

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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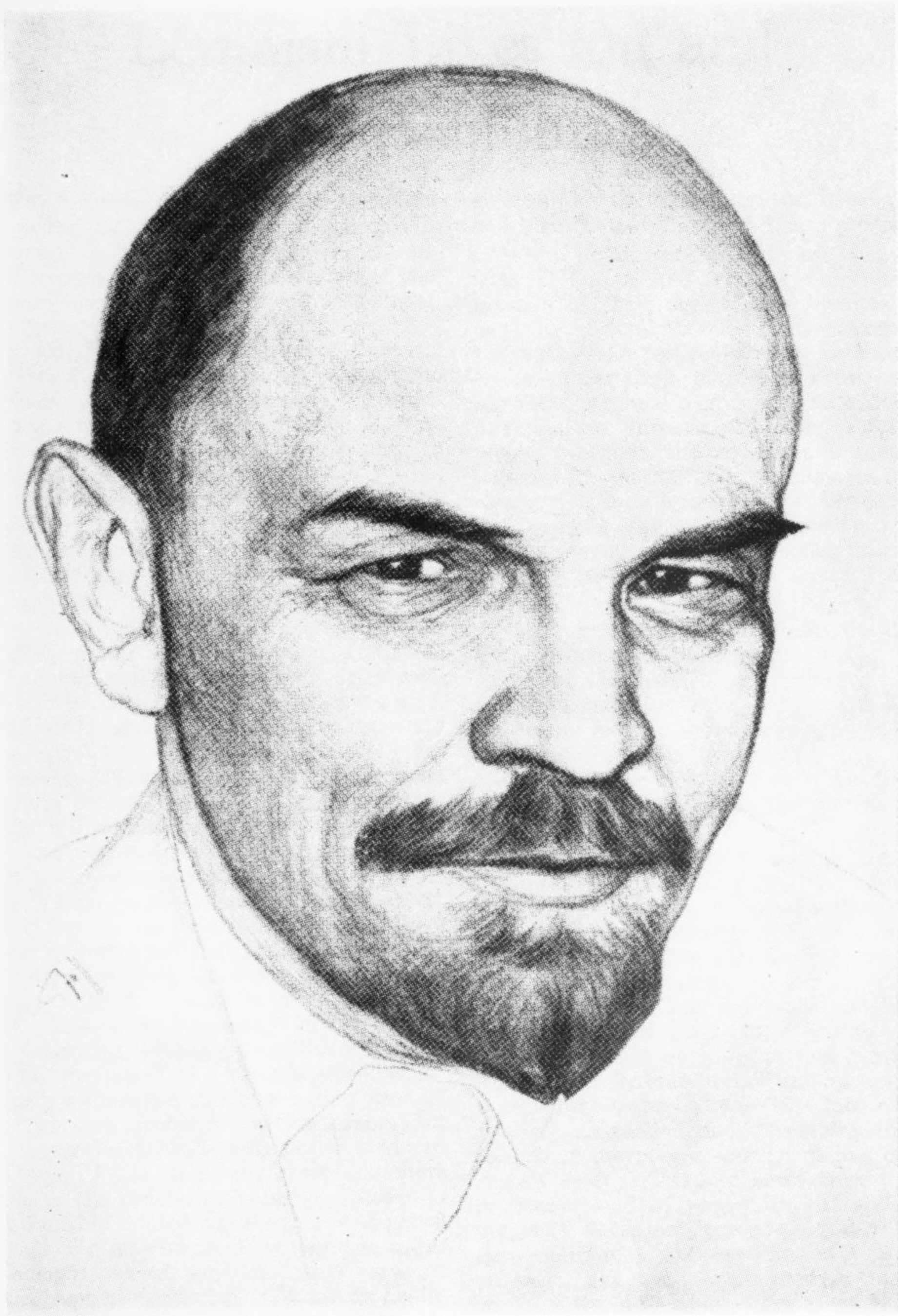
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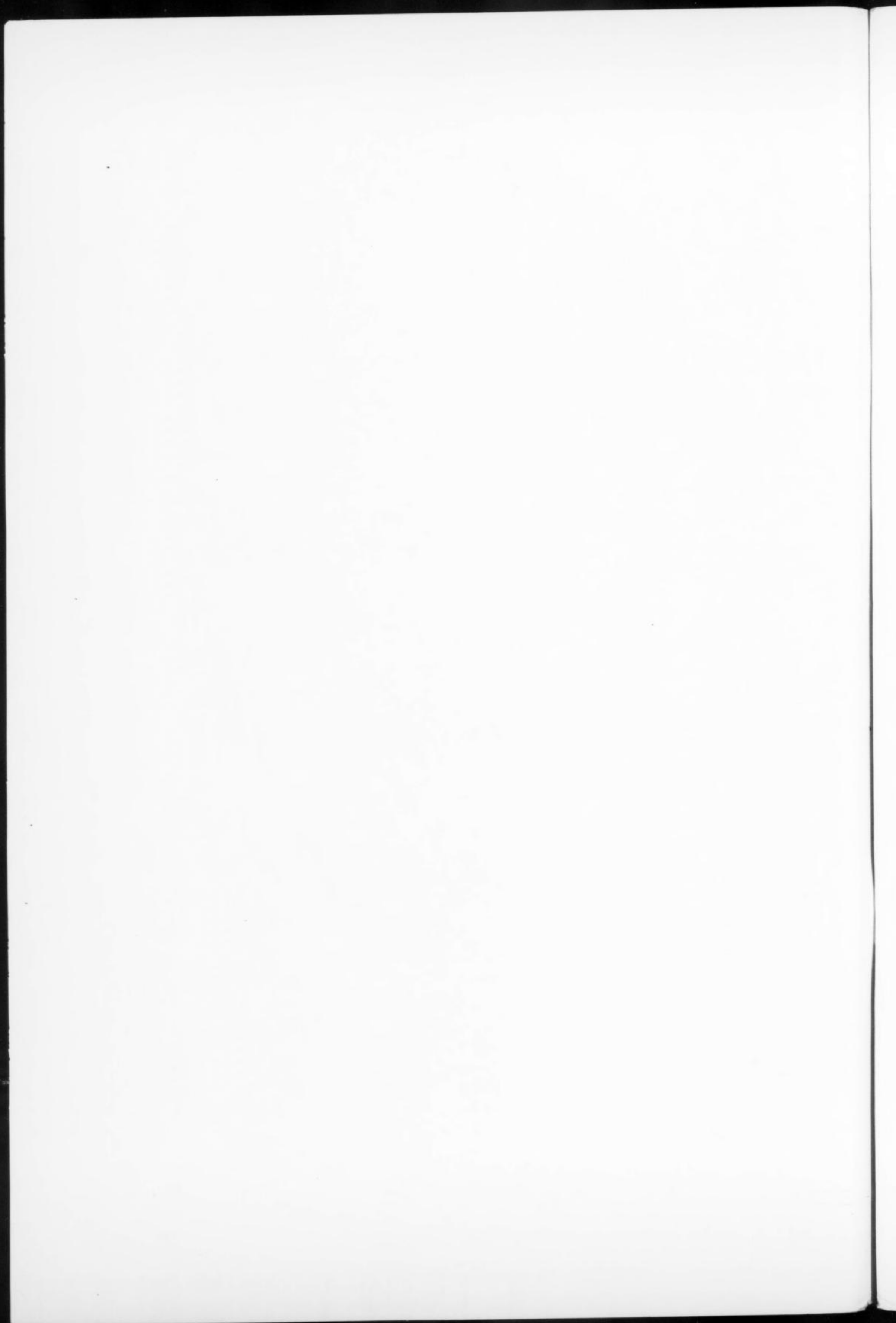
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Vladimir Lenin

I. ULYANOV (LENIN)



Leninism Lives On and Is Triumphant

NEVER before have questions pertaining to the social order agitated mankind so profoundly as now. Statesmen, theorists, political leaders—and indeed the masses of people everywhere—are preoccupied with them.

Historical action is thoroughgoing, and along with it, as the founders of Marxism foresaw, the number of people drawn into it grows. And now, when great historical changes are taking place in the world, hundreds of millions of people are joining in active political life. They want to know what path the future will take—that of peace and progress or that of new wars, economic crises and catastrophies. And when they know they will decide their destiny for themselves.

Seeing that the ground is slipping from under the feet of capitalism, its ideologists are dinning into the masses that capitalism is changing, that by virtue of “social partnership” it is becoming new, “people’s capitalism” which will allegedly bring to the world peace and progress, “universal welfare” and “prosperity.” But subtle though they are, and tenacious though their hold is on the working people in their spiritual captivity, the theories of the advocates of monopoly capitalism lose color when confronted with reality. The vast mass of the people in the capitalist world lives in fear of the morrow, bears the burden of soaring prices and high taxes, suffers from unemployment and political discrimination and is under the threat of a nuclear holocaust. And with increasing frequency we hear bourgeois propagandists call capitalist society “the world of a thousand problems.” Ordinary people are calling for a solution of the “grievous problems” of capitalism but the bourgeois ideologists cannot provide it. The logic of life is driving more and more people to the conclusion that the solution is to be found in the ideas of the man who paved the way to a new world. *That world is called the socialist world, and the man’s name is Lenin. The heritage he left is known as Leninism—the living teaching which the Communists are developing.*

The socialist world is the embodiment of the ideas of Leninism.

“. . . Socialism contains in itself gigantic forces,” Lenin wrote, “. . . mankind has now

entered into a new stage of development which has extraordinarily brilliant prospects.”

Over a billion people in the socialist countries of Europe and Asia have become the masters of their destiny, the builders of a new life. By taking the path indicated by Lenin they have forever freed themselves from crises, uncertainty of the morrow, unemployment, national oppression and other evils of capitalism. When in 1931 millions of unemployed were on the roads of Europe and America in search of jobs, unemployment had disappeared for all time from the life of Soviet people. Still less time was needed by the other socialist countries to abolish unemployment which in the past had been a frequent scourge.

The nature and aim of social production have changed in the socialist world. Lenin conceived socialism to be a “planned organization of social production for ensuring the well-being and all-round development of all members of society.” A society of this kind is today a living reality and in it all material and spiritual values are in the service of the working man.

Bourgeois theorists are making strenuous but futile efforts to prove that “private interest” is the main spur to social progress, that without free enterprise there would be a kingdom of universal idleness, and the conditions under which the human intellect can develop would disappear. Life has made nonsense of these prophecies. Socialism, it is true, rejects the competition inherent in private ownership. But it assuredly does not kill emulation, which it considers to be an important factor in expanding production and developing the initiative of the people. Socialism has created such a personal interest in advancing social production and culture as did not and could not exist under any preceding system. Relations of friendly co-operation and mutual assistance have been established in the new world, a world in which there is no exploitation. The consciousness of people, their high moral qualities, their unity and solid support of the Communist and Workers’ parties have become a tremendous motive force of society. New moral standards are being established and a new man is developing—the man of

communist society, the vehicle of lofty humanist ideals.

Socialism has released and set in motion the colossal forces dormant in human society. Are not the unprecedented rates of the economic advance of the socialist countries amazing the world? Is it fortuitous that it was the socialist, and not the capitalist world which was the first to utilize atomic energy for peaceful purposes and to break through into outer space? Is it not significant that bourgeois scientists are pondering over the problem of catching up with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in some of the basic branches of science and technology and in the training of specialists?

Was it so long ago that shortsighted Western politicians and economists ridiculed the economic plans of the socialist countries and treated their first achievements with contempt? Today, even these gentlemen admit that the young states, whose productive forces have been freed from the fetters of outdated production relations, have made great advances in their economic and cultural development and in improving the life of the people. Between 1956-59 industrial production in the Soviet Union grew four times as fast as in the United States. The socialist world now manufactures as many industrial goods per head of population as the capitalist world as a whole. The time is not far distant when it will be producing more than half of the world's industrial output and outstrip capitalism on all counts. The Soviet seven-year plan approved by the 21st Congress of the CPSU opens up breath-taking prospects. This plan is a great stride towards creating the material-technical base of communism.

"Fanciful prophecy is a fairy-tale. But scientific prophecy is a fact," said Lenin. His words that productive forces would flourish under socialism, that in a socialist society human genius, science, and technology would only serve the people and would never be used against them, have come true.

But socialism is only on the threshold of a new, wonderful era in human society. Planned economic expansion, scientific and technological progress, the growing well-being of the people, the steady rise of their cultural level and the all-round development of socialist democracy guarantee the rapid advance of socialism, the course of which cannot be reversed. There is no marking time under socialism, no tendency to rest on one's laurels. Socialism is an irresistible forward

movement in the interests of society as a whole.

The socialist world system is the embodiment of the all-conquering theory and practice of Leninism, and the socialist countries are a model of the genuine fraternity of free and equal nations rendering disinterested aid to each other. But the community of socialist aims does not imply something uniform or stereotyped. Leninism demands that the specific conditions and peculiarities of development obtaining in each country be taken into account. Every nation makes its own contribution to the treasure house of socialist construction.

Leninism, as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the revolutions engendered by it, the epoch of building socialism and communism, has become the banner of the progressive forces. Lenin's theory of imperialism expounded the laws of development of capitalist society at the present stage, laid bare the antagonisms between monopoly capital and the masses, and illumined the path to emancipation for all people oppressed by the monopolies. Leninism has found its way to all parts of the world.

There is no ideology with greater power of attraction for mankind than Leninism, as is revealed by the triumph of Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social and political systems. There is not today an idea more popular, nor one which has so wholly captured the minds of millions of people as the idea of peaceful coexistence.

There are no motives for military expansion in socialist society. The socialist system rules out war as a means of settling international issues. One of the first decrees of Soviet power was the Decree on Peace drawn up by Lenin. Since that time the Soviet Union and, later, the other socialist countries, have consistently pursued the Leninist peace policy. It is not the fault of the builders of a new society that they have more than once been forced to take to arms: they had to safeguard their peaceful labor from aggression. Socialism invariably triumphed and, relying on its economic strength, did, and continues to do everything in its power to banish war from the life of the people for all time.

The USSR—the mightiest military power—together with the other socialist countries and all progressive forces, is working for an immediate cessation of nuclear tests and for total disarmament. This is not for the

benefit of one country or a group of countries—it opens to all nations the path towards lasting peace and economic advance. The Supreme Soviet's decision on a further considerable cut in the Soviet armed forces has been dictated by the spirit of humanism.

The fact that the ultra-reactionary imperialist groups are bent on war is an indication of the weakness and not the strength of capitalism, of its inability to ensure the all-round progress of society. The socialist countries' efforts for peace are an indication of their internal strength, their inexhaustible possibilities for the development of social production in the interests of the people.

Peaceful coexistence is not only possible, but has become an objective necessity and an imperative need. The masses now have a more important say in matters concerning peace and war. The peace policy consistently pursued by the socialist countries is winning more and more people, and the bourgeois rulers cannot fail to take this into account. The solution by the peoples of the question of war and peace, Lenin said, is the most important manifestation of democracy.

The Marxist-Leninist world outlook reflects the idea of the leading role of the working class. Leninism is inseparable from the working class, the most progressive and militant class in our society. In the new conditions Lenin developed Marx's teaching on the historic mission of the working class—to unite under its leadership all oppressed and exploited people and to build a new, classless society. As a result of the socialist revolution carried out in Russia under the leadership of Lenin and the Communist Party, the hegemony of the working class has for the first time taken the form of management of the state. Today the Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries are the vanguard of the working class. The Communists consider it to be their prime duty to uphold the interests of the people, to organize them, to raise their consciousness and political activity and to rally the vast masses around the working class. The working people respond by placing greater trust in the Communists. And it cannot be otherwise, for Lenin and the Leninists were imbued with the finest qualities of the working class.

"All that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat," stated the appeal of the Central Committee of the Party founded by Lenin, "the fearless mind, the inflexible iron will which surmounts all obstacles, the undying hatred of

slavery and oppression, the revolutionary zeal which moves mountains, the infinite faith in the creative powers of the people and the great organizational ability — all this was embodied in Lenin whose name has become from West to East and from South to North the symbol of the new world."

Lenin's ideas are penetrating more and more deeply into the democratic movements of our days—the people's struggle against monopoly domination, the movements launched by peasants, non-proletarian sections of the urban working people, women and youth, and progressive intellectuals. The struggle for socialism is developing hand in hand with the broad movement for the extension and regeneration of democracy. The Communists regard the struggle for democracy as their vital concern; they are showing their initiative in democratic undertakings and enriching them with their experience. "He who forgets his obligation to be *ahead of the masses* in bringing up, sharpening and solving every general democratic problem," said Lenin, is not a member of the Marxist party.

Lenin's ideas on the independent development of all nations find confirmation in the disintegration of the colonial system under the crushing blows of the national-liberation movement. The majority of Asian countries have freed themselves from colonial and semi-colonial dependence. Among them are People's China which has taken the path of socialist development, India, Indonesia, Burma, Iraq, Ceylon. The colonial system is disintegrating in Africa where the liberation struggle is at its height and where a number of peoples have won political independence. The Algerian people are fighting valiantly against the French colonialists. A powerful national-liberation movement has arisen in Latin-America. Revolution broke out in Cuba; the militarist dictatorship was overthrown in Venezuela; a broad movement against dictatorships is gaining momentum. How contemptible in the light of current developments are the colonialists' assertions about the "inferiority of backward peoples," about their "not being fit" for self-government! What profound faith in the people and their inexhaustible strength is revealed in Lenin's words to the effect that it was inevitable that the peoples of the East would awake and step out on the path of independent development and would themselves make history.

These peoples feel the beneficial effects of the growth of the socialist world system.

They see from their own experience that the socialist countries are helping to consolidate political independence and to develop the economy and culture of all peoples marching along the path of independent development. And this is not "clever communist tactics," as the imperialist ideologists allege, but a principled position of the socialist states, a stand stemming from Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist formula: "A people which oppresses another cannot itself be free," is well known. It has now been enriched by a new theoretical generalization: "A free people cannot but desire freedom for all other peoples" (N. S. Khrushchov). This principle determines the policy of the great family of the free socialist nations.

Lenin's idea are being brought to the people by the valiant fighters for Leninism, by the multi-millioned army of Communists of all countries. The Marxist-Leninist Party is the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch. The international communist movement, despite the tremendous difficulties it has to overcome, is growing and gaining in strength from year to year. There were only 250,000 or so Communists in the world in 1917, whereas now there are 33 million. This is a great force and one that the combined might of imperialist reaction cannot crush.

The strength of the Communist and Workers' parties is not to be measured by membership alone but, in the main, by their ability to enlist the masses in the struggle against reaction, fascism and war, and for a better future. Millions of people have voted for the Communist parties in Italy, France, India and Indonesia in recent years. To consider this merely an electoral success would be to take a short view of things, for it shows where and along what lines the working people are searching for a solution to their problems. And when they find it they follow the Leninists.

The victories of Leninism are causing dismay among the reactionaries. Meeting with failure after failure in their attempt to refute Leninism, they are asking: why is this teaching invincible, where does its strength lie?

The "secret" of the viability of Leninism is to be sought in the fact that this great teaching reflects the basic needs of our epoch and objectively conforms to the vital interests of the working people. It can be said that it is life itself, the living tissue of modern human history.

To use the words of a poet, Lenin "saw that which was wrapped in the shroud of time," and the concepts and slogans he put before the masses were profoundly scientific yet crystal clear and simple. No wonder an old worker, when asked what he remembered most about Lenin, answered: "His simplicity. He was as simple as truth itself."

The transition from capitalism which has outlived its day to socialism is the profound truth of our epoch. And Lenin, more so than anyone else, was able to discern it because "like the needle of a compass his thinking always turned in the direction of the class interests of the working people" (M. Gorky).

The salient feature of Leninism is its creative spirit. Both theoretically and in practice Leninism has led mankind to its future. It has equipped the champions of progress with the invaluable instrument of scientific foresight, a "telescope of time," through which one can anticipate events, see the zigzags and turns of social development and choose the most correct paths leading to a new social system. By safeguarding the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and combating revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, the Marxist-Leninist parties help the working people to break away from bourgeois influence and to abandon the barren ideology propagated by the ruling class in its attempt to divert the masses to the wrong path.

Leninism is as eternal as life. It is humanism in its supreme form. Just as history is unthinkable without development and society without a future, so the modern world is unthinkable without Leninism—it is its hope and its strength. And that is why April 22, the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, is a red-letter day for all progressive people, the symbol of a happy future, a future in which mankind's lofty ideals will triumph.

Perspectives of Development of Modern Monopoly Capital*

Otto Kuusinen

WHAT is it possible to say now, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, about the outlook for modern capitalism and the trends of its development?

Marxism-Leninism does not approach this question in a dogmatic way. It does not close its eyes to the changes that are taking place in the capitalist system. But when the latter-day revisionists, the Right-wing Social Democrats and the other masked apologists of capitalism try to interpret these developments in the sense that capitalism is no longer the "same" capitalism, but some kind of a "blend" with socialism, or some kind of hitherto unknown system evolving into socialism—we, Marxist-Leninists, firmly reply to them: "Lay off gentlemen tricksters, capitalism is capitalism and will remain so until the socialist revolution takes place." Until such time as political power is taken over from the capitalist class by the working class Marx's basic theses on the essence of the capitalist system of exploitation will retain their full force.

However this fundamental provision does not prevent us from considering the changes that have occurred in modern capitalism as compared with the capitalism of the last century. At the turn of the century, capitalism entered upon the imperialist stage of its development. Lenin, elaborating Marx's teaching, created a comprehensive theory of this new stage of capitalism—the stage of monopoly capitalism—which has been confirmed by the entire course of history.

During the First World War there were signs that monopoly capitalism was assuming new forms: monopoly power was merging with that of the state, with the state being subordinated to the stronger monopolies. Although these were only the first signs of state-monopoly capitalism Lenin, as early as 1917,

extended his definition of imperialism, stressing that, in addition to being the epoch of giant monopolies it was also "*. . . the era of the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. . . .*" (My italics—O.K.)

That which Lenin predicted has come to pass in one form or another in all countries of monopoly capital. And you, the representatives of the German working class, were first to make the acquaintance of state-monopoly capitalism, and have had every opportunity to become convinced that it is devoid of any progressive tinges whatever; and certainly lacks the slightest admixture of socialism. I have in mind the socio-economic system which held sway under Hitler.

At that time, as you know, the fusion of the power of the financial oligarchy with state power reached its peak in Germany. Every big capitalist was the authorized representative of state power in his enterprise. Government bodies, which included men of big business, ran entire branches of the economy. The state became an instrument for the further centralization of capital. Legislation which incorporated all the small joint-stock companies into the large concerns was enacted. The fascist state savagely assailed the working people, destroying the trade unions and the political parties of the working class. State-monopoly capitalism revealed its repulsive predatory nature, revealed the depths to which it sinks when the working people are unable to curb its greed.

The Second World War accelerated the evolution of monopoly capitalism towards state-monopoly capitalism, confirming that this was the main trend in all imperialist countries.

This, of course, does not mean that state-monopoly capitalism always assumes the forms that it did in Hitler Germany. It should be borne in mind also that in no country can state-monopoly capitalism ever encompass and reshape all branches of the economy. Side

*Abridged report of Otto Kuusinen, member of the Presidium and Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, delivered at the request of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the theoretical conference held in Berlin early this year.

by side with state-monopoly capitalism and monopolies in general we find non-monopoly, medium-sized and small enterprises; the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie also remains to a greater or lesser degree. But the growth of state-monopoly capitalism is a new and important feature of modern capitalism and, for this reason, merits special study.

Why has state-monopoly capitalism developed to such a degree over the past few decades? The answer is that big concerns find state-monopoly capitalism to be the most effective way of plundering society, of plundering all the people. But this is not the only reason. Another, and no less important reason is that this state-monopoly capitalism is seen as the sole means of shoring up the crumbling pillars of the monopolies. Initially it was regarded as a sort of "emergency measure," resorted to only during wartime or during a grave economic or political crisis, a measure which was abandoned the moment the "emergency" had passed. At present, the imperialist bourgeoisie can no longer maintain its domination without state-monopoly capitalism even during relatively normal periods. This is due to the aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system, to the growing disintegration of capitalism and weakening of its internal forces — economic, political and ideological.

By means of state-monopoly capitalism the imperialist bourgeoisie seeks to halt the process of internal disintegration and to prolong its domination. Hence, in posing the question of the perspectives of capitalism as a system, we should first of all determine what state-monopoly capitalism can do for the capitalist system, and how lasting the shoring up is likely to be.

In reply to this question we can say with certainty that the basic contradictions of capitalism cannot be solved in this way because in the final analysis state-monopoly capitalism can only aggravate them.

And here we come up against an irrefutable fact: the development of the productive forces and the social character of production insistently call for the abolition of private ownership (the private form of appropriation) and its replacement by public ownership. State-monopoly capitalism is not in a position to meet this objective demand of the development of society. What is more, it signifies a still greater concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few monopolies which, having subordinated the

state to their interests, use it for the purpose of amassing profits; resort is had even to such a dangerous gamble as militarization of the economy with a view to effecting a redistribution of the national income in their favor. We have, then, every reason for talking not about an attenuation of the basic contradiction of capitalism—between social production and private appropriation of the products of labor—but about its accentuation.

Thus real life gives no grounds for the claim that state-monopoly capitalism is some kind of outside-class or above-class society in which everyone—beginning with the Krupps and Rockefellers and ending with the last of the unemployed workers—has his fair share of worldly wealth. And yet it is this false note that is struck by the multi-voiced chorus of avowed and secret apologists of capitalism.

In reality the new trends in capitalist society, especially under state-monopoly capitalism, lead not to attenuation of the class contradictions and the class struggle but to their accentuation.

Let us dwell on this in greater detail.

At the bedrock of class contradictions we see the vital economic interests of the different classes. Experience has shown that with the development of capitalism class antagonisms become aggravated. This is particularly true of the contradiction between the main classes in capitalist society—the working class and the ruling bourgeoisie.

With the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the growing concentration of capital in the hands of a small group of monopolies, the exploitation of the working class grows and its conditions become worse. This is reflected in an unprecedented intensification of labor and a higher accident and sickness rate because of strain, accelerated exhaustion of the worker and a shorter span of capacity for work.

The wage increases won over the last few decades in a number of capitalist countries have been nullified by inflation, higher taxes and rent. This process is typical of state-monopoly capitalism, because taxation and inflation are instruments in the hands of the state for redistributing the national income in favor of the monopolies. There is, then, every reason for believing that the further development of capitalism along state-monopoly lines instead of halting this process will accelerate it.

We should also bear in mind that under capitalism wages tend to lag behind the value

of labor power, which, as is known, is determined by the means needed to reproduce it and to maintain the family of the worker. And this expenditure is constantly growing. Why?

First, because of the intensification of labor. The harder the worker works, the more he has to spend on restoring his energy, health treatment, etc.

Second, because of the changes in the requirements of the worker and his family. For instance, the expansion of urban areas has added another item to the family budget—bus and rail fares. And while wives and mothers who got out to work add somewhat to the family income, extra expenditure is entailed because of the need to buy household appliances, processed foods and by eating away from home. The requirements of modern industry for better trained employees make education of the children an extra burden for the parents.

Figures supply the proof. In the United States, for instance, the average wage of a worker in the manufacturing industry was 19 per cent below the subsistence minimum in 1944 for a family of four and 29 per cent in 1958. In West Germany the 1955 subsistence minimum for a family of four was DM 445, yet 70 per cent of the workers earned less than this sum.

The tendency under capitalism for wages to lag behind the rising value of labor power will, undoubtedly, continue in the future.

And we can add that the working class in the countries of monopoly capital will continue to be plagued by *mass unemployment*. Technological progress in these countries engenders chronic unemployment not only during crises but also in periods of normalcy. This state of affairs is often described as "technological unemployment," which is utterly wrong, because this unemployment is a social evil for which technology cannot be blamed. Technological progress is accompanied by such evils only when it is used by exploiters for making profits. Under socialism scientific and technological progress improves the conditions of the workers; it is used for the purpose of creating abundance, for reducing working hours without cutting wages, etc.

This proves the point that the *tendency towards worse conditions for the working class*, characteristic of capitalism, will continue to operate with the same ruthlessness as heretofore.

It is true that in some capitalist countries the workers, or at any rate some sections of the working class, have succeeded in improving their conditions over the past 10-15 years. But this was made possible not because capitalism has in any way changed, but because the workers have learned to fight more effectively and also because their struggle has been favored by the new set-up in the world, the result of progress made by the socialist countries. And these factors, too, will continue to operate in the future. But as you are well aware, they hardly testify to the onset of an era of "harmony" of interests of labor and capital, of an era of "class peace." On the contrary, they are manifestations of growing contradictions and rising class struggle.

* * *

That is how matters stand with the working class.

But capitalism as it grows older becomes less acceptable to other classes and sections of society, too.

The *peasants*. Even in those countries where there are no great survivals of feudalism the peasants feel the oppression of the monopolists who are deliberately ruining and ousting them not only through competitive struggle but also through the use of the state machine which does their bidding. Judge for yourselves—in the years 1949-58 over 200,000 West German peasant families left the land. In the United States the number of farms decreased between 1940 and 1954 by 1,315,000.

Big segments of the *urban petty bourgeoisie*—handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, etc.—are in a similar plight. Small businessmen often cling to a make-believe independence only because they nourish the vain hope that one day the sun will shine down their street. They cling in desperation to their tiny workshops or stores because under capitalism it is not easy to find employment in factory or office. The small and even the medium-sized capitalists are likewise affected by the yoke of the monopolists and their manipulation of the state machine.

The majority of the office workers, too, are losing their one-time privileged position. Whereas in 1890 the average salary of the office worker in the United States was nearly double the average wage of the factory worker, by 1920 the difference had been reduced to 65 per cent. And by 1952 the office worker's salary was only 96 per cent of the average wage of the worker. In many capitalist countries school-teachers, researchers and

workers of other professions are poorly remunerated for their labor.

For the *intellectuals* the loss of their former independence is a painful experience. The so-called "free professions" are, in growing measure, becoming less free, because more and more of their members are being switched from salaried employment to wages, that is, they are joining the ranks of those directly exploited by the capitalists. This is leading not only to restricting the freedom of the professional workers who are forced to serve the selfish interests of the monopolists, but also to the tightening of political thought control.

Thus alongside the basic class contradiction in capitalist society—between capitalists and workers—we see ever-growing contradictions between all other sections of the community, on the one hand, and the handful of monopolies which by their manipulation of the state machinery plunder society as a whole, on the other.

These contradictions are exacerbated by the fact that, in addition to economic oppression, the imperialist bourgeoisie generates grave political worries as manifested in the threat of war, the growth of reaction and the danger of fascism.

We are, then, fully justified in drawing the conclusion that capitalism cannot but engender the objective conditions for the further sharpening and extension of class struggle.

True, history teaches that the appearance of these conditions does not automatically lead to intensified struggle by the exploited against their exploiters. As we know, the working-class movement, like the resistance of the other sections to the monopolies, develops unevenly and, quite often, tails behind the urgent class tasks of the working class and all other sections of the working people. The main reason for this is the intensified political pressure exerted by the monopolies which, on a growing scale, use the state machine to crush the working-class movement. So far the ruling capitalist class, supported by the Right-wing Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders, has managed in many countries to split the working-class movement, sow discord between the various detachments of the working class and, by doing so, divert them from the struggle for socialism. In all the highly developed capitalist countries the monopolies have established a system of control over trade union activity and compulsory regulation of labor relations. They resort more and more to such methods

of combating the workers as black lists, factory police, etc. Often, even in those countries where bourgeois democracy has not been officially proscribed, the act of going on strike is a feat calling for self-sacrifice and heroism.

But no matter what action the monopoly bourgeoisie takes it cannot get rid of the original cause of the class struggle—the antagonism between labor and capital—nor of the struggle itself. The months' long strike of the U.S. steel workers and the struggle of the Ruhr miners are proof of this. And even in the countries where the monopoly rule of terror and violence for the time being makes open manifestations of the class struggle impossible, it merely drives the class hatred of the workers deeper, and this, as experience teaches, results in the accumulation of highly inflammable material which one fine day is likely to lead to an explosion of terrific force.

There can be no doubt that in the future the workers and other oppressed sections will confront the capitalist monopolies with much more effective and powerful resistance. Perhaps, in drawing this conclusion we Communists are indulging in wishful thinking? No. That is not the case. Our arguments are well founded.

First, we know that as capitalism develops the masses will be forced, increasingly, to fight monopoly oppression, and from this fight the working people will gain political experience.

Second, we know that this struggle will be stimulated by the progress made by the socialist world, by its continued success in peaceful competition with the capitalist world. So long as capitalism was the only system in the world it was fairly easy for the capitalists to hoodwink the working people, to attribute their hardships to the "law" of overpopulation, to human nature and even to the "sinfulness" of people. And it is clear that the man who swallowed these absurdities instead of resisting his oppressors and fighting for a better life confessed his sins to the priest or deplored the lack of responsibility on the part of those who brought people like him into the world.

But when socialism took its place in the world alongside capitalism, the situation changed. Millions of people all over the world are now watching what this new social system will give to the common man. And the greater the achievements of the socialist countries, the greater will be the anti-capi-

talist character of the discontent of the people in the imperialist countries.

It is true that for some time socialism was not in a position fully to demonstrate its advantages as a social system. The bourgeoisie could, for instance, speculate on the comparison between the living standards in, say, the recently semi-feudal China and in the United States, or between Sweden, which has not experienced war since the time of Napoleon, and war-ravaged Poland. But the day is not far off when such speculation, designed for the innocent, will no longer produce the desired effect.

By the end of the Seven-Year Plan period (1965) the working people of the Soviet Union will be enjoying the shortest working day and working week in the world. And with the passage of a few more years they will have the highest standard of living in the world. The People's Democracies, too, will not lag far behind in this respect. At its last Congress the Socialist Unity Party proclaimed the task of overtaking and outstripping West Germany in per capita consumption of the basic goods within the next few years. This task will no doubt be accomplished. In the process of building socialism and communism the socialist countries will make sweeping progress in cultural development, in science, in developing socialist democracy, in humane, truly communist relations between people, in ridding their lives and minds of the last survivals of capitalism.

This progress will convincingly show the working people of the capitalist countries the road to well-being, a free, happy and cultured life really worthy of man—nature's supreme creation.

* * *

The changes taking place in the world in addition to whetting the appetite of broad sections for socialism are also opening up new ways and possibilities for transition from capitalism to socialism.

To distinguish in good time these ways, to take into account these possibilities—this is the vital task of the working-class parties which, not simply in word but in deed, are fighting for socialism. In this respect Marxism-Leninism has made remarkable progress in the past few years. In a number of countries the Marxist-Leninists have sought to generalize the new features of the *general democratic movements* of the day and their

relation to the struggle for socialism. These problems are the subject of the book *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism* which will soon appear in German, French and English. For this reason I will not dwell on them at any great length.

The present phase of capitalism has engendered a variety of democratic movements. As distinguished from the democratic movements of the past, the new movements are spearheaded not only against feudalism but also against the capitalist monopolies. The list would include the peace movement, the movement for national independence and sovereignty, and the struggle against reaction and fascism, in defense of political democracy. The list would include also the humanist movements of the intellectuals, their actions in defense of culture, the struggle for the nationalization of capitalist monopolies in the interests of the working people, the fight to extend the rights of women and the youth as well as other popular demands necessitated by the conditions of monopoly rule.

These demands, clearly, are not socialist demands, they are democratic in character. But it would be incorrect to classify them as bourgeois-democratic demands, because they are spearheaded against the ruling groups of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois democracy is no longer able to satisfy these demands. For this a democracy of a new type is necessary, a democracy which would uphold the interests of the people.

The fight for these democratic demands is of first-rate *significance* for the masses, particularly for the working class. It is clear, for example, that the fight for peace, against the threat of atomic annihilation, is a fight for one of the basic objectives of all progressive mankind. The same is true of the fight against the onslaught of reaction and fascism as well as against colonial oppression—the shame of our times. The other democratic movements, too, have become a vital necessity for the peoples.

But the development of these movements, each of which has a significance all of its own, confronts the working class, naturally, with the problem of their relationship to the struggle for socialism. In the past people who tended towards sectarianism were dubious about these movements: maybe they would be a hindrance in the struggle; would it not be better to spearhead the Communist movement exclusively against capitalist rule, for the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Lenin long ago showed the groundlessness of this reasoning so far as it applied to the bourgeois-democratic movements in the epoch of imperialism. He showed that far from being a hindrance these movements were but one of the ways leading the masses to the struggle for socialism. There is every reason to believe that this is all the more true of the modern democratic movements. Far from weakening the positions of the working class in the struggle for socialism they strengthen them, first because the gains in the fight for political democracy, peace, national independence and sovereignty create favorable conditions for the struggle for socialism; second, because the fight for general democratic aims weakens the reactionary bourgeoisie since it is directed against the monopolies—the main force of capitalism; third, because the fight for the urgent needs of the working people helps to rally the masses against the ruling capitalist class, helps establish a firm alliance between the masses and the working class, enhances the prestige of the working class and its vanguard, which is needed to advance to the position of leadership; fourth, because the fight for general democratic aims is a good school of political organization, of rallying and steeling the masses. This struggle brings the masses to an understanding of the importance of the question of power, of who controls the state. And this is the fundamental question of the socialist revolution.

The foregoing leads to the conclusion: in the conditions of today the general democratic movement against imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie is closely interwoven with the struggle for socialism. It is one of the vital forms of the transition of the masses to the socialist revolution—either directly or through the stage of the anti-monopoly democratic revolution to which a popular movement of this kind can lead.

It goes without saying that while fighting for general democratic demands, the Communists must not lose sight of the ultimate aims of the working-class movement. But this consideration should not detract in any way from their resolve or morale in fighting for the immediate interests of the people, for such demands as peace, democracy, national independence and sovereignty. Not all democrats are supporters of socialism, far from it. But any conscientious fighter for the cause of socialism is always a consistent champion of all the democratic demands of the working people.

New possibilities for the socialist movement are being opened up also by the fact that these trends of capitalist development pave the way to extending the class alliances of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism. The economic and political conditions are such that they impel more and more sections to take part in the struggle against the ruling bourgeoisie. Even the monopolies are “helping” in this by pursuing a reactionary policy which turns more and more people against them.

But the working class cannot sit back and wait for new allies to come to it of their own accord. In order to win for socialism all who are discontented with the ruling capitalist class, in order to turn the spontaneous anti-capitalism of the other sections into conscious struggle *for socialism* the working class and its parties will have to work hard in the political, organizational and ideological spheres.

* * *

Having examined the basic trends in modern capitalism we can draw the conclusion that the capitalism of the twentieth century, just like the capitalism of the nineteenth century, shows not the slightest sign of evolving into socialism of its own volition. On the contrary, the monopolies are doing everything to prevent the consolidation of the forces of socialism, to forestall its victory. But the “cunning of history,” its dialectics, is that state-monopoly capitalism in its thirst for profit willy-nilly helps create the *material conditions* for the building of socialism. Lenin, it will be recalled, pointed to this circumstance.

“... State-monopoly capitalism,” wrote Lenin, “is the complete *material* preparation for socialism, its *threshold*, it is that rung in the ladder of history, between which (rung) and the rung of socialism there are no *intermediate rungs*.”

Let us take just one fact: State-monopoly capitalism has concentrated production to such a degree that the simple act of nationalizing the property of the monopolies in the highly-developed capitalist countries immediately turns from 60 to 70 per cent of social production into national property.

So much for the material-economic aspect. But he who thinks that socialism can be built directly on the basis of these material conditions, while leaving capitalist rule intact, merely deceives himself and others. No matter how the material conditions for socialism develop, state-monopoly capitalism will

"evolve" into socialism—a point repeatedly made by Lenin—only through "... revolution, by means of revolution." We stress, of course, that the socialist revolution, irrespective of the way in which it takes place, *peacefully or non-peacefully*, invariably begins with the taking over of power from the capitalist class by the working class, by the working people.

State-monopoly capitalism, as we have seen, trying vainly to suppress the communist movement, and intensifying political oppression, contrary to its will impels more and more people to join the fight against its rule. The social forces active within the capitalist system and impelling human society towards socialism, continue to grow and gather strength.

These forces are greatly stimulated also by the changes taking place outside the camp of imperialism. I have in mind here the existence and the steady consolidation of the socialist world system which opens up new possibilities in the struggle for socialism. What does the existence of this system mean to the countries that have already taken the path of socialism or will do so in the future?

