Deutschland." Berlin, Kongress-Verlag, 1958, 199 S.

my death, but not on my knees. Above my grave the words, with every justification, can be written: He did not die in vain."

Karl Becker, an active Communist worker who found refuge in France from the Hitler terror and was later captured there by the Gestapo, wrote to his sweetheart on the day of execution: "I shall die as I have lived, for my ideals, with head erect, like a soldier."

These letters are written by people of different ages—young and old, of various trades and professions—workers, doctors, journalists, soldiers. But they are united by one thing: love of their people, loyalty to them, the conviction that the people are worthy of freedom and that the dark forces of fascism will be smashed. It was this confidence in the people, in the ideals of communism that multiplied the courage of these men and women enabling them to emerge from the hardest trials with honor unstained.

Enemies slandered these people, declared them advocates of oppression, ascribed foul aims to them, vilified their moral principles, but the genuine truth of these moving human documents exposes the malevolent lie. Communists combated the oppression and proved in life as in death that they always fight for noble ideals, imbued with love of people and confidence in human progress. They challenged the reactionary forces, conscious that they would have to fight to the death against a powerful and ruthless enemy. Behind the heroism of the individual fighters stands the heroism of the working class, of the Communist Party which trained them and sent them to the struggle.

The significance of communist ethics and of lofty revolutionary ideals for the spiritual moulding of the new generation of builders of socialism was stressed at the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party. The example of the anti-fascist fighters is of the greatest educational value.

A German writer has related how a worker, "a humble man," who could not become reconciled to the Nazi regime, sent anti-fascist post cards, even though fully conscious of the consequences.

Thus non-acceptance of the fascist order was combined in its own way with an individualism which had been developed for decades. But how much stronger are the people when they are united for joint struggle. Unity in the fight for the common goal, and mutual aid add to their strength, make them more dangerous to the enemy. The flames of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship were not extinguished among the German people during the grim years of Hitler rule. But it was no longer a single-handed struggle.

The book, *The Front Was Everywhere*, shows that the Hitler gaolers were unable to subdue the

progressive forces of the German people. "Free Germany," an underground committee, which raised the banner of the liberation movement, was formed during the war. Unfortunately, the activity of the German resistance fighters is little known, the daring exploits of the valiant underground fighters still await adequate treatment.

Progressive people in all countries never identified the German people with the Hitler regime and always believed that the people would free themselves from the accursed brown plague.

When passing sentence on the Communists Saefkow, Jacob and Baestlein, who had established a network of underground groups, the fascist court said: "They developed such broad Communist activity especially in the fifth year of the war and worked to demoralize the Wehrmacht that this had the most serious consequence for the Reich!"

Not all was calm and quiet in the gloom of the fascist night. At the front and behind the lines the anti-fascists explained the criminal nature of the war unleashed by Hitler, persuading soldiers and civilians to reject the path which boded catastrophe for Germany.

The workers, led by the underground Communist Party, were the main force of the resistance. But, as Kurt Kuehn, co-author of the book, writes, the opponents of Hitlerism in the other groups of the population did their bit too. Progressive scientists and art workers were among the most reliable participants in the "Free Germany" movement.

Among the active members of one of the groups were Wolfgang Heinze, factory manager in Leipzig, Professor Alfred Frank of the Academy of Arts, and Georg Sacke, Doctor of Philosophy. Heinze, for example, discussed plans of underground work with anti-fascist workers in his study. The Hitler tribunal sentenced him to death. Frank printed and circulated leaflets. Sacke distributed leaflets and established contacts with dockers and shipbuilding workers.

It was not easy for the anti-fascists to establish contact with workers, office employees, peasants and soldiers. The slightest slip meant death. In her reminiscences, *A Trip to the Ruhr*, Aenne Saefkow describes the difficulties she had to overcome when she was given a Party assignment to travel to Duesseldorf and establish contacts with the Ruhr workers. But the underground fighters enjoyed the support of all the best people. Albert Bauer recalls how the workers in the repair shop where he worked as a fitter, helped him to cyclo-style leaflets at night. After a while a printing machine was obtained, and a young worker made the necessary adaptations for the leaflets. Comrades called to the army not only told people at home

about the real situation at the front, they supplied the resistance fighters with arms and ammunition.

