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The People Demand: Curb the Aggressor and Ensure Lasting Peace

THE summit conference, so eagerly awaited by the world public, was wrecked by the U.S. government.

It is difficult as yet to assess all the consequences of the events which occurred in the first half of May and which deeply agitated the world. But the salient features are already apparent.

It is clear, first of all, that the U.S. imperialists have exposed themselves as cynical violators of the generally accepted standards of international law. From time immemorial the view has prevailed that the territory of a country is inviolable. Yet the U.S. government has not only engaged in spy flights over Soviet territory, it has gone so far as to declare that such flights are part and parcel of its foreign policy. By refusing to condemn these provocations, by refusing to apologize to the Soviet Union and to punish those responsible for these recklessly dangerous actions, it has torpedoed the conference in Paris.

The weight of public pressure had left the U.S. government with no choice but to agree to the Soviet proposal for a conference at the summit. But now, as far as it is possible to judge, the groups opposed to an international détente have again got the upper hand in Washington. The U.S. government, apparently, had nothing to say at the conference which, it was hoped, would make a big contribution to peace. The United States had no desire to reach agreement on the controversial issues and therefore worked to wreck the conference.

The exposure of the aggressive acts linked with the flight of a spy plane throws fresh light on some U.S. foreign political actions in recent months. The sabotage of the Geneva disarmament talks, the accelerated preparations to arm the West German Bundeswehr with atomic weapons, the signing of a new aggressive treaty with Japan, the decision to resume the nuclear test explosions — these and other facts testify to the perfidy of U.S. foreign policy as a whole. How else can public opinion assess the conduct of government leaders who extend one hand in friendship at an international conference, and with the other organize war provocations?

This policy has aroused a wave of resentment throughout the world. The actions of the

American militarists have been branded as provocative by people of diverse views and convictions. The reaction is a kind of worldwide referendum in which the foreign policy of the U.S. is being denounced. For the point at issue is not simply one of contradictions between the USSR and the USA, it relates to the two basic lines in international relations — the policy of peace and the policy of war. And because the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries stand foursquare for peace, their policy enjoys worldwide support. The response of the people of the socialist countries during those days showed that they are united as never before, that they are fully determined to work for peace and to give a crushing rebuff to the aggressive forces. The working people in the capitalist countries have, likewise, condemned the actions of the U.S. imperialists, conscious that such actions add to the danger of war and speed up the armaments race. In the United States, too, spokesmen of the people have protested. People are urging the government to abandon a policy fraught with such grave implications. There is a growing divergence of views even among U.S. capitalists. This is evident from the comments in the press and from the statements made by politicians and businessmen. Congressman William Meyer described the spy-plane incident as an "extreme example" of the danger caused by a clique who would never get the sanction of the people for such actions.

Exposed before the world as the saboteur of normal international relations, the U.S. rulers have, undoubtedly, suffered a loss of prestige and have lost much support. Even the allies of the U.S. in the military blocs are beginning to realize that one fine day the reckless policy of the Pentagon and the State Department may bring catastrophe upon them; they are becoming conscious of the danger arising from making their territory available for the building of U.S. bases. The spy-plane incident shows how right are the peace supporters in demanding the dismantling of the military bases on foreign soil.

Imperialist propaganda, as was to be expected, is doing everything to blame the summit fiasco on the Soviet Union. But this old ruse of "Stop thief" will hardly deceive the world

public. The events that preceded the abortive conference are well known, the lies are too fresh in people's minds, and the attempts made by some U.S. leaders to embellish the unprecedented provocations against the Soviet Union are far too clumsy and crude.

These provocations are far from being the "trivial" thing bourgeois propagandists claim it to be. What is one to think of statesmen and politicians who publicly declare that flights by their reconnaissance aircraft over Soviet territory are "national policy"? This signifies that the U.S. leaders actually claim exclusive rights in the world. Submission to these claims would mean relinquishing sovereignty, yielding to diktat. And any diktat makes talks senseless. In such circumstances the summit meeting would have been worse than a sheer formality, it would have been an attempt to lull the vigilance of the peoples in face of the aggressive policy. "If in the present circumstances," said Khrushchov on May 16, "the Soviet government were to participate in negotiations clearly doomed to failure, it would be a party to the deception of the nations, and it has no intention of being any such thing."

In these words the head of the Soviet government expressed one of the fundamental principles of socialist foreign policy—respect for public opinion, constant care to see that the people are kept informed of international developments and that they correctly assess them. This obligation to the people of Russia and of the whole world was undertaken by the Soviet government in its first political act—the Decree on Peace. "We want a government," Lenin said in explaining the new, socialist diplomacy, "to be always under the control of the public opinion of its country."

The Soviet Union has unswervingly adhered to this genuinely democratic principle. The Communists know the animal nature of imperialism too well to rely on its good will. They link their hopes for normalizing international relations with the fight for peace, with the people's ability to curb the militarists and compel the governments to act in accordance with their will. And this is possible provided the people correctly assess international developments and do not let themselves be deceived by aggressive politicians. That is why the Soviet government treats public opinion so seriously.

The May events have demonstrated the absurdity and hopelessness of imperialist attempts to dictate to the socialist world, to

exert pressure on it and place it on a footing of inequality. Although no effort is spared by the United States and its allies in the attempt to achieve the "positions of strength" so desired by them, this, as the facts show, is a futile undertaking. The socialist camp is powerful and monolithic, and its policy enjoys wide support among the world public. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries must be regarded as equal partners—negotiations with them can be conducted only on terms of reason and good will. The people in the socialist countries and progressives everywhere fully approve the firmness and dignity with which Khrushchov rejected Washington's attempts to place the USSR on an unequal footing in the talks and to preserve the gangster "right" to violate its sovereignty. For the imperialist politicians this was a good lesson.

Another result of the May events is no less evident; they have emphasized once again that the fight for peace, for a *détente*, is not an easy fight, but one calling for strenuous effort, energy and vigilance.

The imperialist rulers would like to take advantage of the pessimism and disappointment felt by ordinary people in all countries over the failure of the summit, a failure manipulated by these self-same circles. Their calculation is to hold back the fight for peace and free their hands for hotting up the cold war and fomenting war hysteria.

But failures, while they cause confusion and give rise to passivity among despondent people, add to the energy and resolve of the strong-willed. And the supporters of peace are people of this calibre. Difficulties will not discourage them, the fight for peace will continue.

The working class, which bears a special responsibility in this struggle, is in the vanguard of the broad peace movement. It is a class that has always been noted for strength of mind, persistence, and ability to respond to temporary setbacks by redoubling its efforts. And it cannot be otherwise, for the working class is the class to which the future belongs, a class tempered in battle, filled with optimism and confidence. These features are particularly characteristic of the class-conscious workers—the Communists—who clearly see the perspective of historical development.

The realization that they defend the vital needs of mankind, and a cause which has deep roots in objective reality lends tremendous moral strength to the peace fighters.

Never before has the happiness and well-being of mankind, the cause of progress depended so much on the outcome of the fight for peace as now. On the other hand, never before have the conditions making for the victory of the peace forces been so propitious as they are now. These conditions were referred to at the 20th and 21st congresses of the CPSU which emphasized that in our time war is no longer inevitable, that it can be excluded from the life of society. And since they do not depend on the whim of the imperialists, these conditions, naturally, persist, despite shifts in policy. They open before the fighters for peace a clear perspective and give them confidence not only in the rightness of the cause, but also in its triumph.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have always been bulwarks of peace. Their foreign policy is aimed at averting war and normalizing international relations. The recent events have only served to emphasize the profoundly constructive character of this policy. Even in the difficult conditions of unprecedented provocations engineered by U.S. imperialism, the socialist countries have abided by the chief aim of their foreign policy, which is peace.

Supposing the reverse had taken place, that it was not an American plane that had intruded into the Soviet Union but a Soviet plane that had deliberately violated the borders of the United States, that it was not the United States but the Soviet Union that had proclaimed as national policy the right to violate the sovereignty of other countries. What would have happened?

U.S. military leaders have repeatedly declared that the moment the radar installations detected approaching Soviet planes U.S. aircraft, equipped with nuclear bombs, would at once take off in the direction of the USSR. In other words, it is quite in the cards that such an incident could trigger off a war. But even if this were not to happen the U.S. leaders would, without doubt, set about hotting up the international atmosphere.

But how did the Soviet Union act in the difficult conditions caused by the U.S. provocation? Its foreign policy remains unshakable and, as everybody knows, it displayed exceptional self-restraint. As in the past the USSR sees its main goal in peace and the normalization of international relations. This was restated by Khrushchov on May 16: "The Soviet government declares that on its part it will continue to do its utmost to promote

the relaxation of international tension, to further the solution of the problems that still divide us. In doing this we shall be guided by the interests of strengthening the noble cause of peace on the basis of peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems."

The Soviet government, like the governments of the other socialist countries, stands solidly for peaceful coexistence. It is ready to improve relations and, what is more, to strengthen friendship with all countries, including the United States. The socialist countries firmly believe in peaceful coexistence because any loss of faith in this principle would mean dooming mankind to war, to the belief that war is inevitable.

Despite the disruption of the Paris conference by the Americans, the Soviet government has never had any doubts about the idea of summit talks. On the contrary, the Soviet Union is now, as in the past, an ardent advocate of this idea. The head of the Soviet government made it quite clear that the Soviet Union considered it both possible and necessary to hold a summit conference at a time when the conditions had matured for this, that is, when the governments would be guided by common sense and not by threats or ultimatums.

Referring to the spy-plane incident, Khrushchov said at his press conference in Paris: "In the long run it is necessary to overcome the after-effects; all this, as they say, should be 'digested'; it is necessary to normalize relations so that the American and Soviet people live in peace and, as I have already said, not only in peace but also in friendship."

All peace supporters have deeply regretted the failure of the summit. It is, of course, bad for peace that the U.S. imperialists were able to torpedo the conference which, it was hoped, would normalize international relations. But we should not overlook the other side of the matter: the aggressive forces did not succeed in deceiving the people by turning the long-awaited conference into an instrument for lulling public opinion. And this is very important, for the basic condition for maintaining and strengthening peace is a vigilant public opinion capable of exposing in good time the intrigues of the warmongers, pillorying them and rendering them harmless. This vigilance should in no way be relaxed, because the imperialists are not at all inclined to give up their evil aims; it is necessary to

ensure that there is no return to the past in which they decided the destinies of the people.

The fight for peace is developing on a still wider scale. The activization of the warmongers is a challenge to the peace supporters to step up their struggle, to be more selfless and determined. The aim of the peace supporters is clear, it is to ensure an honest observation of the principles of peaceful co-existence by every government and to rebuff every provocation and every attempt to go

back to the grim days of the cold war. Disarmament, which fully retains its significance, is a matter of concern to all people, and they, undoubtedly, will continue to work for the solution of this problem. It is clear that no matter how the enemies of peace rage, they can be curbed. Peace is more than a desire, it is a sound and realizable aim. But it can be achieved only by persevering struggle. Clearly, the people will not be satisfied with anything less than victory in this struggle.

The Dialectics of Militarism

(Modern Weapons and the Fight for Peace)

Y. Arbatov

THE FIGHT for peace is a difficult and painstaking effort calling for selflessness, perseverance, flexibility and the ability to preserve clarity of mind both in times of success and failure. It can be said, and rightly so, that these features are common to the present-day champions of peace. They represent a great force because their movement expresses, on the one hand, the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of people and, on the other hand, the new possibilities of averting war.

The political consequences of the appearance of nuclear weapons are not unimportant in this respect. And an examination of them will enable us to arrive at a better understanding of some aspects of the peace movement, to fathom the essence of the new developments in international relations.

1. Armaments and Politics

For the Marxist who sees class interests and class relationships behind political developments the question may arise: in what way are armaments and politics related?

It is a fact that military technique is an instrument of class coercion, and in an antagonistic society coercion is the chief political instrument of the ruling classes. Hence, the level of military technique, which depends on the degree of development of the productive forces, largely determines the policy of a particular class or government. This tie-up between armaments and politics was examined by Engels in his *Anti-Duehring*. In this

book the interesting point is made that armaments exert an influence not only on the methods of warfare, but also on politics and, hence, on the correlation of class forces and on social relationships. Tracing the evolution of weapons from the 16th century Engels writes: "The introduction of fire-arms had a revolutionizing effect not only on the conduct of war itself, but also on the political relationships of domination and subjection."*

The question may arise: if this is the Marxist viewpoint in what way does it differ from the views of those bourgeois sociologists who seek the key to the explanation of social and political developments in technology, including military technology? There is a fundamental difference.

While the bourgeois sociologists see a *direct, exclusive* connection between technology and politics, they ignore the class and social relations — the decisive factor. The Marxists examine the political consequences of the new technology from the standpoint of the changes which it introduces in the status of classes and in their inter-relationships. Let us see how Engels pursues the idea expressed in the above-mentioned quotation. "The procurement of powder and fire-arms," he writes, "required industry and money, and both of these were in the hands of the burghers of the towns. From the outset, therefore, fire-arms were the weapons of the towns, and of the rising town-supported monarchy against the feudal nobility. The stone walls

*F. Engels, *Anti-Duehring*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 230-231.

of the noblemen's castles, hitherto unapproachable, fell before the cannon of the burghers, and the bullets of the burghers' arquebuses pierced the armor of the knights. With the defeat of the nobility's armor-clad cavalry, the nobility's supremacy was broken. . . ."

These excerpts are an example of the Marxist methodology in examining the socio-political consequences of the appearance of the new military technique. But Engels makes another point, one which has a direct relation to the subject of this article. The point in question is an analysis of militarism. Being a product of class relationships and of the policy of the ruling bourgeoisie, militarism has acquired a relative degree of independence, and, as Engels put it, has its own dialectics of evolution.

"The army," he observes, "has become the main purpose of the state, and an end in itself; the peoples are there only to provide soldiers and feed them. Militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe. But this militarism also bears within itself the seed of its own destruction." In this connection Engels points to the vast growth of military expenditure, fraught with financial collapse, adding that rivalry between countries forces them to "resort to universal compulsory military service more and more extensively, thus in the long run making the whole people familiar with the use of arms, and therefore enabling them at a given moment to make their will prevail against the warlords in command. And this moment will arrive as soon as the mass of the people — town and country workers and peasants — will have a will. At this point the armies of the princes become transformed into armies of the people; the machine refuses to work, and militarism collapses by the dialectics of its own evolution."*

How valid is this prevision? In what way does the dialectics of militarism lead to its destruction (and, naturally, to ruling out wars)? And what is the significance in this connection of the appearance of nuclear weapons? Let us try to answer these questions.

2. Large Armies and the Destiny of Militarism

Among the innovations in the military sphere, on which Engels based his conclusions, the appearance of large armies in the leading European countries was the main one. Indeed, since the last three decades of the 19th cen-

tury big armies have become a permanent establishment.

What is the basic significance of this innovation? It is that circumstances have forced the bourgeoisie to initiate military training and arming of the workers and peasants, i.e., the classes opposed to it. This is no longer a professional army recruited chiefly from the ranks of the ruling classes such as the knights of old, or of the declassed and corrupt dregs of society such as the hired mercenaries of the absolute monarchs; it is the armed people that are now called upon to act as the mainstay of the oppressors, the instrument of their foreign policy.

Further. The appearance of armies of millions of men has added to the destructive character of war. The people have paid heavily in blood and suffering for the political adventures of the ruling classes; and this has accentuated the hatred of the working people for the oppressors — the instigators of predatory wars.

And lastly, a war fought by large armies, steadily evolving into "total war," leads, under certain conditions, to the weakening and disorganization of the political power of capital.

The significance of these facts is clear. In the long run all of them operate in one direction — they accentuate the contradictions of capitalist society, stimulate revolutionary action by the working people and impel the latter to fight against militarism and the bourgeois system which has engendered it.

This theoretical conclusion made by Marxist thought towards the end of the 19th century has been amply confirmed. *All the major conflicts touched off by the aggressive bourgeoisie in the past hundred years have been attended by powerful revolutionary action led by the working class.* The Franco-German War of 1870-71 sparked the Paris Commune. The Russian-Japanese War ended not only in the Portsmouth Peace, but also in the Russian Revolution of 1905. The First World War was followed by democratic and socialist revolutions, above all by the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Then, as a result of the Second World War, bourgeois rule was overthrown in a number of European and Asian countries.

Thus we observe a certain regularity: in conditions of acute class antagonisms the wars fought by large armies lead to the collapse of militarism and, what is more, of the social system which gave birth to it. This, of course, does not mean that socialist revolutions are

*Ibid., p. 231.

**Ibid., p. 235.

caused by wars. But it is a fact that the wars of the past century stimulated the revolutionary processes, accelerated them and contributed to the victory of revolution.

Has this anything to do with the questions of war and peace? Most assuredly, it has.

In plotting a war the bourgeoisie is forced to take into account not only the possibility of a military defeat, but also the prospect of revolutionary actions on the home front. The attitude of the people to war and to the foreign policy leading up to it becomes a major factor which even die-hard imperialist politicians cannot afford to ignore. They are finding it more difficult to precipitate war nowadays because to do so necessitates thorough preparation, both political and ideological—installing a ruthless dictatorship (for instance, the fascist regime in Germany), brainwashing, etc. A resolute anti-war stand by the working people can in some cases compel the imperialists to refrain from war for fear of grave internal complications. Marx pointed out, for instance, that the British bourgeoisie did not intervene in the American Civil War because of the opposition of the working class. The "Hands Off Russia" movement in the capitalist countries was one of the factors that impelled the imperialists to call off the intervention. The peace movement has more than once restrained the militarists in recent years.

It should be said that imperialist politicians and military leaders have long since discerned the dangers emanating from large armies. After the First World War the idea of replacing the old-time large armies by small mechanized armies became one of the main trends in bourgeois military thought. We recall in this connection the doctrine of "air warfare" advanced by Douhet (Italy) and by General Mitchell (U.S.), or the theories of "tank warfare" suggested by General Fuller (Britain) and Guderian (Germany).

Yet the Second World War was to demonstrate that aircraft, tanks, etc., do not free the bourgeoisie from the need to arm the people, on the contrary they accentuate the aforementioned factors which make a large army so undesirable to the imperialists.

The first A-bomb, as we know, was dropped in August 1945. In the ensuing fifteen years weapons of wholesale extermination have been developed at a rapid rate. More perfected means of delivering these weapons — jet-bombers and rockets — have appeared. Is this the ultimate weapon of which the reac-

tionary politicians and generals have been dreaming for years? Is it the "push-button war" which will insulate them from the wrath of the peoples and turn the latter into pawns to be switched from position to position in the old game of imperialist expansion?

There was a time when such illusions were entertained by political and military leaders in the West. But the sobering was not long in coming. And not only because the imperialist rulers realized that a large army was a necessity especially if one is bent on seizing foreign territories. The decisive consideration is the socio-political consequences of the appearance and perfection of nuclear weapons and rocketry, consequences which inevitably impel militarism towards its collapse.

3. Political Consequences of the Appearance of Nuclear and Rocket Weapons

Compared with the old, conventional arms, nuclear weapons give certain advantages to the aggressor. But they have other aspects, too. At the present level of development these weapons make war senseless, a useless means for settling international disputes even from the standpoint of the imperialists, at least of those who still retain their sanity. The aims for which they have always waged wars (re-division of the world, seizure of colonies and weakening of rivals) do not justify a monstrous nuclear-rocket war. Such a war by no means implies an easy victory. On the contrary, it can lead to the loss of everything for which monopoly capital stands: profit, privilege and power. Monopoly capital could, of course, win, if it were a case of one imperialist power or of the imperialist camp as a whole having a monopoly of nuclear weapons. But everybody knows that this is not so, especially since the Soviet Union demonstrated its superiority in rocketry and in other types of modern weapons. Small wonder, therefore, that the bourgeoisie is at sixes and sevens on the questions of war and peace. Not a few of its representatives are beginning to realize the senselessness and the hazards of war.

This is a new and important feature of international relations. But if in our days war is no longer a "fatal inevitability," neither is peace. So long as imperialism exists, the danger of war will always be with us, and the more powerful the weapons developed by the imperialist armies the greater is the danger of war. Is not this conclusion confirmed by the latest developments?

The imperialists resorted to provocations even at the time when people everywhere

were looking forward to the summit conference. Recall, for instance, the U.S. spy flight over Soviet territory. The flight, as American leaders have admitted, was only one of many; such flights are part and parcel of their national policy. Small wonder, therefore, that the policy which torpedoed the summit caused indignation throughout the world.

We have, then, confirmation of the truth that imperialism is, by its very nature, a source of war danger. The scramble for profit, the struggle for markets and sources of raw materials, aggravated by the uneven development of imperialism and by hatred of socialism — a hatred which becomes insensate according as the socialist system demonstrates its superiority — the desperate attempts to regain colonial possessions, and the growing internal contradictions — these, in their totality, impel imperialism to the path of aggression and war.

It is heartening, of course, that confronted with the facts of life, many capitalists are beginning to think in terms of a sane policy. But this is not enough to get rid of the danger of war to which imperialism gives rise and the more so because it would be too much to expect common sense from all the representatives of a class doomed by history. The political recklessness which this class displays at times is not an accidental matter; it stems from the role this class has played in social development. Whenever the system of exploitation is in jeopardy, there are those in the imperialist camp who can, and do, act contrary to reason. Often people of this kind, representatives of the monopolies, occupy responsible posts in the government and in the armed forces.

It would be naive to expect that these adventurers, because that is what they are, will, of their own volition, renounce war as a political means, the more so since they do not lack the opportunity for unleashing it. Particularly dangerous in this respect are the militarist cliques which, in the imperialist countries, gain a greater measure of independence. As Khrushchov put it "... When the militarists begin to act on their own, when they act brazenly, the consequences can be disastrous. This is dictatorship, the rule of generals who have lost all semblance of conscience, men who couldn't care less for the fate of the people.

"How can the people relax and be at ease when the question of war or peace — and let it be emphasized once more that in the condi-

tions of today war would be the greatest calamity and catastrophe for tens of millions — is left to chance, when the question of whether or not there will be a war rests in the hands of people who are quite capable of playing with fire."

In these conditions another consequence of the invention of nuclear weapons acquires particular significance for the destiny of the world. The thought that these weapons may be used *awakens large masses of people to the danger of war, to the danger with which militarism and aggression in foreign policy is fraught; and this awareness brings more people into the fight for peace and impels all peace supporters to take vigorous action.*

This factor, a factor of the greatest importance, has helped in no small measure to shape the new, favorable balance of forces in the fight for peace. With the ominous danger of a nuclear holocaust, the fight for peace begins to express the common interest of people of various sections, classes and parties in all countries. It can be said without any exaggeration that never in history has there been a cause so universal and so all-embracing as the fight for peace. Never before have imperialism, militarism and the forces of war been countered so effectively as they are today by the mighty peace forces.

In saying this we have in mind first of all the rapidly developing socialist camp with its moral, political and military superiority over imperialism. For the first time in history there is immense military power in the hands of those who will never use it to the detriment of mankind, and as such this power is now an effective factor for peace.

We have in mind also the newly-independent countries that have emerged from the ruins of the colonial empires; these countries, vitally interested in peace, are using their influence on the international arena to avert the danger of a new war.

And we have in mind, lastly, the fact that the imperialist aggressors cannot be at their ease even in their own countries, because the political awareness and the degree of organization of the people who defend peace have grown enormously.

In these historical conditions, nuclear weapons themselves are beginning to exert pressure in favor of peace. In this we have one of the vital consequences of military-technological progress. For Marxists there is nothing new in this. Krupskaya recorded in her memoirs that Lenin foresaw "the time when war

would be so destructive that it would be ruled out entirely." The memoirs recall Lenin's talk with an engineer who spoke about the invention of a weapon capable of destroying a large army far behind the line of the front. Inventions of this kind, in Lenin's view, might make war impossible.

The fundamental thing about the invention of nuclear weapons is that it makes the abolition of militarism an urgent necessity *not after, but before it perpetrates the crime of unleashing another war*. We have, then, a new turn in the dialectics of militarism. After the two world wars the tendency was to punish militarism for its abominable crimes. Today, the vital thing for humanity is to prevent the crime of a new world war from being committed.

4. Peace Through Fear or Peace Through Disarmament?

Peace is proclaimed as the aim by everyone, even by its worst enemies. For a bourgeois politician to act differently in this atomic age would be political suicide.

The designs of governments and politicians cannot be judged by the aims to which they swear fidelity. We should study their means of achieving these aims.

The so-called atomic sociologists in the capitalist world have given currency to the idea that fear is the sole guarantee of peace. Here, for example, is what the West German philosopher Jaspers writes, "peace is maintained today *solely* through fear on both sides, fear arising from the balance of danger of the (atomic) bomb."

Definite practical conclusions follow from this way of posing the question: peace can be reinforced only by "adding" to the fear, that is, by stockpiling more and more nuclear weapons. This conclusion can be found not only in the writings of imperialist ideologists like Jaspers, but also in official documents. The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for example, recently published a report on military technology and its influence on the strategy and foreign policy of the USA. According to this document an optimistic view on the prospects of peace can be based only on the premise that a comparatively stable strategic nuclear stalemate will be created. Hence the call to go ahead with the arms drive which, it is alleged, will lessen the risk of total war.

One can easily see whose interests these conclusions serve. They serve the interests of the big monopolist groups whose ardent de-

sire, even when war loses all sense, is not to stop but to accelerate the arms drive and whip up international tension. Such an atmosphere promises tremendous profits and creates a situation favorable for crushing democracy. Such an atmosphere facilitates the carrying out of political adventures if not through total war then by all other means — intimidation, meddling in the affairs of other countries, provocations, etc. The essence of the matter is *to preserve militarism as the tried weapon of imperialist reaction* even if the latter will have to refrain from unleashing a total war.

And the arguments of the atomic sociologists objectively serve this ignoble aim. But their seeming truth is groundless, because fear cannot be a stable guarantee of peace. Nuclear weapons add greatly to the danger of an "accidental" war, which can break out because of a mistake, a defect in some mechanism, or because of the criminal irresponsibility, or even madness, of some individual. And in an atmosphere of fear and hysteria the risk is all the greater. And what is even more dangerous is the fact that reckless adventurers among the imperialists thrive in this atmosphere.

"Peace through fear" is a bad prospect also for another reason. It signifies not only an extremely unstable peace, it means, in addition, a bad peace. It signifies brinkmanship, wasteful military expenditure, predominance of a militarism that poisons the life of whole nations, permanent "cold," "psychological" and other "wars."

There is only one alternative to "adding" to the fear, and that is the elimination of the causes for it and, first of all, the speediest abolition of militarism. The interests of world peace make this imperative.