First, it means that the building of socialism is *economically feasible in any country* irrespective of the economic or social level of the given country at the time of the revolution. Is there any need to stress the importance of this point? Even today the majority of mankind lives in the economically underdeveloped countries. If these countries were to go it alone one can imagine the suffering and torment that their peoples would have to endure in the process of establishing capitalist relations. The existence of the socialist world system not only enables these countries to save time but also to avoid much human suffering: in advancing to socialism they will be able to by-pass an entire phase of history.

Second, the fundamental significance of the socialist world system is that it guarantees the security of any member-country against any threat from the imperialist camp. This factor ensures that it is now *politically possible to build socialism in any country* irrespective of its size, population and defense-potential. This is of special importance for the smaller countries which, singlehanded,

would never be able to safeguard their socialist gains against the attacks of the imperialists. The security of each member-state of the socialist camp is, of course, guaranteed not by the "good will" of the imperialists but by the knowledge that in the event of imperialist aggression the multi-millioned people of all the socialist countries would immediately come to the aid of that state. This is a truth that the imperialists cannot afford to ignore! And the West German militarists especially, who are again nursing the fascist beast in their land, would be wise not to forget this.

* * *

And so we have come to the end of our brief excursion into the near future. We have returned from it full of good spirits, optimism and confidence in the righteousness of our cause and the ultimate triumph of the cause of progressive humanity, of socialism and communism. But we, Communists, will not rest on our laurels. On the contrary, our success stimulates our activity and our resolve to work on behalf of our people, on behalf of the workers of the world. And this is the main thing. We recall what Lenin considered to be the main feature of the invincible teaching of Marxism. "Marxism," he wrote, "differs from all other socialist theories in that it represents a remarkable combination of complete scientific soundness in the analysis of the objective conditions of things and of the objective course of evolution and the very definite recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations and parties which are able to discover and establish contact with these classes" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 414).

That is the heart of the matter.

The revolutionary energy, creative spirit and initiative mentioned by Lenin will, undoubtedly, play an ever more decisive role at all turning points in history.

And the laws of history will continue to be our allies. But the success with which the gigantic force of these allies is put to use depends primarily on us — the Communists and Workers' parties in all countries.

Lenin and the French Communist Party

Jacques Duclos

THIS year we celebrate the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the French Communist Party.

Won under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the October Revolution showed how a weak link in the chain of imperialist countries could be broken. It convincingly disproved the policy of "defensism" and conciliation which the Second International had pursued since the outbreak of the First World War. The October Revolution reflected the deep current of popular opposition to the imperialist war in Russia, and its victory fostered the growth of anti-war movements in other belligerent countries.

A considerable section of the working class, trailing in the wake of the bourgeoisie, was influenced by this policy. But the anti-war trends nevertheless made themselves felt, as, for example, the Zimmerwald (September 1915) and the Kienthal (April 1916) conferences showed. But these trends were not consistent. The Wilsonian doctrine exerted a ruinous impact on the anti-war elements.

As tsarism collapsed under the blows of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917, important anti-war actions were taking place in France. The failure of the April 1917 French offensive cost many lives, and gave rise to mutinies at the front, which were echoed in the rear by anti-war strikes. On May 11, 1917, for example, a strike called by young women workers in Paris workshops triggered off actions — clearly political and anti-war — by workers in other industries.

Pétain, who was appointed commander-in-chief, retaliated by ordering the execution of the mutineers. A few months later, in November 1917, Clemenceau came to power, as he himself put it, "to wage war." This meant he would stop at nothing to achieve this aim.

By 1917, the French working people were weary of the war. But there was no party steered as was the party of Lenin at the head

of the working class, no party with the militant slogans corresponding to the demands of that time.

A campaign of vilification and slander of the Soviet state was launched after the October Revolution. Developments in Russia were either passed by in silence or grossly distorted with the aim of setting the French people against the land of the Soviets, of which Lenin was the incarnation.

But truth will out. Lenin's revolutionary policy was eventually approved by many working people to whom it was clear that the Second International and its parties, which included the French Socialist Party, were pursuing a disastrous policy.

When the war ended the French Socialist Party, stuck in the mire of "defensism," had to decide on its future policy. Little by little Left forces matured in the Party who demanded a break with and condemnation of the policy of the war years and called for a new policy.

Towards the end of the war, when the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires were in their death throes, and when the revolutionary movement in Europe was gaining momentum, the October Revolution served as an example for the working people in other countries. The revolutionary efforts of the Spartakists in Germany, the emergence of the Soviet Republic in Hungary and the growing power of attraction of the party led by Lenin which, in March 1918, changed its name to the Communist Party, are cases in point.

* * *

Although the formation of the Communist International evoked wide response in France and other countries the French Socialist Party was not officially represented at the First (founding) Congress of the new International.

Soon after the First Congress of the Comintern the French soldiers and sailors who had been ordered to the Black Sea demonstrated their devotion to the cause of pro-

letarian internationalism by refusing to wage war on the Soviet state, while in France itself the policy of intervention in Soviet Russia came up against powerful opposition from the working class and the people in general. The 500,000-strong demonstration in Paris on May 1, 1919, carried posters demanding amnesty, a shorter working day and an end to the intervention.

The destiny of the French working-class movement was now on the agenda. Would, or would not, the majority of the Socialists join the Communist International, or would only a small group of Party activists, more or less closely linked with the masses, become affiliated? The struggle between the trends in the Socialist Party continued throughout 1919. The Rightists were hostile to the idea of affiliation to the Comintern and opposed any form of political solidarity with the October Revolution, thereby aggravating the existing confusion. This state of affairs not unnaturally had an adverse effect on the outcome of the parliamentary elections of November 1919.

Lenin followed developments in France closely. He was conscious of the weakness of the ideological stand taken by the small group in favor of affiliation to the Comintern. He saw, too, that although they condemned the intervention in Soviet Russia, the Left elements in the Socialist Party were at the same time loud in their praises of Wilson.

The Strasbourg Congress of the Socialist Party (February 1920) resolved to withdraw from the Second International and to "start negotiations with the leading bodies of the Third International." Marcel Cachin was commissioned to go to Moscow to attend the Second Congress of the Comintern in July 1920. Lenin was impatient to see what stand the French Socialist Party delegation would take in view of the broad strike movement which had unfolded in France in May and of the fact that Jouhaux, the reformist leader of the General Confederation of Labor, was doing his best to disrupt the unity of the strikers. Marcel Cachin was accompanied by Frossard, the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and it was Cachin's stand that compelled Frossard to declare himself in favor of joining the Comintern.

The Second Congress adopted the "Twenty-One Conditions" of affiliation to the Communist International. The controversy on these conditions played a big part in defining the positions of Socialists before their congress in Tours. Marchel Cachin toured the whole of France and spoke everywhere in favor of

the French Socialist Party joining the Communist International. His campaign began with a huge meeting in the Paris Circus which was not big enough to accommodate the thousands who wished to attend.

In connection with the Socialist Congress which was due to take place in Tours (but was eventually postponed till December), the Presidium of the Second Congress of the Comintern sent on July 29, 1920, a message signed by Lenin, "To all members of the French Socialist Party, to all conscious proletarians in France." It said in part: "It cannot be that the revolutionary working class of France with its glorious revolutionary traditions, its high degree of culture, its readiness to make sacrifices and its splendid militant temperament, will not found a strong Communist Party in an epoch when the bourgeois system is in the first throes of its death agony."

"Comrades, next year the international proletariat will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, that magnificent uprising of the workers of which the proletarian revolution in Russia is the continuation. We wish with all our hearts that this anniversary will find the French proletariat organized in a strong proletarian Communist Party, a party which will carry forward the finest traditions of the Paris Communards and be prepared to storm the citadels of capitalism."

"Long live the working class of France!"

"Long live a united and strong French Communist Party!"

Lenin believed in the strength of the French working-class movement, and it is by no means fortuitous that this message mentions the Paris Commune which, Lenin said in 1908, "has taught the European proletariat to set the aims of the socialist revolution concretely."

Lenin severely criticized the French delegation to the Second Comintern Congress, and Marcel Cachin liked subsequently to recall the justness of this criticism: Lenin wanted to make it easier for the rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party to join the Communist International. At the Tours Congress 3,208 cards out of 4,731 were cast in favor of affiliation to the Comintern. Thus the French Communist Party came into being not as a sect remote from the masses, but as a Party which from the very outset exerted indisputable influence on the masses.

In the message mentioned above the Presidium of the Second Congress of the Comin-

tern expressed confidence in the members of the Socialist Party: "Comrades, we have told you our frank opinion on a number of important questions. We know that only a small number of your leaders will associate themselves with what we have said. But we are persuaded that the vast majority of conscious worker-Socialists and sincere revolutionary syndicalists in France are with us at heart. No matter how our relations develop in the near future we are convinced that the French proletariat will build a powerful Communist Party and occupy one of the first places in the international family of the militant proletariat."

* * *

But mere adherence to the Communist International did not solve the problems of the French working-class movement. The French Communist Party had to re-organize in order to cope with the tasks of the new epoch, become the clear-sighted vanguard of the working class, realize working-class unity of action and views, apply democratic centralism consistently and prove just as able to uphold its principles resolutely as to be flexible on questions of tactics.

The working class and the working masses of France, to whom the war and the betrayal of the Social Democrats had brought so much suffering, needed a party of a new type, a party which would reject the opportunist policy of compromising, break with the ignominious past and make a resolute turn to the future.

The French Communist Party needed to assimilate Marxist-Leninist ideology and principles, to elaborate a policy aimed at achieving working-class unity, to realize the imperative need for a worker-peasant alliance, to make it a reality and see to it that it became an active militant force.

No support whatsoever was to be given to the bourgeoisie's colonialist policy, and the Party had to work to make working-class solidarity a real force in the struggle of the colonial peoples. It was necessary to break with opportunism which relegated the French working-class movement to playing the role of an appendage to the bourgeoisie. It was not through the efforts of a small section of activists, but through those of the Party as a whole and of the masses it led, that the break with the disastrous policy was to be made.

The Party had to realize the futility of any policy not backed by the masses and which did not express their interests. And it had

to understand that the level of political consciousness of the masses could only be raised in the process of their struggle.

In order to become a genuinely Marxist-Leninist Party, the French Communist Party needed to surmount many difficulties. One of the first battles to be fought within the Party was that on the united front policy. Lenin's united front tactics and the slogan "To the Masses" indicated the way in which the Communist parties should set about turning themselves into mass parties. The Marxist-Leninist parties had to lead the struggle and, once having become mass parties, to extend their influence in order to lead the working people into the fight. In applying the general principles of Leninism, it was necessary to learn to take into account the concrete situation — the social and political conditions obtaining in each country. Efforts to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism were strongly opposed by some of the leaders of the French Communist Party headed by Frossard.

Nevertheless, and Lenin saw this clearly, the united front policy was especially necessary for France because its working class was divided, and not only politically. There was no trade union unity: a split had taken place in the General Confederation of Labor in 1921. In its efforts to implement united action by the working class the French Communist Party, inspired by Marxist-Leninist principles, fought on two fronts: against sectarian narrowness leading to isolation from the masses, and against opportunism which brings the masses under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. And in this struggle the Popular Front policy triumphed. This factor contributed to the immense growth of the Party's prestige among the masses, and determined the paramount role it subsequently played in the Resistance. And if the Party's links with the masses improved considerably, it was because its policy was correct and in tune with the times.

* * *

The question of the Communist Party's ties with the masses has not been taken off the agenda. On the contrary it is being posed more sharply, for the Party's role and influence are now much greater than they were.

The Algerian coup in May 1958, which opened the gate to one-man rule, dealt a blow to the prestige of the French Communist Party, as the results of the referendum of September 28 and the parliamentary elections in November 1958 showed. The municipal elections of March 1959, however, show that

the Party's courage and foresight in the struggle against one-man rule are helping it to recover its influence, and that its prestige is growing.

This is because opposition to one-man rule is the only correct policy. On the other hand, the fact that Socialist leaders like Guy Mollet helped to establish one-man rule, has brought about a crisis in the SFIO.

By counterposing a program for the restoration and regeneration of democracy to the policy of one-man rule, the Fifteenth Congress of the French Communist Party stressed that united action by the working class and an alliance of national and democratic forces were essential if this aim was to be achieved. The Party program put before the French people sets forth a policy conforming to the interests of the working class, the poor peasants, to the interests of all those oppressed by the capitalist monopolies, of which one-man rule is the product and the instrument.

The Communists seek the unity of all victims of the reactionary policy of the capitalist monopolies, and fully realize that the Socialist Party's policy of class collaboration and anti-communism is the major obstacle to working-class unity and the alliance of the democratic forces.

There is no doubt, however, that the objective situation is becoming less favorable for anti-communist propaganda thanks to the successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The unquestionable superiority of Soviet science over bourgeois science, the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in raising the standard of living of the masses, and the flowering of socialist democracy refute the anti-communist arguments of the reactionaries and right-wing Socialist leaders. We Communists can go to the masses with confidence and optimism and tell them what we stand for, what we demand and what must be done to bring about a change.

How a Communist should act towards the masses is thus a question of great importance. It is true that the Communists are the most conscious section of the working class and the people generally. It is equally true that they have made the most sacrifices, that they are the personification of fidelity to the cause of the working class and the people. But this is not to say that a Communist should put himself in the category of the few "exceptional people" whose lot it is to lead a splendid militant life.

The Communists' relations with the masses have never been and cannot be like those between the élite and the ordinary people. They are the vanguard and the troops, the fighters for one and the same cause, united by a deep community of interests and fraternal militant solidarity. The Communists are just like other people and they should not make themselves out to be otherwise. They have great affection for the people and desire the good of all the exploited; they share their hardships and their hopes and work tirelessly to organize actions which will bring them liberation.

This means that the Communists must strive to become people of the masses, people deserving the confidence of the working people and other democrats whom they are called upon to influence in the public organizations, trade unions, etc.

* * *

During recent events in Algeria, when the fascist insurrection jeopardized the political freedoms still existing in France, the Communists in the General Confederation of Labor and other mass organizations worked for united action on a broad scale which aimed at achieving, first, liquidation of the Algerian revolt and punishment of the putschists and their instigators, dissolution of fascist organizations; second, cease-fire talks with the Algerians based upon recognition of the Algerian people's right to self-determination, a right recognized by de Gaulle on September 16 and confirmed by him on January 29.

The policy of unity conducted by the Communist Party and its activists in the mass organizations evoked such great response that on February 1 the trade unions, including the General Confederation of Labor, called for a one-hour work stoppage. As various political groupings and democratic organizations, including the League of Human Rights, had signed the appeal jointly with the Communist Party in support of this strike, the Socialist Party was obliged to come out with a similar appeal.

The success of this stoppage meant a great victory for united action. The participation of the Communists contributed in great measure to tipping the balance in favor of the right cause and enhanced the political prestige and influence of the Party among the masses.

Mass action forced the rebels and their accomplices to beat a retreat. But the events in Algeria and the discovery of the off-shoots of the plot in France were used by the gov-

ernment to make Parliament vote extraordinary powers to the President of the Republic. The Communist deputies voted against.

What should have been done after the Algerian revolt was not to curtail liberties, already limited under one-man rule, but to let the people have their say. This was what the French Communist Party had in view when it proposed that a National Assembly should be elected on the basis of proportional representation as a counterweight to the government demand for special powers.

What is called for is a provisional slogan in keeping with the concrete situation at the present stage of the struggle (after the defeat of the Algerian putschists and the granting of greater powers to the President). And though this is only one step, it is a step in the right direction — in the direction of convening a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, which would end the authoritarian regime and draw up a democratic constitution. This demand is incorporated in the program for the restoration and regeneration of democracy, adopted at the Fifteenth Congress.

The call for a new, genuinely representative National Assembly is addressed not only to Parliament, but to the masses who have been deprived of any say in solving the country's problems, whereas only the masses and not one man alone can find a solution conforming to the interests of the nation.

In demanding the restoration and regeneration of democracy, the French Communist Party keeps before it Lenin's words on the struggle for democratic rights: "It would be a great mistake to think that the struggle for democracy could divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, push it into the background or overshadow it, and so on. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot triumph without implementing complete democracy, so the proletariat cannot achieve victory over the bourgeoisie without waging an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."*

Objective conditions make it possible to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses, provided it wages a simultaneous struggle against revisionism and sectarianism. In the

fight against the Algerian colonialists and their accomplices the Party managed to avoid the two-fold danger which threatened it and which neither Jules Guesde nor Jean Jaurès succeeded in guarding against when the Dreyfus affair shook France at the end of the last century. Our Party resolutely entered the battle and thus steered clear of the sectarian isolationism of the Guesdites who shut themselves up in their ivory tower and let events take their course. Neither did it repeat the mistakes of the Jaurèsists who did go into the battle but only as the adherents of one of the bourgeois factions.

Only by following a policy conforming to Marxism-Leninism, as the Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties adopted in Moscow during the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution reminds us, can close contacts with the masses be established and maintained. This is the great lesson to be drawn from the history of the French Communist Party and the events it has recently lived through. As the Moscow Declaration says: "A party that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism and that has lost contact with the masses cannot bring victory to the working-class cause." True to the behests of Lenin, the French Communist Party does not forget this. Neither does it forget that the main danger is revisionism, which represents bourgeois ideology in the working-class movement and undermines the belief of the working class and the working masses generally in socialism and communism.

Lenin, who knew the French workers well, with all their virtues and shortcomings, always believed in the working class of France, in whom Marxist-Leninist principles have taken firm root thanks to the activities of the Communists. That is one of the features of the situation in which we are celebrating the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth; and it is one of the changes which have taken place in the French working-class movement since Lenin's death.

Whatever difficulties the French Communists will have to face in the coming battles, they will be faithful to Marxism-Leninism, consistently apply its principles to French reality and thus lead the working class to victory.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*.

On Peaceful Coexistence: A Critique of "A Western View"

Eugene Dennis

THE idea of peaceful coexistence is gaining ground and striking deep roots in the United States. This is reflected in the broad though diversified movements for East-West negotiations, friendship and trade, and especially for outlawing nuclear weapons and tests. This has helped influence the Administration to undertake certain steps — limited and hesitant as these yet are — towards a détente in American-Soviet relations. This explains, in no small part, why the many-sided issue of peace has emerged as the central question of the 1960 presidential elections.

The issues of peace and peaceful coexistence are the subjects of extensive public controversy and probing. Moreover, many political, business, religious and labor leaders are engaged in a process of "agonizing reappraisal" — a reappraisal engendered and stimulated by the new and rapid changes in world relationships; by the incalculable hazards of continuing the cold war and its nuclear arms race; by the new peace sentiments among the American people; and, not least, by the great impact of Premier Khrushchov's historic visit to the USA and his cogent and stirring call and far-reaching proposals for peaceful coexistence and universal and total disarmament, and by the promising outcome of the Eisenhower-Khrushchov meeting at Camp David.

In this connection several articles in the January 1960 issue of *Foreign Affairs* merit serious examination by American partisans of peace. This is so in respect to the interesting contributions of George Foster Kennan and Adlai Stevenson which reflect some of the new thinking and the partially positive approaches now being made by certain political and business circles in our country, as well as mirror many of the misconceptions, limitations and pitfalls of their position.

Here we shall confine our observations to the article "Peaceful Coexistence: A Western View" by Kennan. As is well known, Mr. Kennan was formerly U.S. Ambassador to the USSR and head of the policy Planning Staff

in the Department of State. He authored the notorious "containment" thesis officially proclaimed by the Truman Administration in 1947. In the recent period, however, Kennan, to use his own words, "... has had his own differences with the military policies of the Western coalition in recent years." Notable in this connection has been his advocacy of "limited military disengagement" in Central Europe and of East-West negotiations to effect a compromise settlement of certain international questions.

The importance of Kennan's present article is enhanced by the fact that it is a part of the "agonizing reappraisal" and great debate now underway in American public life; also because, apparently, it is considered by the editors of *Foreign Affairs* — a quarterly review published by the Council on Foreign Relations — as an authoritative American commentary and reply to the article "On Peaceful Coexistence" by Khrushchov, which appeared in the October 1959 issue of *Foreign Affairs*.

As an American Communist, I would like to express my views on the main points raised by Kennan particularly since these reflect some of the misunderstandings and prejudices held by many liberals and diverse pro-peace elements.

* * *

In his introduction, Mr. Kennan writes: "... In the article under his name, published in the last issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Khrushchov has given us an interesting definition of what he understands by this term (i.e. peaceful coexistence—E.D.)." In summarizing in his own words Khrushchov's definition Kennan does not quarrel with it, that is, with the essence of the policy and objectives of peaceful coexistence. And this is extremely important and promising. But then Kennan adds the following comment:

"Not only has Mr. Khrushchov given us this definition but he has made it plain that

he considers that the Soviet Union abides by these principles, has abided by them ever since the revolution of the autumn of 1917 and cannot help but abide by them in view of its social foundation; whereas there are still important elements in the Western countries who, in his view, do not abide by these principles, who 'believe that war is to their benefit', who want to inflict 'capitalism' by violent means on unwilling peoples and whose opposition must be overcome before peaceful coexistence can really be said to prevail."

In regard to this observation, as formulated by himself, Kennan does take umbrage. In fact his resentment is so deep that he devotes the major portion of his article thereto.

Fortunately, however, as Mr. Kennan states later in his article, "The fact that an ideological disagreement of this nature exists is in itself no reason why peaceful coexistence, as Mr. Khrushchov defines it, should not prevail." With this sound and welcome viewpoint in mind, it is nevertheless important to consider Kennan's opinions and reservations concerning Khrushchov's views on peaceful coexistence, views and peace aspirations which are shared by hundreds of millions of people, including countless Americans. To the extent that clarity is established on these and related questions, to that extent the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence will be strengthened, particularly in our own land.

* *

While acknowledging the validity and objectives of Khrushchov's definition of peaceful coexistence, Kennan asserts:

"There could be few propositions more amazing than the assertion that the Soviet state 'from its very inception proclaimed peaceful coexistence as the basic principle of its foreign policy,' and that the initial Communist leaders in Russia were strong partisans of the view that peaceful coexistence could and should prevail among states with different social systems."

It is an historical fact that the Soviet Union from its very inception proclaimed and adhered to peaceful coexistence as the fundamental principle of its policy. It was not fortuitous that the first state act of the Soviet state in November, 1917, was the Decree on Peace, the decision of the Soviet Power to terminate hostilities and conclude a just peace, and its call to all belligerents in World War I to end the war and establish peace in the interests of the peoples.

Soviet deeds affirm again and again that peaceful coexistence was and is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the USSR. This is underscored a thousand times over by the Soviets' relations with its neighbors. This is attested to by the foreign policy of the USSR for over four decades in respect to Germany, Japan and England, France and the USA — irrespective of the governments at the head of state power. And this has been graphically demonstrated by the actions of the Soviet government in voluntarily liquidating its military bases in Finland and China, in normalizing diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and in reducing its armed forces; by the further development of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence elaborated by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 and its 21st Congress in 1959; and by the ensuing proposals and initiatives for outlawing nuclear weapons and testing, for universal and complete disarmament, for signing pacts of non-aggression and friendship and treaties of trade and of cultural and scientific exchanges with all interested nations, and for convening conferences at the summit to negotiate peacefully a solution of the German question and other international issues.

This is so because — unlike capitalism — a socialist society, by its nature, precludes oppression and wars of conquest and aggression. In the socialist lands production is only for use, not profit; and there exists an unlimited home market with boundless horizons of social and cultural advances. In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries there are no exploiting classes; there is no material basis or other incentive for aggrandizement, territorial plunder, or war profiteering.

This in a nutshell, explains why the foreign policy of the USSR and all socialist states is organically rooted in and based on the social foundations of socialism, on the desire and striving of the working people for peace and peaceful coexistence, and is not motivated by any transient or tactical considerations. This does not mean, however, that the struggle and prospects for peaceful coexistence are the same today as in 1917, 1927 or 1947. And this is so not only because of the unprecedented initiative, flexibility and effectiveness which the Soviet Union has displayed in recent years under the collective leadership of the Central Committee of the CPSU, headed by Khrushchov, in unfolding its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.

What is new in the situation is the new world relationship of forces which gives new life and meaning and perspective for advancing the cause of peaceful coexistence, for ending the cold war, for averting another world war. The USSR is no longer a beleaguered state, a solitary workers' oasis in a capitalist desert. Socialism has emerged as an invincible world system, embracing a billion working people as masters of their own destiny and as a bulwark of peace, as the pioneers of social advance and the conquerors of outer space, and exerting a decisive influence in world affairs.

World imperialism has been greatly weakened and the old colonial empires have been dealt a mortal blow. The victorious national-liberation movements — notwithstanding different levels of economic and social development — have spread from Asia and the Near and Middle East to Africa and Latin America, bringing new legions into the fight for peace. Despite the ups and down and unevenness of the class and national struggles — powerful Marxist, working-class, and democratic movements have come into existence in the West, tipping the scales further in favor of the cause of peace, democracy and social progress.

In these changed circumstances — in which the fulfilment of the economic, technological, social and cultural plans of the USSR, China and the other socialist countries will soon effect a further and more radical change in world relations — hundreds of millions of people in the "non-communist" world, as well as certain leading capitalist circles and governments, are becoming convinced that peaceful coexistence is both feasible and imperative. They are coming to realize that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence, other than a catastrophic atomic holocaust.

This is why these factors and the worldwide movement to halt the menacing nuclear arms race, to end the cold war and to achieve peaceful coexistence create, for the first time in history, the opportunity for eliminating war as a means of "solving" international issues, even while capitalism exists in some sectors of the world. It is this circumstance, and not some alleged mysterious change in Soviet foreign policy, which has placed the question of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition on the top of the agenda of the world's business — for Communists and non-Communists alike.

As for the second aspect of Mr. Kennan's "amazement," there is also his regrettable assertion that:

"The proposition that the political power dominant in the Soviet Union has always been on the side of coexistence, as defined by Mr. Khrushchov, also calls upon us to forget the long and sinister history of the relationship between Moscow and the foreign Communist parties in the Stalin era."

The false inference here has a long, ignoble and costly history for which the peoples of many countries have paid a heavy price in life and liberty. And the repetition of this canard does not improve with age or usage, as the experiences of the American people with McCarthyism aptly testify, including that of Mr. Kennan.

But since the allegation of Soviet "subversion" and the charge that the Communist parties in different countries are "foreign agents" continues to be raised — and especially today in our country, by the Eastlands, Allen Dulleses and J. Edgar Hoovers — it would be well to recall the authoritative views of various Marxists in different countries at different periods in history.

In 1871, Karl Marx, writing about the lessons of the Paris Commune and the role of the First International, the International Working Men's Association, pointedly states:

"The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figures to itself that the International Working Men's Association is acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced working men in the various countries of the civilized world. Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our Association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself . . ."

Many decades later, in 1944 during the crucial days of the national-liberation war against Japan, when the Chinese Communists were in the forefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-Axis war, Mao Tse-tung, in an interview with Gunther Stein, replied as follows to the question whether Chinese Communists were "Chinese first" or "Communists first":

"Go and ask our people, anywhere you want. They know well enough that the Chinese Communist Party serves them. They

*K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, p. 81.

have had their experience with us during the most difficult times.

"As to our method of thinking, I told you already that we, like Communists in any other country, are convinced of the correctness of Marxism. This is probably what people refer to when they ask whether we are 'Communists first' or 'Chinese first'. But our belief in Marxism as a correct method of thinking does not mean that we negate the Chinese cultural heritage or the value of non-Marxist foreign thought . . .

"To accept ideas from the Chinese past or from abroad does not mean to take them over unconditionally. They must be co-ordinated with actual conditions in China and practised in accordance with them . . . We are against blind acceptance as well as blind rejection of any ideas. We Chinese must think with our own brains and must decide for ourselves what can grow on our own soil."*

In reporting to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January 1959, Khrushchov in his comments on the current slanders that the Communist parties of other countries had been "established by Moscow" and that their members were "foreign agents," stressed the following Marxist axiom and well-established truth:

" . . . There has always been complete equality and independence for all the Communist and Workers' parties and the socialist countries in the communist movement and in the socialist camp. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not control any other party, the Soviet Union does not control any other country . . . All the Communist and Workers' parties are equal and independent . . . In their struggle for working-class interests, for socialism, the Communist parties combine the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete historical and national conditions in their countries. Only a Marxist-Leninist Party connected with the working class, with the people of its country, is able to know the concrete conditions of struggle; it alone can work out a political line conforming to these conditions and taking account of the traditions of the working-class movement in its country."

The above statements from three of the foremost Communist leaders made at different periods in the life and history of the communist movement, in all probability will not alter the misconceptions and bias of Kennan and others of similar mind. But facts are stub-

born things. And the facts prove that the cited references are not merely quotations but accurate expressions of the policy, activity and programmatic positions of these and other Communist leaders and parties. (I do not mean to suggest, however, that various Communist parties, including our own, have not made doctrinaire mistakes, especially in earlier years, which at times have tended to obscure the fact that the Communists of each country are genuine patriots; as well as devoted adherents of international working-class solidarity.)

As far as we American Communists are concerned, I would re-emphasize today what I stated before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947:

"To charge that we are Soviet agents is to deny the fact that there were Marxists in America long before there was a Soviet Union. These early Socialists, the forebears of the modern American Communist Party, stood with Lincoln against the slaveholders' rebellion. Lincoln did not doubt their loyalty. He made the Communist Joseph Wedemeyer a colonel in the Union army . . .

"Our movement is as young as American capitalism and the working class it brought into being. But the charge of 'foreign agent' is older — as old as Toryism in America. It was hurled against Thomas Jefferson when he championed democratic rights at home and the right to self-determination for the young French Republic.

"There is no conflict between the American patriotism and the working-class internationalism of American Communists . . . We share with other workers the common bond of our working-class origin. In the often quoted phrase of Abraham Lincoln, we American Communists hold that "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds'.

" . . . We Communists are confident that the day will come when the majority of Americans will decide by their own free choice, on the basis of their own experience, and in harmony with their fundamental interests, to march along the road of social progress toward socialism — that is, to establish the common ownership of the national economy under a government of the people, led by the working class . . . Our path will not necessarily follow the twists and turns taken by the peoples of other countries who also, because of the inexorable logic of economic and

*G. Stein, *The Challenge of Red China*, pp. 118-119.

social development move toward a similar goal”*

Kennan adds further:

“How absurd . . . to suggest that there are influential people in the West who desire to bring upon the earth the miseries of another world war in the hope of being able to inflict the capitalist system on great masses of people who do not desire it. The question of who owns the machines is not the one that today dominates the thoughts and discussions of Western society and Western ‘ruling circles’; it is primarily the question of human freedom of the right of people to choose and alter their own social and political systems as they like”

I take it that Mr. Kennan desires to leave out of account the lessons of World Wars I and II, with their scores of million casualties, which were spawned and unleashed by the capitalist system; and that he refers to the present. Does this mean, then, that perhaps the perilous dangers that flow from the Dulles-Rockefeller policy of “brinkmanship” and “liberation” should be forgotten! Perhaps there are no enemies of the spirit of Camp David! Perhaps the Kersten fund for instigating subversion and coups in the socialist countries doesn’t exist! Perhaps the State Department’s pressure to thwart the agrarian reforms of Castro’s revolutionary government is a figment of the imagination! Perhaps the rehabilitation of the Krupps and Thyssens and the Western rearming of the revanchists and neo-Nazis in West Germany and of the militarists in Japan is a mirage! Perhaps the maintenance of U.S. military installations on China’s territory, Taiwan, and the stationing of the U.S. 7th Fleet not far from the Chinese coasts are friendly exercises in good-neighborliness! Regrettably, these are not “perhapses”! These are facts and acts endangering peace. Fortunately, however, while the wish may still be father to the thought, today there is a vast difference between the aims of imperialism and its ability to realize these. Mr. Kennan, however, seeks to buttress his untenable claim by asserting that capitalism has altered essentially from what it was fifty years ago. He states:

“There is today not one social and economic system prevailing outside the Communist orbit: there are almost as many such systems as there are countries; and many of them are closer to what Marx conceived as socialism than they are to the laissez faire capital-

ism of his day This means that in the non-communist world, where it is customary to relate the meaning of words to objective phenomena, the term ‘capitalism’ no longer has any generic and useful meaning.”

It is true that there have been big changes in the “non-communist” world over the past decades. In the last fifteen years alone there have been the rise of the People’s Democracies in Eastern Europe and Asia, which are now building socialism, and the meteoric breakup of the old colonial empires of imperialism in Southeast Asia, the Near and Middle East and parts of Africa which have opened up the way to diverse lines of social and economic development in these newly liberated countries — different ways of life and forms of economy that will be determined in mass struggle by the people in each country in accord with their own desires and the given relationship of national and class forces. However, this, I take it, is not what Mr. Kennan refers to.

As for the changes over the past half century in capitalism in the West, i.e., in the USA, Britain, West Germany, France and Italy, suffice it to say, that the more capitalism has “changed,” the more its nature remains the same: exploitative and oppressive, greedy and predatory. And today imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, is on the decline and its general crisis is becoming more acute. This process, of course, is uneven. There is still economic growth in the West and periods of boom and relative prosperity, and periods in which the working people and their organizations, through mass struggles, are able to win higher wages, social security benefits and other concessions.

However, monopoly capital and state monopoly capitalism have grown, not least in the USA. And whether this “new” capitalism is labelled “people’s capitalism” or by some other newly contrived “generic” term, contemporary capitalism in the West continues to be motivated by the quest for maximum profits and plunder. Yet, while monopoly capitalism — imperialism — now, as before, engenders economic crises, reaction and war, because of the new relationship of the forces in the world the disparity between the aims of imperialism and its ability to realize them continues to widen. In any event, Kennan concludes this section of his article with the statement:

“The basic ideological issue, as seen in the United States today, is not capitalism versus socialism but freedom versus its opposite. The

*E Dennis, *Ideas They Cannot Jail*, pp. 24, 25, 35.

disagreement between Moscow and the 'leading circles' of the non-communist world is not really a disagreement about which form of social system is most productive; it is rather a disagreement about what is most important, in the first place, in the lives of peoples."

It is well to remember that the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist countries, and advocated by the Bandung nations and millions of people in the West, is based precisely on the coexistence of states with different social and economic systems. It does not require that any of the states abandon their system or ideology. But it does envisage and require that these states with their different political and social systems and ideologies shall live side by side in conditions other than those where there is neither war nor peace, where there is a "cold war" and a constant threat that it may erupt into a "hot war."

It is the Marxist view, and the view of millions of non-Marxists such as Nehru, Sukarno, Cardenas, and Cyrus Eaton — that peaceful coexistence means the settlement of international disputes by negotiations and mutual agreements, that peaceful coexistence can and should lead to universal and total disarmament and develop into peaceful competition for the purpose of satisfying mankind's economic, social and cultural needs in the best possible way. This policy and goal are well known to Mr. Kennan who, in recent times, has voiced a measure of approval of the concept as he interprets it.

As for disagreements about what is most important in the lives of people, these are the internal affairs of each country, matters to be decided by the people without outside interference from any source. Currently in the United States, for instance, there are profound disagreements between various "leading circles" and the men and women of labor, as well as other democratic forces. These basic political and ideological differences *within* our country involve such major issues as: a policy of peaceful coexistence versus a cold war program; democracy versus reaction; integration versus segregation; social welfare versus the arms race and monopoly profiteering; automation in the interests of the people versus automation for the benefit of the trusts; curbing the monopolies versus curbing labor and the Bill of Rights. And it should be noted, ever larger numbers of Americans refuse to equate "human freedom" with the stockpiling and testing of A- and H-bombs, with jimcrow and lynching, or with the Lan-

drum-Griffith, Smith and McCarran Acts; just as they question any "crusade for freedom" sponsored by General Motors, General Dynamics, the Rockefellers and DuPonts, and waged in alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, Franco and Adenauer.

Meanwhile, millions of Americans are weighing the epic achievements of the socialist lands and are also showing a new interest in the undreamed of potentialities of a socialist America. At the same time they, together with the majority of all Americans, are determined that *all* issues, ideological and otherwise, shall be resolved in a world at peace.

* * *

Turning to another facet of the question of peaceful coexistence, Mr. Kennan emphasizes that:

"... while the social and political system now dominant in Russia is one that may not commend itself to us, its existence and prevalence there is not our responsibility; it is not our business to change it; it constitutes in itself reason why a relationship of peaceful coexistence should not prevail."

This is a valid observation and a significant point of view that needs to be impressed on many Americans. Nevertheless, Kennan detracts from this sound premise by asserting, a few paragraphs later:

"But when it comes to the governments of the Communist bloc in Eastern and Central Europe, then the problem is inevitably more complicated. These governments are not, in the main, truly indigenous . . . In the view of the West . . . these regimes were imposed by the skilful manipulations of highly disciplined Communist minorities, trained and inspired by Moscow, and supported by the presence or close proximity of units of the Soviet armed forces."

There are, of course, sharply divergent views in the West concerning the paternity and development of the socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe which emerged after the Nazi invaders were driven out by the Soviet Army, with the active support of the national resistance movements in which the Communists played a leading role. But the facts are: the old regimes collapsed in the process and the native quislings fled. The new regimes that arose in these countries were established by the people in accord with the will of the majority.

The history of postwar developments in all these lands affirms once again that the Communist and Workers' parties were guided

by the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that:

"The rule of capitalism could not be brought to an end if the whole economic development of capitalist countries were not leading to this . . . No power on earth could destroy capitalism if it were not being washed away and undermined by history . . . We do not want to 'usurp' power, for the whole experience of revolution teaches us that only a power that is backed by the majority of the people can be durable . . ."

Incidentally, if this were not the case, how could Kennan account for the fact that the course of postwar events in Finland — where for a number of years after the end of World War II the USSR had military bases — proceeded quite differently from, say, that in Czechoslovakia, Poland or Hungary?

We will conclude our comments on the above aspects of Kennan's views by observing that while his attitude towards the People's Democracies is by no means identical with that of Dulles, Rockefeller, Nixon or Truman, yet, it must be recognized that his position brings grist to the mill of the advocates of "liberation" and "roll-back." It gives aid and comfort to the authors of the infamous "captive nations" resolution, to those who want to intervene militarily and otherwise in the internal affairs of Hungary, Poland, etc. It violates one of the cardinal principles of peaceful coexistence, namely, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, and runs counter to the spirit of Camp David.

* * *

The second important question, posed or inherent in Kennan's remarks in relation to the People's Democracies, transcends judgments of the past, of history. It has a direct bearing on the relationship between peaceful coexistence and the possible future changes in the "status quo." This, too, is a big question and the subject of much controversy and confusion. Suffice it to note that the policy of peaceful coexistence has nothing in common either with the notion of establishing great power spheres of influence, or with the equally reactionary idea that the people of any nation shall be deterred in their inalienable right to alter, change or replace their own form of government or system of society whenever or however they may so choose.

One of the basic tenets of peaceful coexistence is that no state shall impose its will or system on another. But living side by side as

good neighbors does not preclude, but rather presupposes, that the people of each country are the masters of their own home and are free to solve their domestic problems and economic and political relationships in accordance with their own social aspirations and national interests. Is it not a fact that the working people who have taken state power into their own hands and are shaping their own destiny and constructing a new socialist society are making decisive and monumental contributions to helping realize "peace on earth"? Is it not a fact that the peoples in the newly liberated countries who have put an end to the old colonial status quo have reinforced immensely the cause of world peace and democracy?

Would not the successful realization of the policy of the Communist parties of France and Italy to co-operate with all other men of good will in their countries, regardless of religious or political beliefs, for establishing democratic governments which, with the support of the working people, will be able to carry out a program of democratic advance — would not this strengthen the cause of democracy and social progress and give a powerful assist to humanity's struggle for peace? Would not the establishment of a democratic government in the USA firmly committed to ending the cold war, to enforcing the Constitution and eliminating the "status quo" of jimcrow in the South and everywhere in the nation, and to curbing the powers of the reactionary monopolies—a democratic government backed by a new political majority, which we American Communists and many other progressive and democratic-minded Americans advocate and strive for—would not this result in vast social betterment and new democratic advances for all the American people and strengthen America's national security and the cause of world peace?