Relying on the support of the workers, the anti-fascists accomplished the incredible. The Communists and their fellows in the resistance movement displayed courage and resourcefulness; they skilfully used the slightest opportunity in the struggle with the enemy. Rudolf Wunderlich, for example, relates how a group of prisoners was sent to work in SS premises in Berlin. The stokers, maintenance workers and cleaners employed in the building helped them establish contact with the outside world, thus enabling them to get messages to their friends outside and to obtain information about anti-fascist activities. Wunderlich also recalls how the prisoners, sent to a job in the Nazi Party offices on Wilhelmstrasse, managed to listen to broadcasts from Moscow and London at night; the news quickly spread among the other prisoners. "Even in the concentration camp," he writes, "we listened to Radio Moscow and to the Voice of the Free Germany Committee."

The German anti-fascists were active in France, Belgium, Holland and other occupied countries. Ernst Melis and Edith Zorn relate how Germans co-operated with local resistance fighters in towns and villages of France; they published several papers, including the weekly *People and Fatherland* which was put out under the nose of the Gestapo agents.

The story of Helmut Thomas, a young Leipzig worker and member of a partisan group consisting of French, Italian and Spanish fighters leaves a deep impression. Helmut, wounded in an engagement with a punitive detachment, was captured by the Hitlerites; although brutally tortured, he remained staunch to the end.

Women, too, proved their mettle in the anti-fascist struggle; they lived the dangerous life of underground workers when the country swarmed with spies and Gestapo agents. Irene Wosikowski conducted propaganda among the crews of German warships at Marseilles, circulating leaflets and recruiting people for the resistance movement. One of the seamen she contacted proved to be a Gestapo agent. Irene was arrested, subjected to frightful torture and executed. Until the last moment she was urged to betray her comrades with liberty as a reward. But she refused to utter a word, and died a true patriot and heroine.

The above-mentioned provocateur, according to the authors, has been identified. His name is Frischalowski, and he resides in Cuxhaven (Federal Republic). But the proceedings taken against him were stopped by both the local prosecutor and the General Prosecutor on the pretext that what he did was "legal."

Democratic Germany reveres the memory of this courageous and loyal daughter of the people, whereas in West Germany the provocateurs and Gestapo agents are protected by law. What a contrast!

Under Hitler, when the freedom-loving forces were suppressed by brutal terror, the anti-fascists, Ulbicht said, *made their contribution towards restoring the honor of the German people trampled underfoot by the fascist barbarians.*

Much work has gone into the preparation of these books, which tell us about the best sons and daughters of Germany who never renounced their convictions and preserved their courage despite all the horrors of fascism.

Their publication is all the more significant because the militarists and revanchists who dream of repeating the crimes of Hitler are again in power in West Germany. An indictment of the Nazi rulers, these books brand the latter-day revanchists and serve as a warning to those who would like to resume the path of the Third Empire. The example of the anti-fascists inspires the fighters for democracy and justice, and against revanchism and militarism.

In publishing these books our comrades have done a good job for the ideological tempering of the masses, particularly the young people. The militant traditions are a powerful force which can influence the spiritual development of new generations.

In our view these books will be read with interest also in other countries. The resistance fighters did more than uphold the honor of the German nation; they acted as courageous soldiers of humanity, as fighters for the great international cause of the emancipation of all working people.

People will always remember them, just as they remember Julius Fucik, Gabriel Peri and the Italian resistance fighters. The exploits of the anti-fascist fighters in Germany revealed the spiritual grandeur and nobleness of the people of a new, socialist world.

W. RUEHN

Communications and Comment

Hands Off the Peace Fighters!