We find these aims in the Soviet program for peaceful coexistence. Its vital element is the universal and complete disarmament proposed by Khrushchov at the UN General Assembly. Acceptance of these proposals would be the best guarantee of peace, would abolish the material basis of militarism.

It may be asked: how can we reconcile the conclusion that nuclear weapons are a lever for peace with the total disarmament plan, which envisages the banning of nuclear and rocket weapons? If the disarmament plan is carried out will it not eliminate one of the factors thanks to which war has ceased to be inevitable?

These are far from being rhetorical questions. They underlie the arguments advanced

by the Western critics of the Soviet disarmament proposals. The Communists often encounter the following argument in the bourgeois press: even if all the stocks of arms were destroyed the danger of war, far from becoming less, would be greater because the source of the "safeguard" — the fear — would no longer be there. After all, it is argued, it is all the same to a man what kills him — whether an A-bomb, a stick, stone or knuckleduster. Some bourgeois publicists even see in disarmament an artful strategic maneuver of the socialist countries who, they say, would be at an advantage in a bout of "fisticuffs" because they can mobilize more numerous armies.

But the people who express these apprehensions are silent about a number of points. First of all the banning of nuclear weapons and complete and universal disarmament signify not a step backwards, to wars of the classical type or even to the days of the bow and arrow, but a big step forward, towards providing the decisive condition for excluding war from the life of society. Because if we think this fact over we will see that it is not only a question of abolishing military technique, but of creating the basis for rooting out militarism as a social phenomenon. And this is bound to transform the entire system of international relations, abolish the law of the fist on which these relations have been based since time immemorial, and elaborate new principles of relations between countries.

It is clear, of course, that as long as imperialism exists the reaching of this goal will be accompanied by difficulties, since incredible effort will be required. Even the nuclear danger does not as yet provide grounds for hoping that the imperialists will co-operate with the peace forces on this issue. On the contrary, we can be sure that only unrelenting struggle against imperialist reaction will bring success.

But victory in this struggle is assured, because the forces capable of breaking the resistance of the imperialists who still dominate in a vast part of the world have appeared on the arena. And now that the socialist camp has grown into a mighty force, that most of the colonial peoples have won independence and that the positions of the monopolies are being shaken in the developed capitalist countries too, the imperialists can no longer compel all the people of the world to live according to their laws. They have lost their former freedom of action in international relations.

Today, it may well be that they will not be able to retain their beloved militarism. The latter, which sprouted from the system of exploitation, has passed its zenith. Never before has militarism battered so much on society, which it is sucking dry, never has it confronted humanity with such a grave threat as now. But, having swollen to incredible dimensions, militarism has gone beyond the margin of safety allotted to it by history. Now it is especially clear how absolutely correct was Engels' prevision on the dialectics of militarism.

5. Imperialism Digs Its Own Grave

The fight for peace, against the threat of war and militarism is, by its nature, a fight for general democratic aims in which men and women of different classes are taking part.

And yet this struggle is of no little significance for the fate of contemporary capitalism. This is not because the Communists, as the imperialist ideologists claim, "use" the fight for peace for other aims. Expressing the interests and aspirations of the masses, the Communists are too serious about peace to regard the fight for it as some kind of tactical maneuver. The preservation of peace is now one of the chief aims of the communist movement.

War and peace have become the objects of a bitter class struggle for altogether different reasons. The imperialists, by their aggressive policy, help to turn the fight for peace into a struggle against monopoly rule.

This is especially true of our times. If we cast our minds back to the "classical" pre-monopoly capitalism, we will see that the proletariat, in rising against the domination of capital, was motivated chiefly by its material interests. Unemployment, poverty, hunger and brutal exploitation were the basic reasons for the protest of the industrial workers and the other working people.

In our days the economic and social exploitation in the imperialist countries remains and is often aggravated. At the same time we see political disasters the dimensions of which are constantly growing, disasters to which monopoly rule dooms the people — the drive against democracy, at times in the shape of ruthless fascist terror; wars that impose incalculable sacrifice and hardship on the working people. Clearly, the struggle against these disasters is linked with the struggle against their source — monopoly domination — and the more so because the class consciousness

of the working people has grown immeasurably.

The more aggressive the policy of the imperialists, the more it contributes to the growing over of this general democratic movement, such as the fight for peace is, into a movement aimed at curbing and overthrowing monopoly rule. It is clear that the social system which begets the fearful danger of nuclear war cannot expect to gain the support of the people or even their tolerance.

That is why Marxists feel sure that capitalism would never survive a third world war. In the conditions of today it is quite in the cards that the imperialist policy of war preparations may be the factor that will destroy the omnipotence of the monopolies. The working class and the people in general have become more conscious and organized. Now they can discern the danger to mankind in advance. "The more imperialism manifests its antagonisms which presage wars and catastrophe for the people," said Khrushchov at the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet in 1960, "the sooner it exposes itself and manifests its evils, the sooner will this arouse the wrath and hatred of the people in the imperialist countries. By aggravating the international situation and provoking all kinds of crises and creating dangers to peace, imperialism arouses the wrath of the people and digs its own grave."

Having perished in a number of countries as a result of two world wars, militarism carried with it to the grave the social system which begot it. Even the crimes which militarism is plotting against humanity are paving the way to its destruction. By clinging to their militarism the monopolies will go to their doom together with it.

Nothing is ever achieved without effort, without vigorous action by people. Therein lies the peculiarity of the laws of history, as distinct from the laws of nature. And this applies to militarism. Antiquated though it is, militarism will never leave the arena of its own accord, it will have to be pushed out.

The task, then, is not to relax, but to step up the fight for peace. This is the conclusion that will be drawn from recent international developments by all people of good will.

The conference at the summit scheduled for May, was eagerly awaited by mankind. This conference could, and should, have made a big contribution to peace, to lessening the tension. But it was torpedoed by the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, with the result that the hopes of the people were dashed.

This has aroused the deep concern of all who cherish peace. But there are no grounds for despondency or pessimism. Fortunately, the cause of peace depends not only on the moods and wishes of the political and military leaders of the imperialist countries. And the future of this just cause is decided not only during talks, however important these may be. The fight for peace is the great mass movement of our times. And the last word in this fight will be said by the millions taking part in it. Nothing will make them give up their efforts to achieve this end.

Despite all the provocations, the head of the Soviet government expressed the firm resolve of the Soviet people to intensify the struggle against the danger of another war, to work for international détente. And there can be no doubt that all peace supporters are fully determined to do likewise.

German Militarism and West-European Security

P. Peters

DEVELOPMENTS reaffirm the old truth that in pursuing their mercenary and narrow class aims the reactionary bourgeoisie have no scruples about betraying the national interests.

Proof of this can be seen in the postwar policy of the ruling circles of France, Britain

and the USA on the German question. In defiance of the will of the people, whose friendship has been sealed by the blood shed in the just war against Hitler Germany, the imperialists, contemptuous of the Potsdam Agreement, embarked on a policy of reviving German militarism. As a result, the forces

which formerly supported Hitler have re-emerged on the political scene, and the resurrected Wehrmacht, now being equipped with atomic and rocket weapons, is again threatening European peace.

In helping German militarism to stage a comeback, the Western powers counted on achieving military supremacy to back their "positions of strength" policy in relation to the socialist countries. And they hoped (this applies particularly to Britain and France) to keep West Germany, even an armed West Germany, under military and political control within a system of Western blocs and thus maintain a favorable, for them, balance of forces for a long time.

The three Western powers, motivated by common imperialist interests, have reinforced the military positions of German imperialism. True, there has not been, nor can there be, unanimity of views among the three Western powers on a number of questions of policy—for example, the rate at which German militarism should be rebuilt and the extent to which it should be controlled. The United States, the most powerful of the imperialist countries, to whom the resurgence of German militarism is not a *direct* danger for the time being, regards West Germany as its main military and strategic base in Europe. On the other hand, France, the weaker imperialist power and the Federal Republic's neighbor, mistrustful of the USA on this matter, is anxious to prevent military hegemony passing to West Germany and wants to control West German rearmament.

Guy Mollet, former French Prime Minister, offered a curious excuse for the setting up of the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Addressing the National Assembly in July 1956, he declared that it was most important that Germany should not be isolated in the atomic sphere. If France, he explained, had turned down Euratom this would have resulted in a U.S.-German agreement and this in turn would have ensured Germany's domination in Europe. In other words, the West German industrialists would have achieved their aim.

As we see, France, and Britain, too, found the prospect of German militarism reviving under American leadership very little to their liking.

The Adenauer government played skilfully on these contradictions between France, the USA, and Britain, contradictions which are furthering the far-reaching plans of the German monopolies. After entering into a bloc

with the French monopolies, the West German militarists turned to the U.S. for help whenever they found it necessary to break down French opposition to Bonn's growing demands for "military equality." Thus West Germany's entry into NATO was speeded up, despite the objections of the Plevin government in 1950, which sought to maintain French control over the West German armed forces as part of a "European army."

Then, when West Germany began openly to build an army, Adenauer declared that the "specter of Potsdam" no longer haunted him. Bonn's foreign policy is aimed at preventing, cost what it may, a peaceful democratic settlement of the German question.

Without doubt the cold war makes it easier for German militarism to pursue its aggressive aims.

And now that the cold-war men have stepped up their activities, and do not boggle even at reckless gambles and provocations fraught with danger to the world, it will not be out of place once again to recall the threat German militarism presents to the peoples of Western Europe.

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One of the results of Western policy on the German question is that the relation of forces in the Atlantic bloc has changed in favor of German imperialism. This change first took place in the economic field, with considerable repercussions in other spheres. By 1959 the Federal Republic ranked first in Western Europe, not only for volume of production, but for volume of output of basic products such as steel, chemicals, automobiles and shipbuilding.

Thus the American imperialists' hopes of seizing the key positions in West Germany and of making the West German monopolies their European subsidiaries were not fully realized. The West German finance-industrial oligarchy have successfully repeated the policy pursued after the First World War. They kept the door open for as much American capital as they needed, using it to strengthen their positions.

It is true that the Federal Republic is greatly dependent on American capital. The re-arming of West Germany is being used by the American imperialists to bring the Federal Republic still closer to U.S. policy through NATO and a series of bilateral agreements for "technical aid." Nevertheless, the West German capitalists are acting as keen competitors and rivals not only of Britain and France, but of the USA. They are pressing

these countries on the capitalist world market, much to the resentment of the British bourgeoisie who counted on West Germany's military expenditure weakening her competitive strength. Benefiting from the foreign-arms deliveries on favorable terms and especially from U.S. aid, West Germany is striving to reach the present military and technological level of the Western powers and to strengthen her foreign trade positions.

The German monopolists are competing keenly with their Atlantic allies, and with tangible results. In 1958 the Federal Republic's exports exceeded imports by DM 3,860 million, compared with France's favorable trade balance (computed in marks) of 817 million; Belgium and Luxemburg had a favorable balance of 392 million marks, Italy 89 million. Britain has a chronic adverse balance of trade.

Like the United States, West Germany has now become a creditor to the West European countries.

With the growth of its economic strength, the Federal Republic, with U.S. backing, has begun to play a leading role in NATO, and has pressed back some of the other powers. West German representatives now fill permanent posts on the Council and the Staff of NATO and in all its committees and working groups.

With the help of the American Supreme Commander of the NATO forces, West German militarists have replaced many British and French generals. For instance, the French Commander of the NATO Land Forces in Central Europe was replaced by the war criminal Speidel. British Air Marshal Constantine, Deputy Chief of Staff (Plans and Policy) at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe was replaced by the Hitler General Poertsch; Brigadier Thompson (British) was replaced by the German General Wirsing. All in all, 1,150 West German officers, including 18 generals and admirals, have taken over important NATO posts.

The West German militarists are becoming increasingly insolent and, invoking the need to "defend" the West, are making themselves at home in the countries of Western Europe. For several years now West German officers and men have been goose-stepping on French soil. Speidel's staff is located in Fontainebleau (near Paris) and French soldiers have to suffer the indignity of saluting former Nazi invaders. The Danish and Norwegian governments, yielding to Bonn and NATO pressure, have agreed to the establishment of West

German bases and depots in their countries.

The Bonn Government intends to establish bases in Greece, Turkey and even in Britain. Adenauer's army, it appears, is succeeding where Hitler's failed (in crossing the Channel).

The London *Daily Express* commented that when in 1944 the Germans were retreating from France, they said they would return and, the newspaper goes on, they have returned. Defense Minister Strauss looks upon the whole of Europe — from the Greek islands to the islands off the west coast of Scotland — as territory on which the bases of his growing army can be established.

Such is the irony of history. Although the ruling circles in the West say they want to strengthen the positions of their countries, what is really happening is that German imperialism is, step by step and "without firing a single shot," securing a dominant position in Western Europe.

Speaking of the Federal Republic's role in NATO, the British Member of Parliament Ness Edwards said the kitten seemed to be growing into a tiger and everything that was intended to hold back "Russian aggression" was becoming a threat not only to Russia, but also to Britain. There was danger of a weak Europe again finding itself in the arms of Germany.

Since becoming a member of NATO the Federal Republic has been markedly more anti-Soviet and anti-democratic. The contradictions between the Western powers which in two world wars were allies against German militarism, have been aggravated. What is more, Western Europe has been divided into two hostile groups.

Having joined forces in the Common Market the French and West German monopolies are now waging a trade war with Britain which heads the Free Trade Association. The British monopolies are not participating in the NATO auxiliary organizations, such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and the Rome-Bonn-Paris "arms triangle," whereas contacts between the French and the West German monopolies have grown. This is playing into the hands of the German imperialists — no wonder Bonn is cheerfully saying that the old Entente Cordiale between Britain and France is "at its last gasp."

* * *

As a result of the new balance of forces in the imperialist camp, the German militarists, rapidly getting out of Western control,

are threatening the security of Western Europe.

"The German Frankenstein is becoming uncontrollable," they are saying in Britain. Ever since the German militarists began to become conscious of their strength, they have in growing measure become the instigators of NATO's aggressive policy. After Dulles' death, Adenauer laid claim to the role of leading politician in NATO, holding that there was no one more suitable to continue the "positions of strength policy."

The more bellicose of the German militarists are no longer satisfied with NATO's military and strategic concept of "the sword and the buckler," according to which the Bundeswehr will be the buckler, while the Americans and British will wield the sword — the atomic and rocket striking force. Since deciding in 1958 to equip the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons, Defense Minister Strauss has been insisting on it being supplied with long-range atomic and rocket weapons and strategic aircraft. Bonn has been successful in getting a number of the military restrictions envisaged in the Paris agreements of 1954 removed. From 1957 on, West Germany has been manufacturing tactical rocket weapons; large naval craft are being built, while research on new types of rockets is underway. This, Adenauer says, is necessary if the Germans are to be "the guardians of the West." In Rome Adenauer recently repeated Hitler word for word. "I believe," he said, "that in these stormy times God has given a special task to the German people — to be a guardian for the West against the powerful influences being exercised on us from the East." This 84-year-old man who for years has spoken of himself as a European with no dark nationalistic instincts, has suddenly become an inveterate racist. Yet it was not so very long ago that he was begging the French for "equality" for his army.

What the Nazi generals conceive their "special task" to be, is instructive. At the Bundeswehr maneuvers in the autumn of 1958 General Heusinger said that the tasks confronting the Bundeswehr were the same as those of the Wehrmacht in 1939. The Hamburg *Die Welt* has commented on the confusion which this outburst caused among French and British commentators: Commentators usually wonder where the Bundeswehr will go — eastwards or westwards. This shows what is in the generals' heads, the ideas behind such slogans as "a new order in Europe," and "we want the frontiers of the Third Reich," now current in West Germany.

The threat to European security is growing because the German militarists want to use NATO to carry out their revanchist plans east of the Elbe. Having secured its backing, the Bonn government claims to be the sole lawful representative of the German people, and is endeavoring to extend its rule to the whole of Germany. It makes no secret that absorption of the German Democratic Republic will be merely the first step towards re-establishing the German empire within the 1937 frontiers.

Realizing that it cannot cope with this task alone, the Adenauer government is seeking the support of the NATO forces on its territory.

When in 1957 Britain was in financial difficulties and wanted to reduce her troops in Europe, the Bonn trumpeters sounded the alarm, declaring that Britain's action would damage Adenauer's "positions of strength" policy, pursued with the idea of German reunification. Pressed by Bonn, Britain made only an insignificant cut for which the Federal Republic compensated her financially.

What Adenauer fears above all is that the U.S. will withdraw its troops. Bonn has even promised the U.S. Government to pay its post-war debts immediately, provided U.S. troops remain in West Germany indefinitely. Thus Britain, France and other NATO powers with troops in West Germany may at any moment find themselves involved in a military gamble by the Bonn revenge-seekers.

Bonn has even gone to the lengths of collaborating with Franco Spain behind the backs of its NATO allies. Early in 1960, Bonn and Madrid reached agreement under which West German air and rocket bases would be established in Spain. As the Western press, and particularly the British, pointed out, West Germany was clearly interested in obtaining the use of Spanish territory because that country was not covered by the Paris agreements and, hence, the equipping of the Bundeswehr with the latest weapons could proceed apace without control of any kind.

The military compact with Franco, who sided with Hitler during the Second World War, shows that the West German militarists are finding even NATO and the West European Union too restrictive. In pursuit of their aims they seek the support of the Franco regime — the offspring of Hitler and Mussolini. All this, needless to say, is taking place with the blessing of U.S. reactionary forces.

Referring to Adenauer's aggressive policy, the *Daily Worker* asked: "Do our Tories . . . enjoy being pushed around by Adenauer? No.

Then why do they do it?

"For the same reason that they pursued the same policy towards Hitler in the '30s.

"Then, as now, reaction, militarism and fascism in Germany were the class ally of our Tories, their bulwark against 'Communism' in Europe."

And that is perfectly true. Not only in Britain, but in other countries of the West, musty conservative thinking and anti-communism are befogging political leaders, impelling them to the old road to Munich which in words, these worthy gentlemen condemn. Imperialism, acting like a panic-stricken enemy, is hurtling to its doom. But mankind has no desire to pay a high price for the end of imperialism — the price of needless sacrifice and destruction. Not all Western politicians are die-hard enough to pursue another Munich policy. Some are beginning to appreciate that in a situation in which the balance of world forces has changed, in which the forces of peace have become stronger than the forces of war, a neo-Munich policy, no matter how camouflaged, has no prospects and will meet with growing opposition from the people.

Some political leaders in the West, particularly in France, are beginning to realize that German reunification on Adenauer's terms would be a mortal threat to their countries. It is not fortuitous that de Gaulle, to Bonn's obvious displeasure, has declared that Germany's frontiers, fixed at Potsdam, are not subject to revision.

Whether the German militarists will engage in military adventures depends in large measure on the international situation. It goes without saying that if the cold war were to end, this would put a spoke in the wheel of Bonn's aggressive plans. And that is why Adenauer and his associates are the most violent opponents of a peaceful settlement of international issues. Adenauer refuses to take a single constructive step towards a settlement of the German question; he is against a peace treaty with Germany and in favor of perpetuating the occupation regime in West Berlin. Whenever there is the least sign of an easing of tension, the aggressive forces of German imperialism immediately press all levers, including NATO, in order to prevent the normalization of international relations. That is why the Bonn revanchists justify the U.S. spy plane's flights over Soviet territory, why they make no secret of their glee that the summit meeting has been broken up by the United States.

* * *

What conclusions follow from the foregoing?

Neither France, Britain, nor even the United States, can make the German militarists, nurtured by the ruling classes of these countries, tractable.

People are increasingly becoming convinced that the talk about so-called guarantees against a possible new aggression by German militarism is simply bluff. There are no such guarantees. Time has confirmed the truth of what the Communist parties have always said, namely, that once German imperialism has a military force at its disposal it will put up with restrictions and control to a certain point and no further. German militarism has now reached the stage when, having recovered its strength, and with the backing of reactionary circles in other countries, first and foremost, in the USA, it is already beginning to flout the restrictions upon which France and the other West European countries at one time insisted.

Speaking in the name of NATO of its plans to "liberate" the German Democratic Republic, Bonn wants its partners to take increasingly risky steps, thus creating a threat to peace. Given certain conditions it may be that German militarism will embark on reckless adventures, and for this it is not essential for it to have great strength. Militarism and fascism are Siamese twins, and as the democratic forces in Western Europe recently discovered, the swastika appears from time to time not only in Duesseldorf and Cologne, but also in Paris, London and other West European cities.

Although they appreciate the danger inherent in the militarization of West Germany, some circles in the West, particularly in Britain and France, nevertheless justify this as being the "lesser evil," one to be borne in combating the "greater evil" — the "menace" of communist aggression. The absurdity of this only too apparent. During the postwar period the Soviet Union has given more than enough proof that it is not preparing to attack anyone. And since the notorious "greater evil" is simply a myth, the policy of resurrecting German militarism — the "lesser evil" — loses even this "justification."

The U.S., British and French reactionary circles assert that to continue their "positions of strength" policy in relation to the socialist countries, West Germany must be militarized and kept in NATO. Is there any need to say that this policy, always a short-sighted one, is now, in the face of the economic advance

and military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, absolutely without perspective?

It is not fear that impels the USSR and other socialist countries to oppose the resurgence of German imperialism. The repeated cuts in the Soviet armed forces prove that there are no grounds for such an assumption.

German imperialism is a menace to the peoples, to all mankind, because atomic and rocket weapons are being placed in the hands of the most aggressive forces, forces openly proclaiming revanchism and the forcible revision of frontiers as their official policy. Nowadays it is not the Federal Republic that is the captive of NATO, but NATO that is coming more and more under the influence of the Federal Republic which can, even against the wishes of its partners, plunge them and all mankind into the holocaust of an atomic war. Every concession and encouragement to German imperialism makes its partners more and more dependent upon it and enhances the danger of another world war.

"It is the common task of all our peoples to see to it that German imperialism is deprived of the possibility of doing harm." This appeal was recently addressed by 17 Communist parties in the capitalist countries of Europe to all working people and democrats generally.

The German working class, which in the GDR has powerful support in the struggle to curb the Bonn militarists and revanchists, bears a special responsibility for Germany's future. In contrast to West Germany, the GDR, in which the roots of militarism and revanchism have been destroyed once and for all, consistently champions peace and the security of the peoples. Pursuing their peaceful labor, the working people in the Democratic Republic are now engaged in solving their most important economic task, that of overtaking and outstripping West Germany in per capita consumption of all basic products. When this task has been fulfilled, the forces of peace and democracy in the heart of Eur-

ope will become still stronger. The German working class and the democratic and peace-loving forces of the German people are confronted with the urgent task of uniting their forces for the struggle against German imperialism. In this struggle the Germans have the warm support of all the people in Europe who want to write finish to the Second World War. All the peace forces want to see the German question solved without delay.

Taking into account the unhappy experience of the peoples of Europe in the past, and the situation that has taken shape today, i.e., the existence of two German states, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries are in favor of signing a peace treaty with Germany.

The Soviet draft of the peace treaty incorporates two fundamental ideas born fifteen years ago in Potsdam, namely, the democratization of Germany and its development along peaceful lines. If these ideas were made a reality, this would be in accord with both the national and general democratic demands of the European peoples. This would create a real, and not illusory, guarantee of security for the peoples of Western Europe. And those Western politicians who are still advancing unrealistic plans for the re-unification of Germany and evading the signing of a peace treaty, are continuing to sacrifice the national interests to the reckless policy of a handful of bellicose militarists. And although German imperialism is looking eastwards, would it not be more correct to assume, in view of past experience, that it will try first to dominate Western Europe?

The German issue must, and undoubtedly will, be settled. The U.S. ruling circles, resorting to provocation, have wrecked the summit meeting and, for the time being, shattered the hopes of the peoples, including the people of Germany. And this fact will undoubtedly spur the people to still greater activity in working for a détente, for a peaceful solution of the German problem and the curbing of German militarism.

A United Front at All Costs!

Andre Vieuguet

A RECENT meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party emphasized: "When changes occur in the minds of the people—and this is typical of the present period—every effort should be made to build a broad united front for action, first in the lower echelons and later at the top, since agreement at the top stimulates the struggle in the lower echelons, while the latter in turn exerts an influence on the stand taken by the leadership."

In the past few months working-class unity and the rallying of the national democratic forces have made big headway. The economic struggles waged by the factory and office workers and the civil servants have furthered the united action undertaken during the recent campaign for signatures to the national petition in defense of secular education. The new perspectives for unity were brought out when the working class and the people generally sharply rebuffed the ultra-colonialists and fascists (both uniformed and civilian) who, on January 24, resorted to another putsch in Algiers.

The National Strike of February 1 and the Unity of Democratic Forces

The new feature, which found expression in the national strike of February 1, was that millions of people from the working class and the middle sections — who only two years ago took de Gaulle for the man chosen by God to stop the war in Algeria and bar the road to fascism — averted the immediate threat of a military-fascist dictatorship with its policy of permanent war. The fact that new strata have been awakened to action is a telling blow at those who made a new attempt to lull the nation by the tune: "While de Gaulle is in office the fascist threat is out of the question." At the same time this development corroborates our Party's estimate of the situation and proves that its fight has been effective. We warned that the authoritarian regime born of the fascist putsch of May 13, 1958, would open opportunities for fascist intrigues, particularly so because of the war in Algeria. In September 1958 we distinguished between those who in voting "oui" were deceived and those who deceived. Our Party did everything to explain things to

those who had been led astray. Taking advantage of every opportunity to combat the dangerous consequences of the policy of big capital, the Party worked for the regeneration of the mass movement, helping to broaden it and raise it to a higher level. The Party had before it the clear-cut aim of restoring and regenerating democracy. Relying on mass experience, we made every effort to build up nationwide opposition to the intrigues of the ultra-colonialists and the fascist conspirators who found encouragement in the tolerant attitude of the government, their actual accomplice.

Immediately the putsch broke out in Algeria our Party proposed to the workers and other democrats a platform of united struggle in order to crush the fascists, preclude any new attack on civil liberties and compel the government to establish peace through negotiation. The Party proclaimed the slogan: "Form representative anti-fascist committees throughout the country!"

Our call for united action and our work in the masses soon held sway over the attempts of the big bourgeoisie and the socialist leaders to restrict the anti-fascist movement to mere confidence in de Gaulle in order to bolster one-man rule. Communist-Socialist contacts at section and in many instances at federation level increased. Numerous agreements were concluded. Practically everywhere the Socialists took part in organizing anti-fascist committees. On their behalf and on behalf of the trade unions — which united for this specific purpose — resolutions, petitions and telegrams were sent, testifying to the mass support for the Party's call to suppress the putsch and honor the principle of self-determination. This call became the motto of the masses.