* * *

In section V of his article Mr. Kennan touches on the present international situation, which endangers the people's striving for peaceful coexistence: the continuing arms race and military alliances of the Western coalition. Kennan writes:

"Much is made, in Communist discussion of coexistence, of the military dispositions of the Western countries, particularly the United States. The United States Government is reproached for maintaining bases in various parts of the world; for being unwilling to agree to a total abolition and renunciation of atomic weapons and to a final ban on nuclear

*V. I. Lenin, *War and Revolution*, pp. 28-29.

tests; for failure to match unilateral measures of reduction of conventional armaments which the Soviet Government claims (without very adequate proof) to have taken; for rearming the Germans within the framework of NATO, etc."

Unfortunately, even today after Camp David and as the long-awaited summit conference draws closer, the atomic weapons build-up of the revanchists and the neo-Nazi divisions in Adenauer's West Germany continues apace, and the Bonn government's brazen efforts to torpedo the efforts of the Big Four to reach at least a mutually satisfactory interim agreement on the vexing and provocative situation in West Berlin are well known. Furthermore, the United States concluded a pact with Turkey for the establishment of atomic missile sites in that country. The President has unilaterally and formally lifted the ban on nuclear weapons testing. The new "mutual security" treaty with Japan is designed to ensure its dependence on the U.S. and to accelerate its rearmament with nuclear weapons.

In his State of the Union address, Eisenhower, while noting a lessening of world tensions, nonetheless calls for a continuation of the present military build-up, and a substantial increase of atomic missile and rocket production. And these "positions of strength" proposals are being doubled in spades by the insane recommendations of Truman, Acheson and Symington for continuing the cold war, for launching a "superduper military crash program" of nuclear rocket and space development.

Mr. Kennan is a hundred times correct when he observes: "Mr. Khrushchov is right in viewing the weapons race of this day as inconsistent with any satisfactory form of co-existence." Certainly, America's national interests, no less than those of the USSR, require that immediate measures be undertaken to effect a serious beginning in universal disarmament and to move ahead to make it total. This is one of the main prerequisites for achieving a durable peace, for implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence.

As the peace sentiments of the American and other peoples indicate, as the results of the Camp David conference have shown, as the Antarctic treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons tests there testifies, as the latest decisions of the USSR for unilaterally reducing its armed forces evidence, as the convening of the summit conference approaches — the opportunities for waging a broader and successful struggle to attain this are improving. This

is so even though the ice of the cold war thaws much too slowly, due not only to the opposition of the Adenauers abroad and the Rockefellers and Trumans at home, as well as because of the weaknesses in the American peace movement, but also because of the contradictory course of the Administration which combines tendencies to modify some aspects of the old Dulles line and to engage more readily in various East-West discussions and certain negotiations with persistent efforts to maintain and bolster NATO, SEATO and CENTO.

* * *

Kennan next turns to the highly important matter of East-West trade — an essential factor for promoting peaceful coexistence.

It does not strengthen Mr. Kennan's tendency to minimize the importance of East-West trade by his assertion that "historically" America-Russian trade has "always" been negligible. There is nothing fixed or immutable about this as the currently expanding trade between the USSR and Britain, West Germany, Italy and France attests. In fact, the volume and value of Soviet foreign trade have risen in scope and at a more rapid tempo, and will continue to do so, precisely with each advance and success in communist construction, though currently, due to the continuance of the cold war trade restrictions imposed by Washington, U.S. exports to and imports from the USSR do not exceed American trade with Barbados and Afghanistan.

The real issue is, however, whether it is possible to effect a marked improvement and a vast expansion of American-Soviet trade. Will this prove mutually advantageous? Will it advance peaceful coexistence? The highly positive experiences of USA-USSR trade during the years of the Great Depression provide an affirmative answer. In 1931, for instance, approximately 40 per cent of all U.S. exports of machinery and industrial equipment went to the USSR. The estimate of Cyrus Eaton that the normalization of American-Soviet trade relations could result in an annual exchange turnover between our two countries in the neighborhood of three billion dollars is another indication of what could be done.

The necessity and significance of such prospects in terms of increasing U.S. production and employment will mount as the ice of the cold war melts. And quite apart from being a profitable undertaking for American businessmen and providing more jobs, it should be borne in mind that the elimination of all discriminatory practices now enforced by our

government against granting long term credits and expanding trade with the USSR and the other socialist countries (a position so zealously advocated by Nelson Rockefeller) would likewise ease world tensions; it would help liquidate the political tensions, the military commitments and tax burdens that inevitably accompany the enforcement of "strategic" lists, licenses and embargoes.

Perhaps it would be well to conclude this point by quoting a pertinent afterthought expressed by Kennan: "If a re-examination of these attitudes (i.e., the American position to questions of East-West trade—*E.D.*) would have, in Soviet eyes, a significance which would really be helpful in relaxing international tensions, then the suggestion is one that should not be lightly dismissed in Washington."

* * *

Today with the advent of the super H-bombs, ICBM's and space rockets, there is precious little time to waste in advancing the cause of peaceful coexistence, in establishing friendly and co-operative relations between all countries, irrespective of their differing social systems and ideologies.

This does not mean, however, that the policy of peaceful coexistence involves or necessitates a moratorium of the struggle on the ideological front. This will continue as long as there are different social systems and class antagonisms. Facts are facts; but how these are interpreted and what conclusions are drawn therefrom depends primarily on the experiences of the masses and one's class viewpoint. Basically, there are two opposing classes and world outlooks and points of view: the working class and its scientific Marxist ideology and the capitalist class and its socially-limited and reactionary bourgeois ideology. And this is so despite the fact that the latter is usually window-dressed in pious and high-sounding phrases to confuse and befuddle people; despite the fact that many white-collar workers, middle class and professional people are often persuaded by the apologists of corporate wealth to look upon themselves as having interests basically in conflict with the working class; and despite the fact that many of the economic and political views of Marxists are accepted by non-communist workers and progressives even while they may be unaware of this and may even declare that they are opposed to Marxism.

In any event, Communists and tens of millions of non-communists believe that socialism is the superior and most progressive so-

cial system; whereas the economic royalists, the vested corporate interests, and even those ordinary people in the West whom they influence, contend that capitalism is the best system of society. Moreover, the Rockefeller oil interests and Royal Dutch Shell, for example, approach the situation in the Mid-East in one way; the Arab peoples, the peoples of the socialist lands, and the advanced workers and democrats of all countries view it from another. The supporters of fascism, of capitalist-landlord reaction and state power view the socialist states of Poland and Hungary through the eyes of a Pilsudski and a Horthy; whereas the class-conscious workers view these People's Democracies with admiration and sympathy, in the spirit of our Declaration of Independence. General Dynamics and the Krupps have a similar position towards West Berlin and the nuclear rearmament of West Germany; the Communists, most Laborites and Social Democrats have a contrary view. General McArthur and The Rand Corporation claim that underground tests of nuclear weapons are "safe" as well as undetectable; while Soviet and other scientists and the majority of mankind hold otherwise.

And there are, too, of course, the counterparts of this, in respect to the differing positions that opposing class forces *within* various nations take on *domestic* issues, such as concerning the issues of desegregation and labor legislation and the outlook for social progress in our own country.

But the principles of peaceful coexistence, the dictates of world technological development and social relationships, and the interests of humanity require and make possible that all disputes between states now be solved without recourse to war, and that the question as to which social system is better, be decided in peaceful competition, on the basis of serving the needs of mankind. As for the inevitable struggle between the competing ideologies, this must and will proceed in any event, only let it be waged on the ideological front, not on the battlefield!

Regarding the conflicting views and the antagonistic class positions that develop within individual countries, such as within our own land, these should and will be resolved within the framework of the national traditions, customs and democratic processes existing within each nation, in accordance with the strength and influence of the contending social forces and their political representatives. And here, I might add parenthetically: as for us American Communists, we believe and advocate that the American working class, in

alliance with the Negro people and all other democratic forces in our nation, can solve the urgent problems now besetting our people in a democratic way, by clarity and united mass action; and that eventually the American people, out of their own experience and by their own efforts, will move forward and effect a fundamental solution of their problems by a socialist reorganization of society.

* * *

Mr. Kennan concludes his article as follows:

"Could we not, all of us, now put aside the pretense of total righteousness and admit to a measure of responsibility for the tangled processes of history that have brought the world to its present dangerous state? And could we not, having once admitted this, drop the argument about whose responsibility is greatest and address ourselves at long last, earnestly and without recrimination, to the elimination of the central and most intolerable elements of the danger?" (i.e., the cold war—E.D.)

Despite the unwarranted inference that both sides are "equally" responsible for the cold

war, this nonetheless is a meaningful statement for Americans. History will yet set the record straight. Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of the American people, like other peoples, want to end the cold war regardless of differing views on its origin and history. They want to implement the agreements of Camp David and ensure a continued improvement in American-Soviet relations. They expect certain positive results from the forthcoming summit conference, despite the Adenauers. They desire to normalize relations with the Chinese People's Republic and end the impasse on the German question. Above all, they look forward to a real beginning towards universal and total disarmament, including as a start speedy agreement on the long overdue treaty to ban nuclear weapons testing.

Millions of Americans are coming to realize that to help achieve this, a broader and more resolute struggle for peace must be unfolded, that the unity of action of all proponents of peace, especially of the democratic forces, is imperative.

New York, January 1960.

Modern Natural Science Confirms Lenin's Prevision

Ernest Kolman

NEVER have there been such sweeping progressive changes as those of our time.

Everything is learned through comparison. Hence, to appraise the significance of our epoch we have to turn to the historic past, to the rise and the flourishing of capitalism. In the early stages of its development the bourgeoisie made a tremendous contribution to scientific and technological progress and during its rule of scarce one hundred years created more colossal productive forces than did all the preceding generations. Against this background the achievements of our century are all the more impressive.

I

Glorious though the Renaissance was, and dispelling as it did the darkness of medieval

monastery vaults, its impact on human history cannot be compared with that exerted by the fundamental social changes of our century. Our century is not only an epoch of imperialism and world war. It is, first and foremost, an epoch in which the socialist revolution has triumphed, an epoch of powerful liberation movements in the colonies and the dependent countries. It marks the beginning of a new era in human history — the era of communism. And it is an age in which technology and natural science are developing with incredible speed, an age when they have entered the dialectical-materialist period of development. In the final analysis the Renaissance with all its progressiveness merely signified that one exploiting class had replaced

another. Now that working people are coming to power to abolish the exploitation of man by man for all time, incomparably deeper revolutionary changes are taking place, both in society and natural science.

Having ceased to stimulate the development of natural science, bourgeois ideology is now obstructing it. A new sharp contradiction has arisen between the objective dialectical-materialist content of the great discoveries and the idealistic, agnostic and metaphysical interpretation of them by bourgeois scientists. When, late in the 19th century, the former concepts of the physical world perceived by our sense-organs proved to be inapplicable to the new atomic world, and the scientists could offer no dialectical and materialist explanation for these revolutionary discoveries (that corresponded to their true content) then a crisis in natural science set in.

To some extent the monopolies retard technological progress, yet, on the other hand, they force the pace of scientific development. Thus the need to increase the military and industrial potential, and the sharp rivalry between the monopolies lead to technological and scientific advance on an unparalleled scale. The development of physics, chemistry and microbiology is lavishly subsidized by the monopolies and imperialist states and extensive research is being conducted in electrodynamics, aerodynamics, organic and physical chemistry and atomic physics.

Bourgeois scientists, in order that their investigations should be reliable, are compelled adequately to reflect nature. As long as they engage in experiments and computations, stand on strictly scientific ground and refrain from making philosophical generalizations (or do not declare themselves against philosophical generalizations—which is one kind of bad philosophy), they really do act as materialists and dialecticians. That is why talented bourgeois scientists, in spite of their idealist and metaphysical world outlook, frequently make great discoveries in their particular field. Thus objective materialist dialectics find their way into natural scientific theories without the scientists themselves realizing this.

It was only because natural science and the development of progressive philosophy had paved the way that materialist dialectics of nature appeared. Marx and Engels set themselves the vital task of proving that the dialectical laws of movement govern both

the chaos of the innumerable changes in nature and the history of human thought, that historical events, which appear fortuitous, are law-governed. That is why they closely followed new developments in natural science and mathematics; a dialectical materialist world outlook could not, in their view, be evolved without a thorough study of these sciences.

The founders of Marxism brushed aside as unscientific any speculative philosophy which, proceeding from general abstract notions, claimed to prescribe laws, methods and concepts for the sciences. And they denounced natural scientists who, though rightly opposing attempts by speculative philosophers to squeeze the objective world into the narrow framework of their abstractions, were contemptuous of all philosophy.

Although in the new historic conditions some propositions changed in form and were supplemented by fresh experience, and new conclusions replaced outdated ones, the dialectical-materialist concept of nature, formulated by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, remained unshakeable. *Dialectical materialism has become the methodical basis of modern natural science.*

In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, *Philosophical Notebooks* and *On the Significance of Militant Materialism* Lenin continued the philosophical generalization of natural science begun by Marx and Engels. And despite revisionist assertions there was a direct continuity between him and his predecessors.

Lenin made his generalizations under extremely difficult conditions. Naturalists, mostly physicists, spoke of the crisis in their particular science; they were incapable of theoretically comprehending the avalanche of new and startling facts that was descending upon them — facts about the unknown atomic world. Reactionary philosophy was bringing such strong pressure to bear that many naturalists holding Marxist views gave way under it. Lenin, who recognized no rigid formula, not only laid bare the causes of the crisis, but indicated the only possible way out of it.

Over 50 years have passed since that time. And what years they have been! The world has twice been plunged into the bloodbath of war; the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia heralded a new era in human history; one-third of the world's population has now stepped onto the road of socialism.

Tremendous changes have taken place in all spheres of technology and natural science. Scientists have learned to split the atomic nucleus and to generate three million times as much energy as is released by the same quantity of conventional fuel; soon they will learn to control thermo-nuclear reactions. Mankind has overcome the gravitation of the earth, created celestial bodies, delivered the great socialist state's pennant to the Moon and photographed the far side of it. And the day is not distant when people, presumably from the land of socialism, will for the first time make interplanetary flights. Mankind has produced cybernetic devices: automatons which are the "continuation" of our brain, just as the plough or the steam-hammer are the "continuation" of our hand. These devices carry out tens of thousands of operations a second, solve difficult mathematical and logical problems, control production processes and transport, translate from one language into another, etc. Wide use is made of synthetics — metal, alloys, polymers, plastics, radioactive isotopes, antibiotics — and the problem of the synthesis of proteins is close to being solved. Jet propulsion has reduced distances unbelievably. And when powerful dams and colossal accelerators of elementary particles, atomic power stations and atomic vessels have been built, mankind will carry out even grander — but certainly not utopian — plans for changing the climate in the polar and equatorial regions, bringing water to the Sahara, and so on.

The development of theoretical natural sciences has gone hand in hand with the amazing technological advance of our century. Its genuinely revolutionary ideas originated from the experimental science which uses increasingly complex apparatuses and consumes ever greater quantities of power and materials supplied to it by industry. These ideas are embodied in such extremely abstract theories — which are even beyond the grasp of "common sense" — as the theory of relativity, the quantum theory in physics, the wave theory of atom molecules in chemistry, the theory of the biochemical basis of inheritance in biology, etc. These theories have had a powerful impact on technological development and, through it, on the economy and everyday life of people.

The laws of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, have proved to be a true reflection of the most general, universal laws of material reality, and modern natural science is develop-

*ing precisely along the path foreseen by Marx, Engels and Lenin. And the more closely naturalists adhere to this path the greater their successes. This is one of the greatest triumphs of Marxist philosophy. For the basis of it was laid by Marx and Engels fifty years before Maria Sklodowska and Pierre Curie discovered the first traces of "radium, the great revolutionary," and long before the microworld with its "queer" laws opened up before science. When Lenin was writing his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, the works on quantum mechanics and the relativity theory were known to only a few specialists. Is it not amazing that the general philosophical laws deduced by Marx, Engels and Lenin from the experience of the macro-world alone were brilliantly confirmed by the discoveries of the micro-world (and also of the cosmic world, the mega-world) despite its peculiarity?*

II

There have been a number of striking examples of scientific prevision in the history of natural science. Calculations helped Leverrier, the French astronomer, to discover Neptune; in the same way the American Lowell discovered the planet Pluton; the Russian chemist Mendeleyev predicted the existence and the properties of three chemical elements, and the British physicist Dirac and the Japanese physicist Yukawa — the existence of positrons and mesons — new types of elementary particles. But these and other cases are overshadowed by the fact that all the basic conceptions and ideas of physics — the leading natural science — developed in the direction foreseen by Lenin.

Marxism does not introduce materialist dialectics into nature, but only reflects the objective existence of it. Our scientific world outlook and our method of knowledge have been able to express the dialectics of nature and in doing so have demonstrated such forceful theoretical thinking that only our social, economic and political theory can compete with it.

Marx, Engels and Lenin developed a theory which reflected the laws of capitalism and human history truly, a logically harmonious and consistent theory which had tremendous practical effects and became the practical guide for many countries and for hundreds of millions of people, a theory whose predictions (the inevitable collapse of the capitalist system, the triumph of the so-

cialist revolution, initially in one country, and the building of socialist and communist society) have been fully confirmed by history. It is not fortuitous that the works of Lenin, who carried forward this theory in the new conditions and who was the born leader of the proletariat which put this theory into practice, contain the dialectical-materialist methodology of modern natural science.

Not being a natural scientist, Lenin did not, in his works, analyze physical, physiological and similar theories but sought to safeguard the revolutionary teaching of the proletariat from the falsifications and distortions of the revisionists and the bourgeois adversaries of Marxism who made unwarranted reference to the achievements of natural science. Nevertheless, Lenin, holding the view that the natural, just as the social, sciences make up the scientific basis of Marxism, evolved the guiding ideas for resolving the philosophical problems of modern natural science, modern not only for Lenin but also for the people of the second half of the twentieth century. His solution of methodological problems has been confirmed by subsequent developments in natural science and points the way to its future evolution.

When, with the discovery of radioactivity, atoms could no longer be regarded as the indivisible and invariable ultimate building-stones of matter, the idealists declared atomism and materialism to be refuted. The inconstancy of mass was interpreted by them as implying that matter can disappear and appear from nothing. When it turned out that the laws of the electro-magnetic fields could not be reduced to the laws of mechanics, some physicists said that these fields did not exist in reality, that they were only conventional symbols invented by the scientists. Physicists tending to idealism hastened to declare the seeming discrepancy in the energy balance under the spontaneous splitting of atoms of heavy physical elements to be the "proof" that the law of the conservation of energy was not universal. The impossibility of perceiving molecules, atoms and electrons directly by our sense-organs was interpreted by "physical" idealists to mean that these objects were the product of "pure thought." The transition to a micro-world, to colossal energy concentrated in minute volumes and to velocities approaching the velocity of light, compelled the physicists to abandon the idea of an isolated body whose space dimensions, temporary duration and mass had up to then been regarded as its absolute "properties"

independent of its relative movement. The idealists then claimed that these properties were wholly subjective and contained nothing objective, that they were only relative and there was nothing absolute in them. They demanded that in evolving their theories natural scientists should be guided not by their correspondence with reality but by "economy of thought"; they called on natural scientists merely to confine themselves to describing phenomena and to abandon "futile" attempts to explain their objective nature.

These views passed from physics to chemistry, astronomy, biology and also to mathematics and psychology; they retarded the development of these sciences and distorted them. Lenin beat off this frontal attack against human progress. He showed that atomism, i.e., the theory of the corpuscular structure of matter is indefeasible since it reflects one aspect of matter, discontinuity, which in fact is in integral dialectic unity with continuity. He explained to the proponents of energetism that even the expression of all physical quantities through energy (which, however, is impossible) would not abolish matter, that abandoning the idea of an invariable mass did not at all affect that sole "property" of matter, i.e., that it is objective reality, which is the basis of materialism.

Lenin explained that our world outlook does not canonize any single, definite physical picture of the world. He pointed out time and time again that philosophy only solves the problem of the relation of knowledge to nature and not the problems of the structure of matter, its forms and specific laws which are the province of natural science. In noting the relative character of our natural scientific knowledge, which is conditioned by the inexhaustibility of matter, Lenin welcomed the replacement of old concepts by new ones, seeing in this the deepening of our knowledge. That is why he came out resolutely for substituting an electro-magnetic or some other more complex picture of the world for a mechanical picture, and supported, in particular, the idea of a planetary structure of the atom, noting, however, its transitory character. He revealed the utter groundlessness of attempts to "abrogate" the law of conservation of energy and, with it, materialism. Indeed, it soon turned out that radioactive, as all other processes were strictly governed by this law—an expression of the uncreatability, indestructibility,

eternal changeability of matter and its motion.

Lenin showed that the possibility of expressing physical laws mathematically was an achievement of physics and that mathematics, though the most abstract science, in the long run reflects the objective laws of nature. He proved that while all knowledge contains elements of relativity it likewise contains a particle of absolute truth, towards which science is gradually moving. In this science is guided not by the "economy of thought" but by the desire to give a true picture of objective reality with a view to changing it.

Thus Lenin did not merely refute the idealists, agnostics and metaphysicists; he also provided constructive solutions for the methodological problems of natural science which they falsified. *The whole complex of these solutions constitutes a comprehensive philosophical teaching on matter. This teaching not only confirms the correctness of materialism at a new historical stage but also serves as a guide for the philosophical interpretation of natural scientific research in our days.* It has been brilliantly confirmed by discoveries in the field of elementary particles — these as yet most simple constituents of matter. The discoveries showed that the hitherto known types of such particles (about 30) are interconvertible. Matter and its motion do not, under any conversions, disappear and do not appear from nothing; they only change their form, and their properties (mass, impulse, energy, the momentum of the quantity of movement, charges) are indestructible, which finds expression in the special laws of conservation. Thus one of the fundamental theses in dialectical materialism on the unity of matter and its motion has once again found corroboration in natural science. Thus Lenin's brilliant conclusion on the immeasurably more complex, rather than mechanic or electromagnetic, physical picture of the world has been substantiated.

In addition to this theory of matter Lenin left us a theory of the general forms of the existence of matter — space and time. He showed that no natural science is conceivable unless it recognizes the real existence of space and time, that they are essential conditions of material being. Though our conceptions of space and time are relative, they are developing and go to make up absolute truth. Material space, Lenin explained, is three-dimensional whereas conceivable many-dimensional spaces are merely its mathematical analogies of auxiliary scientific value. Space and time, he said, are dialectically contradictory and represent the unity of opposites — the discon-

tinual and the continual. The infinity of matter and of its motion should be understood dialectically, as being inexhaustible, and not as a simplified, abstract "wrong" infinity without distinctions.

Lenin further showed that natural science must recognize the existence of objective regularity, necessity and causality in nature. Our conceptions give only an approximate reflection of this objective regularity, artificially isolating one or another aspect of the single world process in which everything is interconnected in one way or another. The positivist interpretation of necessity as "a degree of probability in the expectation of effects," and of the laws of causality as "a limitation of expectation" is subjectivism.

All these propositions of Lenin have been strikingly confirmed by contemporary physics. The theory of relativity threw light on the dependence of the properties of space and time on matter and its motion. It confirmed that space and time are forms of the existence of matter and, therefore, cannot be divorced from it and hence from each other. It brought out that matter and motion are inseparably and organically linked, and banished mystic action in distance from physics. That many of the propositions of the relativity theory are paradoxical has confirmed Lenin's idea that in discovering the "bizarre" in nature, the human mind increases its power over it. The quantum theory signified a denial of mechanic causality, the inclusion of probability into causality. According to quantum physics and in full conformity with dialectical materialism contingency is part of necessity. It has been proved that probability expresses the objective relations of things and is the measure of translating possibility into reality. Probability laws of quantum physics are not subjective; they depend essentially on the properties of physical objects. Quantum laws are statistical not because they are not precise, but because they refer to micro-objects of a dual, corpuscular-wave nature, micro-objects which emit and absorb energy by indivisible quanta. The discovery of this internally contradictory structure of matter explains also the apparent purposefulness of physical processes, eliminates the last vestiges of teleology from natural science, the concept of some absolute necessity imposed on nature from outside.

Thus in essence modern natural science is objectively dialectical-materialist; its method is materialist dialectics, its philosophy is dialectical materialism. This is a stubborn fact no

matter how contemporary bourgeois philosophers and the natural scientists under their influence try to disprove it.

Dialectical materialism became the philosophy of modern natural science because it is the only philosophy that reflects reality adequately, in all its richness, and without obscurity. Representing, as it does, a great revolution in the history of philosophy, dialectical materialism has made man's practical activity a criterion of knowledge; it did not, consequently, rest satisfied with merely explaining the world but set about changing it radically. Without claiming to be a "system" admitting of no further development, dialectical materialism demands, as Lenin stressed repeatedly, that its separate theses should not be applied in a rigid, immutable form, but that they be enriched and, if necessary, revised honestly and frankly and replaced by new theses from its general and unshakable principles and in keeping with the latest discoveries in natural science and the new conditions of social life.

In this connection Lenin's method of criticism is important — it is uncompromising, makes no concessions to idealism, is sharp as it strikes down bitter enemies of Marxism, yet always analyzes the arguments of opponents, never makes "general" remarks and scrupulously separates the objectively progressive significance of this or that conception from reactionary subjective interpretations of it. Anyone who really intends to go into the ideas hostile to dialectical materialism should use precisely this method. And while pursuing his principled line he should acquire everything valuable that has been accumulated by science.

III

With the victory of the socialist revolution, the elimination of capitalist antagonisms, with the free growth of the productive forces and techniques, natural science was given, first in the USSR and later in all socialist countries, a powerful impetus and it actively contributes to the building of a new social system. Today, no one dares dispute the splendid achievements of Soviet science, particularly in the spheres of mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, geography, medicine and technical sciences. The space rockets have emblazoned these achievements in the history of mankind.

Soviet natural science owes its amazing advance to the fact that it is guided by the methodological principles of Lenin, to the fact that, in contrast to bourgeois society, all scientific and technological achievements un-

der socialism have become the possession of the whole people and will never be used as instruments of oppression or exploitation. The science based upon Marxist-Leninist ideology has for a long time strongly attracted the progressive scientists in the West and East. A camp of militant champions of modern materialism in philosophy and science has been formed.

The optimism of Lenin, who affirmed that natural science would inevitably overcome the crisis, has been justified. While at the turn of the century, in view of the transition from the macro-world to the micro-world, some scientists — non-dialecticians — went over to idealism and agnosticism and could not replace old mechanic concepts by new ones, materialism and dialectics (whether consciously or spontaneously) gradually forced their way, and scientists became familiar with new and unusual concepts. The quantum and relativity theories have been developed; each interprets in an essentially dialectical-materialist way the achievements of modern physics, and both seek to overcome their difficulties and to achieve synthetic unity. The scientists have become familiar with an idea which was quite alien to nineteenth-century natural science, that with the penetration on a quantitatively different scale into the realm of phenomena one may come across qualitatively new concepts and laws. We may hope therefore that, though in future a more profound knowledge of elementary particles or Metagalaxy will pose new problems and bring about great revolutionary changes in science, and though the idealists and metaphysicists will clearly again attempt to speculate on these changes, a new crisis in natural science will not set in.

A process of ideological dissociation has been under way for decades among natural scientists and intellectuals generally in the capitalist countries. It is especially intense in the conditions of the present-day ideological struggle which embraces all manifestations of social consciousness. In the course of this struggle prominent intellectuals in the capitalist world, scientists such as P. Langevin, F. Joliot Curie, J. Bernal, D. Struik and others adopted dialectical materialism. Whereas during the crisis in natural science some scientists deflected from spontaneous materialism to agnosticism and others from agnosticism to subjective idealism, the general trend of the ideological turn at present is diametrically opposite. An increasing number of scientists are relinquishing the idealist views they

have held for decades and are adopting materialism or approaching it in one way or another. More and more scientists are not only courageously fighting for the progressive political ideas of our times, for peaceful coexistence and friendship between nations, for total disarmament and for the putting of scientific and technological achievements to peaceful use, but are also upholding dialectical materialism in their own particular science and safeguarding it from the influence of reactionary philosophy.

At the same time, the process of "washing away the center" — the natural scientists who are "neutral" as far as philosophy is concerned — means that some of them deflect to the right and fall under the influence of imperialist ideology. The powerful propaganda machine of monopoly capital is spearheaded against Marxism, dialectical materialism. And, as has always been the case, the anti-materialist and anti-dialectical philosophical schools adorn themselves with "scientific" feathers, seize upon the temporary difficulties of natural science and misinterpret its achievements.

Nowadays "physical" and "natural scientific" idealism generally takes on forms different from those of 50 years ago when Lenin revealed its gnosiological and social nature. At the turn of our century, when the fundamental principles of physics were undermined by the discovery of radioactivity and electrons, the Austrian physicist Mach could deny the reality of electromagnetic fields and the German scientist Ostwald — of atoms and molecules, though even then the materialist physicists Boltzmann, Planck and Stoltetov severely criticized these subjectivist views. Later, however, science refuted this "sceptical" attitude to reality. It was science that furnished incontestable evidence of the reality of the objects it studied, for it first created them, then took them out of the laboratories and passed them over to factory workshops, from whence they made their way into everyday life. It is inconceivable how the idealist petty trends can uphold the basic Machian thesis on the "disappearance of matter" now that radio engineering, electronics and radar have strikingly proved the existence of electromagnetic fields, now that a new nuclear industry is producing unstable isotopes (a variety of chemical elements) which have not been discovered in the knowable part of the universe, isotopes of which wide use is being made in industry, agriculture and medicine! Has not science, by controlling nuclear

energy, provided the most weighty argument, mortal in fact for idealism, in favor of the real existence of physical objects?

It is quite natural that in these conditions positivism which has for a long time prevailed among the scientists of the capitalist world, is losing one position after another. Prominent scientists, such as de Broglie, Bohr, Born and Heisenberg, who vehemently upheld subjective idealist views for thirty years, are now abandoning them. Their views, they declare, were erroneous; they recognize in one way or another that a scientist must "postulate that he is studying a world he has not created himself, but which would be there, essentially unchanged, even if he were not." This retreat from subjective idealism often takes the shape of a frank and courageous recognition of the correctness of materialism; that is what Louis de Broglie did. But scientists are not always consistent in revising their views, not always does such revision lead them to dialectical materialism; the re-assessment of values occasionally results in attempts to restore some of the mechanistic concepts. In abandoning subjective idealism some scientists come to objective idealism. While recognizing physical reality they deny that matter is primary and consciousness secondary and regard the world as the embodiment of an Idea which creates material nature; in fact they hold the religious view. Irrespective of their subjective desires this plays into the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie who need something more "reliable" than positivism in the struggle against the triumphant march of our philosophy. Propagating downright fideism — platonism and particularly neo-Thomism — the reactionary forces seek not only to put an ideological curb on the mass of the working people but also to compel the scientists to participate in the arms drive, in preparations for a war of annihilation.

In order that Marxism may successfully counter the influence of reactionary philosophy in natural science, the alliance between Marxist philosophers and natural scientists must, as Lenin taught us, be consistently strengthened.

And to consolidate this alliance it is essential to overcome the dogmatic approach of some Marxist philosophers to natural science; their desire to resolve its methodological problems with the help of quotations, and without taking the changed conditions into account; their erroneous attempts to declare the theory of relativity, cybernetics, and the application of physics and mathematics in biology,

etc., to be anti-scientific, idealist or mechanistic on the absurd ground that reactionary philosophy speculates on these theories. Another and equally important condition is to overcome the disfavor with which some natural scientists — whose reaction to mistakes made by individual philosophers has been wrong — look upon philosophy. For, as Lenin said and as the development of modern natural science had confirmed, scientists will not be able to find the answer to the philosophical problems posed by the scientific-technological revolution, and will find themselves helpless in their philosophical conclusions and generalizations unless they master materialist dialectics. And, lastly, of exceptionally great importance is the ability to combine an uncompromising critique of idealist and mechanistic falsification of modern natural science with a patient and careful approach to the natural scientists, with an understanding of

the difficulties which many of them come up against in breaking with their traditional way of thinking and consciously assimilating Marxist philosophy. The method of command and coercion is even more out of place in the sphere of science than in any other field, and is not a substitute for the method of persuasion.

The more Marxist philosophers elaborate the methodological problems of natural science and the more natural scientists not only study Marxist philosophy but actively apply it in their particular field, the greater will their contribution be in carrying out the program mapped out by Lenin. Historical progress has posed before the Communist and Workers' parties the task of helping forward the realization of this magnificent Leninist program which opens to many generations to come vast and breath-taking vistas.

A Playwright on Lenin

Nikolai Pogodin

These notes belong to the realm of poetry rather than to the sphere of theory, and the reader might think it strange that they are being published in a journal such as WORLD MARXIST REVIEW. Yet Lenin, the man, has gripped the imagination of people all over the world and it is only natural that their minds should be drawn to the realm of the arts, especially in the socialist countries where, in one form or another, art workers are trying to re-create the image of Lenin. Nikolai Pogodin, author of the article below, has done much in this respect for the Soviet theatre, and his experience may help, at least in part, to demonstrate the trend of this searching in the Soviet Union.

I
WHEN in 1936 our country was preparing to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the Central Committee of the Party invited a group of Soviet authors to write about the landmarks in the history of the Soviet state and the Party; it pointed out how important it was that the image of Lenin should be re-created for the people through the medium of art. Had this call not been made, then it is difficult to say how long the figure of Lenin would have remained outside the compass of the theatre and cinema.

I was in a daze. It took me a long time before I could accustom myself to the idea that I would have to write just as if Lenin himself had spoken. Lenin, the man of genius, Lenin the beloved, Lenin who opened up the era of communism. The writers of the older generation—Trenev, for example, author of the well-known revolutionary play, *Lyubov Yarovaya*—felt much the same as I did about it. Lenin appears in his play, *On the Banks of the Neva*, but he does not speak a word.

The emotional factor in the work of the writer is a truly mysterious thing; it cannot

be explained away and, in any case, does not need explaining. Chekhov always proffered the advice that the writer should take to his pen in a calm state of mind, that he should always let off steam beforehand. Chekhov spoke in this way because he himself was a writer in whom the emotional pulse vibrated strongly. The emotional element knows no rules, it is an exclusively personal quality, yet, without it there can be no true work of art. I would not have repeated this hoary truism if not for the fact that some people tend to think that not only is emotion out of place in relation to political leaders, but that it is positively harmful. In their view there is no need and it is even wrong to depict great leaders in the world of art in the fashion of the artists of the Renaissance, and there should certainly be none of Shakespeare's emotional license.

By emotional license I mean impulse and passion—the infinite manifestation of these in any great character—but these either scare us, or slip from us if we are too rational in our approach to political figures.

In 1937, together with the Soviet actor Boris Shchukin, I began at the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow to sketch a theatrical portrait of Lenin. Shchukin, I knew, had immersed himself in Lenin's writings but did not quote him when working on the part. One cannot play a part consisting of apt quotations and explicit political concepts. One has to act the man as he was in real life, the real *man*, and not a summarized version of him, not as one pictures him from recollections, or as a marble monument. I knew that despite the awe in which I stood of the personality of Lenin, I had to re-create his image as I would that of any other figure. Otherwise I would come to grief; the portrayal would not be true to life, the quotations would come first and they, undoubtedly, would be patchwork in the fabric of the play.

It was a pleasure to work with Shchukin because we were doing the same thing. I, too, had rehearsals and long ones they were. I sat for days on end over Lenin's works and wrote out the most striking, typically Leninist phrases and expressions. In this way I studied Lenin's language without, however, intending to use his phrases wholesale in my future play. Only at the end of *The Man with the Gun*, and for specific reasons, did I include some sentences almost word for word. One of these reasons was the amazement I felt at the prophetic words in which Lenin expressed

the entire essence and nature of the future armed forces of socialist states.

Afterwards I destroyed my notes in order to go over unhampered to the language of Lenin. It seemed to me that I had associated with Lenin so much, had conversed with him so frequently in private that his words, voice and laughter resounded in my ears. And it was a source of joy to me that Shchukin and I had tackled the job of re-creating the image of Lenin in the same way—through sensual perception, through the heart as well as the mind, through life and not through books.

I thought it highly interesting and important, for instance, to show Lenin's talk with the rank-and-file soldier who had only just left the trenches. This episode was designed to reveal two aspects of Lenin's personality: his greatness and his simplicity. The greatness derived not from the image existing by itself, but from association with the people, of whom Shadrin was the representative. The perspicacity of the leader, his profound understanding of human psychology, the force of his power of persuasion—these factors combined with a rare simplicity in talking with people completely changed the soldier's outlook. This was an historical change, rather than a personal one.

I should say that I attach paramount importance to original sources, i.e., to Lenin's speeches, books, letters and notes—the places in which one finds the real Lenin. As far as I am concerned I learn more about Lenin from his own writings than I would from an entire book of excellent recollections. But what is of paramount importance does not mean that it is of exclusive importance. Krupskaya's words that all that was human was dear to Lenin, or Gorky's point about Lenin finding the time at work to re-read the hunting scene in *War and Peace* are important just because they show that human touch which brings us closer to Lenin, which enables us to grasp the greatness of his personality. Still, for the writer the original sources are of cardinal importance, for there is nothing truer or more powerful.

Of the many examples from Lenin's works that could be cited in proof of this, I shall mention just one.

At a meeting of Party functionaries in Moscow on November 27, 1918, Lenin said:

"... We are heading for communism, that is a certainty."

The words enunciated forty years ago amaze one. What conviction! What enthusi-

asm! What strength of character! Even if the dry text-book view is taken of the state of affairs in Soviet Russia towards the end of 1918—even then one is struck by the compelling power of the man bold enough to pronounce such words at that time. But a writer should not picture the past from a theoretical or bookish angle. And were he to enter into the living world of the Moscow of 1918 he would behold a titanic Shakespearian character, possibly unfathomable, a character which will unfold in its greatness down the centuries, a character which engages the attention of men's minds. I do not know how it strikes other people, but as for me, I still cannot comprehend how in those incredibly difficult times, Lenin could speak of communism with such conviction—it was as if he saw the lights of the huge power stations at Kuibyshev, Stalingrad and on the Angara. It cannot be that in speaking thus Lenin was oblivious as to what "communism" implied from the material point of view to the economy, and the state it was in at the time. That is out of the question. Lenin had a thorough knowledge of the economy of tsarist Russia. And probably no other state leader of that time had the courage to speak so frankly and fearlessly of the economic situation that obtained as a result of World War I.

And so? . . .

And so we revert to the concept of the emotional. We should seek in our image of Lenin the inspiring features of radiance, which are the hallmarks of the mind of a genius, the foresight, and much else in which the great minds of the world abound. We have, I think, left behind our childhood years with their narrow interpretation of socialist realism, and there is no need for me to prove that radiance and foresight have nothing in common with romantic mysticism.

II

The rehearsals of the *Kremlin Chimes* at the Moscow Art Theatre were long and difficult. I do not propose to go into the details of our work on this play, but I do want to make the point that one of the chief difficulties was the task of portraying Lenin on the stage.

And this is what happened:

What I wanted to show in Lenin was his dedication to an aim, the lofty flight of his thought, his creative fantasy, in other words his indefatigable striving to re-make the world. A man of inexhaustible energy, whose

mind was constantly working — that is how I saw Lenin in this play. At the same time I strove to portray him as the personification of the triumphant revolution and the victorious people. Our primary search was for a single entity which would dominate in the image of Lenin throughout the play. He is monolithic, we reiterated, as this word inevitably arose in the mind, but it did not convey enough. A monolith consists of something homogeneous. And Lenin's dream of electrifying Russia runs through the *Kremlin Chimes* . . . But this did not imply that we should look for the dreamer only in the Leninist stage image and build our monolith of Lenin on this quality. That would indeed be a strange thing to do. So what were we to do? For, as they say in the theatre, the actor has to "live" the part for a long time, and to do that he must grow into his role. Having become confused in our definitions of the "monolithic," we finally ended up with a poster Lenin—a staunch, indomitable Lenin, a Lenin true to the end to the worker-peasant cause. Why do I describe these wonderful qualities as poster qualities? Because they are so obviously great that they convey only a general idea of the man, while the man himself is lost. Just as it happens that one does not see the wood for the trees, so one can fail to see the trees for the wood—or even the kind of trees growing in the wood. Art is concerned with the evergreen tree of life, and our search through the medium of the mind, that is, our speculative search, was a dismal failure, for in the play Lenin acted extremely well, but he just did not live.