AT the end of 1959 the world was shocked to hear of a new arbitrary act by the West German authorities—the staging of a trial in Duesseldorf of distinguished peace fighters: Edith Hoereth-Menge, Erwin Eckert and Walter Diehl, members of the World Peace Council; and Johannes Oberhof, Gerhard Wohlrath, Gustav Tiefes and Erich Kompalla, members of the West German Peace Committee. Their courageous activity, so vividly manifested in the popular movement against atomic death, was counterposed to the policy of “total” arming. And for this reason they have been denounced as “criminals.”

The seven patriots are accused of “being members of a secret anti-Constitutional organization.” The method of emphasizing an “infringement” of the Constitution is not a new one. It has often been invoked in bringing to trial organizations and people disagreeing with Bonn policy. In point of fact the Constitution is infringed by those whose job is to administer justice. To try people for advocating peace, for holding humane convictions—is not that a flagrant encroachment on democratic rights?

A thousand times right are those who warned that the banning of the Communist Party would be followed by the persecution of other progressives. Hundreds of democratic organizations and thousands of patriots who say no to Adenauer’s policy have become the victims of this lawlessness. Now it is the turn of the leaders of the widely representative peace movement.

Law is but a cover for the criminal activity of those who rule the legal roost in West Germany. Sentences are being passed by judges who only yesterday served Hitler heart and soul. There are now over a thousand of these evil creatures in the country. One of them, a certain Roeder-Knospel, prosecutor of Duesseldorf, where the peace fighters are on trial, during the war passed 15 death sentences on Czechs who tried to give bread to starving Soviet POWs.

Such are the priests of “justice” with whose help the West German rulers seek to lull the conscience of the people, to make the law serve their militarist policy. It is a fact that in 1958 Minister of Defense Strauss demanded that anyone who opposed atomic armament and thereby created a “strategic advantage for the communist East” should be regarded as a “war criminal.”

The Duesseldorf trial is a gross provocation on the part of the militarists against the forces of peace and progress not only in the Federal Republic, but throughout the world. At a time when international developments are taking a new turn and the prestige of the peace supporters has grown immeasurably, the judicial bodies of a state whose policy is causing anxiety to neighbor-countries declare action for peace to be a punishable offence. Three members of the World Peace Council are in the dock! The reactionaries are maligning the international peace organization in order to create a moral and legal basis for continuing the bankrupt “positions of strength” policy and stepping up the activity of the fascist riff-raff.

The prosecutors are trying to prove that the peace movement in the Federal Republic is not the result of the popular protest against the anti-national policy of militarization, but the result of “communist intrigue.” The Duesseldorf trial showed that the attempts to counterpose the Communists to the national interests with a view to discrediting the peace movement have fallen flat. The trial has turned into an indictment of anti-communism. The seven patriots set forth the true reasons for the rise of the peace movement in the country and spoke of the outstanding role played in this movement by the Communists. “I gratefully recall the many years of useful co-operation with my Communist friends,” Pastor Johannes Oberhof said. “This instils in me a feeling of confidence and calm in the face of the charge.”

The court was unable to convict the accused of anti-Constitutional activity. Both the “material evidence” (e.g., the World Peace Council’s appeals) and the manner in which it was presented exposed, in essence, the real organizers of the trial—Adenauer, Strauss and others—as plotters against peace and democracy. These men resort to extreme measures and invoke the bogey of communism to intimidate the people in order to continue the cold war and the arms drive.

But times have changed. Communism, no longer a bogey to the peace-loving people, is increasingly winning their sympathies, whereas the forces of fascism and war encounter the growing opposition of the masses,

Condemning the German militarists for their attack on the peace-loving forces, the public all

over the world is demanding that they stop persecuting the peace fighters and that the charge against the seven be dismissed.

The peace forces are legion. And those who victimize any of their number are likely to find themselves in complete isolation.

Mistakes or Falsification?

WHOM the revisionists and their writings serve is no secret. We could, of course, ignore their platitudes. But just to re-affirm their fidelity to their bourgeois and reformist teachers, we shall dwell on some of their pronouncements about the relations between the socialist world and the underdeveloped countries.