Expressing the will of the nation and relying on the growing unity at the lower levels, our Party, through *l'Humanite*, called on the people to combat the Algerian rebels and to defend the principle of self-determination. At the same time we addressed a letter to the other democratic parties and organizations urging united action. The authoritarian government confiscated this issue, thereby betraying its fears of the united movement of the workers and other democrats.

The General Confederation of Labor called on the trade unions to act jointly. This appeal expressed the will of the working class to achieve unity, thereby imparting to this will an even greater force. On Saturday, January 30, the General Confederation of Labor, the Confederation of Christian Workers, "Force Ouvrière," the Federation for National Education and the National Student Union decided to call, on the following Monday, February 1, a one-hour general strike — from 11 a.m. to 12 noon — and made the appropriate appeals to their memberships. The Communist Party, the League of Human Rights, the Autonomous Socialist Party, the Union of Left Socialists, the Democratic and Socialist Union of Resistance, the Alliance of Democratic Forces, the Progressive Union and the "Young Republic" Party welcomed the decision of the workers' and university trade unions and declared complete solidarity with them.

The Secretariat of the French Socialist Party, which did not acknowledge receipt of the letter, refused to endorse the joint statement by the democratic organizations. But knowing that the strike would take place anyway, it was forced to instruct its members to down tools.

The big bourgeoisie and the Socialist Party leaders tried to restrain the masses, to divide them and keep them away from the struggle for democracy and peace. But it was opposed by the strong united action organized and led by our Party. Millions of workers, peasants, teachers and students took part in the struggle against fascism and for an immediate peace in Algeria. It was they who secured the remarkable success of the February 1 strike, and now they know the decisive part they played in defeating the putsch, a part which, in the final analysis, tipped the scales. The masses have become conscious of the power they wielded when they acted jointly in the towns and villages, in the factories, offices and residential blocks.

Among the hundreds of anti-fascist committees set up before the February 1 strike or shortly after it, there were, of course, committees consisting of members of the different parties and associations, but in most cases the committees were organized directly in the factories and in the residential blocks. The latter were elected at mass rallies called for drawing up resolutions and petitions, organizing demonstrations and the nation-wide strike. Despite the resistance of the Socialist leaders, many rank-and-file Socialists were drawn into this form of joint action.

These achievements are all the more gratifying because they are the result of hard work on our part.

The Fifteenth Congress of our Party, having indicated the possibilities for united action with the rank-and-file Socialists, drew the following conclusion: "The Communists must redouble their efforts to find convincing arguments with which to enlist their Socialist comrades for the joint fight. Contacts, exchange of messages, and talks insofar as they pave the way to joint action, are useful. It should be borne in mind that *a united front means struggle and organization of that struggle* (my italics—A.V.). The unity committees should be formed at lower levels in a variety of forms. Unity achieved in the lower echelons should be sufficiently strong and vigorous to overcome any resistance to this alliance and to joint action."

The soundness of this advice has been confirmed in the past few months: unity of the rank-and-file Socialists was achieved in the factories, residential blocks and in the countryside; rank-and-file Socialists participated in anti-fascist committees and contacts were established with them; agreements were concluded with many Socialist Party branches and even federations.

The Responsibility of the Socialist Leaders

Unity will not be consolidated unless we continue to fight for it; it is being subjected to fierce attacks by the big monopoly bourgeoisie because the latter fears the growth of the mass movement more than anything else.

Every effort is being made by the government, through radio, television, cinema and the press, to represent the anti-fascist movement as a movement of "confidence" in, and "support" for, de Gaulle. Guy Mollet, too, hastened to endorse it: "The President," he claimed, "has restored the prestige of the State. He is 'demolishing' the positions of those who have been attracted by dictatorship." This is an attempt to get the rank-and-file Socialists to desert the united anti-fascist struggle.

During his visit to Algeria early in March, de Gaulle could not, of course, refrain from speaking about an "Algerian Algeria aligned with France." But he as good as said that for him a cease-fire signified the surrender of the fighting Algerians and this, to use his words, presupposed the continuation of the war for a long time. This perspective alarmed those who had hoped for an early peace in Algeria, and the government will find it dif-

difficult to convince them of the need to continue the war. But at this juncture out popped Guy Mollet with a statement: "Apart from de Gaulle there is not another person or coalition of persons in the country with the prestige to complete the Algerian affair. Such is the truth."

These two facts alone prove that both the ideology and policy of the French Socialist leaders serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie. There is no greater danger to working-class unity than the Social Democratic opposition to mass struggle. It is impossible to stand up to the main enemy without constantly exposing the policy of alignment with big capital.

In his report to the Second Congress of the Communist International in July 1920 Lenin said: "It has been proved in practice that the opportunist leaders in the working-class movement are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself. Were it not for their influence over the workers the bourgeoisie would not be able to retain its positions." As can be seen from an examination of the splits which have caused so much harm to our people, the ideology and actions of the Socialist leaders have disarmed working people and decisively further the disruptive policy of the bourgeoisie. The "two hundred families" feared the Popular Front more than capitulation to Hitler. The disintegration of the Front was, above all, caused by the "delay" in implementing the social legislation and "the non-interference" policy of Léon Blum. Blum's publicity campaigns for "benevolent American aid" and "defense of the free world against totalitarianism" enabled the bourgeoisie to disrupt the unity forged during the Resistance, and, by steering the course of dependence on the American imperialists, to regain the political and economic positions which it lost after the liberation. Guy Mollet's treachery, cloaked by the claim that "only de Gaulle can prevent civil war and establish peace in Algeria" dampened the enthusiasm of the mass movement spearheaded against the May 1958 plot in Algiers and Ajaccio, and helped the big bourgeoisie to instal an authoritarian regime.

In this connection one may ask: How is it that after so many betrayals the ideology and policy of the Socialist leaders still have an appeal for some sections of the working class and the people generally?

The Crisis in the Socialist Party

First, this is conditioned by the changes that have taken place in the social composi-

tion of the population due to growing monopoly concentration. Each year tens of thousands of peasants, handicraftsmen and other self-employed join the industrial labor force. Because of this the stratum of the working people whose individualistic habits and petty bourgeois views impel them towards class collaboration is being constantly reinforced. On the other hand, there has been a considerable growth of that section of the population that work for wages, though, strictly speaking, they do not belong to the working class. The numbers of technicians, engineers, foremen and clerks in the large modern plants are increasing. And the numbers of officials and office employees are increasing not only in the factories. It is true that many of these officials, office workers and technicians are Communists or are influenced by them. But because of the specific conditions in which they work, a considerable portion of the working people belonging to what has been described as the new middle sections do not see clearly that their interests are opposed to those of the capitalists.

It should also be borne in mind that a number of industrial centers and departments (for instance, in the Department of Nord) the working class took shape and was under the influence of the Socialist Party long before our Party was founded. Generations of workers were brought up on reformist ideology and on illusions about the role of the capitalist state, the municipal authorities and the co-operatives. And quite a number of workers still adhere to these views.

Moreover, the relatively high level of business activity in a number of capitalist countries helps to preserve these reformist illusions—a point mentioned in the 1957 Moscow Declaration.

But, whatever the specific features of the various regions or the individual industries may be, they have one thing in common, namely, that capitalist society creates the conditions for the existence of Social Democratic parties, which divert the workers and other working people from the revolution.

Second, the aim of the Socialist leaders is to confuse the workers, to get them to abandon an independent class position. The reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie is lauded as "freedom," "progress" and "socialism." For instance, on September 16, the big bourgeoisie proclaimed through de Gaulle that in the event of freedom being granted to the people of Algeria it "would lead to impoverishment, political chaos, wholesale massacre and, ulti-

mately, to communist dictatorship." In opposing independence for Algeria Guy Mollet used language that was even more confusing; "the Algerians," he declaimed, "should be enabled to by-pass the nationalist stage of development" so that the "liberation of every Algerian" could be achieved through the broad opportunities opened by the more advanced civilization of the mother country.

Third, the Social Democratic ideologists have had ample means of propaganda placed at their disposal by the bourgeois government, by the bourgeois press and the employers. When the bourgeoisie experiences difficulties in putting over its reactionary policy it willingly enlists the services of its agents in the working-class and democratic movements; it gives them seats in Parliament, in the municipal bodies, on the boards of directors of nationalized companies, in government offices and the administration. After the liberation, for instance, Socialist leaders were given high governmental posts: Vincent Auriol became President of the Republic, Léon Blum, Ramadier and Guy Mollet were Premiers, many Socialists functioned as Ministers and lastly, until the end of last year, Socialists had portfolios in the Debré and de Gaulle governments. Thus the methods of influencing the Right-wing Socialist leaders both through propaganda and corruption have become more variegated.

A commentator referring to Guy Mollet's speeches at socialist gatherings had this to say on March 14, in the central organ of the Socialist Party: "Thirty years ago the struggle was more difficult; today it is more complicated ideologically." In effect, this is an admission of the fact that faced with the growing difficulties resulting from the general crisis of capitalism, the bourgeoisie is forced to place more means at the disposal of its faithful servants, that the new situation makes the Social Democratic leaders employ more sophisticated methods in their efforts to sidetrack the workers and other democrats.

The policy of class collaboration pursued with might and main by the Socialist leaders has neither increased their party's membership, nor its influence. On the contrary, this policy has caused a profound crisis in the party.

The Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party discussed the causes and consequences of the growing crisis in the Socialist Party. One reason for it is that few workers are left in the party; in its national and departmental bodies there are practically no workers

at all. But the main reason is the rift between the aspirations of the rank and file and their leaders' policy of alliance with the reactionaries.

As to the consequences of the crisis, the most glaring is the split in the party and the founding of the Autonomous Socialist Party. This split is indicative of the desire cherished by some Socialists and those who vote for them to break with Guy Mollet and maintain relations with our Party. It is worth noting, however, that those workers who belong to the Socialist Party or are influenced by it have not budged from their original stand. But the fact that Radicals such as Mendès-France have joined the Autonomous Socialist Party is not approved of by the rank-and-file Socialists who, having condemned their party's hostility to working-class unity of action have no heart for a compromise with bourgeois liberals who have always preferred anti-communism to unity.

There are other facts testifying to the crisis in the Socialist Party. On February 2, for instance, at a joint meeting of the Socialist Parliamentary group and the steering committee, 26 votes (out of 85) were cast against granting "emergency powers" to the de Gaulle-Debré Government. If we bear in mind that all the opposition elements have long been removed from the Socialist Party's steering committee and that most of the Socialist MP's were elected in 1958 by reactionary votes, this vote is an indication of the sentiment of the Socialist rank and file, of their desire for a united front. At the same time it is a result of our activity, of our fight for unity.

The United Front Is an Urgent Necessity

Referring to the conclusions drawn by the Fifteenth Congress, Maurice Thorez said at a recent Central Committee meeting: "We are anxious to draw the workers—members of the Socialist Party—into the united front; we would like to see their sections and the party as a whole in the united front. Despite our opinions of men like Guy Mollet we will work for Socialist Party participation in the united front."

This is the road we have mapped out. And we will not let the "Lefts" sidetrack up; they would have us believe that "things will develop more quickly and easily if the Communists were to find a place in the basement for the spectre of the Socialist Party which, far from wanting working-class unity, is in many Departments becoming more and more of a fiction."

To this we say no. The Socialist Party is not a "spectre," it is every bit as real as the fact that when the Communist and Socialist parties join hands in the struggle the working class and the entire people stand to gain. It is also a fact that beginning with January 1959, the Socialist Party has, under mass pressure, changed its attitude on a number of issues.

Having first supported de Gaulle's economic social policy it was later forced to criticize his government; it was compelled to do so by the rank-and-file's opposition to the de Gaulle policy, and by unity of action which developed in the fight for economic demands.

The same is true of the campaign for secular education: this time the Socialist Party had to listen to the masses who were opposed to the drive of the clericals and to the obscurantist laws; the Socialist Party had to recognize that this question had not "out-lived" itself, as Guy Mollet would like people to believe. And in most cases today the rank and file ignore Mollet's bans against unity with the Communists and other democrats in the campaign for signatures to the national petition in defence of secular education.

The Socialist Party was also compelled to change somewhat its attitude to the Algerian problem, since the popular demand for an early peace clashed early last March with de Gaulle's intention to make the Algerians surrender in a prolonged war—a policy incompatible with the right to self-determination which he himself proclaimed. At present the Socialist Party leadership considers that negotiations with representatives of the Algerian people are inevitable: first, on a cease-fire, "which should not be fused with surrender," and, second, on the guarantees of self-determination. Clearly, such statements by the Socialist leaders (although they still sow illusions about de Gaulle's personality and distort the stand of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic) are in line with the desires of the rank-and-file Socialists who want steps to be taken towards opening talks.

And lastly, more recently the Socialist Party has, with reservations, adopted a critical attitude to the latest restrictions imposed by the government on what remains of democratic liberties. Although they have never questioned the content of the authoritarian Constitution (which they endorsed at the time) the Socialist leaders, nevertheless, cannot afford to disregard the criticisms of the rank-and-file Socialists and other democrats, especially after the Socialist MP's voted for granting "emergency powers" to the government.

These political shifts, to the extent that they reflect a change for the good in the attitude of the rank and file, open up new opportunities for a working-class united front and for unity of all the national democratic forces. We will use these opportunities to the full, taking into account the difficulties that remain to be overcome.

As was pointed out in the Central Committee's report to the Fifteenth Party Congress, "in our times there can be no prolonged intervals between the democratic and the socialist transformation." And while this perspective gladdens the hearts of the workers and of all forward-looking people, it frightens the opponents of a democratic regeneration and of socialism. This explains why the bourgeoisie is dead set against Communist-Socialist joint action. This also explains why the Right Socialist leaders are no longer satisfied with the old opportunism: they have launched a campaign to uproot all socialist thinking, invoking for the purpose the bogey of anti-communism. The Left Socialists, for their part, urge that the Left front should be rebuilt *without the Communists*, and when this has been done the terms of co-operation with them can be worked out. Co-operation may be acceptable, they say, provided the working class is led by the so-called "liberal" bourgeoisie, in other words, they want the working class to abandon its independent class aims.

All this, naturally, hinders the united front. However, *working-class unity has an objective basis in the community of interests of its various detachments—namely, their interests are the opposite of those of the big bourgeoisie.* And if we are confident of the outcome of our struggle for united action it is because this struggle is determined by the community of interests of the proletariat and all the national democratic forces.

In working for unity the last thing we want to do is to "control" the Socialists through machinations or maneuvers. We have never thought in terms of "winning the rank-and-file Socialists by dishonest means," or of "forcing them" to go anywhere against their will. On the contrary, our motto has always been—"A united front at all costs!" But this does not imply "at the expense of our principles," because that would have injured the interests of the working class and the people generally. Our call signifies that the end should be achieved through a "patient searching of ways to unity in each action," "through concessions that would bring us into unison with our allies and thereby promote the struggle of the people for their interests."

To attract the Socialist workers at all costs means, moreover, that we shall not sit back and wait for our explanations to yield fruit. It often happens that agreements on joint action in economic and political struggles are *first* concluded with organizations or with the working people, with democrats and peace supporters who do not belong to the Socialist Party and who are not under its influence. In such cases even though this or that action many bring success *without* the Socialists, we, nevertheless, will try to draw them in too, for this is an earnest for the further extension of the struggle, an earnest for victory. That is why we will continue to combat sectarianism, which occurs in our ranks and even more so in the ranks of our allies. Sectarrians, who think that by promoting joint action with the Socialists we are "whitewashing" their party, are politically shortsighted and display disregard for the interests of the masses. Our objective is to open the way to a brighter future for our people and the country by drawing the Socialist workers, their organizations and the party as a whole into the united front.

Rallying the Masses Against the Monopolies

Many sections of society are affected by the policy of the monopolies; in recent times these sections have more or less decisively stated their demands.

These include the demands of the workers, civil servants, office employees and peasants fighting for better conditions, of the handicraftsmen, tradesmen, small manufacturers who have no desire to be crushed by the growing capitalist concentration, of most Frenchmen acting in defense of secular education and a secular state, and of all those who suffer from the increasing restrictions placed on democratic rights by the authoritarian regime. These include the demands of most people, for an international détente and peaceful coexistence, against a destructive war and even against the cold war, which they feel may lead to catastrophe.

None of these demands can be assured without active struggle by the masses, a struggle through an extremely broad alliance against big monopoly capital, which is the common enemy of all working people, of all democrats and of all peace supporters.

Of course, in one battle or another, as was the case last January, the secondary contradictions between the various groups of the

bourgeoisie (in this case between the ultra-colonialists and the financiers) can become extremely acute, contributing thereby to the struggle of the people for their interests, and, because of this, definite success can be won. However, the main task charted by the Fifteenth Congress, that of fighting to the end against one-man rule, still stands. The means to this end are the same: "Each movement (of the masses—A.V.) pursues its own aim; it is directed against a definite aspect of the policy pursued by the reactionary government. *As the question stands the aim is to merge all these movements into one* (my italics—A.V.), to rally all the forces of the people in order to impart maximum strength to the struggle for the restoration and regeneration of democracy."

The unity achieved last January in the battle against the imminent threat of a fascist coup will not remain in existence of its own accord, without our struggle against the main danger—the authoritarian government of the big monopolies. In pursuing the Party's united front policy in recent months all its members have enriched their experience. In these troubled times our organizations and our activists have, with rare exceptions, demonstrated their ability to lead the mass movement, by-passing the shoals of sectarianism (e.g. abandonment of struggle), and of opportunism ("support" for the de Gaulle regime). Moreover, on the whole, the Communists correctly determined the main direction of their efforts in the struggle for united action: they worked *in the lower echelons*—in the factories, colleges, residential blocks and in the countryside.

Today we are concerned with consolidating the successes achieved in the anti-fascist committees and branches, with promoting the cause of unity wherever possible.

In order to broaden the struggle against a particular aspect of de Gaulle's policy, to merge all the trends into one, in order to end the one-man rule, to restore and regenerate democracy, it is necessary to win more members and to make still better progress. The results of our daily recruitment of new members indicate that we will accomplish this task. We feel too that we must fight more vigorously on the ideological and political fronts. This will guarantee the further upsurge of the mass movement—the movement that will break the fetters of the one-man rule and ensure the democratic changes awaited by our people.

The Moroccan Communist Party Will Fulfil Its Duty

Ali Yata

ON September 10, 1959, the government of Morocco prohibited all activity by the Communist Party. On the following day a decree to this effect, signed by Abdallah Ibrahim, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was published in the Official Bulletin. The police immediately informed the Party that it would not be allowed to hold public meetings or publish the newspapers *Hayat Chaab*, *Al Jamahir* and *La Nation*; the Party files were seized and its premises in Casablanca, Rabat and Meknes were closed.

A few days later the courts were brought in; the authorities decided to shift the responsibility for the decision to ban the Communist Party onto them. But the court in Casablanca had the honesty and courage to dismiss as groundless the charge of "heresy" preferred against the Communist Party, and passed judgment accordingly.

The government showed its duplicity by refusing to respect the legal decision. It objected to the Party resuming its activity and confiscated the first number of *Hayat Chaab* after the court judgment. On February 9, 1960, the appeal lodged by the Government with the Rabat Court of Appeal was upheld. Thus, in less than five months, the ruling circles succeeded in getting the Communist Party banned.

The Religious Issue — A Mere Screen

There are two circumstances worth noting in this connection.

The first is that instead of committing a downright arbitrary act — as is usual with the reactionaries in other Arab countries — the Government of Morocco preferred to attain its objective through the court. And this is not fortuitous. Since Morocco's "charter of public liberties" is barely a year old, the Government had to assure public opinion at home and abroad that democracy really did prevail in the country, that the people enjoyed freedom of opinion and association. The Government believed furthermore that greater importance and solemnity would be attached to the banning of the Party if it bore the stamp of a court decision. And, lastly,

certain leaders who professed to be "Left," hoped they would save face in this way and would not disgrace themselves by openly prohibiting a Left party.

The second point is that in instituting court proceedings against the Communist Party resort was had to a new device. As a rule all kinds of provocations are brought into play in persecuting the Communists. They are accused of conspiracy, of preparing to overthrow the government by violence, are persecuted for acting in a manner detrimental to the "security" of the state or for "treason." The Party has been on trial several times on charges of this kind, the last occasion being in October 1958. But it has always managed to throw its accusers into discomfiture and come off with flying colors.

This time they went about things differently. The Communists were not accused of any crime, or of infringing the law. Moreover, when the case first came up the prosecutor paid tribute to the moral qualities of the Party's leaders and to the Party's role and conduct during the Resistance. And the Court of Appeal made the point that "The Moroccan Communist Party, together with the other political organizations which were also banned at that time, contributed to winning independence for the country under the aegis of its King."

The Party was accused of one "deadly sin" only — its philosophy is Marxism-Leninism, a materialist doctrine, whereas the established religion is that of Islam. The "pernicious evil of tolerance" is not openly denounced, as it is by the Pope. The Moroccan rulers want to show that they are more liberal — in point of fact, they are more hypocritical. The philosophical views of tens of millions of people throughout the world are tabooed in the name of tolerance. But no one is taken in by this subterfuge. Religion is simply being used as a screen, and the "incompatibility" of Marxism-Leninism with the doctrine of Islam is nothing but a pretext. The banning of the Communist Party is a purely political matter.

Complete National Liberation Has Not Yet Been Achieved

Morocco has been a free and sovereign state for nearly five years now. Yet the country has not developed as its people hoped it would and as its possibilities would lead one to expect. So far complete national liberation has not been achieved.

French, Spanish and U.S. troops are still stationed in Morocco. These powers have for some time been talking a great deal about the "gradual" withdrawal of their troops and, indeed, a number of French and Spanish infantry have been withdrawn. It would be more correct to say, however, that a regrouping and consolidation of the air and naval forces has taken place. As for the U.S. military bases, the American imperialists, yielding to popular pressure and in view of the détente, have agreed to withdraw their units. But the evacuation will be completed only in 1963, and our people find this unacceptable.

The vast territory of Morocco is under the yoke of the two old "protectorate" powers.

The Spanish colonialists claim the part of the Sahara occupied by them as theirs. To strengthen their position there they are inviting other foreign powers, particularly the United States, to exploit its natural resources. Quite recently the Spanish Government passed a number of decrees authorizing the Philips Petroleum Company, the California Texas Oil, the Gulf Oil Corporation and other U.S. monopolies to prospect for oil in Rio-de-Oro over an area of four million hectares.

Spain is following the example of the French imperialists who with Washington's help recently obtained a loan of \$66 million from the World Bank for the purpose of exploiting the iron ore deposits in Fort Gouraud in Mauritania. As a preliminary, the French turned this genuinely Moroccan province into the Mauritanian Islamic Republic, placed the puppet Moktar ould Dadah at its head and incorporated it into the French Community. Furthermore, the French exploded their atom bomb in Reggane, on what is incontestably Moroccan territory, perpetrating thereby not only a crime against the Africans but an act of aggression against our country.

The National Economy Under Foreign Domination

Foreign capital has been entrenched in our economy for a long time, and no change of any importance has taken place since the Protectorate ended.

True, some measures were taken in the sphere of finance. Under these the right of emission was taken away from the subsidiary of the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas and financial operations were placed under control. But these steps, sporadic and irresolute as they were, did not affect the positions of the foreign finance monopolies who dominate in the key branches of Morocco's economy.

It is a fact that the State sector of the economy, which was insignificant under the Protectorate, has grown somewhat. But its growth is being helped by foreign capital. This is hindering the achievement of economic independence and making the country still more dependent on foreign companies. This harmful collaboration, which the petty-bourgeois reformists hail as a success, as the panacea for all evils, has given birth to a number of mixed enterprises, such as SAMIR (Société-Anonyme Maroc-Italienne de Raffinage) whose capital is divided equally between the Moroccan Government and the Italian ENI Company; SOMACA (automobile company) in which the Moroccan Government owns 40 per cent of the shares and the remaining capital belongs to the French SIMCA Company and the Italian FIAT; the Berliet-Maroc Company, in which the French have 60 per cent of the shares; General Tire in which 65 per cent of the capital is American.

These examples are sufficient to prove the extent to which the country's future is being mortgaged. For the sake of a few immediate results, of a few thousand new jobs which merely replace others, the ruling circles are deliberately sacrificing our economy to the foreign trusts. Yet it is only independent economic development that can do away with the chronic unemployment, mass poverty and backwardness.

Those responsible for this pernicious policy say that we can develop our economy only with the aid of foreign capital. To obtain this we must give guarantees and offer advantages. That is precisely why they are refusing to nationalize the key branches of the economy where the foreign monopolies are now ruling the roost. Despite certain technical difficulties, nationalization is perfectly feasible now: it would provide the funds for financing large-scale industrialization, ensure the harmonious development of the country and satisfy the urgent needs of the people.

The rulers are refusing to carry out an effective land reform, which necessitates confiscation, without compensation, of the land

owned by the settlers and feudal lords who have amassed huge fortunes and made safe capital investments. To these lands which cover an area of some 2,500,000 hectares, should be added the virgin land and the land owned by religious organizations. If a democratic land reform were carried out all the peasants, first and foremost the landless peasants who comprise about half the rural population of Morocco, could be given plots. A reform of this kind would immediately encourage the growth of production, and our population, which is increasing at the rate of 200,000 a year, would be assured an adequate food supply. The impoverishment of the peasant masses could be checked, if not abolished entirely, and the standard of living improved.

Nothing, however, is being done in this direction. The country is in the throes of an acute crisis. Output is falling, agriculture is in a state of stagnation, and finances are in a bad way — we have had two currency devaluations since independence was achieved. Every day hundreds of thousands of Moroccans unsuccessfully look for jobs, and there is no saying when their search will end. There has been a slight thaw in the wage freeze of the last three years — in some cases wages were recently raised by a mere five per cent, while the cost of living is still soaring.

We are not exaggerating; in fact the picture will be gloomier if we recall the calamities — both natural and those caused by malevolence and greed — the floods in the Gharb region, the locust invasions, the thousands poisoned through oil that had been tampered with, the earthquake which destroyed Agadir, killing 10,000 and ruining those who escaped.

Bankruptcy of the Policy of the Ruling Circles

The political situation is every bit as bad. Since March 1956 a national Government has been in power. But, as was the case under the Protectorate, the people are not being drawn into the management of either national or local affairs. Three elections have already been held in Tunisia, which became independent at the same time as we did, and the Communist Party there took part in the elections as a legal organization. Tunisia has a Constitution, an elected legislative assembly and elected local government bodies. So far only the promise of holding municipal and communal elections is being held out to the people of Morocco; the voting will be for a single candidate, which is to the advantage of the feudal lords. But even this promise is

not being honored and the elections are being put off from quarter to quarter.