It was then that V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, one of the founders of the Art Theatre, its guiding light, came to the rescue. I was sure that he wanted to re-cast the play, that he had already decided how each scene should be acted. Having passed the parts in which Lenin figured through his mental laboratory, his mind's eye saw them perfected, ideologically and poetically—an artist by vocation, he never separated the two.

Nemirovich-Danchenko demolished our static monolith, beautiful and impressive though it was. It is true that time and again at rehearsals he stressed that Lenin, no matter what the circumstances, would always remain true to himself and here the monolith was vital, dynamic; but Lenin was infinite. His personality was truly gigantic. There is rich unity of personality—and it is fathomless. And there is poor unity—it is fatiguingly monotonous and shallow.

I would like to give one example as a case in point. I refer to the night scene when, after the meeting of the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin steps out on to the boulevard near the Kremlin embankment. He chats with the sailor Rybakov, and tells him that he, Lenin, sometimes has his flights of fancy . . . and a monologue follows about his dream of electrifying Russia.

His dream. . . . And what was Lenin like at that particular moment? How to convey his mood? How does he speak of his dream?

And Nemirovich-Danchenko said to us:

—He is a man burning with indignation.

This unexpected and astonishing reply contained the essence of his concept of the image of Lenin. Nemirovich-Danchenko, the great sage of the theatre, wanted to see on the stage a man who was wholly unusual, the Lenin of everyday life, and his approach to the creation of this artistic image was dialectical.

"Lenin is indignant," he said at rehearsals. "His eyes burn . . . he is impatient" (these, I remember, were the exact words). "He is indignant because Russia is poverty-stricken, devastated, dark. . . ."

He is not, of course, angry or exasperated. In Russian the word "indignant" signifies an exalted state. And Lenin's dream was permeated with exalted indignation against the grim reality which in those days reduced many to a state of utter dejection. . . . In a word, Lenin's flight of imagination had nothing in common with the dreamy state of the highbrow full of wishful thinking and good intentions.

But nowadays Nemirovich-Danchenko's treatment of this scene is not so important for us. The main thing is to understand his approach to re-creating the image of Lenin. I can add nothing further to his view, and there is really nothing to elaborate, for it is clear and simple.

III

. . . Nearly two decades separate the *Kremlin Chimes* from the *Part Three—La Pathétique*, the last play of the trilogy. A fairly long interval, but a necessary one if I was to show the image of Lenin conveyed in this play. The image had to be dynamic and consistent. I could no longer confine myself to sketching the figure: it had to be completed, painstakingly, with profound care. Especially as the action of the drama took place

in 1923-24—one of the grimmest periods in the history of the Soviet state: the time of NEP, when things were difficult and tense in the Party. The critical political situation in the country was aggravated by Lenin's illness. These factors determined the tragic note that sounds in the play, the pathos of the drama. Hence the title—*La Pathétique*. With us, for some reason, *pathétique* is usually understood to signify joy; actually, however, it at once conveys the feeling both of joy and of sorrow—the sublime. And it was this combination that I wished to bring out in the play. I wanted to portray a man whose mind was always at work, to disclose the magnitude of Lenin's nature which combined the features of the popular leader and the "most human of humans," to make Lenin's immortality the keynote of the play—this was the aim of the drama.

I have already said the action of the play takes place at a hard time in the life of our country and the Party. The play shows the impact NEP had on the processes then taking place in the Party and among the working class.

It was important to stress that Lenin was departing from us at a time when the political situation was critical and tense. And the fact that he was profoundly conscious of this deepened the tragedy.

The factory scene was not one of the usual meetings with the workers; Lenin had come to bid farewell to the working class. Before departing from us he felt he had to find out for himself what the thoughts, hopes and aspirations of the workers were, to re-affirm his faith in the proletariat, for "all our hopes, our entire future, and our life as a whole are in the hands of the proletariat in whom we can never be deceived." This faith is the source of the tremendous optimism of Lenin and it was this that I wished to convey.

The tragic is accompanied by the optimistic. Lenin was mortally sick yet he could say: "I feel fine"—there lies the true pathetic, the entire substance of the play. The feature of Lenin's character which I sought to bring out as vividly as I could was his love of people, his faith in them.

* * *

In the world of art there can be no ideas without feeling just as there can be no feeling without action. Whether we are painting a portrait of Lenin, acting him in films or writing about him, we should seek everywhere that holy of holies, the great Leninist heart.

Unity—the Way to Victory

Fernando Claudin

THE Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain was held over 28-31 January.

The resolution based on the report submitted, pointed out that the Congress had convened at a time when "the political crisis of the Franco regime had become most acute, and the country was experiencing the most difficult times since the establishment of the dictatorship."

Frequently in the Spanish press one can read items to the effect that the present difficulties, which are no longer denied even by ministers, are not due solely to unfavorable business conditions; they are deeply rooted in the economic structure. Despite the censorship some of the commentaries go so far as to say that in the last twenty years the government's economic policy, far from alleviating the illness, has worsened it.

The fact is that the productive forces, though in the past twenty years under Franco dictatorship they have been developing much more slowly than in other capitalist countries, are in sharp conflict with the semi-feudal production relations and the dominant monopolies. For many years the working class, politically suppressed as a result of the defeat in the civil war in 1939, was unable to offer any effective resistance to the monopoly oligarchy. Through the medium of fascist dictatorship and state-monopoly capitalism, by means of ruthless exploitation of the working class and plunder of the peasants, urban middle sections and non-monopoly bourgeoisie, the oligarchy pursued the line of artificially stepping up production purely for the sake of its own enrichment.

If in the years 1935-58 the overall profits of the six big banks increased almost 35-fold, and food prices rose more than 11-fold, the rise in the nominal hourly wage of the worker was from 3.7 to five times. The intensified exploitation of the working class was accompanied by the ruin of the poor and middle peasants who in the search for work were forced, together with masses of farm laborers, to migrate to the cities. As compared with

the years preceding the civil war, the share of the middle bourgeoisie in industry and trade has fallen sharply, to the benefit of the monopolists.

The declining purchasing power of the people, the stagnation in agriculture—largely the result of the existence of feudal latifundia—and the growing dependence on the foreign monopolies, chiefly those of the U.S., have gravely affected the home market, causing it to lag behind even the poor growth of production. At the same time the high cost of manufactured goods (notwithstanding the miserable wages) — the result of the highly depreciated industrial plant and heavy taxation — prejudices their competitive capacity on the world market. The export of citrus fruits and other agricultural products, comprising the bulk of Spanish foreign trade items, is likewise encountering growing difficulties on the world market. And since the import of machinery and raw materials for industry depends on the sale of these items, Franco's vaunted industrialization has landed in a blind alley. In fact it reached that point early in 1957. And this was one of the reasons for some of the changes made in the Franco government, changes made with a view to adopting a "new" line in economic policy.

The blow caused by the outbreak of the latest cyclical crisis in the United States and also by the measures of the European states in devaluating their currencies and making them convertible* accelerated and aggravated the chronic economic crisis in Spain. The trade deficit rose from 842.2 million gold pesetas (July 1958) to the unprecedented figure of 1,290.7 million (June 1959). Exports covered only 50 per cent of the imports, the gold reserve was exhausted and the government was unable to meet the urgent foreign trade commitments. In mid-1959, in an effort to stave off bankruptcy, the Franco government accepted the terms of European and U.S. finance capital. This was the genesis

*The effect of these blows can be gauged from the fact that 58 per cent of Spanish exports goes to the OEEC countries and nearly 12 per cent to the United States.

of the "stabilization plan." Its purpose is to shift the consequences of the twenty-year economic policy of the Franco dictatorship onto the shoulders of the working class, the peasantry, the urban middle sections and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie.

The execution of this plan has cut the income of most workers by approximately 40 per cent compared with August 1959, when the plan got under way and when the Spanish workers' living standard was the lowest in Europe. Tens of thousands have been thrown out of work and unemployment is still rising. Thousands of small and medium enterprises have either gone bankrupt or are on the verge of bankruptcy. But despite the sharp fall in the standard of living and the devaluation of the peseta (by 30 per cent, more than during 1935-42 largely as a consequence of the civil war) and despite the considerable cuts in credits and investments, stabilization has not been achieved. Government prices for some items and the charges for basic communal services have been raised and there are alarming signs of instability of the peseta. Capital is being channeled out of the country in devious ways and the business slump continues. Foreign investments, on which Franco's ministers placed high hopes, are still negligible. Quotations of the shares of the main companies are still sharply declining on the stock exchange.

These are only the first returns of the "stabilization plan." A point worth noting is that the Franco government has not yet honored all its promises to remove the curbs on foreign trade and the convertibility of the peseta, promises made to the international finance bodies, which for the time being saved it from bankruptcy. The ultimate aim of the "stabilization plan" is to secure Spain's entry into the Common Market and other organizations set up by the European and American monopolists. And when we recall that labor productivity in Spanish agriculture is only one-third of the average level for the OEEC countries, and in industry only one half, it will be seen that the plan spells ruin for large numbers of manufacturers and farmers.

According to the economist Larraz, some 6-7 million hectares subject to drought (practically the entire area under grain crops) will be turned into pasture. Other economists estimate that from six to seven million urban and rural toilers—55 per cent of the gainfully employed population—will be out of work. With a view to adapting it to the needs of

European "integration," the rationalization plan for the textile industry envisages the scrapping of 500,000 spindles and 20,00 looms. It goes without saying that only the small and medium enterprises, which occupy a considerable place in the textile industry, will be affected by this measure. Commentaries in economic journals testify to the gravity of the situation. *El economista*, in an editorial on December 5, 1959, commented on the "alarming period which we are now experiencing," about the "economic 'indefiniteness'" and about the fact that Spain, "now face to face with the whole of Europe, is in a critical situation, because her economic future is at stake."

* * *

The worsening of the economic situation has accelerated the political disintegration of the dictatorship. Every day sees new sections of people joining in the activities of the opposition. In recent times in almost all parts of the country the lawyers' colleges have adopted anti-Franco resolutions, and the leadership is passing into the hands of those who are opposed to Franco. Judges and court officials are demanding higher salaries. In Seville they even held a strike in support of these demands. Teachers, whose salaries are miserably low, are also joining in the struggle. Nor is the Army immune to opposition sentiment. Recently the War Minister undertook a tour of the major garrisons to soften the discontent. On June 18 last year, when the call was made for a nationwide general strike, the police, civil guard and even members of the secret police openly sympathized with the anti-Franco movement. This attitude is due to the general situation in the country and also to the fact that the rank and file live in poverty. In order to **make ends meet**, members of the police, for **instance**, are forced to do part-time jobs after duty and this, in a way, draws them closer to the workers. Most army officers, despite their privileged position, find it hard to live on their pay. The same is true of court officials, doctors employed in the social insurance system, college professors and many other professional people.

Even some monopoly circles, for reasons of their own, of course, are against the regime, which has neither the prestige nor the stability needed to make the people bear the burden of the "stabilization plan." The oligarchy is faced with the urgent problem of political changes which it would prefer to

come from above rather than from below, i.e. by mass action in the streets.

The fact that Franco is still in the saddle is due to insufficient political unity among the forces opposing him. Most of the leaders—Right, Center and in some cases even Left leaders—fear the activity of the people in overthrowing the dictatorship, fear the part they might play in the future democratic state. The main reason, then, is fear of democracy. Aware of the growth of the Communist Party's influence and its organizational strength the leaders of the opposition, anxious about the future, find themselves in a vicious circle. Their fear of the working class and the Communist Party dooms them to passivity and inactivity—a situation which only serves to stress the militant spirit of our Party in the eyes of the masses. Meanwhile, the lack of close unity in the camp of the opposition and the absence of a joint program that may be the constructive alternative to the regime enable Franco to cling to power.

Still, in the last year or so, headway has been made in the matter of unity, as is evident from the nationwide support for the policy of national conciliation proclaimed by the Communist Party in 1956. In 1958 our Party was alone in calling on the people to celebrate the Day of National Conciliation. But last year fourteen parties and organizations joined us in the preparations for the nationwide strike on June 18. Among them were Socialists, Cenetists (members of the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor), Catholics and Liberals. This was an important achievement. The emigre leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party residing in Toulouse, who counselled the people not to take part in the strike, were isolated.

Of no little importance is the evolution that has taken place in the underground organizations of this party; they, contrary to the passive, anti-communist line of their Executive in exile, favor united action with the Communists and mass struggle as the only democratic way out of the crisis. Both the functionaries and the rank and file of the Socialist Party at home are, undoubtedly, influenced by their surroundings. They are alarmed at the dangerous course steered by the European Social Democrats. The Spanish Socialists criticize the policies and program of their European counterparts as well as their own. They realize that if their party is to extend its influence it must move to the Left, become more like the Communist Party and establish co-operation with it.

The need for united action is beginning to be felt in bourgeois circles, too. A recent meeting of the Catalan parties declared that co-operation with the Communists was needed in order to fight against the dictatorship. Many Liberals, although with vacillations and reservations, have also recognized this and maintain contact with our Party. The same is true of the National Liberation Front (Progressive Catholics). Even in the Spanish Union (Monarchist Party) there are people who ever since June 18 feel that the time is ripe to come to terms with the Communists.

The desire to work with the Communists in the fight for freedom and everyday demands is expressed by many members of the Catholic Action and Catholic Youth League fraternities. The idea of unity is supported by numerous petty officials of the government-sponsored trade unions who are well acquainted with the conditions of the masses.

The Sixth Congress of our Party appealed to all the opposition forces, including the Monarchists, Socialists, Cenetists and Republicans, to take part in a round-table parley with a view to reaching understanding and elaborating a plan for joint action against the dictatorship and ensuring peaceful transition to a democratic system. The program which the Congress has submitted for discussion contains the following points:

1. Joint struggle to overthrow the dictatorship through a peaceful national strike.
2. Restoration of all democratic rights without any discrimination whatsoever.
3. An amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles, including those who have been tried for participation in the civil war irrespective of their past allegiance to either camp. Abolition of capital punishment.
4. Better conditions for workers, peasants, office employees, civil servants, and for the population generally.
5. A foreign policy favoring peaceful co-existence.
6. Elections to the Constituent Assembly with full guarantee of universal suffrage so that the people can vote freely for the system of their choice.

The Communist Party has declared its readiness to support a provisional government endorsing this program either by participating in it or by assisting it from the outside.

The efforts of the Communist Party to achieve understanding among all the anti-

Franco forces on the basis of national conciliation are opposed by some of the emigre politicians, for instance, the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party and some of the Right-wing leaders at home who want to restore the monarchy through a coup d'état. But their attempts to elaborate a suitable form of government without the participation of the people are hardly likely to be successful, because the monarchy has lost all prestige. For his part, Franco has not yet expressed any intention of yielding to the pressure of the monarchists. Incidentally, even the Socialist leaders, whose policy of passivity and division actually facilitates restoring the monarchy, have publicly denounced its restoration.

While the Communist Party is patiently working for understanding at the top, it is also doing everything to organize and extend the unity of the masses. The period between the V and VI congresses of the Party was characterized by rising mass struggles, strikes, and actions by peasants, students and other sections. Of special significance were the big strikes of the Asturian miners and the general solidarity strike in Barcelona in support of the miners, the strikes in Guipuzcoa and the boycott of the city transport in Madrid and Barcelona. Nationwide action such as the National Conciliation Day on May 5, 1958, and the general strike on May 18, 1959 (in which, in addition to the workers, some 200,000 farm laborers took part) was taken for the first time. Unity is taking shape in this struggle, but the unity needed to realize the main aim of the moment—the overthrow of the dictatorship—has not yet been achieved. Summing up the reasons why the national strike of June 18 was not as successful as it could have been — in view of the favorable response of the people—the Central Committee drew the conclusion (which was later endorsed by the Congress) that there was not enough organizational work in the factories, on the farms and in the residential districts.

Learning from this lesson, many of the factories after June 18 set up unity committees in which in addition to the anti-Franco trade union delegates, workers of all political trends enjoying prestige among their comrades are taking part. The Sixth Congress of the Party revealed that the task of the moment is to help in setting up these committees not only at factories but also in districts and provinces and not only among the workers,

but also among the peasants, students and professional people.

The Sixth Congress placed before the Party the following main task for the immediate future—to launch a united mass movement against the consequences of the "stabilization plan," to combat redundancy, to secure effective measures against unemployment, against the decline in the workers' earnings as a result of eliminating overtime, bonuses and allowances, to increase wages everywhere; to step up the struggle of the peasants for fair prices, against excessive taxation and arbitrary action by government middlemen, against the abuses perpetrated by the banks and the monopolies; to organize the struggle of the small and medium traders and manufacturers against the exorbitant taxation, for bigger and cheaper credits, against incorporating Spain into the Common Market.

The Congress decisions called for a campaign to secure an amnesty and to extend the movement for peace, utilizing legal and semi-legal opportunities.

The plan adopted by the Congress is to ensure that all the political and economic actions, all the efforts to achieve understanding and co-ordinated action by the opposition should fuse into another nationwide strike. The experience of June 18 last year testifies that the objective conditions exist for this. The idea of using this more effective method of struggling is winning more and more supporters not only among the workers but also among the leaders of the opposition groups. The Party includes in this form of struggle not only political strikes by the working class but also action by other classes and sections who can express their protest either by stopping their usual work or by some other means. The army and police units can express their solidarity with the people in the event of a nationwide strike through fraternization. In a word, what is needed is to make known the will of the nation by means of vigorous and effective action.

* * *

The Party does not restrict itself to the immediate tasks. The Sixth Congress adopted an extensive democratic program of political, economic and cultural measures which will be carried out the moment the dictatorship is overthrown. These measures include the proclamation of a democratic parliamentary republic, self-determination for Catalonia,

Bascony, and Galicia,* raising the standard of living, easing conditions for the middle sections, curbing the power of the monopolies, educational reform and, above all, an agrarian reform as the basic structural reform for the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution.

The program is explicit about the Party's attitude to the colonial question. It provides for strict observation of Spain's agreements with Morocco, respect for Morocco's sovereignty and close relations between the two countries and with other Maghreb countries, solidarity with and full support of all peoples who have won freedom from colonialism or who are fighting for national liberation, including the peoples of the Spanish colonies in Africa.

Now that a revolutionary situation is again maturing in Spain, that the country is on the threshold of great events, the Communist Party alone offers a truly democratic program—the product of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems confronting the people. In the struggle against the Franco dictatorship the working class is playing the leading role, whereas the political forces of the petty bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats and anarchists are manifesting weakness and indecision.

Alongside the measures for the democratic period of the revolution, i.e., immediately after the overthrow of Franco, the program contains the ultimate aims of the Party, and outlines possible forms of carrying out the socialist revolution and effecting socialist changes. These points are of vital concern to the peasants, the middle sections and the intellectuals who want to know: "What will happen when we get rid of Franco and restore the democratic system?" What will be the future of this system? These sections appreciate that the working class led by the Communist Party will be the decisive force of the new democracy; they know that the working class will not stop half-way, and they realize that the whole world is moving in the direction of socialism.

The desire to overcome the chronic backwardness of the country, but without becoming involved in another civil war, is gripping more and more people. The twenty-year dictatorship of the monopoly oligarchy has shown that the latter cannot resolve this

vital national problem, even at the cost of blood and suffering. The republic in the early 'thirties, which was headed by the bourgeoisie, also displayed impotence in this respect, and of this the younger generation, as well as the older generation, is aware.

The politically active sections are beginning to realize that the only way to national regeneration lies through a vigorous and strong democracy headed by the working class acting in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals, the urban middle sections and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. This should be a democracy which, overcoming the resistance of the monopolies and landowners, would initiate a series of far-reaching social reforms. And when the time comes and the necessary economic and political conditions mature, this democracy should, without hesitation, shift from restricting the monopoly rule to expropriating the monopolists, and carry out socialist measures. The socio-economic development of our country, notwithstanding the backwardness of its production techniques, has created the material conditions which make the reconstruction of society along socialist lines both necessary and possible. Necessary because without socialist reconstruction the productive forces will not reach the level needed to solve the economic and cultural problems facing the country. And possible because in the economic sense the very system of state-monopoly capitalism paves the way for this reconstruction. If the means of production which at the moment directly or indirectly, through the state, are in the hands of a few hundred monopolists were turned over to the people this would make the basic industries socialist.

In order to carry through the socialist transformations there must be, in addition to the material conditions, the political prerequisites, i.e. the struggle by the masses in which the working class, having rallied its ranks and united around itself all the progressive forces, primarily the working peasants, should emerge as the leading class capable of winning power. These political pre-conditions take shape during the anti-feudal and anti-monopoly phase of the revolution.

The Franco propaganda machine is speculating on fears among broad sections and asserts that the Communist Party will use the policy of national accord merely as a decoy in order to cash in on the people's desire for democratic reforms; the moment democracy has been achieved, as the Franco propaganda

*The national regions for which the Communist Party upholds the right to free and democratic solution of their problems. — Ed.

asserts, the Communists will impose on the country, through civil war and untold suffering, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is painted in the blackest colors. Were the Party and its program to leave these allegations unanswered, the reactionaries would gain from our silence.

The program, then, gives a clear and definite answer: if the process of the struggle against Franco and later in the fight to extend democracy, a broad political coalition takes shape, a coalition headed by the working class and its Party, and representing the peasants, the middle sections and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, and provided this coalition secures an over-riding influence in parliament and among the masses, then our country, given a favorable international situation, will be able to make the transition to socialism in a peaceful parliamentary way. Such a political coalition, united on the basis of a socialist program, would ensure a transition to socialism less painful than that experienced in other countries; it would ensure, within a period the duration of which would be determined by the particular conditions, that the vast majority of the population could be drawn into the work of shaping the new society without serious upheavals or acute conflicts.

In these conditions the dictatorship of the proletariat could take the form of a parliamentary republic with a multi-party system. While guaranteeing real political freedoms and envisaging the existence of an opposition, this republic would oppose any counter-revolutionary attempt to restore capitalism. It would proceed not only from the experience of the socialist revolutions in other countries but also from that of the Second Republic, which owed its downfall to the mildness it displayed towards the enemy.

Thus, while calling on the membership and on the people to concentrate on achieving the immediate aims—the fight against the consequences of the “stabilization plan,” the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship and establishing a democratic system—the Sixth Congress outlines a broad socialist perspective. An understanding of this perspective will help to achieve unity of the working class with all the other sections concerned for democracy.

* * *

The Congress devoted close attention to consolidating the Party organizationally, politically and ideologically. The speeches made

by the delegates from the main industrial centers and agricultural regions of the country testified to the rapid growth of the Party especially during the past few months. Influential bourgeois papers and periodicals abroad have commented on this. An article in the *Spectator*, for example, which evoked an angry protest in official circles in Madrid, asserted that in the past few years the Communists “have been growing fast, they are already strong.” “. . . Their leaders,” said the article, “are dedicated men prepared to work twenty-four hours a day for the cause.” “They excel,” it went on, “in underground activity and organization.” “There has been a tremendous upsurge of Marxism in the universities,” and Franco’s relations with the United States are “breeding Communists like rabbits.”

It is true that thousands of young workers of the postwar generation are eager to join our Party and very often form their own branches in the hope of establishing permanent contact with the Party.

In some of the provinces with strong revolutionary traditions there are villages in which the majority of the inhabitants declare themselves Communists. The number of branches is growing. Veteran Communists are united with new members, among whom there are former rank-and-file Socialists and Cenetists. In the industrial centers entire groups joined the Party after the June 18 events. There are now branches in provinces in which there were no Communist organizations before. The Party’s influence is growing among the intellectuals and university students.

Most of the delegates to the Sixth Congress were young people closely linked with the masses and thoroughly conversant with conditions in their factories and at home. This participation of growing numbers of young people in active struggle for democracy and their open solidarity with socialism and the Communist Party is a sign of the times. The Congress approved the Central Committee line of opening the doors to young people, of enabling young enthusiastic fighters, who very often are models of political and ideological maturity, to assume leading posts in the Party.

The Congress stressed the correctness of the step to make the Party (despite its illegal status) an organization with tens of thousands of members. By combining underground with legal and semi-legal methods it is called upon to organize the masses and give

them adequate direction in the struggles ahead. For this it is necessary first of all to extend the network of Party committees, which would guide the political activity, display initiative and direct the work of the members and sympathizers.

With this aim in view the Congress amended the Rules to allow for separate Party organizations for the youth and women. The Rules also provide for membership without being a formal member of a Party branch, but by co-operating with it individually. The Congress created the post of Party chairman and dropped the name Political Bureau for that of Executive Committee, the latter being more in line with the functions of this body and with the traditions of the country. Dolores Ibarruri was elected Party chairman and Santiago Carrillo—General Secretary. The Central Committee, which was re-elected, now includes fresh forces, some of whom are young Communists who have distinguished themselves in recent years.

Dolores Ibarruri submitted a report on the Party's 40th anniversary which is being celebrated in April. A special commission under her guidance is working on a short history of the Party. With the influx of new members, such a history is urgently needed in order to raise the ideological and political level of the membership.

Attended by delegates representing the underground organizations at home (the major-

ity) and by delegates from the organizations living abroad, the Congress demonstrated firm ideological and political unity. Beginning with 1952, and especially after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Party has waged a persistent struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism, for correct application of Leninist methods. At the same time it has pursued a firm line in respect to the revisionists both on the international arena and in its own ranks. The occasional manifestations of revisionism in the Party were overcome not by administrative measures but by means of ideological and political work. In recent years the spirit of internationalism has become much stronger. There is a growing desire to learn from the experience of the international communist movement and particularly from the rich and variegated experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is at the head of the world communist movement. Our Party has again demonstrated its deeply national character, its growing understanding of the national problems and its ability creatively to apply Marxism-Leninism to Spanish conditions.

In Spain big changes are in the offing. The easing of international tensions will accelerate these. However, the decisive forces on which these changes depend are the working class and the people, their unity and struggle. And notwithstanding the new wave of repressions the Sixth Congress will exert an ever-growing influence on this struggle.

Among Our Contributors

E. DENNIS: *Chairman of the Communist Party, USA.*

E. KOLMAN: *Professor, head of the Institute of Philosophy, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.*

N. POGODIN: *Soviet playwright.*

F. CLAUDIN: *Executive Committee member and Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party.*

M. ALICATA: *member of the Leadership, Italian Communist Party.*

L. FIGUIERES: *Secretary of the French Communist Party.*

O. BAUMANN: *member of Political Bureau, Communist Party of Germany.*

For a Democratic Regeneration of Italy, For Socialism

Luigi Longo

THE Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, held in Rome over January 30-February 4, reviewed the situation in the country and formulated the Party's tasks in the context of the international détente. In his report "For a Democratic Regeneration of Italian Society and the Advance to Socialism," Palmiro Togliatti pointed out that in the course of the present relaxation a new international situation was taking shape, and the new developments necessitated a change in the foreign policy that had been pursued by the big capitalist powers over the past fifteen years. The dangers emanating from the cold war and the arms drive can be averted only by tackling the job of building a new world, a world in which the threat of war will forever be excluded. Only by taking this path will the so-called European West be able to contribute to progress. But it would be wrong to think that the ruling circles themselves will present us with such a change in foreign policy. Action by the people and their organizations is vital if there is to be a new political course.

The Congress based its work on Togliatti's report. During the debate the speakers referred to the enthusiasm with which the easing of the tension had been hailed by Communists and generally by the labor and democratic movements. It is becoming increasingly clear that this process is the direct consequence of Soviet achievements in industry, science and technology, of the policy of peace firmly pursued by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

The forces contributing to the détente are powerful: they include the USSR and the other socialist countries; the will of all the peoples for peace; some ruling groups in the imperialist countries, despite their doubts and hesitations. But in the imperialist camp those who are opposed to any let-up in the tension and to any departure from their present policy are still strong, obdurate and aggressive. In Italy their resistance is especially pronounced;

the chief initiators of this resistance are the ultra-conservative clerical circles.

On the basis of these facts the Congress arrived at the conclusion that neither at the international level nor within the country can the process of easing the tension develop on its own, evenly, smoothly, without conflicts or opposition. On the contrary, this process will invariably be accompanied by acute and desperate struggles within the capitalist class itself, as well as between the conservative and reactionary forces on the one hand and the popular, democratic forces on the other. That was why the Congress proceeded from the fact that the struggle for relaxing the tension and peaceful coexistence was but one aspect, an element of the movement for the regeneration of Italy. The détente opens new and wider opportunities for this struggle. But in order to realize them it is necessary to undertake large-scale and vigorous action by the forces of peace and progress with the object of, first, forcing all who are bent on thwarting the détente to retreat, and, second, developing this action into a movement which, as Togliatti put it, would enable our country to overcome its backwardness, resolve the contradictions in the social structure and win a proper place among the most advanced nations.

In the pre-Congress discussion some of the comrades feared that the détente might disarm the working-class movement both ideologically and politically, detract from or even nullify the revolutionary role of our Party. The Congress showed the groundlessness of these views. To uphold views of this kind, said some of the speakers, would signify the failure to understand that even those bourgeois groups which claim to be the fathers of the policy of relaxation, had adopted it against their will: actually this policy was imposed on them by the internal and international situation and is now giving rise to new contradictions and strife within the capitalist class.

The working-class movement and our Party should study these contradictions and difficulties of the bourgeois class in order to use them in their own interests. Such action, provided it is really mass action, far from detracting from the revolutionary role of our Party and the working-class movement, makes this role more effective and vital.

If in this situation the Party had retired into its shell and failed to help the working class to become the leading and decisive force also in securing a détente on which the political and social regeneration of our country largely depends, it would have relinquished its leading role. Had the Party failed to join in the struggle for easing the tension it would have ceded its positions to the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie who would have taken charge of this process, retarding and altering its course; in any case they would have found a means of smoothing out their differences and overcoming the pressure exerted by the masses.

This was the main trend of the critical analysis made by the Congress of the Party's activity. It was pointed out that generally speaking the branches had expertly tackled the more important questions. But at the same time they did not always have a sufficiently good understanding of one particular aspect of their political activity, namely, that of finding ways and means of carrying out the adopted decisions. For an opposition Party or movement the point of departure is always the question of mobilizing and organizing the forces capable of participating in political leadership of a country and of carrying out their own decisions. Indeed, only initiative and mass action can change the present orientation and balance of forces, and ensure effective alliances in the struggle. Only in this way will it be possible to explode the contradictions existing in the various groups, isolate the more reactionary part in each of the groups, ensure united action by all progressive forces and, in this way, create a new democratic majority which would really pursue a policy of social regeneration and of relaxing the tension. This was the immediate political task set by the Ninth Congress.

This explains why the congress underlined the fact that in any social undertaking, in any effort for political regeneration, the decisive force is always the working class and the masses. The Party should now concentrate its efforts on organizing and mobilizing the masses, on fostering their militancy. This is needed in order to consolidate and extend the

gains of the working people, particularly in collective bargaining, and in ensuring the political rights of the masses both in the localities and on a national scale.

In the pre-Congress discussion the membership considered the significance which should be attached to the different aspects of Party work and to combining mass action for the immediate demands of the workers with the struggle for general political aims. The Congress pointed out that, in general, the struggle of the workers should not be confined solely to immediate economic demands. These should be linked with concrete political aims. Hence, as Togliatti put it, it is necessary to continue the struggle for immediate demands and to develop it for more general aims, such as structural reforms and the democratic reorganization of the state. On the other hand, the struggle of the working people for their immediate demands should not be separated from the struggle of the other sections of the public for general economic, social and political aims. With this in view the Congress discussed in detail the present opportunities for broad alliances and for combined action by various social sections and political groups for common interests.

The Congress had no doubts as to the need for firm and stable alliances between all sections of the working people suffering directly from capitalist exploitation or indirectly from the operation of the laws of capitalist development. But it was reaffirmed that to ensure success in the fight against the monopolies broad, though, perhaps, temporary or partial, alliances and actions should never prejudice were possible and necessary with those social and political forces with which we still have contradictions and differences on the basic class issues. It goes without saying that such alliance and actions should never prejudice our defense of the working people from capitalist exploitation even though the exploiters may be our allies for the time being.

It was also pointed out that the possible temporary differences between the various sections of the working people, as, for instance, between workers and handicraftsmen, farm laborers and peasants, sharecroppers and smallholders, consumers and small shopkeepers, should not be resolved at the expense of this or that category and certainly not to the detriment of the weaker side. None of these groups should be blamed for the misery of any of them. The source of the plight is the monopolies, monopoly rule, exploitation of the working people, the tax burden and all

the obstacles raised by the ruling circles to prevent the growth of these groups and any improvement in their living standards. There is only one way to overcome non-fundamental differences between the various sections of the working people: the abolition of monopoly rule, adoption of a new line in political and economic development, merging of the family enterprises (agricultural, handicraft and commercial) into co-operatives, associations, etc. These measures would create the necessary conditions and ensure positions on the market which would enable these enterprises to withstand the pressure of the monopolies and the profiteers. This would make it possible to establish broad and stable alliances between the working class and the middle sections.

The Ninth Congress showed that in the matter of the alliance between the proletariat and the middle sections the Party has no intention of posing this issue in the corporate or paternalist aspect, and not even from the point of view of solidarity alone; actually this is an alliance in political struggle. The middle sections play a definite role in this struggle, not only in the present effort for the political and social regeneration of our country but also in the future battles for the reconstruction of the economic system and the building of socialism. The middle sections will contribute to socialist construction through political co-operation in developing the state and economic integration with socialist forms of production. Through a variety of forms of amalgamation the various types of family enterprises will not only maintain their existence, but will ensure for themselves good prospects for development; by becoming integrated on a growing scale with the socialist structure these enterprises will ultimately become a part of it.

The Congress pointed out that the way to socialism is a democratic way set forth in the Constitution which was the product of the liberation war against fascism and the Nazi occupation. The Constitution, says the policy document of the Eighth Congress of the Party, "while differing from a socialist constitution, both in its social content and in its failure to found democracy directly on a production base, nevertheless recognizes the right of the working people to a part in governing the state and lays down a number of conditions which, if implemented, will facilitate this participation and will greatly help the advance towards the socialist reconstruction of the national society." Hence, the document continues, "the working class and the people are

faced with the task of initiating socialist construction while advancing along another road compared with the one that brought a number of other countries to the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that task will be accomplished under working-class leadership through new alliances and new co-operation, democratic methods, through overcoming the resistance and intrigues of the enemies of freedom and social progress by the people as a whole, fighting for emancipation and complete regeneration." This, in our view, is the Italian road to socialism.

The features of this road were underlined by the Ninth Congress. Togliatti said that the affirmation of a new kind of democracy was essential if Italy was to take its rightful place in the great competition which began in the world with the onset of peaceful coexistence. It was pointed out also that in speaking about the Italian way to socialism, which could be taken only through mass democratic struggle, we have in mind, first, the concrete conditions of this struggle in Italy and, second, the firm resolve of our Party to make full use of these opportunities. But we cannot, of course, know how the enemies of socialism will behave in the future; we cannot guarantee their peaceful acceptance of the democratic will of the people. We can only say that the broader the democratic movement, the harder it will be for the reactionaries to resist it. In any case any attempt on the part of the reactionaries to resort to violence would make things more difficult for them and would be duly countered by the masses.

The Congress and the Theses adopted by it focused attention on the need to rally the forces on a broad basis in order to "defeat the present government bloc and to create a new, democratic majority which would, naturally, form the basis of a new government," because, as was declared at the Congress, "the government in power is harmful and dangerous" and threatens peace and the democratic future of the country.

The Congress noted that the present let-up in the tension, no matter what its effect may be on various countries and on the minds of the people, makes it much easier to fulfill this task.

The facts have brushed aside the web of prejudice and suspicion woven by the decades of anti-communist propaganda; in vain were the hopes of the revisionists who banked on these methods becoming a system. Three years ago they launched a frenzied campaign with a view to discrediting the Soviet Union and

socialism, proving the uselessness of our Party, distorting its nature and attributing to capitalism new features which, we were told, would enable it to control and resolve its own contradictions. But life has made nonsense of the inventions about the so-called new capitalism, and the imperialist contradictions are eating away at the very foundations of NATO.

The role and nature of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are clearly manifested in all the transformations now taking place in Soviet economy, in education and public life, as well as in the peace proposals submitted by Soviet diplomacy. The same is true of the Communist and Workers' Parties at the helm of socialist construction in People's China and the other People's Democracies.

The vilification of our Party was followed by a serious reassessment. Even the most obdurate of our critics found it hard to deny the consistent and firm policy which our Party has pursued in keeping with the line which the Eighth Congress designated "The Italian Road to Socialism." The fight waged by the Communists against the attempts to bury the Constitution and to establish a corporate clerical system has helped to prevent the democratic, constitutional road of advance from being closed to the people. The Ninth Congress has appealed to all workers, to all the popular and democratic forces, irrespective of the trade union, political or other mass organizations to which they belong, to take this road and march forward in unison. Thus, the Congress has shown that the Communists have no intention of imposing their will on anyone. As Togliatti put it, meetings and discussions are needed and, if possible, understanding should also be established between all workers and members of the popular and democratic movements in the name of the common aims, "so that the people through their struggle would be able to resist monopoly rule, restrict it and eliminate it, and thus open up new ways for the development of the entire national economy."

The Communists, it goes without saying, are conscious of the power of Marxist-Leninist teaching. Concluding his speech at the Congress Togliatti said: "We are a Marxist-Leninist Party. The teaching by which we are guided is the only one which enables us to understand and assess the changes now taking place in the structure of human society." But Marxism-Leninism does not provide a ready-made answer to all the questions or a ready-made decision suitable for every situation. It

enables one thoroughly to understand the essentials of the situation and of events, the dialectics of their development, the need for and the purpose of struggle on the part of the working class and its Party. But this understanding should be reached each time in the process of development and through an analysis of all the aspects of the situation not only in the course of discussion in the Party but also in discussion with other political trends. This discussion should be of a political rather than of an academic nature, and should develop into political action — the precondition for the mass struggle.

This urgent political task set by the Congress, valid not only for ideological work but also for political purposes, fully conforms to the conditions and potentialities of our country. In the Italian democratic movement, even in circles most affected by the venom of anti-communist propaganda and discrimination, there are signs of a change in attitudes and views. In the Catholic movement, even among the Christian Democrats, there are now groups and individuals who are sincerely opposed to the policy of social conservatism and national division pursued by the top circles of the Christian Democratic Party — the cold war men. It is the duty of the Communists, the Ninth Congress pointed out, to help these elements overcome the conservative influence of the ruling groups; the Communists must do everything so that the difficulties and the crisis experienced by some sectors of the popular movement should lead to a democratic shift in the overall situation. In other words everything should be done so that those Catholic circles now breaking with their old conservative concepts join the common front of struggle waged by all the democratic and progressive forces.

The present Christian-Democratic leadership, incapable of grasping this need, is still pursuing its cold war policy and anti-communist discrimination. It is still trying to sow discord between the Socialists and the Communists. As far as the democratic method of winning power is concerned there are no fundamental differences between the Communists and the Socialists though some Socialist comrades claim the opposite. Moreover, as the Theses adopted by the Ninth Congress point out, "the differences and divergencies between these two parties on the question of the substance of proletarian internationalism, on the ways and means of building socialist society and on the form of working-class political power cannot be an obstacle to achiev-

ing understanding." The political co-operation of these two parties provides opportunities "for gaining joint experience, for subjecting this experience to critical analysis, and for comparing viewpoints; this would facilitate broader understanding also in the sphere of ideology; these measures are aimed at preparing for the higher form of unity corresponding to the vital interests of the working class and the people."

Hence the striving to divide the working-class movement in Italy into two parts — the democratic wing and the Communist, allegedly non-democratic, wing — lacks any grounds and is tantamount to capitulation before the intrigues of the Christian Democrats who have always claimed a monopoly of the title democratic, always, however, interpreting the term in the sense of "anti-communism."