We have before us an article by Nikola Kern, "Africa After the Monrovia Conference," published in the Yugoslav Journal *Nasa stvarnost* (No. 9, 1959). "... The African Continent," it says, "is becoming the arena in which the struggle of the peoples for independence on one hand, and the sharpening contest between the Eastern and Western blocs to establish and extend their domination, on the other, are increasingly manifest."

It is clear from this that Kern sees no difference (or professes to see none) between the socialist and imperialist countries. He places them on one plane and ascribes to the state of the working people the ugly features of the bourgeois state. But revisionists go further. They even see a menace to the economically backward countries in the improvement in Soviet-American relations. "This tendency" (i.e., the thaw in Soviet-American relations.—A.C.), Gerga writes in *Borba*, "is accompanied by another tendency in the policy of the Big Two (the USSR and the USA—A.C.) to monopolize world policy and settle world problems without the many regions and countries, for which these problems are often a matter of vital concern, having any say in the matter . . . This is reminiscent, in large measure, of the striving of the Big Powers in the past to divide the world into spheres of interest and zones of influence." The same note was struck by D. Vucinic and J. Smola at the Belgrade Anti-Colonial Conference in December 1959.

The "revelations" of Kern and Gerga, which it would be difficult to describe as the products of conscientious theoretical research, are in glaring contradiction with the facts.

Where do the authors perceive evidence of the "struggle" of the USSR and the other socialist countries "to establish and extend their domination?" Perhaps in the fact that they co-operate with the underdeveloped countries in the economic sphere? But the revisionist theorists should be well aware that both the principles underlying the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the forms of their co-operation with the economically

backward countries rule out any thought of establishing "domination" or of dividing the world into "spheres of influence." The socialist countries are not in need of spheres of investment. Unlike the imperialist countries they are not interested in exploiting and enslaving other peoples. They see their international duty in helping the underdeveloped countries to abolish their poverty and backwardness and thereby strengthen their political independence. They give these countries considerable financial aid, help them build a national industry and readily share their experience and know-how with them. They demand neither shares nor profits, nor do they ask for the right to participate in running enterprises—usual provisions in the agreements between the underdeveloped countries and the monopolies and state agencies of the imperialist powers. The socialist countries give this aid on favorable terms. Suffice it to recall that the USSR grants loans at an interest rate of 2.5 per cent per annum, whereas the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development charges 4.5 per cent, and private capitalist creditors even more.

Or perhaps the aid rendered by the socialist countries has political strings attached, similar to the conditions which the USA frequently imposes on the underdeveloped countries—stationing foreign troops, setting up bases, "favorable conditions" for capital investment and so on—i.e., conditions which are detrimental to the sovereignty of any state? Certainly not. The evidence of the recipients of this aid leaves no doubt on this score. Speaking of Soviet credits, President Sukarno declared that these were granted to Indonesia "without any strings." At the public ceremony held on January 9 at the Aswan High Dam site, President Nasser said: "Celebrating this event today, our thoughts are above all with the country which has agreed to help us in this undertaking by granting us credits and technical aid. That country is the Soviet Union whose loan and offer of technical aid in building the first stage were motivated solely by the feeling of friendship which links the Arab nation with the Soviet Union. This aid has no strings attached and is given without any reservations." Dr. Sahib Singh Sokhey, a prominent fighter for peace, said recently that viewed from all angles the economic aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the underdeveloped nations was genuine, aimed at developing the industry and resources of these

nations and ensuring their economic independence, and that neither India nor any other country was able to obtain economic aid of this kind from the capitalist countries.