It was announced in November 1958 that freedom of association, assembly and opinion was guaranteed by law. But this law is being flagrantly violated, as is evident from the outlawing of the Communist Party, the temporary ban on the newspaper *At Tahrir* — organ of the National Alliance of Popular Forces — and the arrest of numerous patriots who took part in the liberation struggle against the French colonialists. They are charged with conspiracy and with attempting to undermine internal security. Many of them were arrested a long time ago, but their cases have not yet come up in court.

The division in the national movement is making it easier to encroach on democratic liberties. It is common knowledge that after the country won independence the nationwide anti-imperialist movement did not gain in strength. There was, on the contrary, discord between the two national parties — the Istiqlal Party and the Democratic Party of Independence. Narrow interests and ambitions set these parties, whose ideology was the same, against each other. Their struggle yielded ground to the sharp conflict that arose between two factions of the Istiqlal Party. The split in this party (January 1959) almost led to civil war — much to the delight of the feudal lords and the imperialists.

These facts show that developments are not in line with the interests of the people, and it is clear that the bourgeoisie, which once led the struggle against foreign oppression, is incapable of leading the country to complete national liberation. For, only if the foreign troops are withdrawn, if the occupied regions are liberated and economic independence assured can the liberation be completed. Those who since independence have held the reins of government are showing their inability to solve the fundamental problems of building a modern Morocco. That their policy is bankrupt is obvious and indisputable. And this has an effect on the various nationalist organizations which are now undergoing a grave crisis.

The Communist Party's National Policy

In the struggle against the Protectorate the Communist Party was under constant persecution and in December 1952 its activities were prohibited. During the underground period it was one of the inspirers of the Resistance. When the occupying powers were forced to recognize Morocco's rights, they refused to negotiate with our Party, preferring

to do this with other, less representative and less influential organizations such as the Democratic Party of Independence. The same thing happened after the restoration of national sovereignty: the ruling circles refused to grant the Communist Party its rightful place in the government. But our Party was not vindictive. It continued, with its former zeal and loyalty, to fight for the final victory of the national cause and the interests of the working people.

The Communist Party was the first to demand the withdrawal of foreign troops. It made persistent demands for demarcation of the historical and natural boundaries, for an independent national economy. Expressing the aspirations of the people, the Party called for social changes, the abolition of unemployment and a higher standard of living to be achieved through industrialization and agrarian reform. It explained that any hope of "aid" from the Western powers was illusory and called on the people to rely chiefly on their own means and to utilize the national resources now in the hands of the imperialists. Our Party has always defended the cause of the Algerian people, and is opposed to any subordination to the imperialist powers, to passivity and isolation. The Party actively opposes the forces making for war, stands for peace and co-operation with the peace-loving countries headed by the Soviet Union and People's China, supports the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed peoples, first and foremost the Arabs and Africans.

The Party is working to ensure respect for democratic liberties, for the people's right to manage their own affairs through a national assembly elected by universal and direct suffrage, an assembly which would at first be constituent and later legislative, which would appoint a government and guide and control its activities within the framework of the monarchy.

Our Party is also seeking to establish a national anti-imperialist front, taking into account the fact that Morocco is going through the stage of national liberation, that the main antagonism is between imperialism and its agents on the one hand, and all the classes and social sections of the nation, with the exception of the feudal chiefs, on the other. These sections and classes have good opportunities for waging the anti-imperialist struggle and no matter what contradictions may exist between them (these are of secondary importance at the present stage), it is the duty of one and all to help unite these forces

in a broad front in order to bring nearer the hour when the common enemy will be defeated once and for all. That is the Communist Party's aim. At the same time it knows that only the working class and the poor peasantry will see the liberation struggle through to the end, and it is doing its best to ensure the leading role, in this struggle, of the working class acting in alliance with the poor peasantry.

The Moroccan Communist Party was and is the only party with a realistic program fully conforming to the national needs and the interests of the working people, a program which sets forth the objectives and the means of achieving them. The Party is working indefatigably to carry out its plans and at the same time supports every constructive measure taken by the authorities, condemns all futile activity, anarchist sorties and political gambles and stresses the imperative need for mass action within the framework of democracy.

The Party's policy and independent activity have, little by little, won for it the confidence of the people who have been disappointed by the parties in power.

A few facts will confirm this.

The Party's Growing Influence Alarms the Reactionaries

No one now dares to bring up against our Party the "classical" charge of belonging to the "parties acting on orders from abroad." This was often done under the Protectorate in order to deny our part in the liberation movement. Now both the national character of the Party and its role are generally recognized, and we can maintain relations with all mass organizations. The latter, with growing frequency, establish contact with us, seeking our advice and support.

Our influence is growing in the big mass organizations open to all patriots irrespective of their political views. Shortly after the winning of independence some of the anti-communist leaders maligned us and tried to oust us from these organizations; at the lower levels our members are being elected to responsible posts. And they owe this to the Party's policy, to their vigorous efforts and selfless work.

There are greater opportunities, too, for organizational work. Last year our petition against the proposed explosion of the French atomic device was eminently successful, the results exceeding all expectations — the government protested to the U.N. During the re-

cent protest strikes against the French imperialists' crimes our activists were in the lead, carrying the people with them and gaining their confidence.

The Party's prestige and membership are increasing, and this fact is alarming the reactionaries — the feudal chiefs and the bourgeoisie. Not lacking altogether in perception, they appreciate that they cannot simultaneously satisfy their own narrow class interests and the needs of the people, that antagonisms are bound to sharpen; nor are they blind to the fact that discord and confusion are rife in the nationalist parties whose strength is becoming exhausted; these parties are no longer in a position to divert the people's wrath from the reactionaries. The reactionaries are well aware that favorable conditions are being created for strengthening the Communist Party, the party of the nation, the well organized, ideologically monolithic, crystal pure and earnest young party. And to prevent our ranks and influence from growing, to prevent the Party from heading the national movement and leading the country to a victorious democratic revolution, they are determined to dissolve it.

That is the reason for the banning of the Moroccan Communist Party.

Banning of the Party Is in the Interests of the Imperialists and Reactionaries

Foreign observers declared that the banning of the Communist Party came as a surprise to them. The government acted precipitately, and its haste is to be explained by the approaching elections.

The elections cannot be postponed over and over again without discrediting the rulers. May 1960 was fixed as the date for the elections and the registration of electors began. The people took advantage of this to express their desire for the regeneration of democracy. More than four million people entered their names on the voters' lists. Those at the top feared the same enthusiasm would be displayed for the Party which is fighting and making sacrifices for the people, that the popular decision would be in favor of the Party of the working people, of the Party which, in a pre-election campaign, would carry its ideas to the remote parts of the country and gain the ear of a large audience. And so the rulers, having nothing better to offer as an alternative to the ideas of the Communist Party, decided to make short work of the Party in advance. Once again the words uttered by Jules Guesde more than fifty years

ago have been confirmed: "It is easier to find the gendarmes to arrest us and the judges to sentence us, than it is to find arguments with which to answer us."

Thus the imperialists have realized their wish. And they are making no secret of their satisfaction, because their cherished dream is to remove the Communist Party from the political scene. And no wonder. For the Communists have always exposed the imperialists as the nation's chief enemies and have rallied the forces to defeat them.

The French colonialists were enraged by the Communist Party's systematic opposition to their domination, by its demands for nationalization of the mines, transport and electric power, by its persistent efforts to secure the withdrawal of French troops and the liberation of our territories in the Sahara and Mauritania. They reproach the Communists for supporting the Algerian people whose cause is our cause, because we are demanding that solidarity should take the form of political and material aid to Algeria, as is being done by the Republic of Iraq.

The Spanish colonialists tremble at the idea of losing everything in Africa; they hate the Party's calling for the return to Morocco of its provinces in the Sahara, and of Ceuta and Mellilia. During the Morocco-Spanish negotiations in April 1956 they insolently demanded the banning of our Party.

Our Party has laid bare the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists and is waging a persistent struggle against their penetration of the country, for the dismantling of the foreign military bases, and to have Morocco included in the peace zone; the Party is working to get the country to break away from the strategic and economic influence of the North Atlantic bloc, for complete independence.

The U.S. imperialists promise the ruling classes lavish credits and investment capital on the condition that "political stability and respect for free enterprise" are guaranteed. In other words, they are demanding suppression of all popular action, and renunciation of economic control and planning.

Fearful of the people's struggle for complete national liberation, genuine economic independence, democracy and unity based upon equality and respect for the national traditions, the Arab reactionaries likewise insisted on the Party being banned. They are joining forces and invoking the help of the West in order to stop the growth of the liberation movement, which, it goes without say-

ing, will sweep them out of existence. They attack not only the Communists, but all progressives who refuse to be the accomplices of reaction. To these reactionaries the idea of the Communist Party being free to conduct its activity is particularly abhorrent.

Taking these facts into consideration one can gauge the pressure that has been exerted by external hostile forces to achieve the banning of the Communist Party.

Some may be surprised at the Moroccan government, which is led by a man who professes to be "Left" and includes leaders of the National Alliance of Popular Forces (which also calls itself "Left"), acting in the interests of the reactionaries.

We Marxist-Leninists see nothing unusual in this. We know that staunchness and loyalty are not qualities of the petty-bourgeois politicians, who like to make "Left" gestures. Fearing that they may be charged with having conspired with the Communists some of our "Lefts" are raising no objection to the banning of the Communist Party. Apparently they believe that support for the Communists will cost them their positions and discredit them, especially in the West where they have friends and allies. For this reason they are in tacit agreement with the anti-communist slander, and even take part in spreading it or allow it to be spread in their names. They have preferred to renounce the sacred right for which they fought together with the people, to go against the tide, thereby acknowledging their political and moral bankruptcy. But they could unquestionably have won had they insisted on respect for law and had they appealed to the people. In the final analysis they will be the victims of their own weakness.

Others rejoice because the persecution of the Communist Party is in line with their views. Being supporters of the one-party system and of the authoritarian methods concealed under talk of democracy, they can congratulate themselves that the Communist Party — a dangerous rival — has been outlawed. For did they not, even before the Party was banned, take steps to draw the Communists into their movement and try to get the Communist Party to dissolve itself? Was it not they who did everything in their power to try to talk the Communist Party out of appealing to the authorities for permission to continue its activity and later did their utmost to force it to withdraw its application? It never dawned on them that by wanting the court to ban our ideas and by

refusing to give permission to their lawyers to defend us they merely demonstrated the impotency of their own ideas, though they declared them omnipotent. By agreeing to the banning of the Communist Party they have harmed not only the cause of democracy but their own cause as well.

The Way to Salvation

This anti-communist measure has created a dangerous situation.

The "conviction" of Marxism-Leninism was not an unconsidered or unexpected measure. This is the teaching which can solve the country's problems correctly; solve them from the standpoint of both theory and practice. Other doctrines have been found wanting. And Marxism-Leninism is being attacked precisely because it helps to elaborate the policy of liberation, and this policy, naturally, runs counter to the policy pursued by the reactionary forces. One need not be particularly astute to understand this, or be a prophet to foretell the possible outcome.

The banning of the Communist Party is not, as some intellectuals believe, a symbolic gesture which will have no repercussions. The experience of our national movement, as well as that of other peoples, shows that whenever a Communist Party is prohibited this augurs no good.

When the reactionaries think the Communists have been finished with, they will then direct their blows against the other democratic groups and progressive organizations, against all who do not think as they do; they will incite patriots against each other, will endeavor to deepen the split they are planning and take advantage of every difference to achieve their purpose.

Encouraged by what they regard as their first success, the reactionaries will launch an attack against democratic rights and liberties on the pretext that these are creating "chaos," that the people have not reached the necessary political and civic maturity to make proper use of the freedoms they have won. The reactionaries are already campaigning for the suppression of all the political parties, depicting them as the source of all evil.

They are endeavoring to pave the way for a "strong government" which would enforce their decisions, leave the privileges of the colonialists and feudal lords intact, pursue a policy of collaboration with the imperialist powers and follow their lead. This will be the

logical result of taking the road of anti-communism.

For the honor of our country, in the name of safeguarding its supreme interests, in the name of the future of our people, we shall resist this at all costs. Salvation can be achieved only by establishing a nationwide alliance against the imperialists, their agents and reactionaries. In the present situation a genuinely national democratic policy can be conducted only through an alliance of this kind, and only in this way will the country be safeguarded against anarchy, military dictatorship and civil war.

Many patriots do not yet properly understand that the task of tasks is the formation of a national alliance. It is our paramount and urgent duty patiently to explain this to them. We must help any movement in this direction, support any initiative, sound the call for joint struggle and organize it for the achievement of common aims and for the defense of democratic rights and liberties.

The Party Will Not Be Isolated from the Masses

In the framework of this struggle we are fighting to uphold the Party's right to legal status. It was precisely for this reason that we requested the Supreme Court to reconsider the decision of the Rabat court. We shall do everything in our power to expose those who, for the purpose of camouflaging their

denial of elementary human rights, speak of toleration and respect for human and spiritual values.

We shall show who is working for conditions in which personality can develop to the full, and who wants to detract from it. We rely upon the people, and first and foremost on the working class and the poor peasants, for their will and their struggle will be decisive in the long run.

We shall remain true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The reactionaries can outlaw us, arrest us, throw us into prison, torture and even kill us, but they are not, and never will be powerful enough to force us to give up our teaching, stop it from penetrating to the masses or prevent its triumph. We will continue to pursue our policy unswervingly, to combat opportunism and Left phraseology, adventurism and sectarianism. We shall redouble our vigilance in order to fulfil our duty to the people.

Heavy battles lie ahead. And we shall go into them with confidence. When our people gain sufficient experience — and this may well be soon — it will be impossible for the reactionaries to restrain their zeal. They will be obliged to give way or to depart from the scene. The people and its victorious vanguard will remain.

The Communist Party of Morocco will fulfil its historical mission. That is inevitable.

Lessons of the Revolution in Guatemala

K. del Campo

SIX years ago U.S. intervention caused the temporary defeat of the revolution in Guatemala—a revolution which evoked worldwide response at the time. Today when the imperialists are attempting to halt the victorious advance of the Cuban revolution Latin Americans say: "Cuba will not be another Guatemala!" Indeed, the internal and international situation in which the Cuban revolution is developing is totally different from the one that prevailed in 1954 when the democratic government of Guatemala was overthrown by the joint forces of the North American imperialists and home reactionaries. It is worth noting, however, that the entire course of events, all the intrigues of the enemies of

the Cuban people, show that the aggression against Cuba is being engineered and financed by the same people who organized the intervention in Guatemala six years ago. It is these same people who are conspiring against democracy also in Venezuela.

That is why the lessons of the Guatemalan revolution are useful today. Many ask: Why was the revolution in Guatemala defeated? Why did Guatemala fail to put up stauncher resistance to United States aggression over a longer period of time?

The Course of the Revolution

Let us briefly recall the main events of the revolution in Guatemala. The causes are well

known: the national economy, in the grip of U.S. monopolies and suffering from feudal and semi-feudal exploitation in the countryside, had long been in a state of stagnation. Coffee, practically the sole item of export, yielded fabulous profits to a handful of latifundists and capitalists who controlled foreign trade.

The United States monopolies controlled 75 per cent of the national economy, including the railways, electric power stations, telegraph lines, airways and big estates. A succession of reactionary dictatorships carried out the will of the imperialists and the feudal lords.

Exploitation, impoverishment and oppression brought the wrath of the people to boiling point. The worldwide struggle against fascism, the victories of the anti-fascist coalition, and the defeat of the Hitler aggressors, chiefly by the Soviet Army, lent wings to the popular movement and in 1944 an insurrection broke out headed by representatives of the national and petty bourgeoisie. The workers took an active part in this uprising.

The triumph of the democratic forces in the clash with the pro-imperialist feudal dictatorship brought with it unprecedented political freedom and economic progress. Living standards began to rise, and national culture and the arts flourished. Political parties and public organizations made their appearance.

The struggle waged by the working class and peasantry with the support of the other progressive forces made it possible to proceed with agrarian reform in 1952. This reform, although a restricted one, was, in the conditions of Guatemala, perhaps the most important socio-economic undertaking in the history of the country. Its objective was to pave the way to industrialization. For this purpose it was necessary to abolish all the forms of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, to put an end to the monopoly of land ownership held by the United Fruit Company and a handful of latifundists, and to give land to the landless peasants. In the course of two years about 555,000 hectares, including 159,000 hectares held by the United Fruit Company, were expropriated. The agrarian reform initiated a change in the economic structure which, with time, would have continued to develop. Agricultural output rose: the yield of corn—the staple food now imported from the United States—more than satisfied the needs of the population at that time. The reform also helped to bring thousands of peasants into political activity thereby reinforcing the anti-imperialist revolution.

Although the crisis phenomena in the United States directly affected the dependent countries, Guatemala's economy on the whole continued to develop satisfactorily. The value of the overall industrial and agricultural output in 1953 was 558 million quetzales (one quetzal = one U.S. dollar) compared with 131 million in 1943. The national income registered a corresponding growth, too. The big projects launched by the Arbenz government, with the support of the people, furthered independent economic development. These projects were financed exclusively by the government and not by foreign credits which would have added to the foreign debt.

Between 1951-54 the struggle evolved into an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

U.S. Intervention and the Defeat of the Revolution

The revolution, the victories won by the people and the "bad example" they set to the other Latin American peoples enraged the U.S. monopolists, the latifundists and the reactionary bourgeoisie; so much so that the State Department, then headed by John Foster Dulles, a typical "big stick" man, resorted to intervention. This small nation dared to fight for its independence in a zone which, according to the United States top brass, constituted their "hinterland." Guatemala was a "threat" to the Panama Canal from which it was separated by a three-hour flight. (Today the U.S. imperialists make a point of the fact that Cuba is only 100-150 miles from the U.S. border.)

A government which is dominated by the all-powerful monopolies can, of course, only trust and support such "democracies" as the dictatorships of Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Somoza in Nicaragua and Stroessner in Paraguay. These are lauded as being "stable," "strong," "progressive" and "Christian" because they enable the U.S. monopolists to get more than their pound of flesh.

The aggression against Guatemala and the manner in which it was prepared are still fresh in the minds of the people. Imperialist propaganda denounced the democratic governments of Arévalo and Arbenz as being communist or pro-communist in exactly the same way as it now condemns the Castro government in Cuba. It clamored about "Arbenzo-communism" as it clamors about "Fidelocommunism." The reactionary press of the continent churned out stories about the "burning of churches" and the "persecution of the clergy," while the Archbishop of Guatemala preached provocative sermons.

The U.S. imperialists described the intervention as "collective action" by the American states "in the interests of peace and security." The Tenth Inter-American Conference held in Caracas in March 1954 was used for this purpose. The "anti-communist" resolution No. 93 adopted by it is a standing threat to any government which dares to fight for economic and political liberation. This resolution, as well as the treaty for "mutual defense" of the Western Hemisphere which the United States imposed on the Latin American countries in 1947, supplied the pretext for the intervention in Guatemala. These documents are now being used to prepare intervention against Cuba.

However, at that conference the unjustly accused Guatemala became the accuser. It courageously answered the calumny, rejected the "anti-communist" resolution and exposed the aggressors. The present imperialist maneuvering to use the Eleventh Inter-American Conference, to be held in Quito, for action against Cuba and Venezuela is bound to fail. The balance of forces is different from what it was at the time of the Caracas Conference.

Such measures as imperialist boycott are well known. There is nothing new in the U.S. reducing its purchases of Cuban sugar. Revolutionary Guatemala was also threatened with the discontinuation of purchases of coffee, refusal to grant credits for imports and an embargo on certain goods, particularly petrol and other fuels. Guatemala was prevented from re-equipping its army: the United States refused to sell it a single plane and stopped other countries from doing so. But the planes that later bombed the towns and villages of Guatemala, not only military targets but also homes, churches and schools, were procured in the United States!

The workers and peasants, women, intellectuals and youth closed their ranks in face of the imperialist threat, they rallied behind President Arbenz and proclaimed their readiness to defend the achievements of the revolution and national sovereignty. The people were indignant at the insults and threats made by State Department officials, Senators and Congressmen.

The imperialists did everything to divide the democratic forces. Washington piously pretended that it had nothing against the government of Guatemala. All it wanted the latter to do was to "part company" with the Communists and pursue a "less Left" policy. These platitudes were designed first of all for the ears of the bourgeoisie and, as

developments were to show, it was not deaf to them. If at the beginning the imperialists were intent on the isolation of the Communists, this was because their purpose was to split the democratic forces, to weaken them by ousting the Communists—the party that was ready to fight to the end.

Subsequent events were to reveal that the "step back" and the "attacks against the Communists alone" were simply imperialist maneuvers aimed at influencing the national bourgeoisie or at least a part of it. The imperialists took cognizance of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, its tendency to vacillate at the decisive moment, as for instance, in entering into trade relations with other countries, especially the socialist countries, a measure which could have safeguarded Guatemala against U.S. economic pressure. The national bourgeoisie was chiefly concerned with its profits and, in a state of alarm, came to terms with the imperialists.

The latter realized that by intervention alone they could not overthrow the democratic system. The invasion of the Castillo Armas gangs, engineered by the imperialists, was designed to bring confusion into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, to exert pressure on the cowardly traitors among the military and to precipitate the coup d'état. Such were the schemes of the imperialists, schemes which they managed to carry through.

The Right-wing bourgeoisie together with the supreme command of the army betrayed the country and the revolution and opened the gates to the dictatorship of Castillo Armas—an agent of the U.S. monopolies. The revolution was suppressed and the reign of terror set in.

The Reasons for the Defeat

Later, when it looked back on the developments through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labor arrived at the conclusion: "Despite the odds, resistance to imperialism was possible." People in practically all walks of life were eager to fight. The masses, beyond doubt, could have prevented the coup d'état, could have taken the offensive and repelled the intervention.

The Party of Labor has always opposed the theory of "geographic fatalism" preached by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles. The Party has maintained that although the geographic conditions may favor the imperialists, the latter are not all-powerful.

The fundamental reason for the defeat suffered by democracy was the surrender by a part of the national bourgeoisie—that part of

it which was in the government—when the resistance was just being organized. The national bourgeoisie deserted, renouncing the democratic gains of the revolution, lacking the courage to seek a solution by building unity and rallying the masses for armed struggle.

The proletariat—the only class capable of fighting for national liberation to the end—despite its growing influence, was not the leading force of the revolution. Still weak and politically immature, it was unable to form an alliance with the peasants, with the result that it did not fulfil the role of leader of the democratic forces; it did not have a clear concept of its leading role in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. In its day-to-day work the Party never forgets this and stresses: the working class and not the bourgeoisie should lead the national-liberation struggle.

Another important lesson concerns the role played by the army. The foreign monopolists, the latifundists and the reactionary bourgeoisie in the Latin American countries exercise their dictatorship through the military cliques which control the army and the police. These cliques, though ruthless where the people are concerned, are obedient and servile to their imperialist overlords. The Guatemalan army, though it had a democratic wing, was, on the whole, not different from most Latin American armies. The Party document issued in June 1955 and entitled "U.S. Intervention in Guatemala and the Overthrow of Democracy" pointed out that in carrying out the revolutionary changes it was necessary to rely on the armed forces organized by the people and not on the old army whose command, by virtue of class affiliation and outlook, was hostile to the revolution.

The Guatemala experience also showed the importance of international solidarity with the peoples fighting for economic and political liberation. The people everywhere, above all the working class, displayed deep sympathy for our people who had risen against the imperialists and the foreign intervention. This international support, which grew rapidly, could have forced the imperialists to withdraw had not the popular struggle ceased so suddenly. The firm stand taken by the USSR in the Security Council, to which the government of Guatemala had appealed, was a striking manifestation of international solidarity with the people of Guatemala.

The Party, too, drew definite conclusions for itself. The revolution had confronted it

with extremely complex problems. Due to lack of experience, immaturity and insufficient theoretical knowledge, it failed to live up to them, though in most cases it coped quite well with the situation.

Although the Party's fight for a united front was on the whole successful, its line in respect to the national bourgeoisie was not sufficiently independent. At times the dual character of the national bourgeoisie was overlooked, as was its tendency to compromise with the imperialists and home reactionaries. As pointed out in its documents, the Party did not always realize that "the alliance with the bourgeoisie should not tie its hands," that it should always reserve the right to criticize the national bourgeoisie, "to expose its defects and inconsistencies with regard to the people and the revolutionary movement."

Because of the anti-imperialist stand taken by President Arbenz the Party mustered support for him. At the same time it should have been made clear to the masses that the Party and its Central Committee were the true champions of their interests. The people believed that Arbenz alone was the consistent spokesman of the revolution. It is true, of course, that Arbenz is an outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement, a man who enjoys prestige not only in Guatemala but throughout Latin America. During the revolution he on many occasions proved his fidelity to progressive ideas and displayed firmness in resisting the imperialists. Arbenz had ordered the issue of arms to the people in order to repel the intervention (this order was sabotaged and never fulfilled). But his weakness was revealed when he unexpectedly decided to resign from the Presidency in favor of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This was a blunder which had grave consequences. Arbenz erred in thinking that this step would end the "bloodshed."

In a retrospective view of its policy during the revolution the Party noted that its actions had not always been fully independent; at times it failed to criticize in a friendly manner the blunders of the government. In the attempt to avoid sectarian mistakes, and out of fear of being accused of "provocative action" the Party at times failed to advance its own program and to pursue its own, Marxist-Leninist, line in the democratic front.

In its activity among the working class it had some achievements to its credit. But here the Party restricted itself mainly to economic issues, because it did not always know how to combine the fight for economic demands

with political struggle. On the whole the Party steered a correct course for an alliance with the other democratic anti-imperialist forces, fighting the latifundists, the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie. However, in some instances it attached greater significance to the alliance with the bourgeois-democratic and petty-bourgeois parties than to establishing a firm worker-peasant alliance. The Communists proclaimed the correct slogan of working-class support for the agrarian reform, and in the fight for implementing the reform created the conditions for a worker-peasant alliance. However, the Party was not able to make full use of the favorable opportunities.

Still, it should be emphasized that the basic line of the Party during the revolution was correct. This is confirmed by the entire course of the revolution, the influence wielded by the Party and the gains won by the people. It can be said that not a single important measure taken by the democratic government but was connected in one way or another with the work of the Party.

The Present Situation in Guatemala

The events that followed the overthrow of the democracy are well known.* The imperialists installed in office the traitor Castillo Armas. A reign of terror against the Communists and other democrats set in. Eventually Armas was assassinated by his own henchmen, with the complicity of the Dominican dictator Trujillo. The political crisis was thus further aggravated.