It is true that so far the Socialist Party as a whole has not capitulated, has not yielded to the blackmail of the Christian Democrats; this, too, can be explained by the fact that the Communist Party represents the biggest, most resolute and advanced section of the Italian working class, of the labor and democratic movement. It is impossible to isolate the Communist Party from this movement, to change its nature and its features which are the sum total of its prolonged struggle, of its own experience and international experience, of its assimilation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party fully meets the requirements of the definition accorded it by the Ninth Congress: it is a Marxist-Leninist party and, consequently, a modern democratic party, a national party, not the kind of thing depicted by its enemies who are bent on one thing — on splitting the working-class movement and on hampering, if not frustrating, the rallying of the democratic forces on a broad basis needed for the new course in Italian public life and policy.

It is possible that in opposing the will of the people for regeneration, the top circles of the Christian Democratic Party may undertake a sham, reformist solution of the urgent social problems. It was pointed out at the Congress that in the present situation the bourgeoisie was not in a position to pursue a comprehensive and consistent policy of reform. However, the bourgeoisie may resort to attempts of a reformist nature, attempts aimed at solving partially the urgent problems with a view to sidetracking the pressure of the masses.

With this in mind the Congress reaffirmed the need to combat any attempts at a reform-

ist solution; the Party must do everything it can to turn such attempts into real and progressive gains. At the moment the Party is combating the sham anti-monopoly bill and the bill providing for so-called regional economic development committees — measures proposed by the Christian-Democratic government. It may be that the urgency of these problems combined with mass pressure will compel the ruling circles to make concessions, though temporary and partial, and probably granted only with a view to withdrawing them at a later stage.

It will depend on the initiative of the Party, on the action taken by the working class and the people whether the concessions will be extended and consolidated, whether they can become the starting point for winning further, more important concessions.

It is clear that in these circumstances, under such complicated political conditions, vigilance and irreconcilability towards any manifestation of revisionism and reformism in the working-class and popular movements are vital. The revisionist danger in the Party was effectively combated, but it still exists in the working-class and popular movement, because some of the groups in the Socialist Party are becoming champions of revisionism, and also because the Leftward swing in the Catholic and Christian-Democratic movements can easily exhaust itself and become bogged in the mire of revisionism and reformism.

In order successfully to combat revisionism and reformism the Party must rid itself of the fetters of sectarianism and dogmatism, of the tendency to confine the tackling of political tasks purely to propaganda. That is why the struggle against revisionism should be linked, more closely than in the past, with the struggle against sectarianism, why it should be seen as the two components of a single struggle — for carrying out the line elaborated by the Ninth Congress.

It is necessary to wage this struggle, mobilizing the Party for the political line and for verifying the day-to-day work of the Party organizations. The Party must not confine itself to mere talk about regeneration and then return to the old routine. Regeneration should be gauged by the growth of the militancy of the Party, by its vitality, political initiative and by the results of its work. The participation of all the branches, of every member in carrying out the Party line should release new energies and evoke enthusiasm in order to

make another big leap forward in developing the Party and the democratic movement. The Ninth Congress held such an advance as both possible and necessary, in order to create a new democratic majority, form a new politi-

cal leadership of the country and ensure — in an atmosphere of peace and relaxation of international tension — freedom and work for our people, and their advance towards socialism.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Solidarity Between the Communist Parties

Mario Alicata

THE Italian Communists hail the results of the Rome meeting of the Communist parties of the 17 European capitalist countries. We have always favored both bilateral and multi-lateral contacts between the Communists parties, which have become an established practice after the dissolution of the Information Bureau in 1956.

The sovereign right of a Communist party to determine its political course — a principle proclaimed in the Moscow Declaration (November 1957) and reaffirmed by the 21st Congress of the CPSU — does not, in our view, presuppose the weakening of ties between the parties. This principle implies the need to guarantee to each party the right to take independent decisions on the basis of a common platform comprising our teaching — Marxism-Leninism — and our aim of building socialism. This independence is a necessary condition for the political growth of our parties. Each of them acts in the spirit of its traditions and in accordance with the situation which determines the demands and the possibilities for advance. This, far from excluding constant and broad exchange of information, calls for detailed discussions in appropriate forms and conditions. The purpose of such discussions is collectively to work out a common approach both in respect to the common tasks confronting our movement and the specific problems which at times may be of concern either to all parties or groups of parties, and which, in definite circumstances, may call for joint decisions and commitments. That is precisely why we welcomed the Moscow meetings held in November 1957, and

adopted their two documents as an integral part of our platform and as the guiding principle of our political activity.

We have always felt keenly the need for closer contacts, particularly with the parties of the European capitalist countries which, notwithstanding the varying objective and subjective conditions, are faced with similar problems. Joint analysis of these problems on the basis of a broad exchange of information will indeed be very useful.

A question of common concern is that of working-class unity and, consequently, of the relations between the Communist movement and the Social-Democratic movement; in our countries the latter has specific traditions and features and still has a grip on considerable sections of the working class. A joint study of this question, which would further in our respective countries and elsewhere the measures set forth in the Rome Appeal, is no doubt of common interest. Of no less interest would be the study of our relations with the Catholics.

The Rome meeting, naturally, could not deal with such specific tasks, because it was the first meeting of this kind and its purpose was to analyze the current situation. The object was to begin discussing the conditions in each respective country with a view to establishing better understanding, comparing the results of our work and promoting exchanges of opinions.

Therefore, it is a definite achievement that — both during the preparation for the meeting and in the course of its proceedings, notwithstanding

certain differences in assessing the relative importance of this or that problem, which is only natural for parties with such different experiences — there was complete identity of views not only on the general principles underlying our work, but also on the basic political issues. This unity prompted us to publish the Appeal, a policy document of considerable importance.

The Communist parties of the European capitalist countries, the Appeal points out, should realize that the new situation which arose out of the present relaxation of international tensions is not only a striking confirmation of the analysis of the changes in the world balance of forces, first made by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, but is also a factor which, in our countries too, contributes to the struggle by all progressive forces for democracy and socialism.

In the new international situation, the Appeal goes on to say, it is difficult, or rather, practically impossible for the conservatives and reactionaries openly to uphold their positions, i.e. for those who during the past few years took advantage of the cold war and with the backing of colonialists and militarists managed to sidetrack our economic and political development from the path of regeneration — the logical outcome of the victory over fascism and nazism.

At the same time no one can shut his eyes to the fact that precisely in capitalist Europe there are several most dangerous centers which resist the present changes in international relations. An example of this is Federal Germany where the monopolies and imperialists have grown stronger. That is why the Appeal sets forth as the first common task of our parties (as well as of all fighters for peace and democracy in capitalist Europe) to combat the resistance to the let-up and to take advantage of the contradictions and differences within the ruling classes. This is needed to preclude any abatement in the struggle for the détente, to put an end as soon as possible to the cold war and to secure the triumph of the ideas of peaceful co-existence through promoting disarmament as suggested by Khrushchov to the UN.

The conference was unanimous not only on the highly important conclusion that development along new democratic lines was a political problem facing the peoples today, a problem closely linked with peace issue; it was unanimous also on the path of such advance, namely, that it was one of struggle for reform of the economic, social and political structure of capitalism, a reform limiting the powers of the monopolies in every sphere of life. Equally important was the unanimous conclusion that such reform (as is obvious from the Appeal) would curb the monopolies and enhance the role and prestige of the working class and the working people in

general, thereby creating favorable conditions for socialist transformations. The latter, as the goal of all our parties, constitute in each respective country today (as pointed out in the Moscow Declaration) an element of democratic development now opening before our peoples.

Both in Italy and in France the reactionary papers (Catholic included), and those of certain Left groups, have accordingly distorted the results of the Rome meeting.

Some authors wrote about "confusion" in the Communist parties, caused by the changes in the international situation; others regarded the meeting as a crafty "maneuver" to revive the "popular front" in some new form; still others averred that nothing new had happened in Rome, or, conversely, that the decisions of the meeting testified to policy errors committed by certain Communist parties.

This chicanery and downright falsification would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not for the fact that in Italy and France at least, they are an indication of the impact of the meeting on the public at large. As we see it, its significance lies above all in the fact that the Communist parties of capitalist Europe — proceeding from the principles set forth in the Appeal and in the Moscow Declaration which defined the common tasks now confronting the Communist parties — achieved identity of views on their specific problems and the main political objectives. Moreover, the political platform as outlined in the Appeal will no doubt further the initiative and the political growth of all our parties and help them mobilize the working class and other sections of the working people. These developments are taking place at a time when such factors as the political role of the working class, of all peace supporters and democrats, and, consequently, the growing working-class and democratic unity, are beginning to play a decisive part both in the evolution of the international situation and in the life of the European capitalist countries.

We fully realize that, unfortunately, many of the Social Democratic parties of capitalist Europe are now slipping into another, even more dangerous, phase of political and ideological degradation; their present positions testify to the loss of positive perspective and the growing tendency to capitulate to the reactionary ruling classes. We also know that this is a sign of the crisis of these parties — the logical outcome of their entire postwar policy. This fully confirms the vital role of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries of Europe. Our parties are in a position not only to exert greater influence on the working class and to gain political prestige, but also to promote the policy of working-class and democratic unity on a larger scale. This unity will depend on the scope of their activity in pursuit of their constructive proposals. That is why

the other Left forces, even those most confused as a result of the current developments, will find it more and more difficult to refuse to adopt our proposals as a basis for broader unity of action. That is why in our opinion the Appeal is a great political initiative on the part of the communist movement in the European capitalist countries, which is im-

portant both because the document has enabled us to appeal jointly, in so serious a manner, to all workers and democrats in our countries, and because it is a guide to action for our parties. This makes the Appeal a policy document formulating a comprehensive program of action with a far-reaching perspective.

Defend and Develop Democracy

L. Figuières

THE positive changes which have taken place in the international situation," stresses the Appeal of the 17 Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, "open new opportunities for the fight for liberty, to defend democracy, to re-establish it where necessary and to give it new vitality." In arriving at this conclusion the Communists base themselves on their principles and experience, as well as on the problems posed by the present situation.

A feature of bourgeois democracy, ever since it came into existence, has been the gulf between its words about equality, freedom and fraternity, and its actions. The bourgeoisie has taken draconic measures in order to ward off the pressure of the exploited masses. It has used every means, including the hedging about of electoral rights by qualifications, to debar the masses from political life. Its chief concern has been to protect its sacred right to property and to exploitation of the labor of others.

But, as has often happened in history, the working people accepted in good faith the democratic principles proclaimed by the bourgeoisie and, imparting to them a different sense, endeavored to place them at the service of all. Universal suffrage and the other political and trade union rights were won in the course of the long self-sacrificing struggle waged by the people.

The winning of these rights was a step forward, a big gain for the people. But the parliaments have become one of the many levers of the bourgeois state along with the central administration, police, courts of justice and the army. At the same time — and this is the main thing — the capitalist class owns the means of production and wealth, and these provide it with ample opportunities for corrupting and exerting pressure. It is this state of affairs that determines the restricted nature of bourgeois democracy and the instability of its founda-

tions. It is a fact that whenever the class interests of the bourgeoisie are at variance with political rights, the bourgeoisie never hesitates to restrict and even to abolish these rights. This has always been the tendency of the bourgeoisie, a tendency which becomes more pronounced as the proletariat becomes politically conscious, grows in numbers, becomes better organized and learns how to use more effectively the instruments of bourgeois democracy to protect its interests and eventually to fulfill its historic mission.

The Communists do not confine themselves merely to stating this tendency, and they certainly do not draw the conclusion that democratic rights are bound to disappear. On the contrary, they call upon the masses actively to defend democracy against the intrigues of the reactionaries.

Who does not know, for example, the part played by the Communists in the fight against fascism — the monstrous product of the political reaction of the bourgeoisie? Fascist dictatorship destroys the organizations, rights and liberties of the working people and rules through open terror. As a political system fascism imposed on humanity a terrible war and was vanquished thanks only to the valiant struggle waged by the peoples, a struggle headed by the Soviet Union. The crimes, all the way to the deliberate extermination of millions of people, were so monstrous, and the struggle to rid the world of the fascist plague so powerful and irreconcilable, that it is difficult now to advocate an open fascist dictatorship.

And yet in some capitalist countries in Europe fascist regimes continue to exist even after the destruction of the Mussolini and Hitler dictatorships. One has only to recall Spain and Portugal. The preservation of these dictatorships, the result of the connivance of the big capitalist powers, is the shame of our times. It is understandable, therefore, that the Rome meeting called on the peoples to

express their solidarity with the working people of Spain and Portugal who are waging a fight against the fascist regimes, in defense of their best sons who have been thrown into jail and who are threatened with death. The Communist parties of these countries are working — and not without success — to establish a broader national alliance open to all; their aim is to enable the respective peoples to get rid of the dictatorships with the least upset and to start building political systems of tolerance and respect for civil rights.

Along with these naked fascist tyrannies there is the ultra-reactionary system in Greece; although there is a semblance of parliamentarism reprisals are used against everyone who champions the rights of the people, who fight for their demands and for genuine independence. The Communists and other democrats are outlawed, persecuted, jailed, as is the case with Manolis Glezos, and condemned to hard labor. Many democrats and liberals, too, who believe that the time has come to return to normal political life, are demanding the abolition of the exceptional regime (the regime of discrimination) which has persisted since the end of the war, and legalization of all working class and democratic organizations and parties.

Nor can we ignore the situation in West Germany. Is it not a disgrace that while ex-Nazis commit their brazen racial and anti-semitic outrages, taking cover behind labels or organizations and parties which are absolutely acceptable to Chancellor Adenauer, the Communist Party of Germany — the party of Thaelmann, of the heroic fighters against Hitlerism — is deprived of legal status? Ending the persecution of the Communist Party and restoring its legal status are in harmony with the interests of all sincere people. Irrefutable facts show that in the long run any restriction of political rights and repressions against the Communists — the staunch champions of the rights of man — play into the hands of the enemies of democracy.

Recent French experience can also be cited in this respect. The drive against democracy in France had its beginning in the situation which arose as a result of endless colonial ventures, in particular the war in Algeria. On May 13, 1958, the colonial extremists, supported by other reactionaries, staged a putsch in Algiers which resulted in the establishment of one-man rule in France, in the virtual deprivation of representative bodies of their functions and the abolition of parliamentary democracy. And while this regime has been "strong" in dealing with the working people from whom it demanded fresh sacrifices, it has been most accommodating to the extremists and fascists both in Algeria and in France and has enabled them to organize, arm and openly prepare a new putsch with a view to continuing the war in Algeria and wiping out the

vestiges of the liberties that still remain in France. As a result we had the fascist putsch in Algiers on January 24, 1960. And only powerful and prompt action by the people — the setting up of hundreds of anti-fascist committees and the nationwide strike early in February — made it possible to repulse the fascist onslaught.

This experience is still further proof that restricting democracy is not the way to guarantee freedom. The decisive role of popular action in cutting short the fascist putsch has demonstrated that what is needed in order to combat the enemy is not restriction of democratic rights, but their extension, and greater reliance on the support of the people. Otherwise, no matter what power are asked for and granted, connivance with the fascists and new gambles are bound to occur. The rulers of France, however, have not drawn any conclusion from the lesson. On the contrary, immediately after the putsch they demanded extra-emergency powers. The Communist Party was against extending the emergency powers which the government already enjoyed and which it had *no intention* of using against the putschists. The Party insisted that the present National Assembly which does not represent the country, should be replaced by a National Assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation and which could be relied upon in the struggle against the fascists and for peace in Algeria.

In other countries the bourgeois rulers are also trying with all their might to truncate the powers of parliament and other elected bodies in favor of the executive power. The supreme concern of bourgeois politicians, frequently supported by the Social-Democratic leaders, is either to oust the Communists from parliaments or to reduce their number to the minimum by means of unjust electoral laws. After using the Social-Democratic leaders in this way the bourgeoisie immediately sets about expelling them from leadership and lessening their role in parliament. And since as a result of the anti-communist maneuver parliaments no longer truly reflect the political opinion in the country, they lose their prestige in the eyes of the masses, and this gives the ultra-reactionaries fresh grounds for attacking the representative bodies.

The Rome meeting called on the Communists, on all workers and all democrats persistently to defend each and every political right, even the most modest right enjoyed by the people, to strengthen the pillars of democracy, to fight all its enemies, and to regenerate it.

Not a single democratic right has ever come about as a result of the good will of the bourgeoisie. Can we, then, champions of the most consistent social and political progress, be indifferent to the fate of all that has been won by the peoples in

the numerous battles for a better life? No, we cannot. On the contrary, we call on them to preserve, develop and enrich all that they have won. We, the followers of Lenin, stand for the most progressive and the fullest democracy.

The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are demanding extension of the powers of all representative bodies. The local elected bodies should be the real leaders of the administrative, economic and public life at lower levels. The so-called "guardianship," i.e. omnipotent control by the State, should be removed and the local bodies given wider powers. In countries like Italy where there are significant differences between the various regions, the Communists advocate genuine local autonomy. In each country parliament should exercise effective control over the executive and central administrations, the army and the police. The composition of the representative bodies should not be determined by unjust electoral laws which lead to heinous results. In France, for example, the ruling party (Union for the New Republic) has 188 seats in Parliament, while the Communist Party which polled more votes has only 10.

But in order to strengthen democracy, to make it more stable and immune against enemy encroachments, the power of the monopolies should be severely limited. In the capitalist countries the levers of government are in the hands of big business. The monopolies, with their vast wealth, are in a position to dictate political life, to falsify elections and to change the parliamentary majority in their favor. Regardless of the changes that take place as a result of elections or governmental crises, the financial and industrial magnates remain the real leading political force, either directly or indirectly, through their stooges. Even some of the bourgeois democrats are beginning to realize this, and together with the Communists they are insisting on a limit to monopoly interference.

Is it possible to do this under capitalism, before social changes take place and the basic means of production and exchange become the property of society as a whole? The answer is definitely yes. A number of democratic measures can be carried out which, to a degree, would put a curb on big capital, cut into its absolute grip on the economic and, consequently, the political life of the nation.

Among these measures we could mention genuine nationalization of the big banks and some of the monopolized sectors of industry. At times big capital is not against the nationalization of a particular branch of the economy, the calculation being that the burden of the chronic deficit borne by the particular branch can be loaded onto the state, and cheaper goods and services secured. This is not the nationalization that we have in mind; what we want is nationalization that would really restrict the eco-

nomic power of the monopolies. In France, for example, we stand for the nationalization of the iron and steel and chemical industries, oil prospecting and the distribution of oil products. Similar demands are contained in the programs of all the Communist parties represented at the Rome meeting. But in order to achieve the desired effect, there should be genuine democratic control over the nationalized industries. We insist on the state enterprises being run not by the former managers employed by the monopolies but by technical personnel and the working people. Workers' participation in management, their increased initiative and exercise of control would signify progress in the direction of democracy and, as the meeting stressed, are essential not only for the nationalized enterprises but also for drawing up plans for investments in industry and agriculture, implementing agrarian reforms and other measures spearheaded against the omnipotence of the monopolies and their stranglehold on the small producers in town and countryside.

The significance of these measures for strengthening and renovating the foundations of democracy is clearly stated in the Appeal: "These changes correspond to the interests of the nation, of the entire population, the working class, the peasants and the urban middle sections. They would prevent the monopolies from making the workers pay for the consequences of new technology. These are democratic measures. They do not abolish the exploitation of many by man. But they would restrict the power of the monopolies; they would add to the prestige and political weight of the working class in the life of the country; they would help to isolate the ultra-reactionary social groups and facilitate the creation of an alliance of all the progressive forces, of all the groups in society suffering from the monopolies."

Another important conclusion drawn by the meeting was its answer to the question — what kind of government is needed in order to realize this democratic program.

The 17 Communist parties called on the people of their countries to join in the effort needed to ensure the formation of democratic governments supported by the working masses. In this respect the specific political conditions in each country should, undoubtedly, be taken into account. The 15th Congress of the French Communist Party, for example, drew up a program for the restoration and regeneration of democracy, and submitted it to all democrats and to the public for their views on it. The program calls, in particular, for elections based on proportional representation to the Constituent Assembly which would put an end to personal rule and ensure genuinely representative elected bodies. The recent Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist

Party put forward the idea of forming a new political majority which would include Communists, Socialists, Left-wing Christian Democrats and other forces, and would pursue a policy in keeping with the interests of the people and the spirit of the Italian Constitution.

The idea of forming governments which, with the backing of the working people, would carry out democratic programs, should be wholeheartedly supported; it would facilitate rapprochement among democrats of all trends and workers of all convictions; it would, as stressed at the Rome meeting, pave the way to contact, discussion and neces-

sary co-operation between the Communists and Social Democrats and their organizations.

In this struggle we are not unmindful that democracy, as an ascending phenomenon, can blossom in full only under socialism, which is our goal. But together with the fraternal parties represented at the Rome meeting, we say that the road to socialism lies through struggle for democracy. *To uphold, strengthen and regenerate democracy*, to repulse all the reactionary, conservative and obscurantist attacks — this today is the duty of all, this is the pressing task confronting the workers and democrats in all the European capitalist countries.

Against Aggressive Monopolies

O. Baumann

THE Communist parties attending the Rome meeting arrived at the conclusion that today, in face of the threat of a nuclear war and of reactionary attempts to impose fascism on the peoples, the struggle for peace and democracy constitutes the basis of their policy. Curbing German imperialism—the main danger to peace in Europe—is a task of paramount importance calling for joint action.

After its defeat in the last war thanks to the efforts of the Soviet peoples and the anti-Hitler coalition, German imperialism, supported by the aggressive circles of the USA and other imperialist powers, quickly rebuilt its economic potential and established the Federal Republic. And in the last decade it has further strengthened its positions not without the help of such so-called supranational bodies as the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and Euratom; the Bonn-Paris-Rome military triangle has also contributed largely to this. The overall economic indices last year showed that West Germany was second only to the USA in the capitalist world, and first among the capitalist countries in Europe.

This recovery was due solely to the rapid rate of development of state-monopoly capitalism. As a result the people have lost many of their rights and are forced to bear the heaviest tax burden. The country has become an Eldorado for the monopolies. Production and capital are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few financial oligarchies.

The monopolies pump money out of the people's pockets in a number of ways. In the current fiscal

year, for instance, state subsidies, guarantees and exemptions will yield them a net sum of about DM9,000 million. In addition, thousands of millions spent on armaments and war preparations will also eventually find their way to the coffers of the monopolists.

Whereas in 1938 there were 5,518 joint-stock companies with a capital of DM18,700 million (including 25 companies each with a capital of over 100 million), in 1959 as a result of the process of concentration there were only 2,530 companies, with a capital of DM26,900 million. These include 51 companies with a capital of more than 100 million. Two per cent of the companies now control almost half the joint-stock capital. But even these figures do not yet give a complete picture. There are formally independent companies so closely knit together (as, for example, the three successor companies of the I.G. Farben) that there remain only 17 concerns with a capital of 22,600 million, which control about 80 per cent of the entire joint-stock capital of the country. They own 1,091 enterprises, each employing over a thousand people. These giants, although they comprise less than three per cent of the total number, employ 51.4 per cent of the factory and office workers and account for 54.7 per cent of all industrial output.

The Flick concern is an example. Flick, a war criminal convicted at Nuremberg, is now a most powerful financial magnate in West Germany. Last year his turnover amounted to DM6,000 million. The Flick concern holds key positions in the motor and aircraft industries, engine building and rocket-

ry, atomic explosives industries, chemical plastics, mining, steel and aluminum industries. Flick is closely linked with the Deutsche Bank which is first on the list of the big banks.

The postwar boom or the so-called "economic miracle," to use the term of the bourgeois press, on the one hand, and the weaknesses of German imperialism stemming from its defeat in the last war and the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, on the other, are the source of the deep contradiction which determines its extremely aggressive and adventurist character. This contradiction is further exacerbated by the revolutionary transformations in East Germany, which have not only deprived monopoly capital of its power, factories and possibilities for exploitation, but have also given rise to a constantly growing anti-imperialist force, a peaceful, democratic, socialist state upholding the interests of the entire German nation—the German Democratic Republic.

That is why, blinded with rage, the German imperialists would attempt anything to destroy the Democratic Republic; the military clique would not even stop short of risking a suicidal nuclear war. The Adenauer government thwarts all proposals for disarmament, easing of tensions and normalization of relations between the two German states; it even endeavors to ward off the Summit meeting. It is opposed to the conclusion of a peace treaty, recognition of the GDR and settlement of the Berlin question. The demands in the Rome Appeal on the German question meet the heartfelt desires of all peace supporters. The early realization of these demands would promote international understanding, particularly on the question of general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union whose policy is devoted to a noble cause—détente, disarmament and peaceful coexistence—inspires us in our struggle. With this help, we should step up our own activity, advance slogans and devise forms of mass struggle in the specific conditions of West European countries, particularly of West Germany—the hotbed of a new war—which would enable the working class and the peace forces to assume the offensive.

The monopolists are trying to make the working people pay for the atomic weapons and rockets. Federal Germany is a case in point. And the working class, all the working people, should take action against the high cost of living—the direct consequence of the increased military burden—and intensification of exploitation by demanding higher pay and a 40-hour week without wage-cuts and by combating attempts on sick-benefit insurance. They should also demand a paid day-off for working women for household chores, labor protection for the young people and higher pensions for the war invalids.

The close interdependence existing between the struggle for social and economic demands and the political struggle for curbing the monopolies is revealed in their reaction to wage increases demanded by some ten million factory and office workers. Paulson, chairman of the manufacturers' association, and Erhard, Minister of Economy, insisted that the masses should restrict consumption; both accused the trade unions of being unreasonable and of "abusing freedom." The monopolists threaten those unwilling to obey or to surrender their rights with the enforcement of an "emergency law," a measure unequivocally referred to by Paulson and Schroeder, Minister of the Interior. This law if enforced would abolish the right to strikes and association, the freedom of assembly and of the press, all parliamentary liberties, and would lead to the establishment of an overt military dictatorship—in short, it would abrogate all democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

It is obvious that the monopolists want to install a regime of "grave-yard calm," which would enable them to reap more profits, continue the arms race and pursue an aggressive policy.

The Conference of the Communist Party of Germany held in February passed a resolution on "The Situation in the Federal Republic and the Fight for Peace, Democracy and Social Welfare." This document sets forth a broad platform for rallying the working class and all peace forces, it is a program of action for a change in the Federal Republic through democratic means.

An important role in mobilizing the workers and their trade unions for action to curb the monopolies is played by the movement for repealing the reactionary law on the status of the factory workers and for empowering the production councils and the trade unions jointly to solve matters of common concern. If the unions could have a say in such matters as wages, working hours, employment, social insurance and holidays, investments, dividends and depreciation deductions, they could combat war contracts, help channel investments to civilian production, and raise wages.

In our view these demands are closely linked with the general democratic objective of depriving the oligarchy of the means with which to finance political parties, bribe the government, exert influence on parliament and its members and to mould public opinion.

Monopolies opposing democratic development, such as the I.G. Farben, Flick, Siemens, AEG and the Deutsche Bank, the chief inspirers of atomic rearmament, should be nationalized.

The Communist Party is a staunch opponent of denationalization; for instance, it fought the scheme to transfer the Volkswagenwerk to private owner-

ship. The "people's shares" fanfare raised in connection with the selling out of such plants is only a disguised way for extorting extra millions for military needs, while the depository banks are assuming control of these plants.

This is not the way to undermine state-monopoly capitalism. The proper thing to do is to fight against denationalization and for democratization of the management of state-owned enterprises. To this end factory and office workers and trade unions should be represented on the management of enterprises which should be placed under parliamentary control.

In keeping with the Appeal we support an agrarian policy which would free our agriculture from subordination to NATO interests as well as from the grip of the German and foreign monopolists. We also demand democratization of the countryside through agrarian reform, aid to the co-operatives, adequate conditions for small and medium farms, such as low-interest credits, subsidies for technical improvements and favorable prices, tax and customs policy.

These same considerations underlie our proposals on safeguards for the middle sections, handicraftsmen, the small and medium manufacturers whose interests we uphold in our demands for the abolition of the European Economic Community, fair taxation, low-interest credits, a fair share in government contracts, and rigid anti-cartel legislation.

That this anti-monopoly policy is supported not only by the working class but also by other sections is clear from the favorable response of the peasants, middle sections, handicraftsmen and some of the industrialists. Certain groups of Christian Democrats, too, resist monopoly capital.

Early in January the Peasant Union, for example, firmly opposed the so-called 1960 "Green Plan" which provides for a cut in agricultural subsidies in favor of the military budget which means extra profits for the arms manufacturers. According to the Union, it is lack of funds that prevents agriculture from contributing to the national economic development. This shortage will affect the farmers even more in view of the threat emanating from the Common Market.

The middle sections and non-monopoly businessmen have pointed out time and again that the government ignored their interests to the advantage of the big monopolists who seek to accelerate the concentration of production and to take over enterprises belonging to middle industrialists. In this connection protests were made by a recent conference of the medium employers (Christian Democrats) and the association of metal-ware manufacturers (Wirtschaftsverband Eisen-, Blech- und Metallwaren). The latter indicated that the anti-cartel law was spearheaded against the middle

sections, for it ensured greater freedom of action on the market for "the giants."

The more acute the objective contradictions between the oligarchy on the one hand and the working class, the other classes and sections on the other, the more the ruling circles resort to terror, the more they try to cover them up. The ruling group would like the people to believe that their interests coincide with monopoly interests and therefore to uphold class collaboration.

The Bonn rulers encourage nationalism and chauvinism in every way. Thus, War Minister Strauss in an effort to sabotage the Summit meeting and to carry forward atomic and rocket rearmament called for a strengthening of the "national wave." The results were the events in West Germany last December. The "national wave" started with the persecution and wholesale arrests of Communists. It then developed into a Goebbels-style slander campaign against the cream of West German intellectuals who were anathematized for their disagreement with the official policy and were labelled "the Trojan horse of communism." It reached its peak in the fascist, anti-Semitic outrages. This is the result of the fact that such ex-Nazi leaders as the butcher Oberlaender, Schroeder and Seehofer occupy governmental posts, and former SS and Gestapo hangmen infest the police. Another reason is that West Germany is managed by the former war industrialists, Hitler's "war economy fuhrers," and the former financial barons of the Hitler Reich.

Public reaction to the fascist outrages has shown that the masses will not be re-won over to aggressive imperialism with its Hitler racial and "superman" theories. That is why the West German imperialists (and not West German alone) have enlisted the services of political clericalism. Hitler motivated the aggressive policy of German imperialism by "the special mission of the German race in establishing a new order in Europe." The Bonn rulers advocate the idea of an anti-Bolshevik crusade under the flag of a "Western Christian mission."

Mann in der Zeit, the mouthpiece of West German Catholic bishops, wrote: "Peace, democracy, coexistence are signs of weariness in the West." And further: "What the Communists call détente is in fact a lethal communist weapon." Why so? The bishops say: In the event of a relaxation of tensions the Soviet Union will rapidly boost its production of consumer goods and add to the attraction of its social system. What is their answer to this "danger"? Preaching anti-atheism to an audience of 800 Bundeswehr officers, Bishop Wenzel of Cologne called on them to explain to the people that the supreme ethical aim of Christianity was

to use the "ultimate weapon" in the Drang nach Osten.

In these circumstances it would be useful for the Communist parties to establish contact with the Christian workers and their organizations. We propose to join hands in the fight for the common interests of all workers and people of good will. Our aim is, as Maurice Thorez said, to put aside our differences about heaven and to work together to prevent earth from being turned into hell.

The monopolists are deeply concerned with enlisting the services of the Right-wing Social Democrats so as to strengthen, through them, their grip on the working-class movement. New means to this end are used. Whereas under the Weimar Republic the Right-wing Social Democrats were corrupted by appointments to governmental and communal posts, today the monopolists want them to do a full-time job for them. Over 400 Social-Democratic functionaries hold important posts in some 900 boards and supervisory councils of industrial concerns and banks. Four of the most powerful concerns—Flick, Krupp, Mannesmann and Kloeckner—employ 65 Social Democrats whose annual salaries and dividends amount to several hundred thousand marks. This "socialist" group is headed by Dr. Deist, "economic expert" of the Social Democratic Party. Together with Mayor Brandt who proclaimed West Berlin "a front-line city," with Erler, champion of "national defense," i.e., remilitarization and revenge, and Wehner, Deputy Chairman of the Party, he was one of the fathers of the Godesberg program of the SDPG. This document was dubbed, and rightly so, a program of surrender of the party's independence, a program of its subordination to imperialism and the CDU, a program of rapprochement with the militarists and reactionaries on the basis of monopoly domination of the economy and the state.

Today, however, it is more obvious than ever that whereas monopoly capitalism is able to settle the social problems of a few hundred Right-wing Social Democrats by converting them into its faithful servants, it is totally unable to solve its contradiction with the working people. Moreover, the monopolies are further aggravating this contradiction. Life itself, not talk about "new capitalism," reveals the true conditions of the working class, the working people in general, and, consequently, those of the Social-Democratic masses.

The Social-Democratic rank and file know from experience that better conditions are gained not through collaboration with monopoly capital — a

policy zealously advocated by their leaders — but only through persistent political struggle. This point is reflected in the numerous proposals and statements of local Social-Democratic organizations. Whereas the Godesberg program proclaims the Federal Republic a democratic state, the Social Democrats of Darmstadt declare: "What today is being palmed off as a representative democracy is in fact a government of omnipotent economic groups."

The Senne branch has demanded that "bourgeois parties and administrative bodies should counter the anti-democratic onslaught of the moneybags by rallying the mass democratic organizations, trade unions, workers' organizations, consumers' and small producers' associations, as well as associations of victims of social injustice." The Social Democrats of Senne also demand that the administrative and judicial bodies, the government and the armed forces should be cleared of former lackeys of fascism.

Max Reimann, head of our delegation to the Rome meeting, said: "These opinions express the sentiments of many Social Democrats who wish to counter reactionary efforts with a constructive democratic program of action. This fully meets the demands of the current struggle for peace and democracy in West Germany."

We have learned from experience that differing opinions and prejudices should not hinder joint Communist-Socialist action, united action by the whole working class for solving the urgent problems confronting all working people.

The German monopolists are responsible for two world wars and two national disasters suffered by our country. This bitter lesson has taught our Party that its primary task is to defeat the war plans of the imperialists which are aimed at consolidating military and clerical rule in our country, stepping up atomic rearmament, and at entering into new military gambles not stopping short of an atomic war.

The alternative we propose to the working class and all peace forces is to curb militarism, limit monopoly power and establish a true parliamentary democracy. We want to achieve this through close co-operation with the Social Democrats and trade unionists, with all peace supporters in town and countryside. We seek closer co-operation with the fraternal parties and stronger international solidarity with the working class and all democrats in other countries.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

90th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth

THIS date, a red-letter one for those fighting for peace, democracy and socialism, is being observed by the Communist and workers' parties and the working people the world over.

Lenin meetings and socials are being held in all socialist countries; in the USSR they are held at the enterprises, on the collective farms, in educational establishments and military units; in China—in Peking, Shanghai, the provinces and autonomous regions; in Hungary—at factories, offices, institutes, schools and co-operatives.

The Communist parties of France, Austria, Canada, Japan, Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia and many other countries have organized meetings. Gatherings are being held in the factories of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and other towns of Brazil. In Vienna the City Committee of the Communist Party will hold a rally jointly with the Union of Free Austrian Youth.

In the GDR lectures are being delivered on Lenin's struggle against imperialism and militarism, for peace and friendship among the nations; Lenin on socialist construction and the leading role of a militant Marxist party; Lenin on the struggle against revisionism and the significance of the theory of scientific communism. Other subjects are: "Lenin in Germany," "The Importance of Leninism in the Ideological Equipment of the German Working Class," "Lenin's Help in Founding the Communist Party of Germany before the November 1918 Revolution," "Lenin's Help in Building the CPG as a Militant Revolutionary Party of the Working Class in 1919-24."

Scientific conferences are being held in the academies of sciences, Party schools and higher educational establishments of the GDR, Rumania and other socialist countries.

The following papers were read at one of these sessions in Bulgaria: "The Triumph of Lenin's Ideas at the Present Stage of Social Development," "The Decisions of the 21st Congress of the CPSU Signify Creative Development of Lenin's Ideas on Communist Construction," "Leninism and the Struggle Against Modern Revisionsm," and "The Bulgarian Communist Party's Creative Application

of Marxism-Leninism in Socialist Construction in Bulgaria."

Conferences of Party activists and the intellectuals are being held on the following subjects in Rumania: "The Historic Significance of Leninism," "Marxism-Leninism on the Leading Role of the Working-Class Party in the Socialist State," "Lenin on Science, the Arts and Literature."

In Czechoslovakia theoretical conferences and study meetings were held in many regional and district centers on Lenin's *The State and Revolution* and on "Lenin on the Building of Socialism and Communism." Trade unionists discussed "Lenin's Teaching on Trade Unions as Schools of Communism." The Youth League arranged a series of lectures and seminars on the subject of "Lenin on the Youth."

In Poland lectures and reports were delivered on Lenin's activities and the international significance of his theoretical works.

The Korean Party of Labor arranged for thousands of propagandists and lecturers to speak on "The Life and Activity of V. I. Lenin," "The Ideas of Leninism are Triumphant Throughout the World," "The Korean People Give Practical Application to the Teachings of Lenin."

A large-scale campaign is underway in the GDR this month to popularize the works: *A Great Beginning; On Co-operation; How to Organize Competition; The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government; On the State; Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and other works by Lenin. These have been published in mass editions and many articles on them are appearing in the press.

Communist party branches in the capitalist countries show great initiative in disseminating Lenin's ideas. Last winter the Communists in Angoulême (France) organized lectures on the most important periods in Lenin's life, illustrated by lantern slides and with recordings of his speeches, which were very popular.

Lenin's works are being printed in 108 languages. Since the completion of the Fourth 38-volume Edition in the Soviet Union six volumes of the Fifth, 55-volume Edition have already come off the press. A similar edition has been started in

Rumania. In China, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria Lenin's works have been published in 38 volumes; they are also being printed in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia and Albania.

Lenin's Collected Works are to appear in Italy, France and other capitalist countries. Nineteen volumes are already available in Argentina.

In the USSR the recently published symposium *Working People's Letters to Lenin* includes more than 600 stirring human documents. *Lenin in the Early Months of Soviet Power* (October 1917-March 1918), a day-to-day chronicle of his manifold activity during these months, is due to appear soon. And a biography of Lenin has been prepared for publication.

A collection of works by Lenin on the Party as the guiding force in the socialist state has been published in Czechoslovakia, as well as reminiscences of the veterans of the Czech and Slovak working-class movement of their meetings with Lenin and a symposium entitled *Workers and Peasants on Lenin*.

Lenin in Germany and reminiscences entitled *The Unforgettable Lenin* have been published in the GDR; in Rumania—*Marx, Engels and Lenin in Rumania*; in Mongolia—a symposium *V. I. Lenin on Mongolia*. A bibliography of Lenin's works will soon make its appearance in Hungary. Many reminiscences of Lenin and collections of works according to subjects, including war and peace, literature and the arts, have been printed in China.

In Guatemala the Party of Labor circulates Lenin's works under the difficult conditions of illegality. *Marxism and Insurrection*; *Partisan Warfare*; *Marxism and Revisionism*; *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx*; *On Dialectics*, and others have been mimeographed. The underground paper *Verdad* and the Party bulletins *Militante* and *Respuestas* feature articles by Lenin and give excerpts from his works.

Periodicals in many countries carry articles about Lenin and reminiscences of him. For some months now Soviet papers have been reserving whole pages for these materials. In China the Peking Journal *Hunchi*, theoretical journals of provincial committees of the Communist Party, as

well as *Jenminjihpao* and other newspapers are featuring materials on the great significance of Lenin's ideas.

In Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and other socialist countries, theoretical and literary magazines are putting out special Lenin issues.

Marxist Review, theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Canada, has published letters and documents by Lenin that are new to Canadian readers. The newspapers *Canadian Tribune* and *Combat* have featured several articles about Lenin especially designed for the youth. *L'Unita*, organ of the C.C. of the Italian Communist Party, has published reminiscences of Humberto Terracini, a veteran of the working-class movement, about his meetings with Lenin.

Lenin museums are a hive of activity these days. The one in Warsaw has two permanent and several mobile exhibitions on "Lenin in Poland" and "Science and Culture in the Service of the Revolution." About 200 artists took part in a Lenin poster competition and the best entries were exhibited in the museum.

The Revolutionary Movement Museum in Bulgaria organized a big exhibition on the life and work of Lenin. A special section shows the tremendous impact Leninism has had on the Bulgarian revolutionary movement. A "Lenin on Rumania" exhibition enjoys popularity in Bucharest.