The conjectures of the revisionist "theorists" do not differ essentially from the stereotyped imperialist propaganda about "red imperialism" or "secret Kremlin plots," spread for the purpose of sowing among the economically backward peoples mistrust of the socialist countries and of weakening the unity of the peace-loving nations. The revisionists moreover go even further than some of the bourgeois authors in slandering the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Prof. Berliner of Syracuse University (N.Y.) has

*J. Berliner, *Soviet Economic Aid*. Published for the Council of Foreign Relations. Praeger, New York, 1958, 232 pp.

written a book about the economic relations between the socialist and underdeveloped countries.* This work cannot be regarded as objective and it makes malicious attacks on socialism. But confronted by the facts the author had to acknowledge that "Soviet aid has not been used so far as a weapon for securing political gains" (p. 166). The professor, who makes no claim to being a Communist, should feel embarrassed—he looks too "red" against the background of Kern and Gerga.

The situation is entertaining, but instructive. Those who plume themselves on not belonging to any of the "camps" descend, in reality, to the camp of the ideological enemies of the forces fighting to emancipate the peoples from the imperialist yoke and to bring about a relaxation in international tension.

A. COATS

Apostles of Cold War

IDEOLOGY and Coexistence is the title of a booklet now being mailed in millions of copies to residents in the countries of Northern Europe on behalf of Moral Rearmament (MRA), an organization founded in the 'twenties by a certain Frank Buchman, an American by origin and a preacher by vocation. Its center is in the United States. Its aim, it would appear, is purely Christian—to establish a world association for the defense of four standards of behavior: "absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love of . . . the Lord." In point of fact, however, MRA, which is financed and supported by big capital and international reaction, is engaged in an anti-communist struggle, in "brain-washing" the gullible. It is a disruptive element in the trade unions and seeks to subvert the ranks of the working class fighting for peace, democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries. MRA usually resorts to the method of slander and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. No wonder, therefore, that it became notorious as an active accomplice of the Hitler fascists, a bitter enemy of détente and an advocate of misanthropic ideology.

Of late MRA has developed considerable activity in the Nordic countries. It is said that from 1-2 million kronor and about 50 million marks have been spent on its publications in Sweden and Finland respectively.

What do these apostles of "Christian humility" preach? The MRA booklet is, so to say, a "manifesto" which opens with the declaration: "We are in a state of war! The third world war has begun!" After this introduction the champions of "global ideology" unhesitatingly assert that trade with

the socialist countries, recognition of People's China, destruction of nuclear weapons and belief in peaceful coexistence, the visits of Soviet leaders to other countries, are mortally dangerous to the Western world. "He who collaborates with Communists," they say, "forgets that a war to the knife is being waged."

The advocates of "cold" and "hot" war draw vile fabrications from the old arsenal of Goebbels. They accuse the Communists of all the deadly sins, ascribing absurd statements to them and, as opportunity offers, unscrupulously falsify history. It turns out, for example, that 14 countries of the "free world" did not invade the young Soviet Republic in 1918, and, allegedly, "the Soviet state was already in 1918 harboring plans to conquer and enslave the free world." The Soviet Union, they say, is still a threat to the "free world." And only MRA can save this "unhappy world" which faces the alternative of either moral rearmament or communism. And so on ad lib from the first page to the last. The authors of the booklet have lost all sense of reality.

Not only the democratic, but also the capitalist press of the Nordic countries assailed the booklet and the activity of MRA, laying bare the reactionary, pro-fascist nature of this organization.

The Swedish liberal newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* hastened to turn away from an ally in the cold war such as MRA, declaring its "advertising matter" to be "nonsense." *Stockholmstidningen*, organ of the Central Trade Union Association, writes that "much of what is said in the booklet about communism is pure fantasy. In advocating global ideology MRA demands our souls and hearts,

otherwise we shall be branded as Communists or their fellow-travellers. Mussolini and Hitler used exactly the same methods." ". . . To support the nuclear arms race means, in the authors' view, to fight for life! And how can people who pose as Christians nurse such wild ideas?"