The growing movement against the so-called "liberation" regime enabled General Ydigoras Fuentes to win the January 1958 elections. He had the backing of the reactionary circles who were at loggerheads with the other group of reactionaries then in power.

The people, taken in by the demagoguery of the general, hoped that the government would pursue a new policy, a policy of national conciliation.

In the conditions in which the Ydigoras government emerged it was regarded by the public at large and by the democratic forces, including the Communists, as a step forward compared with the Armas administration. True, in the sphere of domestic policy the government, particularly in 1958, made a number of changes for the better. However, in the sphere of economy and in foreign policy things remained basically as they were. From the class standpoint this government represents the latifundists and some sections of

the bourgeoisie. Since 1959 it has pursued an increasingly reactionary policy, yielding to United States pressure.

The situation is complicated and is constantly changing. The state of economy is deteriorating not only as a result of the fall in prices for coffee and other exports, but above all because of the policy pursued by the "anti-communist" governments. This course has made the country more dependent on the USA and has paralyzed the agrarian reform and other measures furthering economic development. The cost of living is rising, while the wages are either frozen or increased insignificantly. During the past year unemployment has grown and this, in turn, cuts wages all the more.

The government lacks the support of the people. That is why it used the state machinery to rig the congressional by-elections last December. The manipulations gave it control over the Congress and the judiciary. In order to stay in power it is persecuting the democrats, particularly the Communists. The President has proclaimed a policy of force, which means that his goal is outright dictatorship.

But the government is everywhere encountering the resistance of the democratic forces; it is opposed also by some of the reactionary groups with whom the U.S. imperialists are conspiring to instal an even more anti-democratic government.

The experience of the past years and the patient explanatory work of the Party have helped to open the eyes of many who were deceived and who now realize that imperialism is the main enemy, that high prices and the intolerable economic situation are caused by the monopoly grip and the semi-feudal structure in the countryside. The people, far from responding to the anti-communist campaigns, are turning towards our Party.

Those social groups which displayed hesitancy and indecision, including some among the national bourgeoisie, have joined in the struggle to restore democracy. The democrats have had successes in the municipal elections and are beginning to win seats in Congress. Despite the contradictions and lack of unity, they are marching ahead, though they have not yet assumed the offensive. The trade union movement, which enjoys prestige among the workers, is making headway; the workers are regaining the confidence which had been lost as a result of the heavy blows. The peasants, whose conditions are well-nigh unbearable, are setting up new organizations.

The students are doing their bit in the fight

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, Vol. 2, 1959.

for democracy. Their courage and daring are winning over the people. Like their democratic colleagues in the other Latin American countries, the Guatemalan students maintain fraternal ties with the workers, and their joint actions have often been successful.

The contradictions and developments in the political situation are exerting an influence on the army. Despite the fact that it has always been dominated by the reactionaries and blinded by anti-communism, that in recent years only generals and officers of pro-U.S. orientation have gained promotion to the detriment of those of other views, a certain shift can be observed in the army, too. A movement now underway in the army is uniting all those who realize the need for democratic changes and who are eager to restore the honor of the army which has been tarnished by the treachery of the corrupt brass hats. At the same time a group of high-ranking officers associated with the U.S. Embassy and pursuing an alleged "middle-of-the-road" line — halfway between the so-called "liberation" regime of Armas and the 1944 revolution — could be a serious danger. These "third way" professions are only a smokescreen cloaking the true aims of those seeking to install a reactionary regime wholly committed to the foreign monopolies.

The Party of Labor, conscious of this, is explaining to the people that now, with the good prospects for liberation, the split in the democratic forces in the biggest danger. The Ydigoras administration is moving more and more to the right precisely because of the disunity which weakens the democratic forces. This is the result above all of the policy pursued by the Right-wing leadership of the main opposition party — the Revolutionary Party whose leader Mario Mendez Montenegro, a vindictive anti-communist, is one of the dark horses in the U.S. Embassy's reserve. The Party of Revolutionary Unity, founded in the middle of last year, has adopted a more democratic and patriotic attitude. It has better chances for developing and more opportunities for concluding an alliance with the smaller revolutionary groups. However, deep internal contradictions have prevented this party from taking advantage of the opportunities at hand. All this has largely paralyzed the activity of the sections influenced by these parties.

Our Party has adopted a firm attitude in respect to the present government. And while it is difficult to act in underground conditions, it has to be admitted that the Party could have done more to get the masses to exert pressure on the government for a policy which

would meet their interests. The Party failed to mobilize public opinion against the anti-democratic measures of the government.

With the democratic movement growing stronger and becoming more militant and with the reactionary parties and the government losing prestige, the relationship of forces is changing ever more rapidly. As stated in the report of the last Central Committee meeting, the democratic forces face "a perspective in which there will be both dangers and success, the overriding feature being objective possibility of success." The results of the "Guatemala experiment" are slipping out of the hands of the U.S. imperialists.

Restoration of Democracy Is the Immediate Task

The Party of Labor as a revolutionary organization has, beyond doubt, made the greatest contribution to restoring democracy. After the U.S. intervention and the overthrow of the democratic government, the Party faced the task of adapting itself to underground conditions. This task was fulfilled, otherwise the consequences of the coup would have been most destructive.

It was necessary for the Party to learn the art of combining legal work with underground activity. The efforts of the Communists yielded results. They became more vigilant, learned to identify the enemy, and this enabled them to defeat the attempts of the imperialists to break up the Party by implanting traitors and provocateurs. In the main the Party rebuilt its ranks and, upon doing so, went ahead with the new tasks, ensuring its further growth, its organizational, political and ideological consolidation. Its educational and propaganda activity and fund-raising campaign have yielded gratifying results and new members have been enrolled.

Even in the most trying conditions the Party never departed from Marxist-Leninist principles. Thanks to this it has been able to strengthen its ranks, overcome the difficulties and remain true to the cause of the working people, to socialism and proletarian internationalism. In 1954, with the counter-revolutionary terror in full swing, the reactionary politicians and newspapers boasted that "communism had been rooted out." But the courageous activity of the Party has shown the emptiness of this claim. When a Communist Party takes root among the people the imperialists are powerless to destroy it.

Today the task of the Party is to restore democracy. This means strengthening and reorganizing the trade unions, the peasant, wo-

men's, youth, student and other organizations and democratic parties, above all the Party of Labor. It means recouping the socio-economic gains lost because of the U.S. intervention, restoring and extending civil rights. Lastly, restoration of democracy is inseparable from defense of national sovereignty, the national economy and culture.

Organizing the democratic forces and their joint action will be decisive in compelling the government to pay attention to the demands of the people. The Party is also aware of the possibility that the struggle for democracy may result in a moderately democratic government coming to power. This would be a step forward. As last year's Central Committee meeting pointed out, "we realize that the revolutionary nature of such a government would be determined by the maturity and scale of the revolutionary struggle at the time the reactionary government is unseated." To accomplish this strategic aim, that is, of forming a truly democratic, patriotic and revolutionary government, a correct united front policy supported by all democrats is most important. In building a united front it is necessary, above all, to win over the mass organizations: the trade unions, the peasant, student, women's and other bodies. The report to the C.C. meeting emphasized that there was *a multitude of forms* of united-front activity—from "committees of struggle for definite demands, from mass popular organizations and

political alliances to such higher forms as a patriotic, democratic people's front."

These, then, are the tasks facing the Party, the tasks which must be carried out. The immediate thing is for the Party to train more cadres and raise their ideological level, win more members and form more branches and establish constant contact with the masses, make every effort to assimilate and propagate Marxism-Leninism, to acquire a better knowledge of the conditions in the country—its economy, traditions and the needs of the people. No matter how difficult it may be in the underground to observe the standards of inner-Party democracy, it is the duty of the Party to obtain the participation of all Communists when discussing Party tasks.

The experience of the fraternal parties will always be a useful guide to our Communists. At the same time the Guatemalan Communists will be delighted when their own modest experience proves useful to the fraternal parties.

At present when the peoples of Latin America are in the forefront of the anti-imperialist fighters, when in the Latin American countries democratic governments are coming to power, governments with a high sense of national dignity, the revolutionary struggle in Guatemala reinforces the conclusion that imperialism is far from being all-powerful. Even the small nations, once they are united, can successfully resist imperialist aggression.

Ideological Problems in Argentina

Hector P. Agosti

IDEOLOGICAL struggle between the reactionary and progressive forces is nothing new in Argentina. It can be said that this struggle dates from Argentina's emergence as a politically independent country. The progressive ideas of 19th century bourgeois Europe influenced the Argentine reformers of those days. And for this reason the latter were described in Madrid newspapers and in Vatican documents as "disseminators of foreign ideas" in exactly the same way as Marxist-Leninists are depicted today. Still, a genuinely national trend has taken shape which, notwithstanding its inconsistencies, can be described as belonging to the materialist school. Florentino Ameghino, the outstanding exponent of this trend, left his imprint on public education.

The growing interest in Marxism in Argen-

tina is due to the prestige which it has won as a result of the achievements of the socialist world and of the work done by the Communist Party in propagating and developing Marxism-Leninism. Over thirty years ago the Communist Party began its study of many vital aspects of the national life. The views expressed by the Party at that time have been taken up by the public. For instance, the evaluation of the socio-economic structure of the country and the role of imperialism, previously brushed aside as a communist "invention," is now recognized by all who really want the people of Argentina to listen to their words.

The gains won by Marxism in this ideological struggle, which has raged most violently in the universities, testify to a recoil from the idealist and irrational explanations of the

national problems from the 'twenties onward. The reason for the dominance of idealist trends in the past should be sought in the rejection of Marxism by the Social Democratic leaders and the onslaught of the armchair philosophers who, on the pretext of combating positivism, parted company with science, and implanted idealist, irrational views all the way to phenomenology and existentialism.

The fact that more and more people are being drawn to Marxism shows that the new generation of intellectuals wants something more than is offered by the idealist philosophers. This generation wants an explanation of the national features of the country's development (of her "national essence"); it wants to know how the national crisis can be overcome. This striving is felt particularly in literature, which, after a lapse, has returned to the theme of the nation, seeking to express its political and social aspects. While we may argue as to the soundness or otherwise of the approach of the young writers to these problems, we are bound to stress the positive significance of this return. It is all the more significant because the chief aim of imperialist propaganda is to convince us that we are not in a position to act independently.

Essays and symposiums subjecting the national scene to critical scrutiny have had great success in recent years; there is a growing demand for Marxist literature and books dealing with Soviet science and engineering. Here we have the proof that the reading public is anxious to find solutions which could help overcome the crisis experienced by the country.

Counter-revolutionary trends, including Trotskyism, which are trying to penetrate into the universities and the radical petty bourgeoisie are perturbed by the interest in Marxism. The anti-Marxist campaign is conducted both in the big capitalist newspapers, particularly in leading articles which indulge in arguments on the level of police interrogation, and in a stream of books that are of no great interest.

More subtle, however, than these frontal attacks are the attempts to distort Marxism in a round-about way. Usually these begin with talk about a "national Marxism" as the successor to Marxist theory free from the "narrowness" to which the Communist parties allegedly doom it, and end with proclaiming an "open" Marxism which wants to repeat the experiment of Merleau-Ponty who counterposed the humanism of the young Marx to the economic "rigidity" of the Marx of

Capital and especially of his followers. Attempts of the first kind are made chiefly by some Left Social Democrats and by young people who have left the ruling party; attempts of the second category have had a measure of success in the universities.

Persistent efforts by the students in the universities in Buenos Aires and La Plata resulted in arrangements being made for a series of lectures on Marxist philosophy. *Cuadernos de Cultura*, a Marxist journal devoted to theoretical and political problems of culture, gives much space to the ideological struggle, and exposes the falsifications of Marxism. With a circulation of over 5,000 this journal occupies quite a prominent place among journals that deal with questions of culture.

Argentina is one of the centers of ideological activity of the Vatican and of U.S. imperialism. Concentrating on public education, the reactionaries aim at abolishing secular education. Notwithstanding protests, the National Congress in 1958 enacted a law which, in the guise of "freedom of education," provides for private universities with the right to award the same degrees as are awarded by State universities. These private establishments, controlled by the Church, now compete with the State universities.

Through the Truman Point-Four aid program U.S. imperialism seeks to influence teaching in the State universities. The Point-Four program is being implemented through the so-called CAFADE plan under which the money that remains from the sale of certain goods in the United States can be spent on scholarships for students studying in America and on the upkeep of U.S. tutors in Argentine universities. The money is allocated chiefly for animal husbandry research, not for industry or technology.

The agreements between U.S. and Argentine universities bear the same character. They envisage not the usual equal exchange of tutors, students and experience but U.S. leadership in drawing up the curricula for Argentine higher education. For instance, under an agreement with the economic faculty in Buenos Aires scholarships will be granted to students who, upon completing their studies in the United States, give an undertaking to teach only in the Argentine universities. What is more, the Argentine universities are obliged to pattern their curricula on the U.S. model. Thus there is a twofold interference: First, the "aid" to the Argentine universities is made conditional — change the

educational system — and, second, they are obliged to use the services of tutors and teachers trained in the United States. This is a long way from free cultural relations based on mutual respect. Our Party program calls for equal relations with all countries, because such relations are needed by our people.

While on the one hand we have the penetration of North American pragmatism, we have on the other hand neo-Thomism which in the past two decades has made headway in the universities. Neo-Thomism, especially its Maritain variety, is upheld in the State universities by the so-called humanist trend. This trend wants to direct the discontent among the intellectuals (discontent caused by the crisis of capitalism) along the "third way" which will be neither capitalist nor socialist. But in reality this trend is drawing closer to the clerical ideology. Still, it is possible and even necessary to enter into discussion with the proponents of this trend on the democratic and anti-imperialist issues which they, at least in words, support.

The "combined" drive by the reactionaries against the universities is explained by the fact that the latter are now an important reserve of democracy. The State universities are run by autonomous councils elected from among the teaching staffs, students and graduates of the universities. This principle, proclaimed in 1918 by the anti-imperialist movement for university reform which embraced the continent, is only now finding application. The changes that have taken place in the Argentine universities are not simply formal changes. Gone are the days when lecturers and tutors were recruited solely from the milieu of the old oligarchy. The impoverishment of the middle sections has led to a change in the social composition of the students.* Although irrational trends such as psycho-analysis are still predominant in teaching, and U.S. technocracy is propagated, one thing can be affirmed — the changed social composition has created greater opportunities for ideological debate.

The reactionaries are active also in the other departments of public education, which is now almost the main arena of the battle of ideas. This poses complex problems of a tactical nature. Today, clerical reaction is the chief instrument for spreading U.S. imperial-

ist ideology in the sphere of culture. Thus the fight for university autonomy and secular education is an indispensable condition for the growth of democracy in Argentina. Ideological problems are, therefore, acquiring a political character, and the task now is to forge unity of all the forces fighting against clerical reaction and for democratic liberties.

Many teachers and students who at one time believed that technocracy could supply the answer to Argentina's social problems, are taking part in this struggle. The influence of U.S. institutions has played no little part in generating these illusions. Agreement on basic issues should not detract in any way from the differences on other issues, nor should it be a pretext for concealing differences. In this case we should argue with those who have been deceived and expose the advocates of imperialist infiltration.

Similar problems are posed by abstract art and other attempts to "modernize" the fine arts, literature and music, which in the end results in dehumanizing them. Pessimism and lack of belief in man and his abilities is often manifest in these trends which are the most striking proof of the spiritual decay of capitalism. But here, too, we should make a distinction between the theoreticians of the decadent ideology and the sincere artists who are searching for new modes of expression in keeping with the spirit of the times. Many of these artists have adopted a progressive attitude in politics, and it would be wrong to discourage them by adopting a rigid stand; it would be much more useful to discuss their searchings and strivings with them.

The spread of abstract art in Latin America is bound up with the systematic propaganda campaign of which New York is one of the main centers. The interest displayed by U.S. imperialism in this propaganda leaves no room for doubt, because concentration on the abstract intensifies the process of depriving the art of our countries of its national qualities.* We see, moreover, a rejection of the rich folk-lore sources of art (or at best they are used solely from the standpoint of their intrinsic beauty) and of the traditions of realism. The conflict of ideas that has flared up around these issues should make these

*A recent questionnaire revealed that nearly 70 per cent of the students in Buenos Aires University are forced to work in order to pay their tuition fees; half of them do a full day's work.

*Apart from the subsidies granted to some art galleries by U.S. magnates (and by the big New York dealers in paintings) mention should be made of the fact that corporations such as Standard Oil show particular interest in arranging literary and art competitions at which prizes are awarded. It cannot be said that any official demand is made as regards subject or manner of performance but the juries and the influential critics associated with them favor abstract art. Compared with the paucity of the state grants for prizes the "generosity" of the oil companies is a stimulus to the artists, especially the younger ones.

aspects obvious to all sincere artists and, what is more, win them to our side.

Argentina is experiencing a profound socio-economic crisis. And this should be borne in mind when considering ideological problems. It can be said that in our history there are few examples of such a strong desire to find the reasons for the crisis and to find the way out. Not a single party can afford to ignore this question. As noted above, the crippling influence exerted by imperialism on the country (which the Communist Party pointed out as far back as 1928 in the theses adopted by its Eighth Congress) is now generally recognized by the public. Since 1928 the ideological struggle has entered a new phase, has acquired greater dimensions. It is not accidental, for example, that historical research has become one of the main fields of political controversy; the reason for this is that the study of national development is closely linked with the search for a way out of the crisis. Some of the nationalist circles made the "revision of history" the hobby-horse of their anti-imperialist demagoguery, mainly anti-British. These circles turn back to the pseudo-national structure of Argentina in the past, denounce the liberation movement of 1810 as a movement inspired from abroad,* and are anxious to strike at the progressive ideas which are contemptuously described as "foreign" importations. This kind of "revision" has nothing in common with the scientific interpretation of history which is the hallmark of Marxist research. It denies the progressive role played by the bourgeoisie when it strove to abolish the patriarchal and other pre-capitalist economic structures and to build national unity on the basis of the Constitution. On the pretext of criticizing the limitations of liberalism — its kowtowing to foreign capital in the last decades of the 19th

century and its inability to resolve the agrarian question — these nationalist elements virtually deny the progressive content of the historical process in Argentina. They abuse the country for its "modern character" which has been decisively influenced by immigration, and call for a return to the "traditional" forms, proclaiming Catholic religion as the sole factor that rallies the people. This theory is dear to the heart of the present President: in countries built by immigrants, such as Argentina, religion becomes the decisive factor in national unity.

This "revision" of history is not as harmless as it seems at first glance. The nationalist assessment of the history of Argentina (and of all Latin America) is characterized by a denial of bourgeois democracy not for the sake of ascending to a higher phase of social development, but for the sake of a return to a more or less hierarchical theocracy. Views of this kind are found among some of the petty-bourgeois groups. The advocates of this brand of nationalism denounce socialism as being the wrong solution, as a "foreign" importation. In other words, what they want to do is to deprive the working class and its Party of their leading role in the liberation movement, both in the sphere of politics and of ideas.

The stand taken by the working class — the decisive political force — is a major factor in the life of the country. This objective fact finds its concentrated expression in ideology. It would be correct to say that the vast democratic reserves in the sphere of politics are supplemented by considerable progressive reserves in ideology and, on the broader plane, in the sphere of culture. If, on the one hand, the growing interest in Marxism-Leninism is a reflection of the international prestige of the socialist world, it testifies, on the other hand, to the growth of the proletariat in the country and to the influence exerted by the Communist Party program. Our task is to help forge the unity of all the progressive trends and thus isolate the insignificant minority which in theory and practice bends the knee to imperialism.

*Diaz de Vivar, former Peronist deputy and one of the spokesmen of nationalism, formulated this "theory" in 1946 during the parliamentary debate on the religious education law. The May 1810 revolution, he declared, was an "historical misfortune," because it wrested us from the Spanish Catholic structure in order to circulate among us the alien ideas of the French Revolution. One could hardly ask for a greater renunciation of national independence . . . in the name of nationalism.

U.S. Farmers: Their Problems, Life and Struggle

In the Grip of the Agrarian Crisis • The Farm Question
 • *Agricultural Workers: Their Conditions and Prospects*
 • *State Monopoly Regulation of Agriculture • Co-operatives: Their Nature and Types* • *The Methods of Struggle*

John Hellman

I

U.S. AGRICULTURE includes several million small and medium producers and is, therefore, a whole epoch behind monopolized industry. This, of course, does not mean that monopolies do not dominate in agriculture. At present they penetrate agriculture with a new technique known as vertical integration. Monopolies expand their operations vertically bringing under unified control all or some of such operations as production, transportation, processing, packaging and distribution. Big corporations such as canners and packers or feed and fertilizer suppliers sometimes own integrated facilities outright; or they lend farmers money, equipment and supplies in return for exclusive rights to supply them, buy their products and fix prices. The monopolies prefer to integrate those aspects of production where the least risk is involved. For instance, meat-packing plants establish their own feed lots for fattening animals, but generally avoid the more risky undertaking of raising the animals.

Generally speaking, growth of production and productivity in capitalist agriculture is lagging behind industry. But in recent years the rate of increase in productivity has been greater in agriculture than in industry. From 1920 to 1940 output per man-hour increased only 42 per cent in U.S. agriculture, while increasing 115 per cent in industry. But from 1940 to 1956 output per man-hour increased 96 per cent in agriculture, and only 40 per cent in industry. Such a phenomenon is achieved by a rapid upsurge in mechanization and technology under which capitalism is inevitably accompanied by the accelerated elimination of small producers.

According to preliminary data, U.S. agriculture used in 1958 some 5,130,000 tractors, 1,050,000 grain combines and 750,000 corn pickers.

THE RAPIDITY OF MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE
(all figures in thousands)

Year	Tractors	Grain Combines	Corn Pickers	Farms with milking machines	Field pickup automatic hay balers	Field forage harvesters
1920	246	6	—	—	—	—
1930	920	65	—	—	—	—
1940	1,545	190	110	175	—	—
1945	2,422	375	168	365	42	20
1950	3,609	714	456	636	196	81
1955	4,750	960	660	740	450	200

The growth of productivity is aggravating the crisis of agriculture and has produced much human dislocation, hardship and despair.* U.S. agriculture has been in a chronic crisis of overproduction since 1920 except for the period from 1942 to 1948. 1947 was U.S. agriculture's most prosperous year. World War II controls had been removed and the demand for agricultural products equalled or exceeded the supply. Since then the position has steadily worsened. All farm operators received 8.1 per cent of the national income in 1947 and only 3.7 per cent in 1958. During the same period their net income fell from \$17.3 billion to \$13.1 billion. If we take into account that the dollar has considerably declined in value, then the actual drop in real farm income was 39 per cent.

II

The history of U.S. agriculture is one of ousting the small and middle producers. The

*Many examples can be cited showing how technical advance in the U.S. is used to the detriment of the population. In particular, technical advance includes a vast increase in the use of chemicals for the destruction of insects and weeds, and the use of artificial hormones, antibiotics and other drugs for increasing the flock of poultry and animals. Careless use of these chemicals sometimes results in toxic and cancer-inducing chemicals penetrating into food products. Some doctors are gravely concerned about this, but the government has not established any effective control—profits are more important than health.

following table shows the historical decline in farms and the increase in their average acreage.

Year	Number of farms	Acreage In 000's	Average acreage per farm
1910	6,361,502	878,798	138.1
1930	6,288,648	986,771	156.9
1940	6,096,799	1,060,852	174.0
1945	5,859,169	1,141,615	194.8
1954	4,783,018	1,158,233	242.2

The small farmers have been ousted most rapidly since World War II. U.S. farm population reached a numerical peak in 1933 of 32,393,000. This was 25.8 per cent of the total population. By 1958 the farm population had declined to 20,827,000. At present about 12 per cent of the total population is employed in agriculture. But despite this the production of food and fiber supplies domestic demand, a large export market and still leaves large surpluses.

There is a continuous process of concentration of capital and stratification of the farms in U.S. agriculture.

DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS (1954) BY DOLLAR SALES AND ACREAGE

Market sales	Number of farms	% of total farms	% of total marketings	% of acres used
\$25,000 or over	134,000	2.8	31.3	22.4
\$10,000 to \$24,999	448,945	9.4	26.9	20.8
\$ 5,000 to \$ 9,999	706,929	14.8	20.5	19.0
\$ 2,500 to \$ 4,999	811,965	17.0	12.1	14.1
\$ 1,200 to \$ 2,499	763,348	16.0	5.7	8.8
Less than \$1,200	462,427	9.7	1.4	3.9
Part-time, residential, and other farms	1,455,404	30.4	2.0	11.0

In 1954 some 56 per cent of the farmers used 23.7 per cent of the land and produced only 9.1 per cent of the marketed products. The small farmers have not only been pushed onto the poorest land but also lack the capital to use modern technique. In an effort to survive, many of them work off their farms and become part-time farmers. In 1954 about 28 per cent of all farm operators worked off their farms for 100 days or more per year as contrasted to only 11.2 per cent in 1934.

The most destitute sections of the rural population are the Negro sharecroppers and tenants of the Southern States, where the Negroes are denied even the most elementary bourgeois-democratic rights. In 1954 the aver-

age rural non-white income in the South* was \$742, while the average rural white income was \$1,516 in the South and \$2,157 in the U.S. as a whole, and the average urban white income was \$4,827. From 1935 to 1954 farm operators in the South declined 32.3 per cent. But if the non-white farmers (97 per cent of whom are Negroes) declined 43 per cent, the white declined 29 per cent. During the same period the number of tenants and sharecroppers declined 63 per cent as sharecropping, which is based largely on hand labor, gave way to mechanization and wage labor.

III

The farmers driven out of agriculture have great difficulty in securing a livelihood elsewhere as several million industrial workers are chronically unemployed. Many dispossessed farmers become agricultural wage-workers, but mechanization has reduced the average annual number of these workers from 3,190,000 in 1930 to 1,955,000 in 1958.

Rural wage-workers are the poorest section of the population. Almost no legislation exists to relieve their plight. Daily wages paid to farm workers in 1957 were 29 per cent of what factory labor received. In 1957, the average annual wage of hired farm workers was \$892 including earnings from non-farm work. The meagerness of this sum can be seen from the following. According to the Heller Budget (regularly prepared at the University of California and widely used as a standard of living measure) an annual income of \$5830 was needed for a minimum adequate standard of living at September, 1957, prices.