Pictures and photos of Lenin are on view at the clubs and recreation rooms of factories, offices and schools in China, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Vietnam, Albania and other socialist countries.

Many Lenin monuments will be unveiled this month. An impressive one has been erected in the Scinteia Square in Bucharest.

There are special radio and television broadcasts in the socialist countries, documentary and feature films about Lenin are being shown and many theatres are running plays about Lenin.

The 90th Lenin birthday celebrations demonstrate the greatness of his ideas, the remarkable achievements of the international communist movement under the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium

THE Communist Party will hold its 13th Congress during the Easter week-end. The pre-Congress discussion centers around the C.C. report and the draft theses.

The Central Committee's report seeks to show the place of the Congress in the development of the Party, and analyzes its activities and slogans during the period that has elapsed since the last congress (April 1957).

But to grasp the full meaning and significance of the draft theses proposed to the Congress at a time that is particularly rich in developments (not least among which is the Congo's rapid march to political independence) we need to revert to the more distant past.

The theses of the 11th Congress (1954) made an essential correction to the question of the role and place of the Party in the working-class movement, and broke away from the concept that Communists were onlookers and judges rather than the vanguard of the masses, and active participants in popular struggle.

The theses of the 12th Congress analyzed the ideological and political problems of our day, making wide use of the materials of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. They set forth the militant tasks confronting the working-class and democratic, anti-monopoly front, and showed that "a shift to the Left" in the working-class movement was both necessary and possible. And we would say that this shift, albeit hesitant and incomplete, has nevertheless quite definitely begun.

The draft theses for the 13th Congress aim at continuing and, in a sense, completing the Party's work over a number of years. They provide a complete program—both minimum and maximum—of the tasks and demands, beginning with the urgent need to cut down the military budget (in order to further a policy of peaceful coexistence); go on to define precisely the program and forces needed to establish a democratic anti-monopoly government, and end with the clear perspective that socialism will open up to the country, the perspective of solving existing problems.

The draft theses (entitled "The Working-Class Struggle for Democracy and Progress") provide the answers to the questions posed by the maximum program: "Why do we need socialism and how are we to achieve it?" "Is socialism democracy?" "What role will the various detachments in the working-class movement play in winning and build-

ing socialism?" "What part will the non-proletarian sections of the people take in the common struggle and what, in the event of victory, will be their share in the common weal?"

These questions are being posed by the working-class movement and the people with such urgency that to ignore them would mean to apply the brake to the struggle for immediate demands and to put off the general offensive against the dictatorship of the monopolies.

And here are our answers on three essential points:

First, rapid technological and scientific progress is tolling the death knell of the capitalist system which is incapable of properly solving the problems of the day. To enable Belgium to march in step with progress the dictatorship of the monopolies must be abolished and a genuine modern democracy established, a democracy under which both the individual citizen and the productive forces of the nation could develop freely; and socialism is the expression of this genuine democracy.

Second, the Communist Party is working for a peaceful transition to socialism, for a revolution unaccompanied by the horrors of civil war. And that is why its efforts are simultaneously aimed at alerting all sections oppressed by the monopolies to be ready at any moment of the intense political struggle to enter into a definitive alliance and to sign an honest agreement assuring them a fitting role and place in the new society.

Third, socialism cannot be established and built unless political power is taken away from the monopolies and given to the working class and its allies. The working class is called upon to carry out this main task, and its various organizations and trends will be able to march to socialism together if at each stage they reach agreement on joint action in frank and unprejudiced talks. Only together, and aided by their experience, will they be able to determine the conditions for a more perfect and closer alliance, and even go as far as direct organizational unity.

A very important part of the draft dealing with the present stage of the struggle being waged by the Belgian working people would merit more detailed comment were it not that the materials of the Rome meeting of the 17 Communist parties—on the new content of structural reforms, of nationalization and of measures to restrict the

power of the monopolies—in some measure absolve us from the necessity of doing this.

By making its Congress a success our Party hopes to stimulate ideological thought and action in the working-class movement and thus sweep away out-dated concepts which still prevent the Socialist and Christian workers from realizing that all working people have a community of interests and together represent a great force.

Our Party wants to establish itself as a revolutionary party of our times, as a party of progress. And Party resolutions will serve as a guide to the solution of all questions pertaining to peace, democracy, scientific progress and the development of the individual.

Jean BLUME,
National Secretary,
Communist Party of Belgium

Iraqi Communists Combat Opportunism

WHEN the law permitting the activity of parties and public organizations came into effect in Iraq last January, the Communist Party, along with other political parties, put in an application signed by Comrade Zaki Khairi and other Communists for permission for legal status for the Party. Its political platform and Rules were published simultaneously.

The Minister of the Interior, however, granted permission to a clique headed by the renegade Dawood As-Saigh (which styled itself the "Communist Party in its legal form") to form a party, and under this pretext refused legal status for the genuine Communist Party.

Ittihad al-Shaab, organ of the Iraqi Communists, and its weekly supplement *Iraqi Review* show up this group of traitors in its true colors, unmask its anti-Party and anti-national aims, and the reactionary schemes of its inspirers.

Recalling that the Communist Party of Iraq was tempered in the struggle against opportunism, *Iraqi Review* writes: "This new brand of opportunism is not in essence different from other Right deviations. It aims at depriving the working class of the means of conducting revolutionary struggle, of its independent political organization, and its genuine revolutionary orientation, and at preventing it from playing the leading role in safeguarding the Republic and frustrating imperialist plots."

Ittihad al-Shaab has given some facts about the Saigh group of opportunists and of the conditions under which it emerged.

1. This group came into being because of the persecution of the Party by the reactionaries and their intrigues which, although camouflaged by anti-communist slogans, were in point of fact spear-headed not only against the Communist Party but also against the Republic, the revolutionary gains,

independence and the national government. All this plays into the hands of imperialism and reaction.

2. The people have for many months been looking forward to the time when patriotic parties would acquire legal status. The new opportunist group, which came into existence about this time, was not formed for the purpose of supporting the government's step to give legal status to the patriotic parties, or of reinforcing the hope entertained by the people of making good use of their right to organize parties. No, it was set up with the express purpose of discrediting this democratic step, of spreading anxiety among the people and of obstructing the democratic movement.

3. Whereas the group evoked the contempt of the people, it was hailed by the reactionary forces, who gave it their blessing, and hoped it would split the national movement, thrust a wedge between the national government and the Communist Party, and create a favorable climate for their intrigues against the Republic and national sovereignty.

The Party press has given some details of Dawood As-Saigh's record. *Iraqi Review*, for example, writes of this head of the revisionist group:

"During the Second World War, when loyal and conscious forces were devoting their energies to uniting in order to defeat the fascist aggressors, Dawood As-Saigh was working (since 1943) to disrupt the unity of the labor and national movements. He was expelled from the Communist Party and concentrated on forming a dissident faction of opportunist and politically backward elements.

"In 1956 he applied for admission to the Communist Party. The Party asked him to define his stand, to condemn his previous subversive activity and to exercise self-criticism. He wrote a letter in which he criticized his past, admitted that he had engaged in opportunist factional activity run-

ning counter to Marxism-Leninism and promised that he would work to re-educate himself under the leadership and guidance of the Party . . .

"During the latter half of 1959, when the national movement in our country was undergoing a crisis, when reactionary forces lifted their heads and imperialist and reactionary propaganda both in and outside the country was attacking the Republic under the guise of 'combating communism', Dawood As-Saigh resumed his subversive activities. This compelled the Party to expel him."

In spite of their frantic efforts, Dawood As-Saigh and his revisionist myrmidons have not succeeded in dividing the ranks of Iraqi Communists. "The Communists," stresses *Iraqi Review*, "have enough political and class consciousness and enough experience to see through the tricks of a few who have made the fight against the Iraqi Communist Party their lifelong work. The events of the last few weeks are, perhaps, proof of this. This Rightist opportunist clique has not had the support of a single Communist in the country. In fact all Communists have strongly condemned this attempt and as a result Communist unity has become even stronger."

Having come up against the unanimous condemnation on the part of the Iraqi Communists, most of the members of the Founding Committee of As-Saigh's group (8 of the 12) have withdrawn from it. In a statement published in *Ittihad Al-Shaab* on February 4, they stated that they sought the unity of the working-class movement and did not want to put obstacles in the way of the democratic development of the Republic. They recognized that attempts to split the unity of the Party were inconsistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and had no doubt that the Founding Committee headed by Zaki Khairi enjoyed the confidence of the Iraqi Communists. "Therefore," they wrote, "we have decided to withdraw the application for the formation of a 'Communist Party' submitted together with Dawood As-Saigh to the Ministry of the Interior and to keep away from any action that affects the unity of the working-class movement and which benefits imperialism and reaction."

This shows, the newspaper goes on, how spurious, weak and sterile the opportunist group is. The Ministry of the Interior, however, chose to disregard the statement, and its permission to As-Saigh to establish a "Communist Party in its legal form" holds good. In these conditions the Communists were compelled to change the name of their Party to the "Party of Ittihad al-Shaab" (The Party of People's Unity).

"Mere legality," Zaki Khairi said in an interview given to an *Ittihad al-Shaab* correspondent, was "never a condition for the formation and

existence of our Party. It will, however, help it activize its struggle and to defend the Republic, the revolutionary gains and the rights of the people with even more energy.

"A change in the name of the Party does not imply any changes in its program or Rules, any retreat from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, any change in its organizational structure or in defining its aims and policies. Neither does it imply any change in our attitude towards the subversive opportunist clique which called itself the 'Communist Party in its legal form'. This clique never was and never will be a party of the working class. The Marxist-Leninist phraseology it uses so profusely is only a smoke-screen to conceal its hostility towards the people, the working class and communism."

Stressing that the "Iraqi Communist Party" was a name held dear by all Communists and the people, Comrade Zaki Khairi pointed out that "no matter by what name it is known . . . our Party holds aloft the banner of communism in our country and will to the end remain what the people know it to be—the Party that is faithful to the interests of the people, to their revolutionary gains, to the interests and ideas of the working class, and to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism."

In view of the refusal of the Ministry of the Interior to grant legal status to the Party of People's Unity, Zaki Khairi has published a new statement which says in part: "By denying us this right favorable conditions have been created for the forces of reaction and imperialism. None of the supporters of the new national system can possibly be interested in the prohibition of the legal political activities of the country's biggest national Party in defending the freedom of the country. The granting of freedom of activity to our Party is bound up with the very essence of democracy and its application in the interests of the people. And the attitude to the working class and its ally, the peasantry, is the true yardstick of democracy . . . Mere words about democracy will not convince anyone unless they are backed by the right of the working class and the working people in general to legal political organization."

Ittihad al-Shaab cites facts testifying to the isolation of the Dawood As-Saigh group, to its having been condemned by the Iraqi people and the international working-class movement. The Iraqi Communists are rallying still closer in the fight against revisionism. With the backing of the people they are insisting on legal status being granted to the Party of People's Unity, a Party which champions the interests of the working class, the peasants and all working people, the national interests of the people of Iraq.

Results of the Mid-Term Elections in Kerala

A MID-TERM election was held in Kerala on February 1, 1960 — six months after the dismissal of the Communist-lead government, the dissolution of the State Legislature and the imposition of President's rule. In the half-year remaining to them before the elections, the reactionaries hoped to pave the way for a "crushing defeat" of the Communists. The major political parties—the Indian National Congress, the Praja Socialists and the Muslim League—formed a bloc and came out against the Communists in an anti-communist "united front." It was only by combining their forces, plus the support of the influential Catholic Church and religious communal organizations, that these parties were able to win a majority in the State Legislature. Although the gerrymandering at the election has made it impossible for the Communist Party to form a government, the voting shows that the Party has retained and even increased its prestige among the masses whose confidence in it has grown.

Despite the violent anti-communist campaign, provocations and the intimidation of electors (in some of the constituencies voters were even attacked) the Communist Party emerged from the General Election with an increased popular vote—both in number and percentage.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party has issued a statement on the results of the elections.

The elections in Kerala, it says, brought forth an unprecedented upsurge of democratic and progressive forces not only within that State but all over the country. Tens of thousands of men and women, young as well as old, had worked untiringly in Kerala for the victory of our Party and its allies. Now the poll has shown that 3½ million voted for us. In the rest of the country, many more millions rallied to the cause of our Party and their blessings and support came in abundance. The noble part the democratic forces have thus played, both within Kerala itself and outside, in upholding the cause of justice and democracy will always remain a great source of inspiration and strength for the entire democratic movement.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its profound gratitude to all those who voted for our candidates or otherwise gave their moral and material support to our cause. We are happy that a great cause has been heroically fought for by the people against

overwhelming odds rarely experienced in election battles. The Secretariat is, however, fully conscious of the serious electoral reverse our Party has suffered. This has understandably caused disappointment among all sections of the progressive people who expected us back again in Government in the service of the toiling masses and to advance the cause of democracy in the country. Our Party, representing these democratic forces, has lost an opportunity not only to implement measures like the Agrarian Relations Bill which the Communist-led Ministry got passed in the former Assembly; it has lost an opportunity to sponsor many more such beneficial measures for the prosperity of Kerala and for improving the conditions of its suffering people. This will, no doubt, be considered a great misfortune and loss for the toiling masses and indeed for democracy itself.

Moreover, the democratic forces have every reason to be disturbed by the electoral victory of the triple alliance of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League, for this victory essentially represents a temporary gain for political reaction and communalism. But in the wider perspective, this is only one aspect of the election picture and by no means does it signify that the cause of the people has been lost or that the party fighting for it has been rejected by the masses in Kerala.

On the contrary, the election results have emphasized that the policies and principles for which our Party stands and which it sought to carry out when in control of the Government, have won more support among the people than ever before. Our Party has acquired new positions among the masses. All this is unmistakably demonstrated in the over 3½ million votes cast in favor of the alliance of the Communist Party and non-Party democrats. Fighting single-handed against a most formidable combination of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League, backed by Big Money and supported in every conceivable way by the powerful Catholic Church and by communal reaction — a combination the like of which no other party has had to face since Independence or before—our Party has not only held its ground but has won new positions. The votes polled by our Party and its allies have gone up by over 1,200,000 compared to the 1957 general elections.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India wishes to state that this advance of our Party in the life of the people

of Kerala constitutes a positive gain for the entire democratic movement in India and this positive factor will undoubtedly continue to play its beneficial role in the days to come. This will give new condence and strength not only to the people of Kerala in their struggle for a better life but to the forces of democracy all over the country . . .

It is clear that although the democratic forces and our Party are considerably stronger in Kerala, they are not yet strong enough to overcome the combination of all reactionary and communal forces in order to win an electoral victory. Naturally, proper lessons have to be drawn to make good this deficiency.

In conclusion, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India wishes to make it known that our Party has no hesitation

in accepting the results of the elections in a truly democratic spirit. Together with all democratic forces, our Party will defend the gains the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people won when our Party was in control of the Government. Our Party will continue as ever to work for the progress of Kerala and for the well-being of its people. Towards this end, our Party will co-operate with everyone and in every step that may be taken.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI hopes that the other side, too, will bear in mind that the Communist Party represents the biggest single political force in Kerala, supported by 3½ million voters, and will reckon with this inescapable reality. This is demanded of them in the paramount interests of democracy.

Unity Is Strength

COMMUNISTS and Socialists have often acted jointly in the various prefectures of Japan. But the policy, program and theses adopted at Socialist Party congresses were anti-communist, and the leadership of that Party continued to oppose direct united action with the Communist Party.

When, nevertheless, late in March last year many of the national-democratic mass organizations formed a National Council Against Revision of the Japanese-American "Security Treaty," the Socialist Party leaders were obliged to agree to the participation of a Communist representative, albeit as an observer. Thus they began to accede, though not fully, to united action with the Communist Party on a nationwide scale. The reason is that in many prefectures such action has become a fait accompli, and has had the backing of the General Council of Trade Unions whose leadership consists mainly of Socialists.

Official, though partial, recognition of united action with the Communist Party has strengthened unity at the lower levels. Whereas in February last year there were 40 committees for joint struggle against the revision of the "security treaty," all in the prefectures, their number had grown to over 1,000 by last February, and they now exist not only in the prefectures but also in the districts and in big and small towns and villages. These organizations include workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, students and women. In prefectures where united action developed on a big scale, the committees did not confine themselves to protesting against the revision of the "security treaty," but launched a struggle for broader aims—for national independence, democ-

racy, peace and neutrality. And in these cases the Communist and Socialist branches and the trade unions reached an understanding on programs for joint action.

A case in point is the movement in the Gumma prefecture—a rural district lying 150 km. northwest of Tokyo, where organizations of the Communist and Socialist parties make up the core of the League of Struggle for Democracy. According to its Rules "these two political parties should play the leading role," while the first paragraph of the program for joint struggle reads: "We protest against the reactionary policy of the Kishi government which seeks to abolish democracy, and, under the flag of anti-communism, plans to revise the Japano-American treaty, which, in effect, aims at establishing an aggressive military alliance, and at redrafting the peace Constitution; we have joined forces for the defense of democracy and for the preservation of peace."

According to the figures for January last the League has 100 affiliations in the prefecture and over 70,000 members. It is working to establish branches in the vicinity of every secondary school, to get the workers and peasants to take an active part in the movement and to air their grievances in the workshops and settlements with a view to developing a political struggle around their demands. Action groups were formed on several occasions to conduct propaganda in the politically backward rural districts. Each group had up to a thousand members who travelled from village to village on bicycles.

Since last November more people have been taking part in the demonstrations, strikes and

meetings in Gumma on national joint-action days than in the mass May Day actions. The most notable postwar action in this prefecture was the 20,000-strong meeting of protest against the signing of the new "security treaty" held in Mayebashi on January 10.

Another example of successful joint action is the Fukuota prefecture—an important coal-mining center—where the Governor is a member of the Socialist Party. There are a great number of workers in the joint struggle organizations. Thanks to their efforts various sections of the townspeople as well as peasants are gradually being drawn into the movement. In the coal districts there are even joint struggle councils in various sectors of the mines. Efforts are being made to establish joint action organizations in workshops and settlements. Last December 27 such organizations were set up in the districts, and 40 in the vicinity of schools and in workshops. A "Prefectural Council of Joint Worker-Peasant Struggle for Peasants' Demands and Against Revision of the 'Security Treaty'" has been formed. Women are playing an active part in the movement. At a mass rally at the Takamatsu pit, a representative of the Housewives' Society suggested that "the Khrushchov plan for general disarmament should be supported." A prefectural meeting of mothers and daughters was held to study questions pertaining to the "security treaty." Up to 800,000 people take part in the national joint struggle days in this prefecture.

But not in all prefectures do matters stand like this. National conferences of joint struggle organizations are, however, stimulating the lagging prefectures to greater activity.

The upsurge of the nationwide protest movement led, on the one hand, to strong vacillations among a section of the ruling classes, and, on the other, speeded up the signing of the treaty by the Japanese-American reactionary forces. The Kishi government, realizing that time was working against it, hastened to subscribe to the new agreement. And whether the people of Japan will be able to prevent Parliament from ratifying the revised treaty will depend on the balance of forces.

At the national conference of joint-struggle organizations a representative of the League of Struggle for Democracy from the Gumma Prefecture expressed his firm belief that united action would develop, and warned against relinquishing the struggle. "Even if the worst comes to the worst," he said, "and the revised 'security treaty' is signed and ratified, the popular force we are mobilizing will enable us to put up a fight and to get the treaty annulled. For our struggle is going in line with world developments."

When the Kishi government, in defiance of popular protest, signed the new treaty, the struggle

became more intense, involving the broadest sections of the population. Joint action committees are stepping up activities everywhere. Three national joint-action days were held during January-March. A movement is underway to collect 10 million signatures protesting against ratification of the new treaty, and "demonstrators' marches" are being organized all over the country.

The reactionaries are stepping up police reprisals with a view to hindering joint Communist-Socialist action and splitting the movement.

A resolution endorsed by a meeting of the C.C. of the Communist Party at the end of January and entitled "Struggle Against Ratification of the New 'Security Treaty'" stressed that ratification could only be prevented by a greater degree of united action. It points out that "the factors hindering nationwide united action are the splitting maneuver of the new Right-wing Nishio* Party and the provocations of the Trotskyites who are resorting to 'Leftist'-adventurist tactics." The resolution warns all Party members and workers of these two dangers—particularly against the Trotskyite leadership of the Students' Self-Government Association (Dzengakuren).

But even the new "Democratic Socialist Party" has had to yield to popular pressure and join, though with reservations, in the protests against the ratification of the treaty and the revision of the Constitution. Several trade unions under that Party's leadership are taking part in the joint Communist-Socialist struggle being waged by local organizations.

Though it condemns the splitting policy of the new Party's leadership, the C.C. resolution stresses the importance of drawing into united action people under that Party's influence.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Party also held a meeting in January. It passed a resolution calling for opposition to the revised treaty. The Secretary-General of the Party, Asanuma, said at the meeting: "Unity between the Socialist and Communist parties, which is already being implemented on a mass scale, must continue to develop."

This official statement of the Socialist Party leadership, made in the face of the splitting maneuvers of the Right elements who have formed a party of their own, opens up the perspective of further joint Communist-Socialist struggle for the national interests of the country.

S. TANAKA

*On January 24 the Nishio group formed a new party, called Democratic Socialist Party, which has advanced the slogan "No Unity with the Communist Party." It is supported by the bourgeois press and has been joined by 53 MP's — nearly one fifth of the total number of Socialists in Parliament — who have left the Socialist Party.

Fiasco of a Frame-Up

THE fact that the Puerto Rican people are rejecting (as Eisenhower's tour once again brought home) the status of "a community voluntarily associated" with the United States and that the patriotic forces are awakening and rallying in the struggle for national independence is giving the U.S. imperialists a very big headache.

And so, to strike fear into the hearts of the Puerto Rican patriots and to nip in the bud the rising popular movement, the notorious U.S. House un-American Activities Committee sent its representatives to the island. Eighteen prominent political figures and trade unionists, including the chairman of the Communist Party, members of the National Peace Council, workers, journalists, writers and art workers were ordered to appear before the committee.

The Communist Party* immediately released and widely circulated a statement in which it explained to the people its attitude to the inquisitorial inquiry. A group of the subpoenaed men protested through their lawyer to the chairman of this Committee in Washington saying that under the statute of the island it has no jurisdiction over Puerto Rico. In response a committee member cynically remarked that the protest would get just about as much attention as a leaf falling from a tree. The arbitrary actions of the colonialists aroused the wrath of the Puerto Rican public.

Members of the Legislative Assembly and of all political parties, prominent manufacturers, intellectuals and people of various beliefs challenged the moral and legal authority of the Committee to conduct investigations in Puerto Rico and established a united front. The Bar Association appointed a council consisting of well-known lawyers representing the three main political trends in the country, including the ruling Popular Democratic Party, to give legal advice and defend the "invited."

The building in which the Committee held its hearings was surrounded by pickets. Several hundred people, chiefly young workers and students, carried posters bearing the words: "Don't poke your nose into other people's business. Get out!", "Why not Probe the Ku Klux Klan?", "These 'un-American' Congressmen are Our Enemies!",

*The Communist Party of Puerto Rico was founded in 1934. Falling under the revisionist influence of Browder, it was dissolved in April 1944. Re-established in March 1946, the Party is now working under difficult conditions and is being subjected to persecution.

"What about Investigating the Activities of the Cuban War Criminals in the U.S.?", "Puerto Rican Workers Condemn Persecution of their Leaders by the Congress!"

The un-American Committee arrived in Puerto Rico in search of an alleged international communist conspiracy against the "free" world. But it was clear from the outset that the committee had not a shred of evidence to support its charge. All it could produce was a pile of books and other printed matter which are legally published in all but the fascist countries. The inquisitors made themselves ridiculous by referring to trips some of the leaders had made abroad (not infrequently 25 years ago), and which by the way were quite legal.

All the witnesses refused to answer on the grounds that the U.S. Congress Resolution on setting up the Committee authorizes it to conduct investigations in the United States only, and since Puerto Rico has no members in Congress, the latter has no constitutional right to pass laws affecting the island.

Though it was declared that the Committee had recommended Congress to start a trial against the 13 men who would possibly have to testify in the United States, the frame-up was a dismal failure. The committee was unable to show that a plot had been hatched or that the Communists had been guilty of violating the law. And the attempt to split the Puerto Rican people by isolating them from the Communists failed, too.

The upshot was that U.S. imperialism and its offspring—the inquisitorial committee—have covered themselves with shame, while the political prestige of the Communist Party has grown.

This unlawful interference has brought about closer patriotic unity of the people in their struggle for independence. Shortly after the investigation all organizations and prominent public leaders fighting for Puerto Rican independence and against imperialist oppression held a congress (attended by 1,323 delegates) which set up the Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico—a national front organization—and adopted a program of action by the anti-colonial forces fighting for early recognition of our people's right to establish a free and democratic republic. The congress expressed solidarity with the Cuban revolution, condemned the militarization of the country and the introduction

of conscription and demanded the release of the fighters for independence now in jail. The delegates cried shame on the inquisitorial activity of the un-American Committee and welcomed the popular protest against it.

The movement for the freedom and independence of Puerto Rico is on the upsurge.

Juan Santos RIVERA
Chairman of the Puerto Rican
Communist Party

Masses Discuss Technological Progress

A BROAD discussion on technological progress is now under way in Poland. The main trends of this progress were considered at the January meeting of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party in which prominent scientists and engineers, academicians, professors, designers, research workers and innovators from major enterprises, including non-Party people, took part. The range of questions dwelt upon by S. Jedrychowski, member of the Politbureau, in his report was supplemented by contributions from 45 speakers.

The past 15 years have witnessed a technological advance that has developed on the basis of the general upsurge of the national economy. The growth of the machine-building and electrical equipment industries was particularly marked. Compared with the prewar level machine-building output has increased more than 20-fold. During 1955-59 some 450 types of machines were designed, of which 260 were already being manufactured. Shipbuilding, bearing and precision instrument-building industries have been developed, while heavy machine-building, the electronics industry and the production of metal and electrical appliances, including wireless sets, washing machines, refrigerators and sewing-machines, have been expanded. Poland now turns out many machine tools which are the last word in engineering. Thanks to the development of national machine-building the machine-tool plant has been modernized.

The chemical industry has grown 12-fold compared with the prewar period. It is switching over to cheap Polish raw materials, coke, natural gas, and sulphur; preparations are under way also to start production of chemicals from Soviet oil. Whereas 106 kwh of power were generated per head of population in 1937, the figure last year was 900 kwh.

The reconstruction of old and the building of new enterprises have changed the face of the metallurgical industry. Great progress has been made in the mining industry. Coal transportation to the surface has been 96 per cent mechanized, and coal-cutting 34 per cent.

In the immediate postwar period Poland had only 7,000 engineers and 12,000 technicians. By the beginning of last year the figures had risen to 96,500 and 165,000 respectively. Over 90 per cent of these are young people who received their training under people's rule.

Fraternal co-operation with the socialist countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, is a highly important factor in our technological progress. In the past four years alone Poland received about 800 technical specifications and blueprints from the USSR and over 500 from Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary. More than 5,000 Polish experts improved their knowledge in fraternal countries.

These factors taken together open up new vistas. As the resolution adopted by the meeting stated, Poland has every possibility for rapidly raising labor productivity by developing the productive forces and introducing scientific and technical achievements in production with the utmost speed. To make this possibility a reality the Party and the people should focus attention on technological progress.

What are the main trends of technological progress as formulated by the Central Committee meeting? First and foremost to continue the modernization of enterprises and the widespread mechanization of labor-consuming operations in all branches of the economy (this will sharply increase productivity and improve the conditions of work); and to further automation where it is most called for and most effective.

Lastly, we must introduce and without delay, modern designs and modern technology on the basis of the latest achievements in science and engineering. There should be closer co-ordination between the enterprises and research laboratories and designing offices; better use should be made of the opportunities provided for by the economic, scientific and technical co-operation with the socialist countries.

The meeting dwelt on the question of the training and proper employment of specialists as well as

on planning scientific research. It was decided to set up a State Technological Committee.

The resolution points to the need for intensifying ideological and educational work among the workers and intellectuals and of promoting initiative among workers and engineers contributing to technological advance and the rationalization of production. It is incumbent on all Party organizations to popularize the achievements of innovators who blaze the technological trail. Very important tasks have been assigned to the Party branches of enterprises, higher educational institutions, research establishments and designing offices.

In keeping with the resolution and in close co-operation with the trade unions, engineering and technical associations and managements, Party branches are conducting broad discussions on technological progress at enterprises. Concrete programs for technological advance will be worked

out by every factory and scientific establishment as a result of these discussions. The discussions will provide planning bodies with the materials they need for planning the further development of the productive forces and, consequently, for raising the living and cultural standards of the people.

Our economic plans are realistic for they are based on the socialist system which, as W. Gomulka noted in his concluding remarks, is the basic factor in scientific and technological development. This has been conclusively proved by the magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union which has already surpassed the capitalist countries in many spheres.

J. NIEDZWIECKI,

Deputy Chief of the Economic Department, Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

A Fresh Breeze

FOR the first time in the history of Graz, Austria, Communists have been elected chairmen of production councils at three large enterprises. The nominees of the Communist-led Trade Union Unity group affiliated to the Trade Union Center have polled considerably more votes than in the 1957 elections. The elections at the Puch plant were particularly revealing. The number of votes cast for the TUU ticket rose from 520 to 1,844, increasing the number of seats from two to nine. A representative of the Trade Union Unity group became chairman of the production council. Many workers at other enterprises said: "We must do the same as at the Puch plant," and at one of the enterprises where the TUU ticket could not be put up for election quite a number of voters wrote on ballot papers: "The same as at the Puch plant."

At the Andritz machine-building plant a majority of six TUU candidates has been elected and a Communist has become chairman of the production council. The TUU nominees have won big successes also in the city transport: they have received 500 votes and six seats (as compared with 60 votes and one seat before), that is, as many as the Socialists and the People's Party polled together.

How are these successes to be explained?

The previous elections to the production councils took place in the autumn of 1957, when anti-communist hysteria was at its worst. But the Communist Party, having sustained the savage onslaughts, continued to fight for the vital interests of the working people. The Trade Union Unity group declared that the workers, too, should enjoy

the fruits of the favorable economic situation. Leaflets and factory papers published by this group reviewed the wage and price movement, exposed the designs of the notorious Parity Commission* and criticized the anti-national economic policy of the government parties. This evoked the interest of the workers: they now lend a more attentive ear to the Communists.

Soaring prices are hard on the masses. The Socialist union leaders first denied that prices were rising but later, when it was no longer possible to do so, they accused the workers of "avidity." The Communists, on the other hand, organized a movement for higher wages which gained a measure of success after the elections to the production councils.

On the eve of the elections the Trade Union Unity group at the Puch plant put forward the following demands: compensation for the rise in prices, maintaining the wage level for piece-workers (in connection with the shorter working week), raising wages to the level of the Steyr plant (the latter belongs to the same concern but the workers get higher pay there). The Socialists resorted to anti-communist baiting to divert the workers from these demands. Before and during the elections a car with a loudspeaker appeared at the factory gate blaring a slanderous "Remember Hungary" program, accompanied by gun-fire sound effects. "Stop this farce," said workers as they passed by. The Socialist Party issued a leaflet: "Meat Price

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1960, p. 67.

20 per cent Higher in Poland," but the workers replied: "It has gone up 50 per cent in our country!"

The week before the elections Benedict Kautsky, ideologist of the Right-wing Socialists, occupied the production council office and launched an anti-communist campaign. But this did not help matters much. Mass victimization of Communists did not yield the desired results either.

The Puch plant was not the only place where the situation has changed. At the Andritz plant there was a time when the TUU men could not even get a word in. The anti-communist majority yelled: "If you don't like it here, go to Moscow." But the Communists have succeeded in retaining firm positions at the plant and their influence is much greater now.

Marked changes have also taken place among the city transport workers. On the initiative of the Socialists who lead the municipal council the Graz tramlines were decommunalized and a private joint-stock company has been set up. But the tram workers demand the same privileges as the communal employees, for this would mean guaranteed work till pension age (plus a number of other benefits). The Socialist majority in their production council (as was always the case) supported the management and declined this claim. The Communists then insisted that the opinions of all the tram workers be polled. The polls showed that over 80 per cent favored the Communist proposal, and the Socialists had to yield.

It soon turned out, however, that the Socialist leadership did not intend in earnest to uphold the

interests of the tram workers and resorted to delaying tactics. So six hundred tram workers signed a petition for an early general meeting. At the meeting the Socialists, under pressure, pledged to defend every one of the workers' demands. The meeting passed a resolution threatening to go on strike indefinitely unless their demands were met. But the Right-wing Socialist leaders again hoodwinked the tram workers. To sweeten the pill the management agreed to raise wages and to pay out compensation ranging from one to four months' pay.

The Socialist leaders did not dare hold the elections to the production council at the scheduled time and kept postponing them for nearly a year. But finally the elections had to be held. To save the situation the Socialist leaders divided the tram depot into three sections, each of which held elections separately. They then summed up the returns. The Socialists, though they polled 120 fewer votes than the TUU group, received the same number of seats and later succeeded in dissolving the newly-elected production councils. During the March 15 elections the TUU group won seven seats (previously it had six) and the Socialists five seats.

The Communist majority in the production councils calls on the Socialists to co-operate and uphold the interests of all workers irrespective of their convictions. "This is a fresh breeze," the workers say.

Willi GAISCH,

Secretary of the Graz Area Committee,
Communist Party of Austria

Short Notices

Albania

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

SOME 70 per cent of the peasant households holding more than 80 per cent of the arable land have united into co-operatives in Albania. The main task is to develop socialist culture in the countryside. This subject was dealt with at a national conference which heard Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Party of Labor, and Liri Belishova, Secretary of the Central Committee, who delivered a report on cultural development in the countryside.

The Party calls on the people to make every effort to overcome backwardness, to accelerate the rate of socialist construction, to overtake the leading socialist countries and to build communism together with them. But economic backwardness cannot be overcome without raising the cultural level of the people. The progress made in co-operation by the peasants has created extensive opportunities for cultural development which in turn will help expand farm production.

It is necessary to improve land cultivation, raise the farming skill of the co-operative members, step up the training of agricultural specialists, develop public education, and organize seven-year night schools for adults in the countryside.

The conference dwelt on the question of combating prejudices and harmful customs, and noted the importance of amateur art activities in which 116,000 people, nearly double the number of four years ago, are now taking part. More than 750 cultural centers function in the Albanian countryside. The Party is taking steps to ensure that every amalgamated co-operative has a cultural center by 1965. It was resolved to extend the number of libraries, museum-rooms, agronomical centers and cinemas.

The conference also discussed how state and Party bodies should direct cultural development in the countryside.

Federal Republic of Germany

UNITY IS BUILT FROM BELOW

CONTACTS between Communists and Social Democrats and a comradely exchange of opinion have become more frequent of late. Alarmed by this the Social-Democratic leadership has published a statement on relations with the Communists which rejects any organizational or political ties with the Communist Party, particularly with the Socialist

Unity Party. Nevertheless contacts have not been severed.

Of the many meetings between Communists and Social Democrats the one attended by Social Democrats from all the *Laender* of West Germany and by Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Communist Party, members of the Politbureau and many rank-and-file Communists was especially significant. The 17 Social Democrats who spoke at the meeting approved the assessment of the present political situation contained in the draft resolution of the Communist Party conference and entitled "The Situation in the Federal Republic and the Fight for Peace and Democracy" and favoured joint struggle by the Social Democrats and Communists.

Communist workers in Bochum, Bottrop, Recklinghausen, Dortmund, Essen and Gelsenkirchen transmitted the draft resolution of the Communist Party conference to their Social-Democratic comrades and discussed with them the issues dealt with in this document.

The achievements of the German Democratic Republic and its growing international prestige strengthen contacts between the Communists and Social Democrats. In 1959 some 60,000 trade unionists from West Germany, including over 20,000 Social Democrats, visited the Democratic Republic. Last January 80 representatives of the Amalgamated Trade Unions from Nordmark (Federal Germany) discussed with members of the Board of the Free Trade Union Amalgamation from Rostock (Democratic Republic) the question of joint support of the Soviet peace initiative. The keynote of the discussion was "joint effort in the fight for disarmament and lasting peace."

The Communist Party organizations are circulating more of their publications among Social Democrats. The Communist paper *Scheinwerfer* is popular among Social Democrats in the Stormarn district. Many ask for more copies for distribution among the comrades in the Party. Describing the changes in the sentiments of the people *Neue Niedersächsische Volksstimme* wrote: "Wherever they spoke, our comrades were surprised to see to what extent people agreed with them and approved our proposals." The Communists are continuing their efforts to establish unity from below.

Uruguay

APROPOS OF EISENHOWER'S TOUR OF LATIN AMERICA

THE Executive Committee of the Communist Party has published a statement on Eisenhower's tour of South America. This trip, it reads, "was undertaken at a time when the shadow of the cold war is receding and peace and an inter-

national detente prevail." Khrushchov's visit to the United States was a major contribution to the cause of peace, and clearly demonstrated the decisive part played by the peace forces in changing the course of international developments. The economic and scientific achievements of the socialist countries, the mounting anti-colonial movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America (e.g. the Cuban revolution) and the growing struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries for peace, democracy and social justice have also helped to change the situation. The upshot has been that "in addition to losing its domination over the greater part of the world's population, imperialism has also lost its technological, scientific and strategic domination, as the moon-rockets evidence." There now exists a possibility, in the struggle against the enemies of detente, to achieve world peace, to consolidate peaceful coexistence and to remove the specter of war for all time.

"President Eisenhower's visit," the statement goes on, "is part and parcel of U.S. diplomacy, of its plans to thwart the growing liberation movement in Latin America. For this reason, as the parliamentary group of our Party declared, this visit can be neither approved nor welcomed."

The backwardness of Latin America and the

poverty of its peoples, the statement says, have been engendered by the oppression of North American imperialism — the ally of the latifundists and big anti-national capitalists. The U.S. imperialists abet military dictatorships in general and those in Central America, Paraguay and Santo Domingo in particular. With the help of the International Monetary Fund they impose an anti-people's policy and retard economic development. "The campaign against the Cuban revolution, which has now developed into aggression in the shape of piratical air raids on Cuba, should be called by its real name: it is being conducted by criminals in the employ of the U.S. monopolies. That is why our working class, intellectuals, students, in fact the entire people, are rising in defense of Cuba, just as they once rose in defense of Guatemala.

"That is the big bill our country had made out to U.S. imperialism; our people cannot forget this implacable antagonism and cannot regard President Eisenhower's tour as a positive political event. It is not loans, speeches about pan-Americanism, or talks in which our independence, freedom and bread are being traded, that we need. What we want are peace, independence, democracy and radical agrarian reform on the Cuban model, progress and satisfaction of the vital demands of the masses."

Lenin Documents

BOOK XXXVI of the Lenin Miscellany* prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., CPSU, came off the press late last year. It contains 636 hitherto unpublished documents written by V. I. Lenin between March 1917 and January 1923. They mirror the many-sided activity of Lenin, the leader of the Communist Party and the working people, the founder of the world's first socialist state. The bulk of the materials deal with fundamental problems of socialist construction and Soviet peace policy. Lenin stressed the importance of implementing proletarian internationalism in the world working-class movement, of strengthening the Communist parties' links with the masses, of fighting for working-class unity.

Working-Class Unity

The book contains some striking fragments attesting to Lenin's role as the founder and a leader of the Communist International, the establishment of which represented a Marxist-Leninist victory over social-reformism and provided the solution of the historical task to which Lenin devoted so much of his time and energy.

The First (founding) Congress of the Communist International (1919) heard a report by Lenin on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat and adopted his theses — an outstanding policy document — on this subject. The Miscellany includes the plan and outline of these theses. In them Lenin elucidated bourgeois democracy and defined it as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie disguised by protestations of national interests. The dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand, which means suppression of bourgeois resistance, is democracy for the majority of the people (page 70). In his letter to Raymond Robins, member of the U.S. Red Cross Mission in Russia, Lenin expresses his confidence that the "new democracy, that is, proletarian democracy, will be established in all countries and will demolish all obstacles to it and abolish the imperialist capitalist system in the New and the Old World" (page 41).