Denouncing the interference of MRA in the internal affairs of Sweden, *Ny Dag*, the Communist Party paper, stressed that this organization "opposes not only the general course of the foreign policy endorsed by the majority of the people and Parliament but also certain principles of the policy of steering clear of alliances. According to MRA an invitation to Khrushchov to visit our country is tantamount to opening the front to the enemy in time of war. The role played by MRA in the attacks on the People's Democracies, its opposition to any relaxation in world tensions and to international cooperation signify that this ill-starred organization has given itself away as an instrument of the reactionaries and advocates of the cold war." In an article entitled "MRA—New Fascism" *Folktidningen Ny Tid*, organ of the Democratic Youth League (Finland), notes that "MRA is a dangerous organization. Many ridicule the 'manifesto' or shrug it off. But an organization

which advocates cold war instead of peaceful co-existence, calls for an atomic arms drive instead of the banning of nuclear weapons, and instead of trade and cultural exchanges seeks to let down the iron and bamboo curtains which the capitalist world put round the socialist countries and which Khrushchov's vigorous peaceful offensive succeeded in breaking through — such an organization should be given more serious attention. MRA has come out, in fact, with the ideology propagated by the fascists and Nazis before the war." The Norwegian Students' League has issued a special statement emphasizing that MRA's activity is aimed against the "striving to lay the foundations of peace and coexistence."

Thus the people of the Nordic countries have shown what they think of the activity of MRA, exposing the real aims and nature of this organization. All decent people throughout the world see a clear and realizable aim before them — it is to rule out war for all time. And no hypocritical preachers from MRA or kindred organizations can stop the thaw which is now warming men's hearts.

L. G.

CORRECTION

In the January 1960 issue of *World Marxist Review*, line 9, para. 3, Column 1 of Page 26, should read: "that there is no reality apart from the spiritual."

NEW BOOKS

(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication; the titles here are given in English.)

- Advance of Socialist Industry in the Rumanian People's Republic.* Bucharest, Editura stiintifica, 1959, 599 pp.
- K. A. Baginyan. *The Soviet Union Against Agresion.* Moscow, The State Social and Economic Publishing House, 1959, 288 pp.
- M. Cornforth. *Philosophy for Socialists.* London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1959, 61 pp.
- The Cosmos.* Origin. Evolution. Exploration. Paris, 1959, 286 pp. ("Recherches internationales," Nos. 14-15).
- T. Polyakov, D. Davidov and I. Iliev. *The Economic Structure of Industry in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.* Sofia, Science and Art, 1959, 678 pp.
- F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue. *Correspondence.* Vol. 3. 1891-1895. Paris, 1959, 596 pp.
- From the History of the Rumanian Working Class.* Before the First World War. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1959, 540 pp.
- T. Koval. *The Competition Between the USSR and the USA in Agriculture.* Moscow, The State Agricultural Publishing House, 1959, 157 pp.
- G. Grozev. *The History of Bulgarian Philosophy.* Part II. Bulgarian philosophy after the liberation. Sofia, 1959, Science and Art, 322 pp.
- J. Lewis. *Science, Faith and Scepticism.* London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1959, 136 pp.
- Materials on the History of the International Communist and Working-Class Movement.* Sofia, the BCP Publishing House, 1959, 898 pp.
- Reformism, Revisionism and Problems of Contemporary Capitalism (A Symposium).* Moscow, The Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1959, 487 pp.
- M. Shestakov. *Lenin Against the Narodnik Idealist Sociology.* Second, revised and enlarged edition, Moscow, the State Social and Economic Publishing House, 1959, 218 pp.
- H. Sichrovsky. *India Dries Her Tears.* Ancient Country on a New Road. Vienna, Globus Verlag, 1959, 319 pp.
- Some Problems of Marxism-Leninism and Building Socialism in Poland—Study Aids.* Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1959, 252 pp.
- V. Skrlant and V. Pavlat. *Yugoslav Revisionism in the Political Economy of Socialism.* Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1959, 85 pp.
- Statistical Yearbook of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1959.* Prague, Ekonomicke edice, 1959, 550 pp.
- Statistical Yearbook of the Rumanian People's Republic, 1959.* Bucharest, Directia centrala de statistica, 1959, 375 pp.

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