Few farm workers can afford modern housing. Still fewer can afford education and medical care. Most of them earn less than the \$1.00 per hour Federal minimum wage established for many occupations. They cannot even receive the limited unemployment payments made to most other workers. "Bedraggled caravans," the *New York Times* wrote recently, "are rumbling from Florida, from Texas and from Southern California. They carry the landless army of workers on the land — the half-million migratory farm laborers who harvest much of the nation's food, yet are so completely outside the protection of laws enacted to guarantee a modicum of security for all other wage earners that they have become known as the 'excluded' Americans."

*The Census South comprises Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

In addition to the U.S. citizens, about half a million aliens are imported for seasonal work, chiefly from Mexico. These aliens are at the mercy of the big farmers and the U.S. Immigration Service which works closely with them. Some alien workers are directly robbed of even part of the misery wages they contracted for and they have little recourse because of the intimidating threat of immediate deportation by the Immigration Service.

Only a few thousand farm workers are organized in trade unions. The unionizing of farm workers, for instance, in California, where farm workers are the most numerous, entails great difficulties. Large numbers of farm workers are of oppressed national minorities—Negro, Mexican, Indian, Puerto Rican and Oriental. Chauvinism is a major factor in maintaining their super-exploitation and in preventing their joining trade unions.

IV

Since the "New Deal" in 1933 state-monopoly measures have been widely used to manipulate agricultural production and prices. Production controls were removed during World War II but re-established as soon as postwar surpluses accumulated. Every year since 1948 Congress faces additional proposals for new or altered schemes.

Most farm legislation claims to be the savior of the farmers, especially the "family farmers." But bourgeois politicians only pretend that they battle over how to "handle the farm problem." Their true concern is not how to aid the distressed farmers or improve the diet of underfed people, but rather how to ease two million "inefficient" small farmers completely out of agriculture, dispose of surpluses and assure the profits of the monopolies dealing with farmers. In March 1945 the U.S. Chamber of Commerce report recommended withholding Federal farm program benefits from small farmers and the elimination of about 3,000,000 of them. Various bourgeois organizations continue to echo this program. Ezra Taft Benson, Minister of Agriculture, advocates an end to all farm price supports and other aid so that "inefficient" farmers will be forced out of production.

The most reactionary and chauvinistic group in Congress comes from the Southern States where most Negroes and many poor whites are disfranchised. This group, commonly called the Dixiecrats, and the interests they represent have a special influence on farm legislation. When the Democratic Party, of which they are a part, controls Congress,

the Dixiecrats hold many key Committee chairmanships.

Most Dixiecrat Congressmen are either plantation owners or have direct ties with big landowners. Other Congressmen, who are under pressure to pass farm legislation, make behind the scene deals for Dixiecrat support. The Dixiecrats demand favors in return and thereby gain special consideration for Southern agriculture, as well as help in preventing Civil Rights legislation that could bring bourgeois democracy to millions of oppressed Negroes in the South.

No wonder therefore that all farm programs have been set up or administered to the advantage of the monopolist groups and big farmers. Many "benefits" to farmers have been nothing more than indirect subsidies to bank, credit, machinery and supply corporations to whom the farmer is hopelessly in debt. Only the struggles of small farmers have won the limited concessions and, at times, considerable aid that prolong their existence.

All farmers sell their products at low prices fixed by the monopolies and buy machinery and supplies at monopoly-fixed high prices. Even the big farmers who obtain some price advantages are also robbed by the industrial monopolies. These greedy monopolies would "kill the goose that lays the golden egg" if the farmers did not struggle for and obtain state intervention. They have had success at times because some of the bourgeoisie regard the agricultural subsidies as a useful part of the efforts to alter the capitalist economic cycle.

Among the state monopoly measures in the postwar period we should note the attempts to reduce the crop by cutting the planted acreage. The producers are often given a chance to choose between less acreage with price support or unlimited production with no price support. The majority has inevitably chosen to cut acreage because they fear a disastrous collapse of prices if supports are removed. In July, 1959, wheat farmers voted 79 per cent in favor of cutting their production in order to save price supports.

Acreage reductions really are not intended to cut production in general but rather to cut production of the small farmers. Farmers who do not reduce to the allotted acres are denied price protection and must pay a penalty on the production from their excess acres. Insofar as the price support program holds up the free market price, big producers often

make a huge profit by paying their penalties and producing the maximum.

Farmers who reduce the acreage of one crop often plant the idle land to an unrestricted crop and create surpluses elsewhere. The reduction of planted acreage also encourages more intensive farming of the remaining acreage so that total production is reduced very little. From 1952 to 1958 the per acre yield of all crops went up 22 per cent and production per man-hour 37 per cent. The greatest ratio of increase was on the large mechanized farms. Farm acreage in production in 1958 was the lowest since 1919, yet production equalled the all-time peak. While gestures to reduce production continue, Republican Senator Aiken stated: "Twenty-six million people have incomes so low they cannot purchase foods necessary to a healthy existence."

The lofty purpose of soil conservation has been the excuse offered for efforts to reduce production. Prior to the 1956 Presidential election, the Eisenhower Administration sponsored and passed the "Soil Bank" program. Farmers were paid for conserving their soil by putting land in the Soil Bank, which means leaving it idle. Big farmers quickly placed in the Soil Bank their poorest or unused land. The small farmers are short of land and many of them are unable to leave any of it idle, but some benefited by placing in the Soil Bank drought-stricken land or land which was idle by acreage controls and which could not be satisfactorily planted to the alternative crop.

Another important state monopoly program is the disposal of agricultural surpluses. The government dumps surpluses abroad, or makes "gifts" of food for political objectives. Some surpluses are also distributed through welfare agencies at home. Processing and transport corporations make excellent profits on all these programs.

V

The major national farm organizations are the Farm Bureau, Grange, and National Farmers' Union.

The conservative Farm Bureau advances the interests of the big farmers. It is anti-trade union and works mainly through the Republican Party. The liberal National Farmers' Union declares itself to be the family farmer organization. It builds alliances with the trade union movement and works mainly through the Democratic Party. The Grange pursues a somewhat vacillating policy between the programs of the other two.

For the past twelve years state chapters of the National Farmers' Union have sent several hundred farmers on buses to Washington D.C. each winter to lobby for the program of the organization. This not only puts pressure on Congress but heightens political consciousness among farmers.

But the most militant mass actions of farmers are spasmodic and occur outside the established national organizations. These actions flare up around individual commodities that are in the most acute crisis. In May 1959, as egg prices dropped to an 18-year-old low, 200 poultry men travelled to Washington and demanded help from a Congressional sub-committee. Signs on one New Jersey bus read: "Don't let the family farmer die! Help save our farms!"

Many large co-operatives for marketing or for providing supplies and insurance have been built, mainly by the efforts of millions of farmers. These co-operatives face such dangers as being exterminated by the monopolies or made subservient to them, or of placing profit-making above service and aid to toiling farm members. The capitalist relations which predominate in the co-operatives undermine their effectiveness as organs of struggle for the small producers. Business managers who have never been farmers receive huge salaries and build bureaucratic staffs to strengthen and maintain their control. The co-operatives usually tend to favor the big farmers on prices, service and extension of credit. A forthright stand on fundamental political issues is avoided because it might "drive away business."

Despite weaknesses and bad practices the co-operatives have reduced retail profit margins in trade channels where farmers trade; returned dividends to their members; eliminated various cheating practices in the grading and purchasing of farm products; contributed to the struggle for changing agricultural policy and legislation. Though the co-operatives have in no way altered class relationships, they have demonstrated to many small producers the advantages of organization, the strength of joint action.

VI

Farm prosperity is a potent political issue. In the November 1958 elections in the Midwest where the farm vote is most concentrated, the Republicans lost 21 seats in the House of Representatives, largely due to farm discontent. Farm votes were joined by many others in rural communities who depend upon farmers for their livelihood.

The trend of farm action will no doubt be influenced by the bankruptcy of bourgeois programs for regulating agriculture. This bankruptcy is emphasized, in particular, by the booklet *Toward a New Farm Program*, published in December 1958 by the Conference on Economic Progress. This group includes such prominent figures as James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers' Union; Walter P. Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers and Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, and Leon H. Keyserling, former Chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers. Keyserling prepared the booklet. Its main program is "... to require that the President send annually to the Congress a short-range and especially a long-range *Full Prosperity Budget for Agriculture*." Such a budget would set goals for production, employment and purchasing power. The booklet proposes substantially to increase the family (small and middle) farmers' share of total farms and total farm production. But this is to be achieved through subsidies, regulations and other measures which are no more than a re-formulation of past and present forms of state intervention.

In contrast to the reformist organizations the Communist Party explains to the working people the class contradictions in agriculture, advances programs in defense of the small farmers and helps forge an anti-monopoly alliance of labor, farmers, the Negro people and other democratic sections of the population.

The Communist Party demands that

—price supports protect for each farm operator only that amount of production which is necessary to sustain a family farmer;

—a program of land reform be launched in the South;

—federal aid, low cost credit and crop insurance be provided for the small farmers who are short of capital;

—government-held surpluses be used to improve the diets of America's underfed;

—all restrictions be lifted on world-wide trade;

—agricultural workers be at least protected equally with factory workers by such social legislation as minimum wages, unemployment payments, old-age pensions, hours of work and child labor laws.

The Communists oppose crop curtailment in principle since this is an attempt to resolve the contradictions of a restricted capitalist

market by anti-social means. In those areas where cuts in acreage cannot be avoided, they should be taken on big producers.

The Communist Party insists on its members taking an active part in all forms of struggle in defense of the small farmers. Since the big farmers extract vast profits out of the agricultural workers, the formation of effective unions among the latter would be of great help to the small and middle farmers. Organizing the farm workers should become the primary concern of the trade unions. That is why the Communists support the initial steps taken by the AFL-CIO in this direction.

While fighting to preserve the small farmer the Communist Party explains the economic laws of capitalism which cause the steady elimination of small producers, and points the way to socialism as the only solution to the capitalist agricultural crisis. The Party exposes the monopolies as the chief enemy of the working farmer. It challenges the reformist illusions that a way can be found to return to the pre-monopoly relations when small farmers predominated.

The Party combats anti-Marxist-Leninist theories that all farmers are reactionary. The Left movements in the U.S. have an historical record of neglect in building the labor-farm alliance. Early in this century the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World fostered hostility to farmers. This view is echoed in the opinion that since farmers have diminished to a very small portion of the population an alliance with them can be ignored. These views should be combated resolutely since during the past ten years the Communist Party has been weak at developing labor-farm unity. It is necessary to display initiative aimed at strengthening contact with the working people in rural communities.

The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party disclosed the weaknesses in the work among the farmers and outlined the ways and means of overcoming them. One of the resolutions said that neglect of the farm question was a big gap in the effort to apply Marxism-Leninism in practice, thus adversely affecting Party activity. The convention stressed the significance of the struggle for a labor-farmer-Negro coalition in which each understands and supports the basic needs of the others. It called upon the Communists in trade unions and in agriculture to so work that the workers and farmers become conscious of the need for a mutual alliance and mutual support of their interests.

The rapid growth of productive forces in U.S. agriculture is aggravating its internal contradictions in exactly the same way as in

industry. And it is here we see the objective basis for organizing the working people in agriculture in the fight for their vital interests.

IN THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM

The Big Leap in China's Economy

Wang Kuang-wei

THE big leap in China's economy which began in 1958 is the great creation of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

How do things stand in the light of the big leap?

Generally speaking, the facts are these: the gross industrial and agricultural output increased by 48 per cent in 1958 compared with 1957, and rose by another 31.1 per cent in 1959 over the 1958 figure; gross industrial output in 1958 was 66 per cent over 1957, and registered a further 39.3 per cent increase in 1959 (compared with 1958); the total agricultural production in 1958 was 25 per cent above that of 1957, and recorded an additional increase of 16.7 per cent in 1959.

The continued big leap in 1958 and 1959 made it possible to fulfil the original Second Five-Year Plan (1958-1962) in two years. The Second Five-Year Plan provided for gross industrial and agricultural output to increase in 1962 by about 75 per cent over 1957. By 1959 it had increased 94.4 per cent. Gross industrial output was to show an increase of about 100 per cent in 1962 compared with 1957, but in 1959 it registered a 131.5 per cent increase. Gross agricultural production was scheduled to increase by about 35 per cent between 1957 and 1962, but in 1959 it attained a 45.8 per cent increase. The target for steel was 10.5-12 million tons in 1962, but steel output in 1959 reached 13.35 million tons. Coal production, set at 190-210 million tons for 1962, reached 347.8 million tons in 1959. The 1962 target for grain was about 250 million tons, but actual output in 1959 exceeded 270 million tons. The cotton goal for 1962 was about 2.4 million tons, but the actual output in 1959 reached 2.41 million tons. In 1959 other major industrial and agricultural products either exceeded the Second Five-Year Plan targets or came close to them. The Chinese people responded with outstanding deeds to the call made by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to fulfil the main

targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule.

When we projected the Second Five-Year Plan the imperialists derided us, saying that our plan was a propaganda stunt and could not be realized. But we fulfilled it in only two years.

Why do we call the development in 1958 and 1959 the big leap? Because the speed of expansion in these two years greatly exceeded that of the First Five-Year Plan (1952-1957). During the First Five-Year Plan the average annual rate of increase for the total industrial and agricultural output was 10.9 per cent, with gross industrial and agricultural output running respectively at 18 per cent and 4.5 per cent. Such rates of growth, unknown in the old China, are also rare in the capitalist countries. But the average annual rate of increase of the gross industrial and agricultural output in 1958 and 1959 reached 39.4 per cent, or 3.6 times the average annual rate during the First Five-Year Plan; the annual gross industrial output, on the average, increased 52.2 per cent in those two years, or 2.9 times the average annual rate during the First Five-Year Plan; the average annual rate of increase of the gross agricultural production in the two years was 20.8 per cent, or 4.6 times that of the First Five-Year Plan. Therefore, it is quite fitting to use the term "the big leap" to describe the very rapid development of China's economy in 1958 and 1959.

The big leap has clarified for us certain questions related to the speed of development of China's socialist economy. It has shattered the wrong view that if the base figures* are large, high-speed growth will become impossible and the rate of development can only diminish. In 1957 the base figures for China's gross industrial and agricultural output exceeded those of 1952 by 67.7 per cent, but in 1958 alone the gross output rose by 48 per cent

*These initial figures for a given year are the basis for calculating the dynamics of production in subsequent years.
—Ed.

as compared with 1957, and again by 31.1 per cent in 1959 as compared with 1958. Judged by the experience of China in these two years, even the large base figures can ensure a high rate of growth, provided that there is a correct policy, that the initiative of the masses is encouraged, their revolutionary energy fully developed, and the potentialities tapped. Of course, when the base figures are larger, the same high rate of growth will demand an even greater increase in the absolute amount produced. But the larger base figures imply a stronger material and technical foundation. As long as the masses develop their activities in utilizing these material and technical conditions, continued high-speed development is possible.

The rate of growth in China proves that socialist economy can attain high speed and develop in a planned, proportionate way. Some sceptics expressed the doubt: were not the big leap and the nationwide effort to produce more iron and steel and to build industry on a larger scale disrupting the balanced development of the national economy? An examination of the facts for the past two years indicates that the proportions in the national economy, far from being disrupted, have become still more harmonious. The ratio between industry and agriculture—the major proportion in the national economy—was more harmonious in 1958 and 1959 than during the First Five-Year Plan. Between 1952-57 the ratio between the rates of industrial and agricultural growth averaged four to one each year (18 per cent for industry and 4.5 per cent for agriculture). However, with the simultaneous big leap of industry and agriculture in 1958, this ratio narrowed to 2.65 to one (66.2 per cent for industry and 25 per cent for agriculture). In 1959 it was 2.35 to one (39.3 per cent for industry and 16.7 per cent for agriculture).

During the First Five-Year Plan the annual increase of the grain harvest averaged more than six million tons, but in 1958 and 1959 the annual growth averaged more than 42 million tons. At the same time the average annual increase of the cotton yields amounted to 65,000 tons, but in 1958 and 1959 it reached more than 385,000 tons. As a result of the accelerated rate of agricultural growth, light industry also developed at a faster rate. For instance, the annual increase in the output of cotton yarn averaged just over 200,000 bales in 1952-57, but in 1958 and 1959 it averaged 1.8 million bales. During the First Five-Year Plan the average annual increase in the output of paper was less than 140,000 tons, but in 1958 and 1959 it was 450,000 tons. In other words, agriculture and light industry have developed at a faster pace in the years of the big leap. The situation in which the rates of development of agriculture and light industry lagged behind those of heavy industry during the First

Five-Year Plan has changed; in 1958 and 1959 agriculture, light industry and heavy industry developed simultaneously with the big leap tempo and the proportions between them became more harmonious.

In the last two years the great leap in steel production, the key link on the industrial front, led to a great leap forward in every branch of industry; increase in grain production, the key link on the agricultural front, led to the simultaneous leap in five sectors of agriculture—farming, forestry, animal husbandry, by-products and fishery. Therefore, not only did the proportions between agriculture and industry and between heavy and light industry become more harmonious, but the proportions within industry and agriculture also became more harmonious.

The big leap also provided an affirmative answer to the question of whether the living conditions of the people could be improved simultaneously with enlarging capital construction. In 1958 and 1959, capital investments in the State budget amounted to 48,100 million yuan, almost matching the total capital investments during the entire period of the First Five-Year Plan. In circumstances of the rapidly mounting capital investments, the average wages of the workers and other employees rose by eight per cent in 1959 as against 1957. The average income of the peasants increased 21 per cent and total retail sales registered a 35 per cent increase in the same period. It is of special significance that owing to the all-round development of socialist construction the numbers employed rose considerably. In 1959 the number of workers and other employees was nearly 20 million more than in 1957; this has completely wiped out the unemployment inherited from the past and, what is more, has given rise to labor shortages everywhere—both in the cities and the countryside. The appearance of the labor shortage in this enormous country with a population of 650 million is a phenomenon never before experienced in China. Mechanization and semi-mechanization of production processes have now become the urgent demand. This situation makes it clear that during its big leap China has not only achieved swift development in construction, it has also secured improvements in the standard of living.

The big leap and planned, proportionate growth are two aspects of the development of China's economy. There is a unity in the contradiction between these two aspects. They are interdependent and stimulate each other. With the big leap there must be a planned and proportionate development.

In contrast to capitalist economy, socialist economy can develop in a planned and proportionate way with the result that imbalances can be adjusted. But the imbalances in economic development

do not thereby disappear. The contradiction between imbalance and balance continues to exist. In this contradiction there are two aspects: imbalance, which is absolute, and balance, which is relative. The chief task of planning is to resolve this main contradiction between imbalance and balance, between disproportions and proportions in economic development. It is to grasp consciously and make use of the objective law of absolute imbalance so as to achieve many relative balances. In his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Every year our country draws up an economic plan in an effort to establish a proper ratio between accumulation and consumption and achieve a balance between production and the needs of society. By balance we mean a temporary and relative unity of opposites. By the end of each year, such a balance, taken as a whole, is upset by the struggle of opposites, the unity achieved undergoes a change, balance becomes imbalance, unity becomes disunity, and once again it is necessary to work out a balance and unity for the next year. This is the superior quality of our planned economy. As a matter of fact, this balance and unity is partially upset every month and every quarter, and partial readjustments are called for. Sometimes, because our arrangements do not correspond to objective reality, contradictions arise and the balance is upset; this is what we call making a mistake. Contradictions arise continually and are continually resolved; this is the dialectical law of the development of things." China has to pay attention to the emergence of contradictions and imbalances and continually makes partial readjustments, thereby creating temporary balances, enabling the lagging industries to catch up with the more advanced ones, and causing all the industries to vie with and promote the advance of one another. In this way, it makes the national economy develop at the big leap speed and in a planned and proportionate way.

What are the causes for the big leap in our economy? Can this leap be sustained? In our opinion, it is not something accidental and certainly can be sustained. The fundamental guarantee of the continuous big leap are the Party's general line for building socialism—going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results—and the people's commune, the best form of social organization. Advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the basis of objective practice these have been, in turn, tested in objective practice.

The Party's general line for building socialism has laid down the whole set of policies of "simultaneous development" with the dominant side specified, i.e., the simultaneous development of industry,

agriculture and heavy and light industries while giving priority to heavy industry; the simultaneous development of national and local industries and of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and simultaneous employment of modern and simple methods of production under centralized leadership, with overall planning, proper division of labor and co-ordination. These policies reflect the most important proportions in the national economy and the objective demand for its high-speed development.

In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of extended reproduction, the proportions between the two departments—the production of means of production and that of means of consumption—are the basic proportions in the national economy. The proportions between these two departments take the concrete form of the proportions between heavy and light industry and agriculture. The policies of the five "simultaneous developments" mentioned above make these major proportions concrete. By applying these policies in the national-economic planning it is possible to reflect more accurately the objective law of planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy.

The practice of China demonstrates that it is vitally necessary to give priority to the growth of heavy industry. This conforms to the requirements of objective law. But if the priority growth of heavy industry is not integrated with the rapid growth of agriculture, if agriculture is not made the basis, the growth of heavy industry will itself encounter serious difficulties. China is a big agricultural country. The peasant question and the agrarian question have been extremely important both in the periods of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and construction. Only when agriculture is greatly developed can industry achieve an ever expanding market and enlarged supplies of food grain and industrial raw materials; can the state receive increasing accumulation; can labor be transferred from agriculture to industry to an increasing degree, and the worker-peasant alliance further consolidated. Therefore, with the priority given to the growth of heavy industry, the application of the policy of the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and of heavy and light industry is entirely in keeping with the requirements of both high-speed and proportionate economic development. The simultaneous development of industry and agriculture on the basis of the priority development of heavy industry is the only correct road for China's socialist industrialization. This policy brings into play the initiative not only of the urban population, but also of the more than 500 million peasants in running industry as well as agriculture. This gives rise to the simul-

taneous big leap in industry and agriculture and in heavy and light industry.

Will the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and of heavy and light industry retard the priority growth of heavy industry? Comrade Mao Tse-tung long ago explained this point in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*:

"The entire national economy will benefit if we can secure an even greater growth of our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry. With the development of agriculture and light industry, heavy industry will be assured of its market and funds, and thus will grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization is actually not so, and indeed the tempo may even be speeded up." China's experience has borne out the complete correctness of this conclusion.

The policy of the simultaneous development of national and local industry gives impetus not only to the initiative of the central departments, but also to that of the local authorities. Guided by this policy, both national and local industry have developed greatly. Today, the iron and steel, machine-building, fuels and other heavy as well as light industries have been established and developed in the provinces, cities and towns and autonomous regions throughout the country. A comprehensive industrial system is rapidly taking shape. Being centered on the iron and steel and machine-building industries, it combines large, medium-sized and small enterprises and geographically is quite reasonably distributed. The unbalanced economic development of the various regions—a legacy inherited from the old China—is being gradually changed.

The policy of simultaneous development of large, small and medium-sized enterprises and the simultaneous employment of modern and simple methods is of great significance. Thanks to this policy a tremendous mass movement has come into being on China's industrial front. The vast majority of the small enterprises using simple methods of production, initiated in 1958, have, after reorganization, increased their output, improved their technology and have gradually begun to adopt modern methods. Of the 20.5 million tons of pig iron produced in the country in 1959 (excluding that produced by indigenous methods), 11.05 million tons, or more than half, was supplied by the small and medium-sized enterprises. Of the 13.35 million tons of steel produced in 1959, the output of small and medium-sized converters accounted for more than one-third, i.e., 4.72 million tons. The small and medium-sized enterprises are in favorable position

to utilize local materials. These enterprises require less investment, can be rapidly built, easily developed and produce quick results. By applying this method, industrial development has been greatly accelerated, the geographical distribution of industry has improved, large numbers of skilled workers and administrative cadres have been trained, and industry and agriculture have become more closely integrated. Of special importance is the fact that the "mysteriousness" of running industry has disappeared and its operation has become a mass movement. Using this method it is possible rapidly to strengthen the weak links in the economic development and enable industry to develop quickly not only in the cities but also in the vast rural regions, thus creating a situation in which industrial enterprises appear like the myriad stars in the sky. The Right opportunists in our country disdain the small and medium-sized enterprises, describing the mass movement in industry as a venture that has "caused more loss than gains." In an attempt to retard the growth of the national economy, they prefer to walk on one leg alone. Their erroneous views have been thoroughly refuted by the facts.

The Party general line—going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results—embodies the lofty aims of the Chinese people in building socialism and communism. This general line has released the people's initiative. It has brought about a great change in their way of thinking, emancipated their minds, undermined all the superstitions and prejudices, and promoted a communist style in work, displaying boldness in thought, speech and deed, and acting in a practical way, assiduously and skilfully; it has turned the cause of socialist construction into a thoroughgoing mass movement, pooling the great strength of the whole Chinese people with a view to building a happy future.

Marxist-Leninists have always held that the masses are the makers of history. The great role of the general line for building socialism has been to give further impetus to the people's enthusiasm and mass activity, and properly to integrate objective potentialities with subjective factors.

As long as we adhere to this Marxist-Leninist line, we will surely be able to realize a continued leap.

The people's commune, a product of the great leap, is the organizational form that promotes the continued leap. The people's communes have played a great part in the big leap and have demonstrated their unparalleled superiority. In 1959 our agriculture experienced unprecedented natural calamities; 107 million acres of land were hard hit, that is, some 30 per cent of the total area under cultivation. Such serious natural calamities would have been disastrous for individual farms; even the producer

co-operatives would have suffered a great fall in agricultural production. But the people's communes quickly overcome these natural calamities. Agricultural output last year did not decrease, but, on the contrary, registered an increase of 16.7 per cent over that of 1958, with an all-round growth in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, by-products and fishery. Apart from vigorously developing agriculture, the people's communes all over the country exerted great efforts to develop industry, with the result that the output of commune-run industries in 1959 exceeded that of 1958 by 70 per cent. These industries have figured in prominently promoting the use of semi-mechanized farm implements and in improving them. As the commune-run industries grow, they will, in co-ordination with the state-run industries, play a still greater role in mechanizing agriculture.

The people's communes have undertaken many cultural and educational projects. By the end of 1959, the number of the commune-run agricultural middle schools and general middle schools totalled 25,000, while the commune-run primary schools numbered 270,000, and the total number of the commune-run cultural centers, reading rooms and clubs approached a million. The people's communes have provided various collective welfare facilities: more than 200,000 hospitals and out-patient clinics; 3,900,000 community dining-rooms; 3,690,000 nurseries and kindergartens; and about 88,000 homes for old people. New living quarters with individual flats and hostels are being built. Public accumulation and the incomes of individual members in the communes have increased rapidly. The development of the people's communes has brought prosperity to the rural areas. Joy prevails all over the countryside, and hundreds of millions of working people sing praises to the communes in these words: "Communism is the paradise, and the people's communes are the bridge that leads us to it."