*The Lenin Miscellany, Book XXXVI, Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1959, 555 pages. (Contains plans of articles or speeches, notes, synopses, theses, letters, telegrams, speeches, incomplete works and rough texts of works. The complete Collected Works, comprising 55 volumes, do not, with a few exceptions, include materials from the Lenin miscellanies. Some of the documents in Book XXXVI have already been published in Nos. 2, 3, 1958 of *World Marxist Review* and in a number of Soviet journals — Ed.)

The reader will see the thoroughness with which Lenin studied the state of affairs in the young Communist parties, the work of their congresses and the political situation in the countries of the West and East. Lenin's speeches at the Second (1920), Third (1921) and Fourth (1922) congresses of the Communist International, his notes, comments and talks, and his letters to comrades show how concerned he was about strengthening the fraternal Communist parties both ideologically and organizationally.

In a letter to Otto Kuusinen and in his observations on the Draft "Theses on the Organizational Structure of the Communist Parties and the Methods and Content of Their Work" (1921) Lenin notes that in the majority of the legal Communist parties in the West there was no day-to-day revolutionary work by each Party member. The important thing was to remedy this situation, and that was the chief difficulty. "The Communist Party must overcome this tendency by systematic, persistent organizational work, by making many improvements and rectifications . . ." (page 257).

In their early days the Communist parties were still weak. The majority of them had been founded by the most militant of the Left-wingers in the Social-Democratic and Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations. Elements of reformism and sectarianism found their way into the communist movement. It was necessary to eliminate them, to educate and train Party members who would be infinitely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to build Communist parties—parties of a new type.

In this connection Lenin's views on the fundamental mistakes made by some of the representatives of Communist parties are of great interest. He sharply criticized the Italian centrists headed by Serrati, stigmatized his activities as "a mixture of Philistine spinelessness and politics sharp practice" (p.323). Lenin condemned the stand taken by Schmeral at the Prague Congress of Czechoslovak Left Social Democrats (May 1921), his statement that he was prepared to take part in a revolution provided it was not too difficult. A commission should be instructed, Lenin writes, "to prepare a detailed letter to the Czech Party containing a pointed and precise criticism, citing quotations, of what is wrong in Schmeral's position. . ." (p. 274).

Lenin was highly indignant at the behavior of five members of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany who defended the Serrati group and withdrew from the Central Committee when, despite their efforts, the Central Committee passed a resolution against Serrati and his supporters and welcomed the foundation of the Communist Party of Italy. A letter to Clara Zetkin and Paul Levi contains the following lines: ". . . your tactics in relation to Serrati are incorrect. Any defense, or even semi-defense, of Serrati was a mistake. But to withdraw from the Central Committee!?!? That, at any rate, is the greatest mistake of all! If we are going to tolerate a state of affairs in which responsible members of the Central Committee withdraw from it when they happen to be in the minority, then the Communist parties will never develop and improve normally" (p. 222).

The Miscellany contains a speech delivered by Lenin at a meeting of the members of the German, Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Italian delegations to the Third Congress of the Communist International (July 11, 1921). In it Lenin substantiated some of the principles underlying the tactics of the Communist parties, tactics which, principled in essence yet flexible in form, call for all aspects of a situation to be taken into account, for an objective assessment of the results achieved, and for criticism of shortcomings and mistakes. The admission of errors and the exercise of great caution would, Lenin pointed out, attract the masses whom "the whole trend of things is objectively impelling towards us . . ." (p. 281). The documents stress the need for patient work by the Communist parties among the masses with the object of winning over the majority of the working people; the need to take an active part in the day-to-day economic struggle of the working class; to participate regularly in the activities of trade unions and other mass organizations. The Party "is not a society of propagandists, but the organizer of practical struggle by an army of millions and millions of proletarians . . ." (p. 114).

Working class unity and united front tactics adapted to the concrete conditions obtaining in each country are the keynote of Lenin's speeches at the Comintern congresses. "The object and implication of united front tactics," wrote Lenin, "is to draw ever broader masses of workers into the struggle against capitalism, without stopping short at making repeated appeals, with proposals, even to the leaders of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals to conduct joint struggle" (pp. 461-462).

The documents show that since their inception the Communist parties have sought to establish unity with the Social-Democratic organizations, despite the profound differences between the Commun-

ist and reformist trends in the labor movement. A conference of the Second, Two-and-a-Half and Third Internationals held in Berlin in April 1922 adopted some positive decisions on joint action. Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to the preparations for this conference. He suggested that only questions directly connected with practical action — questions each of the three Internationals acknowledged to be indisputable—should be brought up for discussion in order to achieve *joint*, if only partial, actions by the workers. The Comintern delegation, Lenin wrote, should be guided "exclusively by unity of the mass of workers in action, and this unity could be achieved immediately, though fundamental differences did exist" (p.418).

Unity does not imply that the Communists undertake to keep silent about, or to underestimate the importance of ideological or policy differences, or that they will give up conducting propaganda of their ideas, or that they will refrain from criticizing social-reformist views. And they fully recognize the right of the other side (or sides) to act in the same way. "We must find occasion to declare officially that we regard the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals as inconsistent and vacillating participants in a bloc with the counter-revolutionary world bourgeoisie, and that we are going to the conference on the united front with a view to achieving a possible practical unity in the direct action by the masses and exposing the political unsoundness of the entire position of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, just as these latter (the Second and the Two-and-a-Half) are going to the conference with us with a view to achieving a practical unity of the direct action by the masses and politically exposing the unsoundness of our position" (p. 419). What an example of the principled and flexible Leninist approach to the problems of the Communist parties' united front tactics!

Another question was, what forms should the struggle take, inasmuch as agreement on unity had been reached? Everything depends upon conditions, place and time, but it is clear that the basis for communist actions continues to remain comradely discussions, patient explanatory work and persuasion of the masses. After the Berlin conference Lenin wrote: "Criticism of the policies pursued by the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals should now take on a somewhat different character, namely: there should be (especially at meetings attended by workers supporting the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals and in the special leaflets and articles written for them) much more explanation, exceptional patience and thoroughness; these workers should not be scared away by harsh words, the irreconcilable contradiction between the reformist policy and the slogans their

representatives adopted in Berlin (for example: struggle against capital, an eight-hour working day, defense of Soviet Russia, help for the starving) should be explained to them" (p. 472).

In the interests of the working-class movement and of establishing unity with the Social Democrats, the Communists are not averse to making possible compromises or concessions, but only such as do not entail retreat from basic principles. Let us suppose, Lenin writes, that a Communist representative needs to gain entry into a building where reformists are conducting their propaganda before a large meeting of workers. It would be a mistake to refuse to make any concession for the right of admittance to fairly well guarded and locked premises. That these concessions should not affect fundamental political principles is another matter. "Communists must not stew in their own juice, but learn how to penetrate into prohibited premises where the representatives of the bourgeoisie exercise influence over the workers; they must not hesitate to make certain sacrifices and not be afraid to make mistakes, which are inevitable in every new and difficult undertaking."*

Are these tactics — as some reformist leaders try to make out — merely a maneuver or a piece of double-dealing? The Communists, they allege, are not guided by working-class interests, their tactics pursue the narrow Party aim of luring more workers into their ranks.

This reformist interpretation of the Communist parties' tactics is a crude distortion of their real purpose. Working-class unity is based upon the objective foundation of identity of class interests. The Communists champion the interests of all working people, including those who belong to the Social-Democratic parties or support them. The activities of the Communist parties demonstrate the desire for unity, not because the conditions happen to be favorable, but because that is the invariable policy of these parties, a policy that is determined by the fundamental interests of the working class. Experience has proved that where unity, be it only partial, has been achieved and the workers act jointly, the working class as a whole and each of its detachments in particular, stand to gain. Reformist leaders who continue to cling to anti-communism and obstruct working class unity inevitably lose the confidence of the workers and hasten their own inevitable downfall.

The struggle to achieve working-class unity and on this basis a worker-peasant alliance, to win over all working people and democratic forces, remains the vital task of the Communist parties. Many of the world's misfortunes today are rooted in the fact that in many countries the working class is

still divided, and this plays into the hands of reaction. As Khrushchov said from the rostrum of the 21st Congress of the CPSU, life itself is compelling the representatives of all trends in the labor movement to "brush aside the mountebanks of anti-communism and to sit round one table and work out a mutually acceptable platform of joint working-class action in defense of their interests, of peace."

For Peaceful Coexistence

Many of the documents in the Miscellany reflect Lenin's indefatigable efforts for peace and peaceful coexistence between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries. It was Lenin who advanced and substantiated the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

Even before the October Revolution Lenin pointed out that only the working class could, when it won power, conduct a policy of peace not in words, but in deed. This conclusion has been corroborated by the policy pursued by the Soviet state since its inception. The unforgettable events of those epoch-making years rise before the reader's mind: Lenin's Decree on Peace, addressed to all governments and all peoples of the belligerent countries, called for an immediate and just peace without annexations or indemnities; the negotiations in Brest and Genoa, and the Soviet government's persistent efforts for peace and friendship between the peoples.

There are Lenin's notes on the appeal issued by the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets (1919) to all the powers of the Entente, jointly and severally, to cease their intervention and to end the hunger blockade. The appeal contained a "direct proposal for peace and peaceful negotiations..." (p. 83).

Lenin's views of the new, Soviet principles in international relations are of great interest. What was new was that the Soviet policy envisaged the participation of colonial peoples in international conferences and commissions on an equal footing with other peoples; the participation of all workers' organizations in these conferences; the principle of non-interference by international congresses in the internal affairs of separate peoples; voluntary co-operation excluding subordination of one country to the will of another; aid from advanced to underdeveloped countries as an essential point in the program for the rehabilitation of their economies; universal reduction of armaments, and others. Lenin pointed out that "we have a comprehensive and far-reaching program"! And "if we are not allowed to announce it (at the Genoa Conference—N.A.) we shall print it with a protest" (p. 455).

Peaceful coexistence presupposes the development of mutually advantageous trade and other

*V. I. Lenin, "We Have Paid Too Much."

business relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries. In 1918 Lenin wrote to the Soviet Ambassador in Germany: "If the German businessmen appreciate the economic advantages, having understood that *nothing* will be got out of us by war, and that we'll burn *everything* in that case — then your policy will continue to meet with success. We can sell the German raw materials" (pp. 46-47). In another letter he stressed "... how earnestly we desire business-like economic relations" (p. 43). In a letter to Stalin in 1922, Lenin recommended that business be done with the enterprises of an American company dealing in medicaments and chemical preparations. "Here we have a small path to the American business world, and full use must be made of this path" (p. 493).

The Soviet peace policy evidenced, for example, in Lenin's proposal to cut the Red Army by one-fourth, "this being justified by the fact that a real, though small and not particularly reliable, step towards a truce was made in Genoa" (p. 488).

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist countries determined and still determines Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet State upheld this principle when it was much weaker economically and militarily than the chief capitalist countries; it upholds this principle now, when it has become a mighty world power. And this reveals the genuine humanism of the socialist system.

Path of Socialist Construction

The materials on economic and cultural construction in the USSR give us a deeper understanding of Lenin's approach to socialist construction, the plan for which was elaborated in his works and provided the answer to the questions: What are we to start from, and how are we to go about building a socialist economy and culture? The problems of rehabilitating and developing the national economy, expanding trade and strengthening the monetary system, the monopoly of foreign trade, problems of science, technology and culture, raising the productivity of labor and socialist emulation — all these absorbed much of Lenin's attention.

In his famous article "The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government" and other works, Lenin elaborated the plan for laying the foundations for socialist economy. The outline of this work, published in the Miscellany, points to the basic principles for building socialism: "One-man direction," "Organized emulation," "Agricultural co-operation," "Force of example," "Democratic centralism," "Raising labor productivity," "Struggle against the bourgeoisie also through organized accounting and control," "Nationalization of Banks," and others (pp. 31-38).

Socialist management presupposes that planning of the national economy will become ever more efficient. The "Economic Commission," a body coordinating the work of the people's commissariats and headed by Lenin, was set up in 1920 for this express purpose. One of the first measures taken by it was to draft a decree on the re-organization of the Council of Labor and Defense. Lenin wrote in this document: "The Council of Labor and Defense is to concentrate to a greater extent than hitherto on the tasks of economic construction..." (p. 145).

From the spring of 1920, the electrification of Russia became the cardinal task of economic rehabilitation and construction. In his letter to the members of the Party Central Committee Lenin stated that "we would see the realization of the *general plan* for the rehabilitation of the national economy, a plan that is meaningless without electrification, and to talk about 'fundamental tasks' outside of this plan would not be serious" (p. 139).

The Party was confronted with the task of socialist construction. There was only one way of doing this and that was to make the plans the possession of the masses by popularizing their concrete aims far and wide and to direct the creative labor of millions of workers and peasants. The point was the Party's approach and attitude to the broad masses. It was on this point that the Trotskyites and other elements of the opposition resolved to fight the Party and forced upon it a discussion on the trade unions. The Trotskyites and their kind were against extending workers' democracy in the trade unions and proposed methods of administration by command.

Lenin exposed the anti-Party views of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites and criticized the Anarcho-Syndicalists. This is how Lenin assessed Trotsky's position: "... Trotsky's whole approach is anti-Marxist," the Trotskyite platform is "theoretically erroneous," contains "a series of fundamental errors," is "politically tactless and harmful" (pp. 156-158). Lenin regarded as a task of paramount urgency the "strengthening of the methods of workers' democracy and trade union democracy..." (p. 140).

He considered the Anarcho-Syndicalist tendency to legalize ownership of their particular means of production by the workers of a given factory or trade, to delete from or interfere with the instructions of the central authorities to be a grave distortion of the basic principles of Soviet government and tantamount to the repudiation, lock, stock and barrel, of socialism. He searingly criticized the syndicalist approach to the management of the economy and substantiated the principle of democratic centralism.

"Communism guides the mass of non-Party people, educates and trains them for the management of the whole national economy. Syndicalism transfers to the mass of non-Party people the management of separate industries" (p. 166).

Concerning the draft "Regulations Governing the Management of Nationalized Enterprises" Lenin wrote: "Communism presupposes the utmost centralization of large-scale production throughout the country" (p. 47).

Lenin gives an excellent definition of trade unions and their role in socialist construction in the synopsis of his speech on "Trade unions, the present situation and Trotsky's mistakes."

"1) Trade unions are historically inevitable organizations which embrace now the industrial proletariat almost to a man.

"2) Hence their role and tasks are extremely important in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"3) Peculiarity of this role — on the one hand they are the organizations of the ruling, dominant, governing class, but they are not organizations of coercion, not state organizations. On the other hand, they are educational organizations, organizations that enlist and train, they are schools, schools of administration, schools of management, schools of communism" (pp. 154-155).

The success of socialist construction in a multinational state such as the USSR depended on a correct national policy, on the Party's winning the complete confidence and gaining the support of the people of all nationalities. In one of his letters Lenin emphasized the extreme importance of winning the confidence of the popular masses in Central Asia: "... to win it three and four times over: to prove that we are not imperialists, that we will not tolerate a deviation in this direction.

"This is a question of world-wide significance, without exaggeration, world-wide" (pp. 320-21).

Lenin paid particular attention to the need consistently to implement the principle of sovereignty and political independence of both big and small nations. "Recognize that it is essential . . . to implement autonomy in forms corresponding to the concrete conditions . . ." (p. 133). Lenin made an essential amendment in the draft resolution of the Party Central Committee on the union of Soviet Republics (October 1922) which was unanimously adopted by the Plenum. Instead of the "entry" of a number of union republics into the RSFSR he proposed that a paragraph of their union should be included. The purport of the amendment was obvious — it was not a question of some republics entering another, but of the formation of a "federation of republics enjoying equal rights" (p. 497). These and other documents attest to Lenin's in-

defatigable efforts to form the USSR as a voluntary, equal, fraternal union of Soviet socialist republics.

The Unforgettable Personality of Lenin

The sentences in the Lenin Miscellany are laconic, ideas are concisely expressed. But they help the reader to conjure up the personality of the never-to-be forgotten Lenin. Many books and pamphlets have been written about Lenin. Two volumes of reminiscences were recently published in Moscow and a third will soon come off the press. Contemporaries of Lenin — fellow country-men and foreigners — bring the great leader to life in their recollections and depict him at the same time as an unassuming, charming and tactful man.

The documents, which mirror the day-to-day work of Lenin, bear witness to his exceptional diligence. The outlines of articles, calculations, excerpts and observations on the margins of books, his notes to his secretary and librarian, give the reader an idea of how he worked and a peep into his creative laboratory. His way was the way of thorough study of data, of careful analysis and generalization, of verifying these time and again. And the sum result is the brilliant Leninist conclusions and assessments.

Lenin's style of work was marked by a concrete, down-to-earth approach to the solution of problems, and broad revolutionary sweep. All his utterances speak of his principled, class approach, breathe infinite dedication to the working-class cause, consideration for the working people and implacability to the enemies.

Lenin was exacting with himself and his colleagues. Those guilty of negligence, or who adopted a bureaucratic attitude to the needs of working people, earned his sharp rebuke. He demanded punishment for the culprits — even to their removal from their posts, expulsion from the Party and being brought to trial. And at the same time he was full of thought for his comrades, displayed touching concern for their health and conditions. He found the time to write a warm, friendly letter to a comrade who had lost his wife. "Concern for comrades was an outstanding trait in his character," recollected Krupskaya.

Collective leadership was a principle in Lenin's work. The documents show him to be extremely attentive to the opinions of his colleagues; he consulted experts and scholars, sought the advice of peasants and workers. The notes he made during a talk with two peasants (p. 201) are a case in point. Their suggestions apropos of changes in the meat-delivery system were accepted by the government. Lenin never tried to impose his own views or to make one-man decisions, as the documents bear out. His skill in picking the right man for the job was a feature of Lenin the leader.

There was nothing he objected to so strongly as attempts to highlight his personal services, or laud those of other leaders. A note, brief but to the point, on a letter in which Henry Gilbo expressed the wish to write a brochure about the leaders of the revolution in Russia reads: "Why emphasize individuals." He flatly turned down a proposal by Voyeredin, a script-writer, to make a revolutionary film entitled "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" (p. 431). To a letter from A. Joffe who wrote that the Central Committee of the Party was Lenin, he replied: "Why get so wrought up as to

write the *utterly impossible, utterly impossible* words that I am the C.C. That is the result of overstrain" (p. 208).

The materials of the XXXVIth Lenin Miscellany are forty years old, yet the book does not date. It is still topical and a valuable contribution to the theoretical arsenal of the Communist parties which are waging an intense ideological struggle against the forces of the old society and for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

N. Alexandrov

Lenin, Imperialism and Mr. Strachey

JOHN Strachey, a former Minister of War in the Attlee Labor Government, and now a prominent Right-wing theorist of the Labor Party Front Bench, has written a book entitled *The End of Empire*, intended to refute the theories of Lenin and modern Communists about imperialism and to present Britain as a "post-imperial society."

The career of Strachey has been a variegated one. Descended from a prominent family of British higher colonial officials in India, and the son of the editor of the once leading Conservative weekly, the *Spectator*, he became in his youthful days, after Eton and Oxford, a member of the Independent Labor Party, then led by Ramsay MacDonald, and in his first book *Revolution by Reason* advocated currency and credit reform as the path of social transformation. Entering parliament as a Labor M.P. during the second MacDonald Labor Government, he resigned from the Labor Party to join the New Party of Sir Oswald Mosley. When the New Party developed, as the Communist Party had warned from the moment of its foundation, in a fascist direction, becoming eventually the British Union of Fascists, he broke away from it and participated in the Popular Front campaigns of the nineteen thirties. During this period he wrote a number of books intended to popularize Marxist ideas, contributed regularly to the *Daily Worker*, and applied to join the Communist Party, but was recommended by the party, in view of his mixed political record to wait until he had demonstrated over a space of time some political stability. Subsequently embracing Keynesian economic theories in his book *A Program for Progress* in 1940, he broke off his association with the Communist Party on this issue, and entered on a campaign of active

anti-communist propaganda. Re-entering parliament as a Labor M.P. in 1945, he became a Minister in the Attlee Labor Government, rising to the Cabinet position of Minister of War in 1950, in which capacity he toured Malaya to stimulate the colonial war of the British armed forces against the Malayan Liberation Army. Following the fall of the Labor Government, he has figured as a right-center theorist in the higher councils of the Labor Party, specializing on strategic questions as an advocate of NATO strategy, the hydrogen bomb and the theory of the nuclear deterrent. His pamphlet written for official publication by the Labor Party to advocate these views against the Left-wing campaign aroused so much opposition even on the Labor Party Executive that it was finally published by the Labor Party, not as a statement of Executive policy, but with a prefatory note of approval by Mr. Gaitskell.

Strachey's years of enforced retirement from ministerial office during the past decade have been engaged in the production of a series of volumes intended to present a systematic exposition of modern social democratic theories ("the principles of Democratic Socialism") in opposition to Marxism and communism. The first of these was *Contemporary Capitalism*, published in 1956. *The End of Empire* is offered as the second volume in this series, published at the end of 1959.

1. Capitalism and Imperialism

Contemporary Capitalism set itself the task to refute the Marxist economic theory of capitalism as disproved by modern development, and to present the picture of a new and transformed capitalism, thanks to the role of the labor movement and parliamentary democratic institutions, with extending prosperity and rising standards of the workers. For this purpose he offered a caricature of Marx's

**The End of Empire*. By John Strachey. Victor Gollancz, London, 1959, 351 pp.

very precisely formulated General Law of Capitalist Accumulation and its effects on the conditions of the workers, vulgarizing this into a kind of Lassalleian Iron Law of Wages which Marx ceaselessly fought. Asserting that "Marx in fact taught" that it was "impossible for the wage earners to raise their standard of life under capitalism," he accused Marx of failing to take into account the role of the trade unions or legislative action, thereby ignoring the consistent emphasis of Marx on the importance of the role of the trade unions in relation to the rate of wages or his celebration of the Ten Hours Act as a victory for the political economy of the working class, and equally ignoring the explicit correction of Engels in relation to the first draft of the Erfurt Program: "Ever greater grows the number and the poverty of the proletarians." This is not correct, expressed in this absolute fashion. The organization of the workers, and their ever growing resistance, can establish a certain barrier to poverty. What certainly grows is the insecurity of existence" (Engels, *Critique of the Draft Social Democratic Program*, 1891, letter to Kautsky, June 29, 1891). It was only on the basis of such a caricature of the scientific economic theory of Marx, and a glorification of conditions in present-day capitalist Britain and America, that Strachey endeavored in his first volume to present his version of the current fashionable capitalist and social democratic theory of the "new," "progressive" "people's capitalism."

The new book, *The End of Empire*, may be regarded as a sequel to *Contemporary Capitalism*. In a footnote in the earlier book referring to my *Crisis of Britain and the British Empire*, he recognized that it would be necessary to deal with the argument that the "prosperity" of capitalist Britain and the United States, including the relatively higher wages of important sections of the workers, was based on a foundation of imperialist exploitation of masses of colonial and semi-colonial populations living at the lowest levels of existence and with an absolute deterioration of standards in the present period. He promised to answer this argument in a future volume, and to refute the contention, as he described it, that "the imperialist tribute of super-profits still flows undiminished to the last stage capitalisms" and show that "such super-profits, while they still exist, are simply not of the order of magnitude to sustain the argument." The new volume is offered as the redemption of this promise. *Contemporary Capitalism* sought to refute the economic theory of Marx by presenting a caricature of that theory. *The End of Empire* seeks to refute Lenin's theory of imperialism by presenting an even more distorted caricature of the theory of Lenin.

2. Definition of Imperialism

Strachey begins with a definition of imperialism which, if not novel, at any rate proclaims his opposition to the theory of Lenin:

"By imperialism I mean the process by which peoples or nations conquer, subdue and then permanently dominate (either de jure or de facto) other peoples or nations."

Every author has of course the right to define his terms as he wishes. Strachey's definition corresponds to ordinary popular spoken usage. Indeed, Lenin on occasion also employed this popular usage. But this ordinary popular conception of empire and imperialism as the conquest and rule over other peoples, however legitimate in a suitable context, is useless as a basis for a scientific theory of the phenomena of present-day imperialism.

First, this definition mixes together entirely different social, economic and political systems, differing productive and class relations, with different laws, into a single all-embracing classification, which includes equally, according to the author, Assyrian imperialism, Roman imperialism, feudal imperialism, mercantile capitalist imperialism, or modern capitalist imperialism. On this basis no scientific theory can be drawn to clarify the laws of motion of such diverse systems, but only the most empty moralizing general conclusions about the desirability or otherwise or "progressive" or "reactionary" character of ruling subject peoples.

Second, this definition is in fact a vulgarized version of the Kautskyan definition against which Lenin polemized. Kautsky at any rate connected imperialism with modern capitalism, but saw it as a policy of "striving" of "highly developed industrial capitalism" to "annex big agrarian regions irrespective of what nations inhabit these regions." Lenin rejected this definition as "utterly worthless because it is one-sided, i.e., it arbitrarily brings out the national question alone (which is extremely important in itself as well as in its relation to imperialism)," as well as replacing finance-capital by industrial capital and referring to the annexation only of agrarian regions and not also of industrial regions. Above all, he rejected it because it "detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance-capital, and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which he alleges to be possible on the same basis of finance-capital." Strachey's "definition" can be recognized as a truncated and vulgarized version of the Kautskyan theory, since it confines imperialism to a policy of annexations of other people's territories, and treats this in turn as a policy which can be renounced by an enlightened modern capitalism. On this basis no scientific explanation of the phenomena of modern imperialism is possible.

Third, this definition, which confines imperialism to a policy of conquering and permanently dominating other nations, even though it adds the saving proviso "either de jure or de facto," fails to take into account the enormous variety and complexity of forms, both economic and political, through which the imperialist monopolies maintain their stranglehold, privileged position and exploitation over a wide range of territories and peoples (in varying degree, over all outside the socialist world) far beyond the now diminished confines of the formal colonial empires or recognized de facto protectorates. Lenin said:

"It is necessary constantly to explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialists in creating under the guise of politically independent states, states which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily . . ." (Lenin, *Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Question*, Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920.) An enormous development in the entire world situation has taken place since then, bringing the widest complexity and variety of degrees of simultaneous political independence and imperialist penetration. But the underlying principles of Lenin's judgement retain their significance today in the present world of socialism, imperialism and ex-colonial countries which are striving to free themselves from the remains of imperialism, economic or strategic, in their countries. These principles are (1) that the range of imperialism extends far beyond the formal colonial empires; (2) that complete emancipation from imperialism in all its forms has only been achieved in those countries which are part of the socialist camp. Strachey's failure to grasp these principles, arising from his defective definition of imperialism, leads him to hopeless confusions and contradictions, as we shall have occasion to see, when he has to deal with the phenomena of the present British "Commonwealth and Empire" which he seeks to characterize as a "post-imperialist society."

Fourth, under cover of this spurious definition of imperialism, which ignores the realities of class society, Strachey is able subsequently, after making the best case he can for the virtues of British imperialism, and offering a fiction of its virtual disappearance and non-existence today, to insert a chapter of the customary social-democratic slanders about "Russian imperialism" or "Chinese imperialism."

3. Theory of Imperialism

On the economic theory of imperialism Strachey devotes two chapters or nearly one-tenth of the book to an endeavor directly to refute Lenin's

theory. But once again he creates a caricature against which he directs his shafts. This can be seen from the fact that he makes the theme of these two chapters what he calls "The Hobson-Lenin Explanation." He identifies the non-Marxist theory of the social liberal J. A. Hobson with the Marxist theory of Lenin. Lenin readily recognized the value of the concrete data collected by Hobson and paid tribute to his sincere liberal, anti-imperialist sentiments, even while exposing his lack of Marxist theory and revolutionary understanding, and consequent pessimism and fatalism. It has been left for Strachey to identify the two, and to attempt the barefaced stratagem of substituting Hobson's theory for that of Lenin and then answering Hobson's theory as if he were answering Lenin.

The essence of Hobson's theory of imperialism was the under-consumptionist theory familiar in much social liberal and reformist socialist literature, and against which Marx and Lenin always polemized. The capitalists, according to this theory, owing to their refusal to pay higher wages and increase purchasing power of the people by an enlightened social policy at home, are unable to find a sufficient market for their products in the home market, and consequently seek to expand overseas to win new markets and fields for investment of capital. "Capital builds the Dreadnought because it builds the Slum," as the once prominent disciple of Hobson, the liberal socialist H. N. Brailsford used to say. The conclusion to which this analysis would point would be that an enlightened capitalism should abandon the harmful policies of imperialism and concentrate on raising purchasing power at home alongside peaceful free trade without domination in relation to the countries abroad. This is the empty moralizing conclusion, to which as Lenin showed, equally the non-Marxist theory of Hobson or the pseudo-Marxist theory of Kautsky would apply. Strachey has only added to Hobson and Kautsky the final pinnacle of announcing that this transformation has already taken place, and that his new "Contemporary Capitalism" has in fact abandoned imperialism and is devoted to improving the standard of the people in Britain.

Lenin's theory of imperialism stands in the sharpest contrast to the under-consumptionist theory of Hobson. Lenin's theory of imperialism is based on a rigorous analysis of the laws of development of capitalism from the liberal free trade capitalism of the 19th century, through the effects of competition, through concentration and centralization, that is through the inescapable operation of the laws of motion of liberal free trade capitalism, to modern monopoly capitalism in the 20th century. This analysis draws together all the phenomena of the imperialist era; the development of finance capital and the financial oligarchy

through the merging of industrial and banking capital; the export of capital; the formation of international capitalist monopolies; and the division of the world between the great capitalist powers and battle for the redivision of the world. Lenin revealed not only the historical stage of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, but also the deep contradictions of imperialism, arising from the unevenness of development of ceaseless conflict of interests between the imperialist powers (rendering unrealisable the vision of ultra imperialism), and the advancing strength of the working class and national-liberation struggle of the subject peoples. Thereby Lenin exposed the character of imperialism, as, not only the highest stage of capitalism, but also parasitic, decaying, dying capitalism, and the eve of the socialist revolution. With the development of imperialism into the phase of the general crisis of capitalism, opened by the first world war and the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin showed the character of the forthcoming transitional period of the parallel existence of imperialism and socialism, with the increasing strength of socialism and the advance of national liberation, the certainty of a further phase of sharp conflicts, and the future realisable aim of peaceful coexistence.

All this profound wealth of Lenin's thinking on the modern era of imperialism and the transition to socialism is lost on Strachey, who prefers to level his arrows against the easier target of Hobson's under-consumption theory in the belief that he is thereby hitting at Lenin.

Lenin in fact exposed the petty-bourgeois fallacy of Hobson's under-consumption theory when he wrote:

"It goes without saying that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today lags far behind industry everywhere, if it could raise the standard of living of the masses, who are everywhere still poverty-stricken and underfed, in spite of the amazing advance in technical knowledge, there could be no talk of a superfluity of capital. This 'argument' the petty-bourgeois critics of capitalism advance on every occasion. But if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism." (Lenin, *Imperialism*, Chapter IV.) the extraordinary thing is that Strachey actually cites this passage as a supposed vindication of his own position, apparently in the belief that his new "Contemporary Capitalism" has fulfilled the condition when "capitalism would not be capitalism." A curious delusion, when agriculture in Britain has to be artificially and uneconomically shored up with hundreds of millions of pounds a year in subsidies; when basic industrial equipment is falling still further behind even the main capitalist industrial competitors, let alone the socialist countries; when the hard-won increases

in wages of the more strongly organized sections of the workers have fallen behind the increase in productivity and profits in their industries, so that exploitation and accumulation of capital is greater than ever; and when the over-riding and openly proclaimed objective of the entire economic policy of modern British monopoly capitalism since the war, equally under the Labor Government and under the Conservative Government, has been and continues to be to force up at all costs the export of capital as the supreme economic aim.

But indeed the whole of Strachey's book is based on a fantasy picture of the realities of capitalism and especially of modern capitalism or imperialism.

4. Has Imperialism Vanished?

In the opening sections of his book Strachey endeavors to present a version of the history of British colonial policy, especially in relation to India and Egypt, which, while recognizing the elements of open plunder in the early stages, thereafter seeks in the main to paint the conventional picture of noble-minded and self-sacrificing British colonial officials spending their energies to promote the good of the peoples they ruled. Space prevents discussion of these sections, which are not vital to the main argument—although Arab national fighters, for example, will be interested to hear of "the remarkable character of the British constructive achievement in Egypt, and later in the Sudan."

The central theme which Strachey is concerned to establish turns on two main lines of argument.

(1) That imperialism — in the sense of colonialism — has now almost completely vanished.

(2) That imperialist overseas tribute or trading advantages, possession of colonies, or income from the export of capital, has at no time played more than a limited role in British economy, and is least of all significant today when the Empire has been liquidated while Britain is more prosperous than ever.

It is necessary to consider these two lines of argument in turn.

The picture of the liquidation of the British Empire, with only a small remaining colonial Empire which will reach independence in the near future, and the consequent claim that allegations of "imperialism" or "colonialism" are an "obsolete boggy" of "Communist propaganda" is a familiar theme of all present imperialist propaganda whether Tory or Right-wing Labor. Unfortunately for this claim, the complaint is usually sounded at the same time from the same quarters, that the majority of the peoples of the world, as represented at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung and sub-

sequently, are unwilling to believe this and continue to conduct an incessant struggle against a non-existent Western imperialism.

Undoubtedly the past decade and a half since the war have seen great victories of national liberation. During this period five-sixths of the peoples who were previously under direct or indirect imperialist domination have won the establishment of their independent states. It is now recognized by all that colonialism is doomed, and that all the peoples still subject to imperialist domination will certainly in the near future win their national independence. This is a tremendous transformation. In this sense Strachey is only recognizing the inescapable facts of history (after the event, after having done all in his power as a Government Minister to use armed force against the national-liberation struggle, and after having been thoroughly beaten) when he speaks of the present era as the era of the "end of Empire."

But two observations need to be made on this transformation, which run counter to Strachey's essential thesis.

First, this transformation is not the result of a change in the basic character of imperialism, a supposed "change of heart" of the imperialists; on the contrary, it reflects a change in the balance of world forces, through the increasing weight of socialism in the world, the weakening of the power of imperialism, and the tremendous upsurge of the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In every case where imperialism has given ground and recognized national independence, it could be shown with abundant facts how this has been compelled by the physical impossibility with the forces available to continue to maintain colonial rule. In other cases, where the peoples have been less numerous or the countries have had special strategic importance, the imperialists have not hesitated to wage the most ruthless colonial wars, as in Algeria, Malaya, Suez, Cyprus, Kenya, etc. Equally the Labor and Conservative Governments have conducted such colonial wars, and War Minister Strachey has been one of their principal protagonists.

Second, the recognition of politically independent states has not yet meant the retreat of imperialism from endeavoring still to maintain its economic hold, and sometimes even its strategic hold in the former colonial country. In India 85 per cent of foreign-held securities are still in British hands, and British capital assets are officially stated to have doubled since the establishment of Indian independence; while the pressure of the World Bank and Western financial interests with regard to the character of the third Five-Year Plan has

been exerted openly. In Ghana the United Africa Company, a subsidiary of Unilevers, is still dominant in the economy. In Malaya British military occupation remains to continue the war against the Malayan Liberation Army.

In proportion as the national-liberation struggle begins to turn against these remaining forms of imperialist penetration and exploitation, the imperialists have reacted with considerable violence to maintain their privileged position. When Iran under Mossadeq carried the oil nationalization law, the Labor Government, including War Minister Strachey, sent warships to the Persian Gulf. When Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, British and French imperialism launched their aggressive war against Egypt in 1956.

A variety of forms of what has been described as the "new colonialism" have been developed in the modern period, to endeavor to draw the newly independent countries back into the orbit of imperialism through special treaties, military alliances such as SEATO or CENTO (former Baghdad Pact), or under the guise of economic aid accompanied by strings.

This complex situation, which falls completely within the general lines of Lenin's analysis of imperialism, reduces the Strachey definition, by which imperialism is supposed either to rule or not to rule other territories and peoples, into hopeless confusion and contradictions.

On the one hand he declares that "Britain has suddenly become a post-imperial society" (p. 7) and that "Colonialism is vanishing from the face of the earth" (p. 144). He condemns what he regards as the Communist view of this situation.

"If we use the term imperialist in its habitual, and surely proper sense of the rule (open or concealed) of one country over another, there is today little substance in the communist assertion. If on the other hand we extend the term, as contemporary communist writers habitually if tacitly do to mean any bargaining advantage which the developed countries can exert against the underdeveloped, then indeed it is entirely true that this is one of the factors which tend to keep the poor countries poor and the rich countries rich. But if we extend the term imperialist as widely as this it ceases to have any very clear meaning." (p. 191.) It is only necessary to consider the example of the Latin American peoples, who have their long developed politically sovereign states, yet are sharply conscious of the fight against "Yanqui imperialism," to see how inadequate is this rigidly formal definition of Strachey.

On the other hand, Strachey at other times finds himself compelled to give partial recognition to the new conditions. Thus:

"No impartial observer would wish to deny that it is possible to carry on the imperialist control and exploitation of an underdeveloped country without retaining it as, or making it into, a direct and formal colony." (p. 198.) And again:

"It is quite true that the dissolution of imperial sovereignty over most of the undeveloped world is no proof that its exploitation for the benefit of the highly developed countries has ceased. But it is a prerequisite for its ceasing." (p. 200.)

This was precisely the Communist contention that the winning of political independence from imperialism can only be the first stage in the fight to end all forms of imperialist domination and exploitation. But it is for this very reason that the fight against imperialism and colonialism, far from disappearing or becoming limited to a small diminishing empire, is still in the foreground of the world situation.

5. Imperialism and British Economy

What, then, of the effects of imperialism on British economy? The main contention of Strachey's theory, and even the heart of his theory, following his *Contemporary Capitalism*, is to endeavor to refute the analysis of Lenin with regard to Britain, which, following the corresponding analysis of Marx in relation to the conditions of the 19th century British world industrial monopoly, has emphasized the role of Britain's world imperialist position as the decisive key to the entire British capitalist economy, British politics, the relatively higher standards of considerable sections of the workers in Britain, and the consequent domination of opportunism in the British Labor movement.

Strachey endeavors to argue that imperialism has at no time played such a decisive role in Britain's economy, and that today especially, when the empire has been nearly liquidated, its importance is negligible and by no means the basis of the measure of relative economic prosperity in Britain since the war.

To prove this, Strachey offers a number of statistical calculations of a highly questionable character. Let us take a few for example.

First, the terms of trade. It is well-known, and was already shown in the 19th century by Marx in his *Theory of Super-Profits*, that the advanced Western capitalist countries had been able to draw special advantages from the higher prices of their exports of industrial manufactures in relation to the relatively lower prices of raw materials and agrarian imports from the primary producing countries, in most cases the colonial and semi-colonial countries or ex-colonial countries with still a colonial economy. Thus in the recent period the United

Nations World Economic Survey for 1958 has shown how the effects of the economic depression of the Western industrial countries during that year meant a loss of more than \$2,000 million for the primary producing countries, and that the consequent fall in the prices of raw materials helped the Western capitalist countries to climb more speedily out of the depression and thus throw its burden on the mainly poorer primary producing countries. Similarly the Labor Party Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robens, has emphasized that the Conservative Government's claim of prosperity and stable prices should be really attributed to a "stroke of luck" or "windfall" on the basis of a gain of £300 million in the terms of trade. But he omitted to indicate that this was in reality an expression of Britain's privileged imperialist position at the expense of mainly the underdeveloped and semi-colonial countries.