The emergence of the people's communes is in complete conformity with the all-round big leap in the national economy. The tremendous development of agricultural production, water conservation and local industries requires co-ordination of labor in all the comparatively large-scale undertakings. The former agricultural producer co-operatives could no longer meet this requirement. The appearance of the people's communes was inevitable—the result of the operation of the objective law that relations in production must correspond to the character of the productive forces. It is just because the communes completely conform to this objective law that their appearance is like the bright sun rising in the East; they help promote the growth of the productive forces at top speed. They have become the best organizational form ensuring the continued leap.

The Party general line for building socialism and the people's communes are reflections of the objective law that production relations should correspond to the character of the productive forces and that the superstructure should conform to the economic basis. This demonstrates clearly that the great leap in China is by no means accidental. Turning the role of the people's communes to account in the direction charted by the Party general line will certainly ensure a continued leap.

The general line for building socialism, the big leap speed of the advance and the organizational form of the people's communes are the three treasures of the Chinese people for building socialism. They are the outcome of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung; they embody the application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to China's concrete practice. The Chinese people, holding aloft the banners of the general line, the great leap and the people's communes, are advancing towards new victories.

The Basic Economic Task of The German Democratic Republic

Erich Apel

An Important Stage of the Seven-Year Plan

IN the current seven-year plan period the working people of the German Democratic Republic are striving to fulfil the country's basic economic task—to raise labor productivity and reconstruct the more important industries so that by the end of 1961 we shall have overtaken West Germany and in some respects outstripped her in per capita consumption of the prime necessities.

Only a socialist country can set itself a task of this kind, because its economic development is designed not for extracting profit or promoting an arms drive, as is the case in West Germany, but to ensure a steady improvement in living standards. The Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party elaborated a comprehensive program for peace and building socialism in the GDR. The Congress

decisions served as a basis for the seven-year plan of its economic development (1959-65). Speaking about the plan, Comrade Ulbricht said: "We shall outstrip capitalism which in its final, imperialist phase plunged the German people into two military catastrophes and, through the efforts of our people and their worker-peasant government, ensure the triumph of socialism. This means that by fulfilling the seven-year plan we will create the material base for the well-being and happiness of the people."

An important goal of our development, in contrast to West Germany, is the rapid improvement of the living standards of the working people. This is not an easy matter. As a result of the division of Germany our republic found itself at a big disadvantage when the economic competition between the two Germanys began. Practically all the raw-material resources and heavy industry—the Ruhr, for instance—were situated in the Western part of the country. Our raw-material base (with the exception of brown coal) was a scanty one. We had hardly any heavy industry; moreover, our heavy engineering was poorly developed. A feature of our economy was a quite considerable imbalance. This was a bad beginning for a rapid rate of expansion. The initial advantages at the disposal of West Germany can be seen from the table below.

In 1936 Germany produced:

	On GDR territory	On FRG territory	Proportion to the ad- vantage of FRG
	%	%	
Hard coal	2.7	97.3	36-fold
Iron ore	5.4	94.6	17-fold
Pig iron	1.6	98.4	62-fold
Steel	7.7	92.3	12-fold
Phosphate fer- tilizers	8.4	91.6	11-fold
Cement	16.5	83.5	5-fold

It is true that the manufacturing industry was largely concentrated in the German Democratic Republic—55 per cent of the machine-tools and 50 per cent of textile machinery. But these branches had suffered gravely from war damage.

Due to the division of Germany, brought about by the imperialists, and the devastation inherited from the fascist war, the economic development of the GDR was accompanied by tremendous difficulties. The imperialists had hoped that our country would be unable to surmount these hardships and the new socialist system would suffer defeat. However, they were wrong in their assessment of the capabilities and resolve of our working class. Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party and

with the aid of the Soviet Union the working people completed the economic rehabilitation and as early as 1950 reached the prewar output level. During the first five-year plan (by 1955) the volume of industrial output doubled compared with 1936; in 1958 the increase was 140 per cent above the 1950 level, whereas in West Germany it was only 110 per cent higher.

In addition, the economic disproportions were either eliminated or considerably decreased, and, what is more important, the socialist sector grew stronger. In 1959 nearly 90 per cent of the manufactured goods were produced in the socialist enterprises. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture, too, has been completed.

These gains have resulted in a considerable improvement in well-being and have enabled the Fifth Party Congress to set the task of overtaking and outstripping West Germany in per capita consumption of the basic items. The success with which this task is being carried out can be seen from the table below:

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF FOODS (kg.)

Item	1958		1959	
	GDR	FRG	GDR	FRG
Meat	50.8	52.3	56.2	53.0
Fish	13.0	12.1	13.4	11.4
Fats	27.0	25.2	27.7	25.3
Butter	11.9	7.4	13.4	7.8
Sugar (white)	30.1	28.0	31.4	29.0

The figures in the table below show that we shall soon catch up with West Germany and surpass her in per capita consumption of a number of consumer goods which until now were available in smaller quantities.

ITEMS	FRG		GDR	
	1958	1958	1961	1965
Per capita consumption of leather footwear (pairs)	1.6	1.2	1.7	2.1
Per capita consumption of woollens (sq. m.)	3.5	2.0	3.0	4.5
Motorcycles (per 100 of pop.)	4.0	3.5	4.4	5.3
Bicycles with motors (per 100 of pop.)	3.7	1.8	3.9	5.5
TV sets (per 100 families)	13.0	6.2	29.0	77.0

Despite the fact that we have not yet caught up with West Germany in the consumption of certain basic items, the standard of living of our people is, in many respects, higher than in Federal Germany. By living standards we understand the measure in which the material and spiritual needs of the people are satisfied. And for this not only foods and consumer goods are needed, but also jobs, housing, educational facilities, public health, social security, sport and facilities for leisure and recreation. Making these benefits available to the working people depends on which class is in power. The

Social Democratic leaders in West Germany deny this aspect outright. They argue that steadily rising living standards are perfectly possible under capitalism. The facts, however, refute this. Only in countries like ours where power is in the hands of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other working groups, where the means of production are owned by the people, do the conditions obtain for constantly raising well-being.

Unemployment has been abolished forever in our republic and socialist production relations prevail there. Each member of our society is guaranteed a job in accordance with his ability. In West Germany the situation is totally different. In the years 1956, 1957 and 1958—when business activity was at its peak—the officially registered unemployed averaged 700,000. At one time the figure was in excess of one million. There is, moreover, considerable concealed unemployment. Unemployment figures have of late fallen somewhat because over 200,000 men have been called to the army. But, as experience shows, militarization far from being a cure for social ills is an aggravating factor.

Wages are also important in determining well-being. In keeping with the growth of output and rising productivity, wages too have risen. In 1958 the average monthly earnings of an industrial worker were 506 marks compared with 454 in West Germany (in comparable currency). On the average every third factory and office worker in the GDR benefited from wage increases in 1959. The overall wage fund went up by 940 million marks. The seven-year plan (upon completion) envisages a 60-65 per cent increase in real wages compared with 1958.

But higher wages are not the only thing that counts. Whereas in West Germany wages are in fact the sole source of income for the working people, in socialist conditions factory and office workers enjoy additional benefits. The factories, for instance, make special allocations for improving skills, organizing leisure and recreation, for hot meals, and for kindergartens and children's holiday homes. Workers also get bonuses for the fulfilment of the State plan by the enterprise or for outstanding achievements in production by individual workers or groups of workers. All in all, these extras make for a substantial increase in the income of the factory and office worker.

The differing trends in living standards for the GDR and for the Federal Republic can be seen also from the dynamics of the subsistence minimum.

In the last ten years the Democratic Republic carried out several price reductions for a large variety of foods and consumer goods and this, plus the systematic wage increases, has resulted in a big improvement in well-being. Thus, between

1950-58 the expenditure of a family of four required to cover the subsistence minimum declined by nearly 60 per cent. In West Germany due to rising prices and taxes their expenditure over the same period went up by nearly 20 per cent. In the Democratic Republic 490 marks could buy the same amount of goods in 1958 as 810 marks in 1950.

If we bear in mind the annual increases in the State allocations for social security, public health and mother and child welfare, the superior living standard of the working people in the Democratic Republic will be seen more clearly. For instance, in 1955 the State budget allocated for public health 86 marks per inhabitant, and 145 marks in 1958. In West Germany the corresponding expenditure in 1955 was only 31 marks. In recent years the public health service in West Germany has deteriorated due to rearmament. According to a bill that has been drafted the sick worker will have to pay in part the doctor's fee, the cost of medicine and hospital charges.

In the Democratic Republic equal opportunities for education, including higher education, are available to children of workers and peasants. In 1959 there were 51 students for every 10,000 inhabitants, and of these 60 per cent were children of workers and peasants! In West Germany there were only 30 students per 10,000 inhabitants, and of these only five per cent were of worker and peasant origin. In contrast to the Federal Republic, education is free of charge. Over 90 per cent of the students attending college receive grants of 140-190 marks a month. In 1959 the State budget allotted some 3,400 million marks for youth work.

Charges for rent and services in the Democratic Republic are much lower than in the Federal Republic.

What has the Bonn Government to offer compared with these social and cultural benefits? In a country which spends vast sums on war preparations such a comprehensive improvement in the standard of living is out of the question. It is possible only in a worker-peasant state which pursues a consistent policy of peace.

How We Are Solving the Basic Economic Task

The key to the solution of the basic economic task is a higher rate of economic development than that in Federal Germany. In this respect our superiority is evident. In 1958 the industrial output of our republic rose 11 per cent compared with 3.4 per cent for West Germany; in 1959 the respective figures were 12.6 and 7.3 per cent. By the end of 1965 overall output in the GDR will be 88 per cent higher than in 1958.

We are running ahead of West Germany in per capita output in some basic industries.

	1950		1958	
	GDR	FRG	GDR	FRG
Electric power, kwh.	1,058.6	938	2,009.4	1,801.4*
Brn. coal briquettes, kgs.	2,050.1	317.8	3,112.0	321.5
Pig iron, kgs.	18.3	201.9	102.3	325.8
Cast steel, kgs.	54.3	251.9	175.3	435.3

*1957.

A higher rate of growth is a law of socialism, a law valid not only for the formerly underdeveloped countries (as bourgeois ideologists argue), but also for highly industrialized countries such as the German Democratic Republic.

The conditions which guarantee our rapid rate of expansion are the advantages of the socialist system and the sharp rise in labor productivity. By 1965 labor productivity in the state-owned industries will rise by 85 per cent compared with 1958. Practically the entire increment in industrial output will be the result of the higher labor productivity. That is why the Party, the trade unions and government bodies are giving free rein to mass initiative, observing strict economy and making the enterprises more profitable. Socialist emulation is, perhaps the best indication of the mass participation in expanding the country's productive forces. Last December 83 per cent of the workers employed in socialist industry were taking part in emulation.

Raising labor productivity necessitates a high level of consciousness on the part of the people, close contact between government and economic bodies on the one hand and between the workers and the intellectuals, on the other. For this purpose the Party Central Committee organized conferences of managers and innovators working in basic branches—the chemical industry, building and trade. These conferences defined the ways and means of completing the basic economic task and fulfilling the seven-year plan.

Socialist reconstruction will play the decisive role. As pointed out by the Fifth and Sixth Central Committee meetings, the purpose of socialist reconstruction is to organize production on the basis of the latest developments in science and technology, and with the fullest utilization of the initiative of the workers. In such a highly industrialized country as capitalist Germany was, dispersal of industry—a consequence of competition—was most pronounced. That is why in carrying out the socialist reconstruction all-round typification and standardization of manufactured goods and technological processes are of overriding importance, because these factors pave the way to further concentration and specialization and facilitate mechanization, automation and large-scale serial production. For instance, there will now be produced only 320 types of armatures instead of 560, and only nine enterprises

instead of 17 will produce them. The electrical equipment industry will manufacture fewer types of cable and wire. At present 13,500 main types are put out, and 52,000 types of power equipment; by 1965 there will be only 4,500 main types of cable and wire and 10,000 types of power equipment. Similar examples could be cited for other industries. With a view to popularizing standardization a special exhibition was opened in Leipzig on the decision of the Central Committee. It was visited by about 600,000 people.

The enterprises have been requested to carry out the reconstruction with the minimum outlays and with full use of the available machinery. This is the main line in socialist reconstruction. For instance, after a thorough study the technological process was considerably improved at the publicly-owned Leuna enterprise. The expenditure involved was a mere 25,000 marks, while the year's output went up by more than 1,000 tons, yielding a net profit of 10 million marks. There are many such cases.

In the basic industries antiquated equipment is being replaced with the latest machinery. Some of the shops and even entire enterprises are switching over to 100 per cent automated production.

Socialist reconstruction is closely associated with achieving world standards of quality, and is exerting growing influence on these standards. The latest technological developments should be utilized in the socialist way. Our aim is to produce high-quality goods at low prices. Demand is rising. Our consumer goods and foods must be superior to those produced in the capitalist countries. The motto of the socialist emulation is "Guarantee Quality."

Better quality is a feature of socialist production because the workers are producing not for capitalists but for their own benefit. This new attitude towards labor is clearly seen in the socialist labor teams and in the socialist co-operation groups of workers and researchers.

For instance, at the electro-chemical works in Bitterfeld a new method of obtaining polychloride and polyvinyl chloride was developed which necessitated an apparatus of a new design. A socialist research group set itself the task of re-designing the existing apparatus in order to bring it into line with the latest specifications. The group worked out a new technological process which reduced the time needed for chlorination from 42 to 22 hours. The 72 apparatuses used in the old process will be reduced to 36. The new development will make 100 workers available for other jobs, will yield a 30 per cent increase in labor productivity and an economy of approximately 10 million marks.

Fulfilment of the basic economic task also calls for increased agricultural output so that in the

near future we will fully meet our needs for meat, animal fats and eggs. With this in view and taking into account the conditions prevailing in agriculture, the Seventh Central Committee meeting advanced the task of overtaking and outstripping West Germany in per acre yields and per acre output of animal husbandry and dairying. This will be achieved provided the seven-year plan for agriculture is fulfilled two years ahead of schedule, that is, in 1963. The progress made in the first quarter of the current year—between the Seventh and Eighth Central Committee meetings—shows that this target can be reached. First, the obligations assumed by the peasants provide for overfulfillment of the 1960 plan and, second, rapid growth of output is also guaranteed by the fact that agriculture has been reorganized on co-operative lines. We must now consolidate the producer co-operatives, give better guidance to them and stimulate the activity of the peasants.

The current year is decisive for the basic economic task. Hence, our Party is mobilizing the working people to reach and surpass the production targets. The 1959 plan was successfully fulfilled. This year also calls for hard work. The Democratic Republic is not alone in the drive for carrying out the plan. As a member of the socialist camp it has the support of the other socialist countries.

This is very important for our country because it is short of raw materials. Soviet aid in this respect is great indeed. Under the agreements effective for the next seven years the USSR will supply us with increasing quantities of raw materials and semi-manufactures. By 1965, for instance, deliveries of rolled steel and tubing will have increased two and a half times compared with 1957; aluminum by nearly five times, cellulose more than fourfold and oil nearly fivefold. This aid is an expression of the solidarity between the socialist nations, it is a manifestation of proletarian internationalism.

The Basic Economic Task: Its National and International Significance

Fulfillment of the task is important not only economically. It is also of great political and social significance, of national and international importance. There are two Germanys with differing social systems. The demarcation line running through the heart of Germany is the boundary between the socialist world and the capitalist world. The difference between socialism and capitalism is clearly seen in the two German States.

Whereas the Democratic Republic stands for the humanist traditions of the German people and is realizing the aims of the German working-class movement, West Germany is reviving German militarism and giving every encouragement to a

revanchist policy. The dominant political elements in West Germany headed by Adenauer persist in closing their eyes to our existence. To deceive the people and to conceal from them the truth about our growing strength they vilify the first worker-peasant state in Germany's history.

The West German militarists and clericals boast of the superiority of the capitalist system. They exploit the fact that in West Germany the per capita consumption of certain basic items is still higher than in East Germany. But this is a state of affairs that is now changing—a fact the capitalist press is forced to admit. For example, *Le Monde* noted that the Democratic Republic offers a striking example of the economic success of the socialist countries.

The moment the basic economic task is completed we will have overtaken and outstripped West Germany in per capita consumption of goods that are still in smaller supply. Then the superiority of the socialist system will be clear to everybody in Federal Germany, everybody will see that the future belongs to socialism.

The West German reactionaries realize only too well that in the peaceful economic competition they will inevitably suffer defeat. They are making desperate preparations for an attack against our republic, deepening thereby the division of Germany, and, by so doing, are taking upon themselves the responsibility for unleashing a third world war.

It goes without saying that the Bonn Government is not in a position to tell the German people the truth about its policy. It is trying to put the blame on the Soviet Union and on the Democratic Republic, implying that it is they who intend to attack West Germany. In the meantime the Bonn rulers are persecuting the peace supporters and all those opposed to atomic war. They have banned the Communist Party and many other democratic organizations. They are encouraging racial ideology, fanning anti-semitism and anti-communism. The Bonn Government is making every effort to ensure that its army will be equipped with atomic weapons by 1961. These plans are well known. That is why it is most important for us to complete the basic economic task and in this way to lay bare before the German people and the world the true designs of the West German reactionaries. By fulfilling the basic economic task we will show who displays concern for the people and who is preparing to plunge the people into an atomic holocaust.

The progressive forces of the German people are opposed to the reckless militarist policy of West Germany. The Socialist Unity Party, the National Front of Democratic Germany and the government of the Democratic Republic are making every effort to safeguard and strengthen peace.

By means of our policy we are demonstrating to the German people that Germany can live in peace, enjoy well-being and happiness. To achieve this it is vital to force the West German ruling circles to relinquish militarism, fascism and revanchism and to abandon their preparations for a new war. At the same time we must do everything in our power to strengthen the Democratic Republic.

Carrying out the basic economic task will further a peaceful solution of the national question, will facilitate the reunification of Germany through a confederation of the two German states—a proposal advanced by our Party. It will be seen, then, that the basic economic task is closely linked with the question of "war or peace."

This fact, too, is of overriding international importance. The role of the Bonn Government as a constant obstacle to an international détente be-

comes more and more evident. Even some circles among the ruling classes of a number of the NATO member-countries—allies of Federal Germany—are becoming increasingly apprehensive of the policy of the Bonn Government. They cannot disregard the fact that the Bonn Government's thirst for revenge may involve them in a reckless military gamble tantamount to suicide. As for the governments of the other socialist countries, they are alert to the intrigues of the Bonn Government and, together with us, are taking the necessary measures to bar the way to new aggression.

A peaceful solution of the German question would lessen the war danger and, for this reason, is in the interests of all peoples. In working for a peaceful solution we are strengthening world peace and ensuring a higher living standard for the working people.

Relations of Friendship and Mutual Assistance

Ludwik Pol

THE path of socialist construction taken by People's Poland some fifteen years ago has enabled her to do away with the economic backwardness. Poland, no longer a raw-material appendage to the capitalist powers, is a rapidly developing industrial-agrarian country. The postwar years have shown that her achievements are the result of socialist construction and of close co-operation with the other socialist countries, particularly the USSR.

This was, and is, an unprecedented opportunity in the history of Poland and her people, an opportunity for all-round economic and cultural development and for strengthening independence.

Economic co-operation in the socialist camp enables each member-country to make a more effective and rational use of its potential, to the benefit of all, while ensuring for each the steady growth of its economy. The new, socialist relations, based on co-operation and mutual assistance, are embodied in the recommendations of the Mutual Economic Aid Council. These help Poland (and other socialist countries) in drawing up long-term trading plans, thus ensuring regular markets for a considerable portion of her exports, especially machinery and industrial equipment.

Trade between capitalist countries is characterized by the industrially developed countries supplying the less developed with manufactured goods in exchange for raw materials. It was on this basis that Poland's foreign trade was conducted before the war. But the economic relations between the

USSR and the People's Democracies are altogether different: the leading party in these relations—the Soviet Union—seeks to ensure *the all-round economic development* of its partners and thus strengthen the socialist camp as a whole. *In developing its own economy the Soviet Union invariably takes into account the needs of industrial expansion in the other friendly countries; it provides them with raw materials in increasing quantities, buys their manufactures and grants credits on easy terms.*

It is clear that Poland's achievements in industrialization and the elaboration of plans for further rapid development are rendered possible thanks solely to *the deliveries of Soviet equipment which were made on the basis of favorable credits.*

Under the 1948 and 1950 agreements the USSR granted Poland a credit of 2,200 million rubles for capital investment. According to Polish estimates, the Soviet credits to Poland in the 1945-49 period were equal in value to the U.S. machinery and equipment supplied under the Marshall plan to the eleven countries—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, Greece and Turkey.

Both the Soviet credits and the fact that the repayment took the form of goods manufactured in the enterprises built by these credits contributed to the rapid development of Poland's economy. In 1956, which was a difficult year for us, we were granted a long-term credit for the purchase of 1,400,000 tons of grain and 700 million rubles for the purchase of other goods. This enabled us to

overcome the market difficulties. In the current economic year (1959-60), which has not been too easy for us, it will be possible to meet the deficit in the grain balance thanks to an additional 400,000 tons allocated by the Soviet Government.

During 1949-56 the Soviet Union delivered, on a credit basis, plant for several dozen enterprises. Among these were 30 large enterprises, including the Lenin iron and steel works at Nowa Huta, the steel alloy plant in Warsaw, the copper smelting works and the aluminum plant in Skawina. Soviet blueprints and machinery were used to build the big power stations at Jaworzno, Zeran, Dychow, Skawina and others. Of the electric stations commissioned between 1950-55 with a total power of 1,350 megawatts (excluding factory units), stations accounting for 425 megawatts were built with Soviet equipment. Without the Soviet aid Poland would still not be producing her own synthetic rubber nor could she have expanded the chemical industry. With Soviet aid we built a soda plant in Janikowo, a nitric fertilizer plant in Kedzierzyn and a chemical works in Oswiecim. The machine-building industry now boasts a bearing plant in Krasnik, factories making agricultural machinery in Poznan, an electrical engineering works in Wroclaw, a factory making trucks in Lublin and another making passenger cars in Warsaw. The ship-building industry, too, has expanded. And new cotton mills and other light-industry plants have also appeared.

This, of course, by no means exhausts the aid received from the USSR. There is not a single region in Poland which has not benefited from co-operation with the socialist countries.

Our growing industry calls for more raw materials. It is true that we are among the big coal producing countries. Recently rich deposits of sulphur and copper were discovered and further prospecting is being carried on. However, our own resources are still unable to meet the needs of our industry and we have to import many items. Among our main suppliers is the USSR: in 1958-59 its share in our imports of iron ore was 74 per cent; manganese ore—nearly 100 per cent; chromium ore—67 per cent; oil—nearly 100 per cent; oil products—approximately 80 per cent; apatites—100 per cent; cotton—66 per cent; flax-fibre—95 per cent; nickel—100 per cent; tin—90 per cent; lead—58 per cent; asbestos—60 per cent; and grain—43 per cent.

Co-operation with the other socialist countries in the spheres of science and technology is now a major factor in economic development. It stimulates the work of our scientists and technicians, accounting for a considerable economy in effort and money as well as in the time required for research. Between 1951 and 1957 the USSR gave

us 887 complete sets of scientific and technical documents; we in turn gave them 336 sets. In the last four years we have received 500 sets of documents from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

About 5,000 Polish engineers and technicians have been given the opportunity to improve their knowledge and experience in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. At the same time 2,100 specialists from the other socialist countries have come to Poland.

With Soviet aid our engineering industry has organized the production of some 100 new types of machinery. The Soviet blueprints and specifications for big enterprises have been of great help to the builders. *It should be pointed out that the licences provided by the USSR and the other socialist countries are granted to us gratis* (only the expenses involved in the preparation of the documents are covered). As to the saving arising from this arrangement we can judge from the fact that in some cases a capitalist country charges up to two million dollars for a single licence.

Particularly important is Soviet aid in the sphere of atomic research, in building our reactor and cyclotron and in producing radioactive isotopes, etc.

The development of our national economy depends largely on foreign trade: on imports of raw materials, and on exports, which provide us with the money for raw materials, machines, equipment and consumer goods.

Before the war 94 per cent of the exports consisted of raw materials, food and semi-manufactures. This was an indication of our backwardness.

Twenty years ago when our country was ruled by the landlords and capitalists, the mere thought of Poland as an exporter of heavy machinery and equipment, ocean-going vessels and motor-cars would have provoked an ironical smile.

In People's Poland the structure of foreign trade is changing from year to year, and this evolution mirrors the development of our economy:

SHARE OF GOODS IN POLAND'S EXPORT

Year	Machinery, equipment and means of transport	Raw materials and semi-manufactures	Agricultural food-stuffs	Consumer goods
1950	6.7	67.8	16.3	9.2
1955	13.1	64.2	15.5	7.2
1958	24.9	52.5	17.0	5.6
1965 (tentative)	37.7	39.8	17.9	4.6

The rapid growth of the share of machinery, industrial plant and means of transport in our exports is the direct result of the socialist industrialization.

The expansion of our export trade with the capitalist countries has been hampered by grave difficulties. Of late additional difficulties have arisen in connection with the unfavorable trend in prices for coal, zinc, rolled metal, sugar, butter, bacon, ham, woollens and other items. In 1959 alone Poland lost over nine million zlotys as a result of the fall in the prices of goods exported to capitalist countries. *In view of this the role of economic co-operation with the socialist countries stands out all the more plainly.*

It should be pointed out that in the 1950-57 period Poland's trade with the socialist countries rose 74 per cent and in 1959 was more than double that of 1950. The share of the socialist countries in Poland's overall foreign trade was 58 per cent in 1958 and 62 per cent in 1959. About half of our foreign trade with the socialist countries goes to the Soviet Union. Deliveries of machinery and equipment to the USSR are constantly growing. In 1956 we delivered goods to the value of 290 million rubles; in 1957—366 million; in 1958—410 million and in 1965 the value of the deliveries will

be in the neighborhood of 760 million rubles. The deliveries consist of ships, rolling stock, cold-storage equipment, sugar refinery and yeast factory equipment, machine tools, electrical equipment, etc.

In 1957 the share of machinery in the overall exports was 20 per cent, while that in the exports to the socialist countries was more than 30 per cent. Thanks to the orders from the socialist countries, above all from the Soviet Union, Polish engineering products have, in a relatively brief space of time, become one of the main export items. The greater specialization in the socialist countries stimulates the export of the machinery and equipment produced by each. This explains, for instance, why such a highly industrialized country as Czechoslovakia imports certain types of machines from Poland and other countries which are relatively less developed.