Strachey sets out a table of the terms of trade for each year from 1854 to 1958 recording an index figure of import prices as a percentage of export prices on the basis of 1913 as 100. This shows a movement of the terms of trade from 127 in 1854 to 74 in 1958. Strachey draws from this the conclusion that "Britain's terms of trade in, say, the 1880's which are often regarded as the heyday of Victorian prosperity and empire, were not in fact by any standards at all favorable to her. On the contrary, they were in 1888, for instance, 17 per cent worse than in 1913, and what is more significant, some 40 per cent worse than they are today (1958)." There is no occasion to dispute the figures. But Strachey has fallen into the elementary statistical trap of supposing that, because the index base of 100 has been fixed for convenience at the year 1913, therefore the terms of trade of 1913 can be regarded as representing parity. On this basis he concludes that in the 19th century the terms of trade were "not by any standards at all favorable" to Britain. This is an unjustified conclusion based on this fallacy of treating the index figure of 100 as parity. In fact, as Marx very carefully analyzed in his *Theory of Super-Profits*, already Britain's industrial monopoly in the 19th century ensured Britain favorable terms of trade at the expense of the colonial and less developed peoples. The imperialist era has further intensified this process. Hence 1913, so far from representing equal terms of trade, represented a very high level of imperialist parasitism and unfavorable terms of trade for the colonial peoples. Thus Strachey's conclusion that the figures prove a contradiction between unfavorable terms of trade for Britain in the 19th century and favorable terms only in the 20th century is false. What the table actually shows is that during the 59 years from

1854 to 1913 the terms of trade were still further weighted in Britain's favor by 21 per cent, but that during the 45 years from 1913-1958 (the period including the supposed dissolution of the empire) the terms of trade were even more heavily weighted in Britain's favor by an additional 26 per cent.

Second, in respect of profits from colonial exploitation. Strachey quotes from my book *Crisis of Britain and the British Empire* the figure of £438 million gross profits made in 1951 by 817 companies registered as operating overseas. He then proceeds to treat this as the total of profits from colonial exploitation. Yet this is only a record of companies directly and mainly engaged in overseas extraction of raw materials. Alongside this table was set out in my book on the same page the record of seven of the biggest imperialist monopolies, such as Unilever, which operate both in Britain and overseas, but in fact draw their main profits from colonial exploitation, and which in 1951 made gross profits of £468 million. Isolating the figure of £438 million as a supposed total of profits of colonial exploitation, Strachey proceeds to contrast this with a gross national income of £12,537 million in the same year. This is a glaring and familiar economic fallacy. For the "national income" is an economic imaginary. If, for example, a man marries his housekeeper the "national income" declines. If Lord Bugsblood draws £10,000 from judicious investment in Malayan tin and rubber and uses it to employ a butler, valet, three footmen, four gamekeepers and five under-gardeners, the resultant "national income" will be boosted up to £20,000 with "only a half" coming from the Malayan loot. But in reality it will all be the Malayan loot.

Similarly, Strachey contrasts £667 million gross profits from overseas investment in 1956 with £4,000 million gross receipts from overseas from all sources. The two figures are not comparable. One is profits; the other, total trade, including imports of raw materials to manufacture for export. When Sir Robert Giffen in 1899 sought to show the growing importance of overseas investment, he contrasted an estimated total profit from overseas trade of £18 million with the total profit from overseas investment of £90 million. This was on a basis of calculating 2½ per cent as the level of profit from the overall turnover of foreign trade. A similar calculation today would show, even if we were to double Giffen's percentage of profit in order to adapt it to modern conditions, a total of under £400 million as the profit from foreign trade in contrast to the £667 million gross profit from foreign investment.

Third, Strachey takes the case of oil which represents the most glaring example of the operation of modern imperialism. He devotes a chapter to the endeavor to refute "greatly exaggerated" ideas of the importance of profits from oil in the British economy. Even so he has to admit that British profits from oil represent a half of the income obtained by Britain from overseas investments, and thus in fact play a decisive part, as every financial expert recognizes, in the current British balance of payments. But he omits to mention the even more revealing fact that in 1958 the gross profits from the 21 principal British Oil Companies, amounting to £431 million, exceeded the gross profits of the 456 biggest engineering, iron and steel and shipbuilding companies, amounting to £430 million (*Financial Times*, 17/1/59).

The truth is that all these partial measures of the profits from imperialism only touch one or another aspect of the total of imperialist exploitation. The blood of the imperialist tribute (in a hundred more forms than simply the overseas investment income) courses through all the veins of the British economy, and gives it the feverish glow of a spurious and transient prosperity.

After all his arguments to attempt to disprove the profits of imperialism, Strachey finally has to admit:

"If the national interest is still identified exclusively with the interests of the holders of income—bearing shares and bonds (some 10 per cent of the population) as to a remarkable extent it still is, then there is a rational basis for the immense importance usually attached to overseas investment for private profit, and to the imperialism which has been associated with it. But if we identify the national interest with the welfare of the wage and salary earners of Britain (some 90 per cent of the population) then the advantage (for Britain) is overwhelmingly with home investment. Overseas investment of the imperialism which goes with it is, or at any rate, tends to be a logical interest for the shareholding, property-holding one-tenth of the population." (pp. 180-181.) With this final admission Strachey's whole case falls to the ground. For it was precisely the essence of Lenin's theory of imperialism that the economics and politics of imperialism correspond to the interests of the monopoly capitalists, of the financial oligarchy, and are contrary to the true interests of the working class and the non-monopolist working masses of the people, and that opportunism — of which today Strachey is a leading exponent — constitutes in identifying the interests of the working class with those of monopoly capitalism or imperialism.

6. Theory and Practice

In common with the familiar technique of social democratic revisionism, Strachey loves to play with the formulas of Marxism in order to distort them for his purposes. But it is worth remarking that the heart of Marxism is the unity of theory and practice.

In theory Strachey recognizes that the dissolution of imperialism corresponds to the vital interests of 90 per cent of the British people. But in practice? The record of the Labor Government, of which Strachey was a leading Cabinet Minister, was to line up with the imperialists in the conduct of colonial wars and repression against the liberation movement of peoples subjected to British imperialism. These colonial wars and repression are still defended and justified in Strachey's present book.

Thus the Malayan war is justified with a flyblown official handout about "4,000 to 5,000 militant Chinese Communists" (holding up hundreds and thousands of imperialist armed forces for over a decade) worthy of General Massu in Algeria.

Kenya? We must face the task of putting down rebellions such as the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

Nkrumah? The Labor Government put Nkrumah

in prison. It was the Tory Government which released Nkrumah and established the State of Ghana.

The Tory armed suppression of the democratically elected Ministry of British Guiana? "The extremely difficult issue of whether or not it is the duty of democrats to allow the election of non-democratic forces."

Abadan? He is so discreet about the question of "using armed force" which he mentions as having been under consideration, that he omits to mention the despatch of warships; but Lord Morrison has since informed us in a recent television interview that they were only restrained from military action because "unfortunately the military were nowhere near ready."

This record of practice of the Labor Government of Attlee, Bevan, and Strachey in the colonial sphere is an essential commentary on the smooth and high-sounding phrases in this subsequent volume purporting to offer a melancholy epitaph of empire.

Strachey's *End of Empire* is not only a reflection of the deepening crisis of imperialism. It is also a reflection of the deepening bankruptcy of social democratic theory.

R. PALME DUTT.

Soviet Philosophy Through the Distorting Mirror of a Theologian

CATHOLIC philosophers—the neo-Thomists, who are not so much philosophers as they are theologians — are displaying no little interest in Soviet philosophy. They have turned out a series of books on this subject, chiefly in France and Federal Germany. Among these philosophers is Dr. Bochenski of Freiburg University (Federal Germany) and head of its East European Institute. This professor has published several books on Soviet philosophy, the latest of which bears the title *Introduction to Present-Day Soviet Philosophy*.*

Bochenski is a neo-Thomist. The socio-political nature of neo-Thomism is very specific. It is philosophical idealism, and it answers the needs of the Catholic Church and those groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie who find in Catholicism an ideological weapon. Some neo-Thomists try to bring Catholic theology closer to Marxism and thus place

the latter on the "Procrustean bed" of bourgeois ideology and blunt its political sharpness. Bochenski's works on Soviet philosophy are noted for their anti-communism, and the book under review runs true to form. But curiously enough, the author tries to find in Soviet philosophy a trend similar to the "Western" views, to modern bourgeois ideology and even to neo-Thomism. Reading this book one can see how, in the new conditions of peaceful co-existence, the bourgeois ideologists picture the evolution of thinking, especially philosophy, in the socialist countries, on what they place their hopes and the vain dreams entertained by them.

The book is largely empirical. It is crammed with references to tables, diagrams, lists, classifications. Bochenski claims that he has based his research into Soviet philosophy on empiricism: "The history of Soviet philosophy, like any other history, can be studied and understood only through experience, through empiric research. Any research which attempts to deduce it from apriori

*J. M. Bochenski, *Einfuehrung in die sowjetische Philosophie der Gegenwart*. Bonn, 1959. (Beilage zur Wochenzeitung, *Das Parlament*. No. 45)

principles is bound to be un-scientific and is liable to lead to confusion." Alas, between the author's declaration and the actual method of his research there is a world of difference.

Bochenski is at pains to tell the reader that he examines facts objectively, without bias. A sham empiricism is invoked in the endeavor to convince the reader. In reality, the pseudo-empiricism is but a cover for unscrupulous anti-communist propaganda; Soviet philosophy is surveyed from the standpoint of preconceived postulates, dogmatically interpreted and which cannot be proved — typically apriori postulates dictated by his neo-Thomist views.

Bochenski declares that though the Soviet philosophers claim to be Marxists, study Marx and quote him, Soviet philosophy, nevertheless, bears no resemblance to Marxist teaching. "Marxism (in the sense of the teaching of Karl Marx)," he writes, "is a *West-European*, chiefly *German* product. In the socio-economic sense it derives from the conditions which prevailed in Western Europe in the 19th century; in the spiritual sense, it does not go beyond the 19th-century German philosophy."

His endeavor to depict Marxism as a purely German philosophy is utterly groundless. It is refuted in the first place, by the circumstances in which Marxism arose. As Lenin pointed out, Marxism arose not as a by-product of the mainstream of world civilization. The genius of Marx was that he furnished the answers to questions which had engaged the best minds of humanity. His teaching was the direct immediate continuation of German classical philosophy, English political economy and French utopian socialism of the beginning of the 19th century. The universal nature of Marxism is strikingly confirmed by the way it has been taken up all over the world, by the working-class struggle in the different countries, by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of communism and socialism in the Soviet Union, in China and the other People's Democracies.

The destiny of any philosophical teaching cannot be considered in isolation from practice. The idealist philosophical trends current among narrow groups of bourgeois intellectuals lose their novelty and disappear as quickly as they appear. Marxism, on the other hand, has spread to all countries during the past hundred years and has become the banner of struggle for hundreds of millions of working people. Lenin carried forward the Marxist teaching. Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of socialist revolution.

According to Bochenski, the chief place in the philosophy of the young Marx is the concept of "alienation" which is unknown to Soviet philosophers, for "they have been trained on altogether different lines." This argument is borrowed from

anti-Marxist philosophical literature published in France. It goes without saying that it is utterly groundless, a think up, merely testifying to the author's lack of knowledge of present-day Marxist philosophical literature.

In the first place the Hegelian "alienation," which mystically transfers man's energy and ability to supernatural entities (God, the Absolute) or objects (commodities, etc.) external to man, has never played the "main role" in Marxist philosophy. Marx preferred the more definite concepts of "commodity fetishism," "religious anthropomorphism" and "philosophical idealism" to the abstract term "alienation," which is a refuge for all kinds of mystification. These three concepts make it possible to perceive "alienation" in its tangible manifestations.

Second, anyone who has even a faint idea of the content of Soviet works on philosophy knows that Soviet philosophers are perfectly familiar with the term "alienation." Far from being rejected by Marxist literature in the Soviet Union and elsewhere it is used in the correct materialist sense, not in the Hegelian idealist interpretation and, of course, is not assigned the main role (see *Marxist Humanism* by the French Marxist Roger Garaudy; the article by A. Vladimirova "Against Idealistic Falsification of Dialectics," *Voprosy filosofi*, No. 1, 1957, Moscow).

Third, we find in Marxism-Leninism and in Soviet philosophy concepts more important than "alienation," namely: matter, space and time, material motion, development as the struggle of opposites, consciousness as the property of highly-organized matter—brain, knowledge as the reflection of objective reality and many other elements constituting the essence of dialectical materialism. These concepts play, indeed, the chief part in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and Bochenski can find them used in the identical sense in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and in Soviet philosophical literature.

These fundamental concepts and categories of dialectical materialism testify, contrary to what Bochenski writes, to the universal nature of Marxist philosophy and the ideas of Marx and Engels. Bochenski's judgment on "alienation" is a trifling thing, trifling because it does not reflect reality.

The fantastic discoveries of Bochenski in the realms of Soviet philosophy do not end with this. Present-day Soviet philosophy, he claims, bears no resemblance to Leninism. "Leninism is a *Russian* product. . . . In the socio-economic sense, it derived from the situation in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century, while in the spiritual sense it was determined by the ideology of the Russian intelligentsia of the previous century."

Bochenski relegates Lenin to the 19th century, yet the ideas bequeathed by Lenin have spread throughout the world. The idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, the idea of alliance of the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people, the idea of building socialism and communism, the idea of peaceful coexistence and competition between the differing socio-political systems — these ideas, known all over the world, are the ideas of the day, inspiring the working class and naturally engaging the Soviet philosophers' minds. But Bochenski is blind and deaf to these ideas; his anti-communist blinkers prevent him from seeing things as they really are. That is why he speaks about Leninism as a teaching of the remote past.

What, then, is modern Soviet philosophy like, according to Bochenski? "The new Soviet philosophy, as its name implies, is a Soviet . . . product," he writes. We might have ignored this tautology were it not for the fact that the author concludes: "Since the time of the Second World War it derives from the new Soviet industrial civilization, while in the spiritual sense, it is determined, increasingly, by the technological thinking of Soviet scientists and engineers."

Bochenski has artfully detached Leninism from Marxism, Soviet philosophy from Marxism and Leninism and, having broken the links between them by means of this metaphysical operation, deduces the technocratic nature of Soviet philosophy. It is hardly necessary to say that such a metaphysical division is at variance with the consistent, gradual development of philosophy as a science! In fact, Soviet philosophy is the dialectical and historical materialism of Marx and Engels carried forward and enriched by Lenin. In the new conditions and on the basis of the latest discoveries in science, this philosophy is further developed by Soviet philosophers.

The question arises: why did Bochenski find it necessary to prove that present-day Soviet philosophy is: 1) not Marxist, 2) not Leninist, but 3) a kind of technocratic philosophy? Was it accidental that he did this, that it was the result of his empiric methodology? No, not at all. By counterposing Soviet philosophy to Marxism-Leninism the author, obviously, wanted to draw conclusions on Soviet philosophy and socialist society that fitted in with his own concepts of them.

As Bochenski sees it, there are three main trends in modern Soviet philosophy.

The first, we are told, is represented by "reactionaries," or, in his view, by those philosophers who cling to "the old tenets of dialectical materialism" and always quote Marx, Engels and

Lenin. Being a neo-Thomist, Bochenski is an exponent of philosophical idealism. He is hostile to philosophical materialism and, consequently, adopts a highly negative attitude to Soviet philosophers who uphold materialism and atheism.

The second is represented by the "Hegelians," among whom he reckons the philosophers who write primarily on the dialectical method. Although Bochenski prefers the second trend to the first, evidently reading into it a departure from philosophical materialism, he, as a consistent scholastic with his pseudo-Aristotelian formal logic, is opposed to the dialectical method for which he has no great liking.

The third trend is represented by the "Aristotelians." Although the latter, according to Bochenski, regard themselves as materialists and criticize idealism, he finds something kindred to him in this trend. "Aristotle, clearly, fits the new technological thinking much better than reactionary senselessness or even Hegelianism," says Bochenski who holds that technological thinking forms the basis of present-day Soviet ideology. Being engaged in the elaboration of formal and mathematical logic, these philosophers devote more attention in their particular field of research to mathematics and refer less to Marx, Lenin and dialectics. For this reason Bochenski is inclined to shower compliments on them. "The general opinion," he writes, "is that this group is not only the most numerous, it also enjoys the support of the majority of the younger thinkers."

This fantastic division of Soviet philosophy into three rival trends is merely the ideological mirage with which Bochenski tries to console the Bonn parliamentarians who are longing for a split among the Marxists, among the Communists. There are no grounds for talking about three trends in Soviet philosophy. Both Hegelian and positivist-mechanistic revisionism trends made their appearance in the Soviet Union at one time or another, but whenever they did so they were immediately refuted. But now that Marxism-Leninism has taken deep roots among the Soviet people and has been strikingly affirmed by the years of experience in building communist society, the chances of an Hegelian or of a positivist-mechanistic deviation anticipated by Bochenski are exceedingly dim. If they were to appear, however, they would be subjected to scathing criticism, as the author himself admits.

According to our critic, Soviet philosophy expresses the interests of "the intelligentsia — the dominant class in the Soviet Union." This is simply a parroting of the "theory" on the structure of Soviet society presently current in the anti-communist literature of the West. Soviet philosophy,

in his view, is dominated by a technological trend and expresses the interests of the dominant technological intelligentsia. Naturally, this piffle is the outcome of his hatred of communism.

The USSR is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a country where the working class plays the leading role. The majority of Soviet intellectuals, and first of all the youth, whom Bochenski tries to count, are of worker and peasant origin. Soviet society is a harmonious entity both ideologically and philosophically; the objective basis of this entity lies in the moral-political unity of the people, in the fact that there are no hostile, antagonistic classes in the USSR, that all peoples inhabiting it live in friendship. Led by their Communist Party, the Soviet people are enthusiastically building communist society. They set great store by technology; their achievements in this field have won worldwide recognition. The basis of the ideology, nevertheless, is not technocratic thinking or Aristotelianism, but the theory of scientific communism, dialectical materialism.

In asserting that Marxism-Leninism and Soviet philosophers are reactionary, Bochenski confuses concepts and juggles with facts; the reactionaries in all countries are those who in political, ideological, scientific spheres and in philosophy try to drag mankind back to the views, doctrines and institutes long ago condemned by the peoples, discarded by history and refuted by science. Bochenski, for example, can be reckoned among the reactionaries because in his philosophy and public activity he combats the progressive ideas of the day and advocates medieval ideas, the feudal ideology of Thomas Aquinas. His standpoint is that of medieval scholasticism which has been adapted to the religious and political needs of the monopoly bourgeoisie. By designating as "reactionary" Marxism-Leninism under whose banner one billion people are building a new society, Bochenski has simply given vent to his anti-communism.

As to the real sense of the term "Hegelianism," world philosophical literature describes the "Hegelians" as followers of Hegel's "absolute idealism." But it is absurd to describe as Hegelians those who elaborate the dialectical method. In this case we would have to place in this category Heraclitus, Zeno of Elea, Nicholas of Kusa, Kant and many other predecessors of Hegel. Marx, Engels and Lenin — the teachers of the Soviet philosophers — were dialecticians, but they adhered to philosophical materialism and criticized He-

gelian idealism. It can confidently be said that Bochenski will not find "Hegelians" in the Soviet Union for the simple reason that there is no soil for them; and although this variety of philosophical idealism still exists in Federal Germany it is being ousted by even more reactionary trends say, by existentialism or by neo-Thomism of which Bochenski is a spokesman.

Lastly, we would say to the author: why are those who are now elaborating mathematical logic regarded as "Aristotelians" (e.g. Soviet philosopher A. Zinoviev)? Indeed, a large group of Soviet philosophers is engaged in mathematical logic, for this is linked with modern computer techniques, and their work is of great importance. But what has this to do with the "Aristotelians"? What is Bochenski's motive?

There is, clearly, a purpose behind this. Bochenski dreams of a regeneration of Soviet ideology. He wants to prove that Soviet ideology is departing from Marxism-Leninism and adopting technocratic thinking which is neutral. This is what the adversaries of communism want, what they dream of, and so Bochenski sets out to find it for them in Soviet philosophy! But he has obviously overdone things. As a neo-Thomist and, consequently, a scholastic Aristotelian, he is anxious to find in Soviet philosophy not only a departure from Marxism-Leninism, but an arrival at nothing other than Aristotelianism, and maybe later on, at neo-Thomism and religion.

What a vain exercise!

All this is the same utopia, the same mirage as the entire concept of Soviet philosophy as suggested by Bochenski. The socio-political unity of Soviet society, which is the objective basis of the ideological unity of the Soviet people, makes for their staunchness in the battle for communist ideas, for Marxism-Leninism. Many bourgeois ideologists in the West express the hope that peaceful coexistence between countries with differing systems will signify Soviet neutrality in the struggle against the hostile bourgeois ideology. These are vain hopes. The Soviet people are waging and will continue to wage an uncompromising struggle for the triumph of communist ideology.

Reactionary philosophical teachings such as neo-Thomism are doomed. The future belongs to Marxist-Leninist philosophy and to communism.

Y. S.

Communications and Comment

Cyprus and Its Road of Advance

(Letter from Nicosia)

CYPRUS, until recently a colony of Britain, is to become an independent republic. True, the sovereignty of the new state is restricted. The British imperialists while retaining their military bases on the island have placed the newly-born republic under Anglo-Greek-Turkish control. Reunification with Greece of which the Greek Cypriots have dreamed for generations has not been realized. The draft constitution of the new state is undemocratic. Yet, despite these negative aspects the people of Cyprus must make full use even of these limited possibilities.

The Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) has fought hard for the freedom of Cyprus. Late last year after persistent public pressure AKEL regained legal status. Since December 13, 1955, when it was proscribed by Field Marshal Harding, its membership has trebled and its influence amongst the masses has grown considerably. This is due to the Party's correct stand on all major problems facing Cyprus, particularly during the reprisals and emergency regulations.

A host of problems, political and economic, confront the people.

After hundreds of years of slavery under foreign rule and eighty years of British domination Cyprus is a backward agrarian country with practically no industry, with a low national income, a narrow home market and a foreign trade mainly conducted with the British Commonwealth.

Another feature of our economy is chronic underemployment in town and countryside accompanied by a large number of non-productive jobs in military installations, the state apparatus, trade, etc.

The extraction of minerals — the main export item — is in the hands of foreign monopolies which reap enormous profits. Whereas the net annual profit of the companies mining cupreous pyrites, asbestos and chrome ore exceeds £4 million the royalties and income tax from the proceeds are not more than £1.3 million. The wages of the 6,000 workers employed by the various mining companies range from £26 to £30 a month.

With a population totalling 550,000 there are only several tens of thousands of industrial workers. Agriculture is the main branch of the economy; 30 per cent of the national income is derived from farming.

Thousands of peasant families are either landless or have tiny plots, while the big landowners and the Church possess vast estates.

Foreign trade shows an annual deficit of about £18 million. This grave situation if left unchanged is bound to have a harmful effect on the national economy and living standards.

While underground, AKEL drew up a program for the economic development of the island.

The ultimate aim of AKEL as a party of the working class and other working people is the building of a socialist society on Marxist-Leninist principles.

This, however, can be achieved only after genuine national independence has been secured and through winning over the majority of the Cypriots, both Greeks and Turks alike. Until that time AKEL will proceed from the situation prevailing in the country.

The main points of the AKEL minimum program for the present stage are as follows:

Genuine independence, demilitarization under UN control, friendly relations with all, especially anti-colonial, countries and agreements on the basis of equality, mutual respect and territorial integrity.

Genuine democratization at home. All democratic rights must be guaranteed by the Constitution. Full legislative powers to the supreme body — elected House of Representatives; from among its membership a government responsible to the House will be formed. Democratization of the state apparatus, army, police, courts of justice and government bodies. Independent Cyprus must be a real republic founded on the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity.

The new republic needs a light industry which would process local raw materials. There are

possibilities for developing food (canning), footwear, and textile industries.

The program also envisages:

Agariran reform providing for the expropriation of all big estates and distribution of the land among the poor peasants. Irrigation by drilling wells and the construction of big reservoirs for storing rain water. An agrarian bank which would grant long-term, low-interest loans to the peasants. Raising the productivity of agriculture through intensive farming and the extension of the area under crop. State aid to the development of co-operatives built on democratic principles by offering them grants and interest-free loans.

Long-term trade agreements (especially with the socialist countries which can become regular buyers of our basic farm products) would help expand home and foreign trade. Cyprus should not import luxury goods or items which are produced locally at roughly the same cost and of equally good quality.

The country needs more ports. We have in mind the expansion of port facilities in Limassol (from which the bulk of the exports could be shipped) and in Larnaca. The Port of Famagusta should be considerably improved for it now handles most of our imports and exports.

The warm climate of our island, its archaeological monuments and natural beauty make it an ideal place for tourists. It should be turned into a center of tourism in the Middle East.

Cyprus is now one of the most heavily taxed countries of the British Commonwealth. The main burden is borne by the working people since the national income is distributed in favor of the wealthier sections. The taxation system must be altered so as to shift the main burden on those who are able to pay, i.e., those who get big profits and incomes. Higher taxes should be imposed on the mining companies, they should be made to re-invest the bulk of their profits in local industries and sell shares to the state.

The new state must ensure full employment, higher wages for the low-paid groups of workers and the present wage level for other groups, and the observation of collective agreements. The hous-

ing problem should be solved through the construction of low-rent dwellings. A social insurance system is needed; the public health system should be reorganized and made to serve the people in town and countryside.

The living standards of the peasants should be raised. Such problems as road construction, water supply and electrification of the villages should be dealt with without delay. The rates imposed on small trades for the lease of shops should be lowered.

The youth must be provided with jobs and facilities for receiving a higher technical education, as well as conditions for physical and cultural development. The object of public education is to train young people for independent life and prepare them for entering colleges.

Women must enjoy equal rights with men and get equal pay for equal work; provision should be made for the protection of children and motherhood.

AKEL considers it essential to create an atmosphere of friendship, co-operation and understanding with the Turkish Cypriots and other national minorities. It proposes to set up local Greek-Turkish committees for dealing with all matters of concern to the people.

These are only some of the points of the Progressive Party's minimum program.

The December 1959 presidential elections, when one-third of the electorate voted for the candidate of the Democratic Union, backed by AKEL, testified to the growth of the democratic forces of Cyprus, and in particular, massive support for the AKEL program. The people are aware that this party and other democratic forces are the best champions of the country's independence.

AKEL stands for the unity of all Cypriots, especially for worker-peasant unity, in the name of establishing a really independent, peace-loving and democratic republic. It will work for this unity which is a guarantee of success in the struggle for a genuinely free and happy Cyprus.

PERICLES

Nicosia, Cyprus

Uphold Socialist Aims

THE *Daily Worker* Discussion Conference on "Which Way for Labor" was held in London on January 17th. It was the most important step for the Left since the General Election. It marked a new stage of the fight back to defeat the powerful ideological offensive opened up by the Right wing.

The *Daily Worker* decided to organize the Conference in the immediate post-election period when the Right-wing offensive was in full swing. Backed and supported by every propaganda organ of the capitalist class, this offensive sought to pin the blame for Labor's third successive election defeat on to nationalization, which was said to be "discredited," and recent industrial struggles, which were said to have "alienated voters."

There was a tremendous hubbub in the press, with article after article by Right-wing spokesmen "proving" that socialism was dead, class politics finished, nationalization a dead letter, strikes out of date, and proposing that the Labor Party become a new radical party with a "national" appeal, instead of a "class" appeal.

This offensive was continued at the Labor Party Conference at Blackpool (last November) when Gaitskell singled out for special attack Clause Four* of the Labor Party constitution — "To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Gaitskell saw Clause Four as an obstacle to his plan to swing the Party still further to the right, and made it the center of the attack. But hundreds of the delegates there instinctively realized that his proposal would lead to electoral disaster and political suicide. Hence they applauded every defense of Clause Four and socialist principles.

In this they were reflecting the feelings of thousands of Labor Party members and supporters throughout the country who blamed not socialist policies for Labor's defeat, but the complete absence of them.

This, too, was the dominant theme of the hundreds of letters received by the *Daily Worker* when its columns were opened to a post-election discussion on "Which Way for Labor." The Discussion Conference was called to carry the discussion further, to assist those forces in the Labor movement which are opposed to Right-wing policies, to

achieve the clarity of aim and co-ordination that are needed to give them the power and strength to win.

As support for the Conference grew, so did the efforts of the Right wing to prevent its success. Prominent members of the Labor Party were told that the Labor Party National Executive Committee had decided that participation in the Conference was "incompatible with membership of the Labor Party."

Despite the ban, the Conference Hall was packed on January 17th with delegates and visitors, representing Labor Party organizations, co-operative guilds, tenants' associations, old-age pensioners' associations, student socialist societies, Irish workers' organizations, and informal groups from many industries from farming to printing. Trades councils in 20 cities and towns had chosen delegates or observers. Applications had come from over 50 of Britain's most important industrial enterprises, employing scores of thousands of workers, many shop steward committees, 220 area and district committees and branches of various unions, including 63 committees and branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Five hundred and eighty-six representatives of 352 organizations, with a total membership of 917,500, attended the Conference; a further 50 organizations elected representatives who were unable to attend due to bad travelling conditions, and many others sent messages of support. The Conference was attended by over 200 visitors. In short, this was the most representative conference of the militants of the British working class ever held in recent years.

The keynote of the discussion was set by William Paynter, the miners' leader, who declared when opening it that "Socialism was not just the object of an academic discussion, but the answer to sheer economic necessity, for there could be no end to the exploitation and social misery unless the workers owned and controlled the wealth they produced." His declaration that there could be no tampering with Clause Four of the Labor Party Constitution without tremendous opposition from the trade unions, evoked a tremendous response from the delegates, and speaker after speaker reiterated this point, many of them linking up the anti-nationalization, anti-socialist propaganda with the attacks on the workers' struggle to defend and improve their standards.

A rising militancy and determination to fight was expressed in the discussion. Delegates from great

*In Section three dealing with the Party objectives — Ed.

motor car factories in Scotland, the Midlands and the south of England declared that if some of the workers now had motor cars and television sets they were determined to keep them and would get still better ones under socialism. They thus effectively answered the Right-wing argument that capitalism was here to stay because the workers "are better off."

Tenants' leaders, railwaymen, British road transport truck drivers and others brought this same fighting note into the Conference.

Recognition of the harm done to British labor by the leadership's adherence to cold war policies and its hostility to the socialist world found its clearest expression in the speech of Bert Wynn, the general secretary of the Derbyshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers, who pointed out that "Election defeats had to be traced to policies dominant in the Labor movement in postwar years" and "the success of the British Labor movement would depend on it being able to find a way to live with the Soviet Union, China and the Communist Parties throughout the world."

Understanding of the role of the socialist world, appreciation of the astounding advances of Soviet science, and the anti-Tory mood of the delegates, was aptly expressed by London dockworker Jack Dash when he said, to applause, "I hope that by the end of 1960 a message can be sent to the Soviet workers saying that, if British workers were not able to put a Sputnik into orbit in 1961, they would put the Tories into orbit. It needed not a special, secret fuel, but socialism."

That the delegates were well aware of the need for solidarity with the national-liberation movement was demonstrated by the stormy applause with which they greeted the speech of a South African who called for full support for the African people's struggles and for the boycott of South African goods.

There was universal condemnation of the bans and proscriptions in the Labor Movement which are directed against the Left and the Communists, and understanding of the weakness that the divisions bring to the trade union movement as well as to the socialist cause. Bill Jones, the London busmen's leader and a member of the Executive Committee of the Transport and General Workers Union, declared: "As far as I am concerned, the sooner bans and proscriptions in my organization are ended, the sooner members in the London bus and other sections will achieve their objectives."

Delegate after delegate reiterated the same point from their own experience. This point was passionately expressed by Mr. John Smylie, shop

steward in Sheffield, who stated that he worked with Mr. George Caborn, who had now been suspended as a shop steward for a year by the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. It was George Caborn who had convinced him, a Roman Catholic, that Communism was not as black as it was painted. Said Smylie: "The Right-wing leaders might deprive us temporarily of such men as George Caborn but they cannot deprive us of the right and the will to have a socialist world, come what may."

Councillor Peter Grimshaw of the Salford City Labor Party, who warned the Left in the Labor Party of the weakness that stems from accepting a Right-wing attitude to the Communists, said he spoke to Left-wing people who prefaced every remark with "I am not a Communist" and said they were subconsciously accepting that communism was a dirty word. "The Left could not fight for Clause Four if they were going to have hesitancy on this question."

John Gollan, general secretary of the Communist Party, advanced a program for working-class action around four main points:

- 1) Unity in the struggle for wages and the 40-hour week.
- 2) Cut the arms program now, build houses and hospitals and give the old-age pensioners their due.
- 3) Nationalize the great industrial concerns, particularly the monopolies.
- 4) Carry on the battle for the Summit, refuse to allow another British soldier to remain under the control of Speidel, withdraw from NATO and send the American bombers home.

"The British working-class movement is yours," he said, "don't let the Right-wing wreck it."

That the *Daily Worker* belongs to that same working-class movement, is part of its stormy history and is regarded as indispensable to its present and future struggles by militant workers, was also clear from the discussion at the Conference, so many of the delegates speaking of its role with respect and affection.

George Matthews, the *Daily Worker's* Editor, in his reply to the discussion, noted the concern expressed in the discussion about the need to win youth and declared that if we could show that only socialism could use science and conquer space, end poverty, unemployment and disease, end the cause of wars and make Britain truly great, guaranteeing real freedom, then we would get a response from idealistic, inquiring, turbulent youth.

The Conference fulfilled its aim and was an overwhelming success. It proved that the heart of the Labor Movement is sound and that all the neces-

sary forces exist to defeat the Right-wing and set the Labor Movement on a forward path, providing these forces are united.

What conclusions should be drawn from this impressive demonstration of the will of the workers to uphold the socialist aims of the Labor Movement, and what are the perspectives of overcoming the long crisis in it?

An answer to this can be found in a recent article by John Gollan in the *Daily Worker*. The retention of Clause Four, he writes, is only the start. "The guarantee of a socialist purpose lies in building up the organized socialist force of the Labor movement, the Communist Party."

Naturally, the Communists will do all in their power to help the Left forces to repel the Right-

wing attack on Clause Four of the constitution. But for independent working-class politics it is indispensable to have a strong Communist Party. "It is the political party of socialism, the socialist force of the Labor Movement. If the issue of socialism is at the heart of the politics of the 1960's, the development of the Communist Party into a mass force is the great political need. For our capacity to do the job needed depends on our size. . . .

"This is the question which must now be faced by every Socialist.

"It is the question which must be faced by everyone wishing to be a Socialist."

Bill BROOKS

Against the Persecution Of Democrats

FOR AMNESTY IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

AT a time when the international climate is improving and with the Summit meeting near, Franco has precipitated another avalanche of reprisals on the Spanish people. Early in February over 400 people were thrown into prison, including the young writer Goitisoló, the sculptor Palazuelos, the artist Vasquez, the well-known football player Gomez, and many young repatriates from the Soviet Union.

A group of repatriates from the USSR have protested against this action in a letter to General Franco. They are indignant at the discrimination practised against them — humiliating interrogations, difficulties in obtaining papers, in finding jobs, etc. This letter, says the recent statement of the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, may initiate a nationwide protest movement.

Today, twenty years after the civil war, military tribunals are still sentencing people to 20 or 30 years of hard labor for their convictions. Political prisoners are tortured. Many of the exiles are still refused admission to their country.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has urged the working people to protest against the Franco reprisals and demand the release of the democrats.

Jacques Duclos wrote in *l'Humanite*: "France and other countries alike should sound a clear, urgent and inspiring call: 'Amnesty! General amnesty to all political prisoners and exiles of Spain!'"

In neighboring Portugal freedom and human rights are also trampled underfoot. A group of political prisoners headed by Alvaro Cunhal, Communist Party leader, who recently escaped from the Peniche Fortress testified: "Many valiant sons of the Portuguese people languishing for many long years in fascist jails are subjected to torture."

A special South American conference was recently held in Sao Paulo which came forward in defense of political prisoners in Spain and Portugal.

Some 400 delegates from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela and Paraguay assem-

bled at Sao Paulo University. Among them were workers, scientists, artists, students, professors, sportsmen, statesmen, prominent members of the youth and women's movement. Uniting them all—Communists, Socialists, Catholics, Nationalists and Conservatives—was the feeling of solidarity with the peoples of Spain and Portugal. Dr. Alvaro Linz, a prominent politician and former ambassador to Brazil of Portugal, who had done much to thwart reactionary attempts at preventing the conference from being held, presided at the gathering.

The conference enjoyed the backing of 35 MP's from Brazil, 35 from Uruguay, 40 from Argentina, and many from Chile, Venezuela and Peru. It was also hailed by the writers' associations of many South American countries, trade unions and other public organizations, and prominent public leaders, such as Clotario Blest, chairman of the United Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile; Doctor of Law Carlos Sanchez Viamonte, leader of the Socialist Party of Argentina; Dr. Horacio Tedi, leader of the Progressive Democratic Party, presidents of several universities.

Spanish emigres in South America welcomed the conference. It also evoked response in Spain and Portugal. The renowned scholar Dr. Ramon Menendez Pidal wrote from Madrid: "We sincerely appreciate the support our brothers in America give us."

The conference urged amnesty to all political prisoners, the admission of political exiles to their native lands. It demanded the abandonment of the extraordinary tribunals with all political and public offenses to be handled by civil courts. The conference decided that a delegation of prominent Latin Americans should go to Spain and Portugal to transmit to the governments of these countries its resolutions and to seek permission to visit prisons and interview political prisoners.

The conference called upon all people of good will to expose and condemn these governments for violating the articles of the UN Charter dealing with human rights, and urged them to send protests to the embassies of Spain and Portugal and to the UN.

X In pursuit of the aims of the movement a General Executive Commission will be established and, in each of the countries represented at the conference, National Commissions will be set up. It was suggested that a second conference be held this year. The delegates intend to obtain the official recognition by their respective parliaments of the conference decisions.

This conference was a splendid demonstration of democratic solidarity. Its decisions are important not only for the Spanish and Portuguese peoples. They also contribute to the struggle for democracy in Latin America, help to isolate the reactionaries who lament the times of Spanish colonial rule and are now serving the new colonialists.

TERROR IN JORDAN

REPORTS from Jordan carry accounts of continued persecution of progressives.

The National Front of Jordan has published an appeal to parties, organizations, organs of the press, democrats and all people of good will throughout the world. Signed by Dr. Abdurrahman Shukeir, the lawyer Yahja Hammude and S. Zajadin, this document describes the reign of terror in that country. Political parties, trade unions, youth and women's organizations have been banned, clubs and national newspapers have been closed. Thousands of innocent people, including deputies and ex-ministers, have been jailed. The leader of the National Socialist Party and former Prime Minister Suleiman Nabulsi is under house arrest.

The appeal reveals the atrocities perpetrated by the Jordan authorities. "The prisoners in the jails and concentration camps are abused and humiliated; they are deprived of elementary human rights, most of them are subjected to torture: they are lashed, tried with fire and electricity, inflated, stuffed with pepper, denailed, and deprived of food and sleep for days on end. Two young patriots—Nasri Rumman and Shamekh al Kajali — fell victim to all these horrors. Many are maimed or go mad."

Public pressure has forced the government recently to lift perfunctorily the state of emergency.

However, martial law still prevails. Under the so-called "Defense Law" police authorities can arrest and impose a five-year term of imprisonment on anyone without preferring charges.

The reactionaries are attacking the rights of the people under the flag of anti-communism. The government has passed a special law on "the persecution of communism." Under it anyone suspected of Communist affiliation or Communist contacts is liable to life imprisonment. Military tribunals — so-called "state security courts" — have been set up to deal with patriots. Their verdict is not subject to appeal. Death sentences and long terms of imprisonment are established practice.

The National Front appeals to the world public to express their solidarity with the courageous people of Jordan, their national forces, and to protest against the crying injustices and arbitrary rule. It urges the peoples of the world to demand of the Jordan government that it put an end to the reign of terror, restore democratic liberties, and release the political prisoners. It calls on all people of good will to file protests against these actions with the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The terror unleashed by the reactionaries of Jordan, obedient tools of the British and U.S. imperialists, cannot fail to arouse the anger of the world public.

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

AN International Committee for the Release of Farjallah Helou, leader of the Communist Party of Lebanon, has been set up in Beirut. It includes members of parliament, professors, doctors, writers and lawyers from 22 countries. The Committee has appealed to the United Nations, the governments of the Bandung countries, all democrats and those who believe in human rights to join in the struggle for the life and immediate release of Farjallah Helou who is languishing in a

Syrian prison. This appeal has evoked the response of thousands of people of differing political views and beliefs in many countries. Indignant at the unlawful arrest of Helou, they are demanding of President Nasser the release of this Lebanese patriot.

Free Farjallah Helou — ardent anti-imperialist, champion of the national independence of the Arab peoples!

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(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
the titles here are given in English)

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