Mutual friendship and co-operation between the socialist countries is a basic condition for our successful socialist construction, for the further growth of the culture and material well-being of the people.

Developing Socialist Democracy in Bulgaria

K. Tsvetkov

THE extension of socialist democracy has always received the attention of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the fraternal parties in the other socialist countries. This question was the subject of discussion at a recent nationwide conference of secretaries of village, town and regional committees. It was also one of the main points in Todor Zhivkov's report to the Central Committee and in other speeches.

In present conditions the extension of socialist democracy becomes increasingly important. This is explained by the remarkable social and economic progress which has brought Bulgaria to a new stage in its development. Socialist production relations are now completely dominant in the national economy, and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever. This means that the transition period from capitalism to socialism is over, that the country is completing the building of socialist society and creating the conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

With the victory of socialism the class composition of society has changed radically—the exploiting classes no longer exist—the moral and political unity of the people has grown stronger, and socialist consciousness and degree of organization of the working people have made headway. Ever larger

numbers of workers, peasants and intellectuals are taking part in solving economic, political and educational tasks.

Extension of socialist democracy in all spheres of public life follows from the very nature of socialism and, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov put it, is now the basic political trend in the country. This is a many-sided process. It finds expression in a variety of forms and encompasses all spheres of socialist construction—economic, political, educational and cultural. But irrespective of the forms, the basic content is the steadily growing role played by the public, the involvement of big sections of the population in managing the country's affairs.

As was pointed out at the meeting, socialist democracy is developing, *first*, along the line of the gradual transfer of certain functions from the State organs to the public organizations. Enhanced political activity and the socialist consciousness are such that the public organizations can now be invested with some of the functions required in the maintenance of public order and the protection of civil rights.

After making a careful study of the Soviet experience, the Central Committee has deemed it necessary to establish voluntary brigades for the maintenance of public order. Last March the

Central Committee and the Council of Ministers jointly approved the "Provisional Rules of Voluntary Brigades of Working People." These brigades are formed as public bodies and include industrial workers, office employees, members of agricultural co-operatives, students, pensioners and other citizens. Their object is to help maintain public order, combat anti-social behavior, and participate in the explanatory work carried out by the administrative bodies and public organizations. Their main purpose, the Rules emphasize, is "preventative and educational. Their method is that of persuasion and prevention."

Courts of honor are being established in factories and offices, in the co-operatives, in the higher educational establishments and public organizations. These courts will inculcate a socialist attitude towards labor and public property, socialist ethics and respect for the rights and dignity of man. The main element will be not compulsion or punishment, but education and persuasion—prevention of anti-social acts. The Party holds that compulsion should now gradually give way to other forms of public influence. This, of course, does not imply any weakening of the role of the socialist state or underestimation of measures of coercion. Clearly, such measures and punishment are still necessary. But they are spearheaded chiefly against agents of the bourgeois intelligence services, as well as against persistent law-breakers, embezzlers of socialist property, murderers and other criminals.

Second, socialist democracy will develop along lines of reinforcing the democratic principles in the economic activity of the state, i.e., the public organizations will enjoy greater powers and bear a greater responsibility for economic management. With this in view the state administration and system of the economic management were reorganized last year. As the meeting pointed out, this measure has proved its value—the leading bodies have been brought closer to the enterprises, the rights of the local authorities have been extended and the role of the public organizations in industrial administration has grown. Further improvements will be made in the state apparatus and in economic management. The tasks, according to Todor Zhivkov, are: "To improve the entire system of state administration and economic management; to bring the machinery of state and economic bodies closer to the people; to extend the direct participation of the working people in managing the economy and running the state; to elaborate new ways and means of involving the working people in managing production."

In the light of these tasks the meeting discussed the work of the village councils and the trade unions and how to improve it, and also questions concerning democracy in the co-operatives. As a

result of the reorganization of administrative bodies and economic management the role of village councils has grown considerably. Further improvement in their work, extension of their rights and spheres of activity are among the major tasks. The trade unions are called upon to play a bigger part in developing socialist democracy. They should exercise in full measure their right to control production, to draw more people into management and discussion of production matters and to give every encouragement to mass initiative.

Special attention should be paid to strict observance and implementation of the democratic principles in the agricultural co-operatives. Any breach of co-operative democracy adversely affects their entire work. Though such cases occur, the local authorities sometimes tend to disregard them. The meeting condemned this wrong attitude. Involving all the co-operators in the management of co-operative production is a vital condition for strengthening the co-operative system and boosting output.

Third, socialist democracy will develop also along the line of stepping up criticism from below of the shortcomings and weaknesses in the functioning of the government bodies and public organizations and improving public control. This is needed in order to accelerate economic development. Hence everything should be done to help implement the vital slogan of stepping up criticism from below.

Public control is an effective form of rank-and-file criticism—the tried method of improving the work of the administration and economic management. Well-organized public control ensures application of the Leninist thesis about combining centralism with democracy, personal responsibility and mass participation in running the enterprises.

Public control in our country is exercised by the Fatherland Front—the biggest political organization in the country with a membership of 3,300,000—by the trade unions and the Communist Youth League. With the tightening of public control the duties of the state control bodies are viewed from a new angle. The State Control Commission which functions under the Government should rely more and more on the various forms of public control.

According to the Party Rules the branches exercise control over economic management in the sphere of material production. It is high time to make this Party control more efficient. On the basis of the experience of the CPSU, the Central Committee deemed it advisable to establish commissions consisting of Party members and candidate members in the factories, the agricultural co-operatives and even in the trading enterprises. The job of these commissions is to help the Party organizations in exercising control over the work of the managements. Members of the Communist

Youth League, non-Party specialists and trade unionists also take part in these commissions.

Criticism and public control in the form of letters and suggestions by working people are also important. The letters to the press, to ministries, and to public and Party organizations reflect the experience of the masses, their concern for improving the work of the administration and public bodies, for developing and strengthening the socialist system.

The line of extending socialist democracy in all spheres calls for a further improvement in Party work, the main object being the strengthening of

the Party's contact with the masses and day-to-day political and organizational work among the people. The Party organizations can cope with this task only by fostering the activity and initiative of every Party member. To achieve this each Party organization should arrange for creative and efficient discussion of all questions relating to Party, state and economic policy, thus enabling each member to express his views freely and frankly on any issue and help carry out Party decisions.

As the building of socialism nears completion the extension of inner-Party democracy and consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of collective leadership acquire greater importance.

Work and Live in a Socialist Way

A. Krcek

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA about 13,000 work teams numbering 130,000 people are competing for the title of socialist labor team. The motto of the movement is: "Complete the building of socialism and pave the way to the gradual transition to communism!"

The movement was initiated by the workers, and the first teams were headed by Communists.

The objective pursued is maximum activity on the part of the working people in economic management and in carrying out the state plans. When a team joins this movement it assumes responsibility for all its members and helps the less experienced to become more efficient. Nor are the interests of the team confined solely to production, they also include home life, recreation and study. Their motto is: "Work and live in the socialist way!"

Not so long ago the regional and district Party committees held conferences of representatives of these teams. One such conference on the exchange of experience was convened by the Prague City Committee.

Prague, in addition to being the capital, is also a vital industrial center, producing 11.5 per cent of the total output. Some 800 teams are competing in the city for the title of socialist labor team.

The work done by a team of fitters in the Tatra Wagon Works (Smichov District in Prague), which in May 1959 was one of the first in the country to win the title, is interesting in this respect. The team consists of 35 members ranging in age from 16 to 59 years. They pay special attention to Soviet experience and maintain contact with a communist labor team in the Kiev Wagon Works. The members learn to read complex blueprints and acquire a second trade. Some are preparing to pass their

exams as welders, others as electricians. Five fitters are attending a two-year evening technical school, while three are preparing to take their entry exams. In this way the obligation undertaken by the brigade members — "all who are in a position to do so should enrol for the evening technical school" — is being fulfilled.

Quite a few are studying foreign languages—12 of them Russian, and five German or English. Hanna Skalova, a welder, is learning Russian by correspondence in a three-year language school. All the members attend the political classes organized by the Party branch. Once a month the team hears a lecture on a political or scientific subject (which is delivered by a member of the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge). Lectures on medicine and natural science are very popular. At present there are plans for a series of lectures on factory economics designed to give the team members the knowledge needed for participation in the management.

"Socialist relations between the workers," says team leader Burda, "are first established at work. When a worker displays interest in the work of his fellows, helps them, gives them advice, they are happy to meet one another after work." In the evenings the team workers and their families jointly visit the cultural establishments of the People's Democracies in Prague where they get to know about life in the other socialist countries.

It took quite some time to understand the slogan: "Live in the socialist way." The city conference clarified this question, too. Life under socialism, far from being dull or monotonous, is rich, interesting and joyful. This is a colorful life of people with high cultural and educational standards, of

people who have learnt to harness the forces of nature for the good of society. These people display a keen interest in international developments, they realize that the part played by the nations in deciding the destiny of the world determines their own fate, too. They see the meaning of life in working for the benefit of society as a whole.

The conference emphasized that living in a socialist way signifies raising one's professional skill and general educational level by taking full advantage of the opportunities open to the workers under socialism. The people are anxious to study Marxism-Leninism, which gives them a sound scientific outlook. Many participants have expressed the view that the emulation for the title of socialist labor team has accelerated the pulse of public life and has stimulated the cultural growth of the people.

Collectivism is a fundamental feature of the socialist way of life. The richness of individual life lies not in isolating oneself from the rest. On the contrary, it is expressed in the many-sided activity of the collective, of all its members. The life of every individual is all the more interesting and fruitful the closer it is linked with the life of the collective, of society as a whole. At the CKD Sokolovo Works the youth team headed by Travnicka has attracted the attention of the whole shop. This team is distinguished not only for its discipline and labor enthusiasm but also for its after-work activity when the young people jointly visit the theatre or attend lectures. The growing community of interests in personal life has a beneficial effect on their work. It is not fortuitous that it was this team that introduced a new, more efficient method for assembling transmissions in diesel-electric locomotives. Thanks to better organization productivity has gone up nearly 10 per cent and considerable economy in materials has been achieved.

The socialist labor team movement fosters the spirit of collectivism, nourishes the desire to help one's workmates and the entire collective. In one of the shops of the City Transport Workshops difficulties were experienced in organizing a second shift. The matter could have been settled, of course, by an order from the manager, by transferring a number of workers to the second shift. But the Party branch wanted the workers themselves to see the need for the measure. So the socialist labor team volunteered for the second shift.

The movement should not be regarded as a movement restricted to narrow limits; it is closely connected with the development of socialist society as a whole. V. Ruml, a research worker who spoke at the conference, said: "Marxism discovered in man's labor activity the factor which makes his

life truly social, and this applies above all to free labor under socialism, because socialist labor more than anything else helps to educate the members of the new society. The movement is convincing proof of the new outlook, of the fact that socialism ensures the all-round development of the individual. Consequently, the socialist labor teams are a useful instrument in the Party's efforts to establish new relations among people."

The motto: "Understand the needs of others!" is becoming the distinguishing feature of the socialist labor teams and of their members.

From the very outset the work of the teams has shown that the new, socialist relations are taking firm root in the everyday life of the people. The improved skills and the rising educational level of the workers, and their active participation in social life reflect the remarkable process of the withering away of the differences between mental and manual labor.

This process also has another facet: the technicians and engineers are learning from the workers. The political activity of the working class, its revolutionary experience, discipline, organization, collectivism and its zeal for progress in defiance of obstacles—all exert an influence on the technicians.

The participation of engineers and scientists is beneficial to the movement. It can be said that very often the aid to the teams in a shop or on a sector is of importance not only to the particular shop or enterprise but to industry in general. For instance, the Prague Technical College has volunteered to help the members of some socialist labor teams in their study of the latest developments in technology.

Such contact and co-operation benefits both parties, particularly the younger craftsmen, for it helps them improve their skills and raise their educational level. This is confirmed both by our experience and that of the other socialist countries from whom we learn. We also learn much from the experience of the communist teams in the Soviet Union, which include both workers and technical personnel.

Our socialist labor teams are gradually establishing day-to-day contact with educational workers. This kind of co-operation is not only of help to the workers in matters concerning culture and art, it encourages them to join the amateur art societies and raises their cultural level.

Socialist labor teams have a beneficial influence on the whole environment. This movement is a new phenomenon in the life of our society; it furthers the formation of new relations between people, relations corresponding to the socialist mode of production.

The movement for socialist labor teams is a vital factor not only in the economic but also in the political and cultural life of our people. As the recent resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia points out, this

movement which appeared under the impact of the communist labor team movement in the USSR, is a *higher form of socialist emulation*, it is a *manifestation of the conscious activity of the working people in building socialist society*.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Cuban Revolution Is Developing and Deepening

THE recent National Committee meeting of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba adopted a resolution entitled "The Present Situation, National Development and Defense of the Country and the Revolution." Three basic features of the revolutionary process, says the resolution, have come to the fore in recent months. These are the development and deepening of the revolution, the growing aggressiveness of the enemies and further political and social polarization.

The Gains

The resolution lists the main revolutionary gains of the republic. An agrarian reform is being carried out in which the poor peasants and their organizations are taking a direct part. Deeds to the land are being handed over. Hundreds of agricultural co-operatives have been formed and the existing co-operatives improved. A network of "people's shops"* has been established. The current year has been declared "the year of agrarian reform" which will abolish the big latifundia. Other measures, such as material aid and mechanization, are also being implemented.

The Cuban trade unions have withdrawn from ORIT: they are now purging their ranks of imperialist agents and reorganizing the work of the unions. Social legislation is being revised along revolutionary lines.

A worker-peasant militia has been organized and brigades for guarding the sugar refineries and plantations have been formed. Discipline in the army is being strengthened, the revolutionary spirit of the soldiers is growing, and military equipment is being improved.

All supporters of the revolution are co-ordinating their efforts and consolidating unity. Progressive changes are taking place in the Council of Ministers and other governmental bodies. The mineral resources have been declared national property.

*State trade, which ousts the middlemen in the countryside.

The property owned by counter-revolutionaries, conspirators and traitors who had plundered the country has been confiscated.

State ownership is being extended, and success is registered in planning, control and state management of the economy. A Central Planning Council headed by Prime Minister Fidel Castro has been set up. The C.C. meeting noted in this connection that without state ownership, without planning, state management and control, the economy would develop in a direction advantageous to the foreign monopolists and the big local exploiters.

Appreciative of the aid received under the trade and credit agreement with the Soviet Union, the meeting stressed that the Cuban-Soviet communique reflected the desire of the two sides to co-operate for the benefit of peace within the framework of UNO. This contribution by Cuba is of worldwide significance — for the first time a Latin American country has taken such a step.

Defense of the Country

The Central Committee also discussed the question of combating imperialist propaganda. Anti-communism is the chief instrument of counter-revolution. The counter-revolutionaries are trying to rally under the banner of anti-communism all the backward elements and those whose interests have been hurt by the revolution. In Cuba and beyond her borders enemies are conducting an extensive anti-communist campaign with a view to undermining the united front of the people and thus paving the way for aggression. For this evil purpose the imperialists and other counter-revolutionaries are anxious to use the forces of Catholicism; they are deceiving the people about the aims of the Communists, accusing the latter of "immorality."

The country must be ready to repel any attack — economic reprisals or air raids, armed intervention by mercenaries or a regular foreign army. U.S. imperialism is Cuba's enemy No. 1, the leader

and inspirer of the counter-revolutionaries whose headquarters had been transferred from the Dominican Republic with its discredited regime to the United States whither hundreds of Batista's men — war criminals, murderers and thieves — have fled. There, supported by the U.S. government and the monopolies, they are engaging in all kinds of machinations.

But throughout the world, above all in Latin America, solidarity with Cuba is growing, barring the way to imperialist intervention. It should be borne in mind, the resolution notes, that the existence of the socialist camp is preventing intervention against Cuba (just as it prevented the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt, a possible aggression against Iraq, etc.)

The meeting pointed to the firm resolve of the Cuban people to repel any imperialist attack, and stressed that there was every prospect that the people would be victorious.

Agricultural Co-operation and Industrialization.

Co-operation is an established fact in the Cuban countryside. Producer co-operatives appeared the moment the distribution of land began. By the end of March there were 764 co-operatives uniting nearly 100,000 peasants. Five hundred co-operatives with a total membership of 150,000 will be formed on the sugar plantations. The sugar plantations owned by Americans will be abolished. The former cattle ranches have been turned into state farms — producers of meat, milk and other products. The agrarian reform has provided jobs for 130,000 unemployed.

The sugar industry is expected to grow; it will remain for some time the main sphere of employment and a source of currency, as well as the base for such by-products as alcohol, chemicals, fodder and paper. The fuel industry, chiefly oil, extraction of minerals (iron ore, manganese, copper, nickel and chrome), the chemical industry and the merchant navy will likewise expand.

The Government intends to develop a heavy industry. A considerable part of the credit received under the Cuban-Soviet agreement will be used to build an iron and steel works with an annual capacity of 500,000 tons in castings and rolled metal. This will enable the country to turn out agricultural implements, machinery, engines, etc.

The Popular Socialist Party holds that the traditional industries such as tobacco, textile, canning and footwear should also be expanded.

The C.C. meeting defined the sources for financing the development of Cuba. These are the expropriated estates on which new forms of production are being practised; the confiscated property of the counter-revolutionaries and those who collaborated with the Batista tyranny; the funds col-

lected by the revolutionary masses, for instance, voluntary deductions by the workers and other people of four per cent of their monthly wages, voluntary labor to help forward the agrarian reform (funds for the purchase of 700 tractors have been collected in this way); budgetary allocations and the means received under international agreements, chiefly the Soviet loan to the sum of \$100 million.

The most urgent tasks are to prepare for a possible blockade and to ensure supplies, raise the national income and drastically reduce unemployment, improve the living standards, create a national accumulation fund for the further development of the country, and also to train technicians and administrators.

The Revolutionary Forces Are Growing

The workers and peasants are the main forces of the Cuban revolution. The Central Committee meeting made it clear that the national bourgeoisie was one of the classes taking part in the revolution and enjoying its gains. But the developments since January 1959 have shown that the national bourgeoisie is not fitted to play the leading role in the revolution because it tends to vacillate and compromise with the imperialists and latifundists in order to retard the revolution and restrict it in its own interests. The revolution is deepening thanks to the growing strength of the worker-peasant alliance.

The meeting noted that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses is steadily rising. This is evident from the readiness of the people to take to arms for the defense of the revolution (hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have joined the militia); from the donations made by the workers to the national fund; from the successful co-operation in the countryside; from the growing movement in the trade unions and among the workers generally for a more responsible attitude to production; from voluntary over-time and voluntary work for the benefit of the country.

Hence the need to put an end in the Popular Socialist Party and in all the revolutionary trends to the old methods of exposure or frontal attacks on the local authorities who had committed unlawful actions or grave errors. This negative phenomena should now be combatted by other methods, by appealing to the supreme state organs and to the revolutionary forces.

The meeting adopted a special resolution declaring 1960 "the year of deepening revolutionary consciousness and raising the Marxist-Leninist level of the Party members and the masses." The internal situation calls for a fuller and deeper understanding of the complex socio-economic processes now taking place in Cuba. The Party's daily *Hoy*

should be improved, the circulation of *Fundamentos*, the Party's theoretical journal, of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and of the other Marxist-Leninist literature should be increased, and steps taken to improve the Socialist Youth League's organ — *Mella*.

Measures have been taken to organize the study of Marxism-Leninism individually and in Party schools, seminars and classes. Also recommended for popularization and discussion was the recently published booklet *Fundamentals of Socialism in Cuba* by Blas Roca, secretary-general of the Party

The meeting resolved to convene the next Party congress in June. The congress will review the work carried out by the Party in recent years, discuss the draft of the new Party program and the new rules.

Summing up the results of the Central Committee meeting, Blas Roca said: "Our revolution is an agrarian revolution, a national-liberation, patriotic and democratic, popular and radical revolution . . . Our enemy is not a group of desperate counter-revolutionaries but U.S. imperialism with its vast apparatus and money. . . .

"The Cuban revolution cannot be fitted into any classical scheme, though the entire revolutionary process unmistakably affirms the truth of Marxist-Leninist principles . . . We are obliged to see the whole reality, understand all the difficulties of the revolution, find methods of action suited to the given situation and fully realize that the duty of the revolutionaries, the duty of the representatives of the proletariat, the duty of the Marxist-Leninists is to find the right methods of defending and developing the revolution in order to overcome the dangers and difficulties. . . . Everyone must see who we really are; our deeds, far better than our words, should be the proof of this."

This is an agrarian anti-imperialist revolution taking place in the era of proletarian revolutions and socialism, when the working class has begun to play a decisive role in every country of the world, when the proletariat and the peasantry have become the main revolutionary classes and when the new ideas and revolutionary struggle go beyond the old framework and insistently call for radical social transformations.

Explaining the role played by the Cuban Communists in the revolution, Blas Roca said: "It is necessary to apply still more widely those measures and to carry out those plans which will facilitate, within the framework of the revolution and without changing its character, the transition to the socialist phase the moment the internal and external conditions mature for this.

"In Cuba things are developing more rapidly than the subjective factor, consciousness. . . . Anti-communism still exists in the minds of some revolutionaries, although fewer and fewer people are being enslaved by it."

Speaking of the draft program of the Party, Blas Roca added: "I have not counted the number of times the word Marxism-Leninism is mentioned in our program. Nor am I going to do so now. But this I will say: our program derives from the principles of Marx and Lenin, it reflects the desire to apply the universal truths of Marxism to the Cuban Revolution. This is precisely what Marx and Lenin wished, not merely the mention of their names, not trite expressions and ready-made formulas or phrases learned by rote, but the study of life and the choice of the specific forms by means of which in every situation and in each country it will be possible to go forward to the common great goal—socialism."

Havana, April.

L.S.

Real Step Towards Unity

REACTIONARIES in Holland have long been toying with the idea of establishing a corporate state through the medium of "class collaboration," i.e., to transfer some of the functions of Parliament, mainly in the social and economic spheres, to the monopolies. This plot has the support of the Church. As the head of the Dutch Catholic clergy pointed out as far back as 1954, the church seeks "to replace the society based on classes by a society of professional corporations. . . . This would put an end to the artificial antagonism between the class of employers and the class of wageworkers, which have developed into two opposed groupings as a result of the struggle on the labor market."

For the purpose of securing "class collaboration" a socio-economic council has been set up in the guise of a government consultative body. The council is comprised of employers, government spokesmen and trade union leaders. With the help of government officials and the clerical trade union leaders the monopolies are using the council to impose their will on the country.

What are known as "public law industrial corporations," composed on a "parity" basis of employers and trade union leaders, are being established in different branches of industry, with each corporation heading the given branch. The advocates of the corporate state claim that in this way the workers will be able to take part in running

the enterprises. But the powers of these "parity" bodies are exceedingly limited; as before, all vital economic questions are dealt with by the employers.

In most of the enterprises the independent workers' representative bodies have been replaced by the so-called production councils known as "communities of employers and workers." In actual fact these "communities" help the capitalists to paralyze trade union activity. As a rule, the employer acts as chairman, and where this is not the case he appoints a man with the right of veto.

Although the experience of the past tends to make the reformist union leaders more cautious, they, nevertheless, support the "public law industrial corporations" and production councils, claiming that these bodies ensure workers' participation in running the enterprises.

The noise generated around "workers' management" is used by the reactionaries to cover the attack on wages and the standard of living generally. The price of bread, milk and other products is rising. Since April 1960 rents have gone up by 20 per cent (they have increased by 112 per cent in the postwar years). In 1958 the official subsistence minimum was 3.15 times the 1938 level. Wage increases are lagging behind prices. The reactionaries are trying to deprive the workers even of the right to strike. A special bill is being drafted for this purpose. The courts have declared many strikes "illegal."

The reactionaries are able to act in this way because of the division in the ranks of the working class and in the trade union movement. What they cannot do is to stave off the class conflicts which, since the coming into office in December 1958 of the extreme Right-wing government, have become particularly acute. Strikes have been fought by the metal and print workers, bus drivers and builders. Last March (for the first time in the postwar years) the Building Workers' Union, under pressure from the rank and file, declared a strike in which tens of thousands of its members took part.

If the workers — at least the Left workers — were united in a single trade union center they could, undoubtedly, defend their rights more successfully. But the working class is divided.

There are three trade union centers in the Netherlands. The United Trade Unions, affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with a membership of 490,000, is influenced by the Social Democratic Party. In addition to two other centers "recognized" by the government — the Catholic Workers' Movement (395,000 members) and the National Amalgamation of Christian Trade Unions (230,000 members) — there are 21 national union federations and over 100 national or local union associations.

Until February of this year there was a comparatively large Trade Union Center (TUC-58) which united Communists and their sympathizers and which was affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Trade union divisions have deep roots in the working-class movement of Holland.

The United Trade Unions came into being in 1906. Although led by reformists the unions conducted a stubborn struggle against exploitation. As a counter-weight to these unions the capitalists, in 1909, formed clerical unions (Catholic and Protestant). The leaders of these unions tried to subordinate the working class to the employers and fought against "godless socialism."

The Communist Party, founded in 1919, was not in a position to influence trade union activity because most of its leaders denied the necessity of a mass trade union movement. This sectarian attitude was clearly expressed in Herman Gorter's opposition to Lenin's insistence on the Communists working in reactionary unions. In his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism* Lenin criticized the attitude adopted by some members of the Dutch Communist Party who — whether directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, wholly or partly — supported the sectarian policy. Despite this just criticism, which gave a correct orientation and which was accepted by a large number of Communists, chiefly of working-class origin, it was only at its 1930 Congress that the Party was able to adopt a correct attitude to trade union work, after long years of bitter struggle both against the "Lefts" and the Right-wing opportunists. Since then the Party, led by Paul de Groot, has been working for trade union unity. The Communists began to devote more attention to work in the United Trade Unions. This Leninist line helped the Party to overcome the isolation, to establish closer contact with the masses and to lay the basis for anti-Nazi resistance. Between 1930 and 1940 the Party membership grew from 1,100 to 11,000, the readership of the Party newspaper from 2,500 to 25,000, and the Communist vote from 72,000 to 118,000.

In 1943, after the Gestapo struck at the underground bodies of the Party, the leading posts in it were seized by Right-wing opportunists and other hostile elements. These people formed a Trade Union Center which, in their scheme of things, was to include all the unions.

But their expectations failed to materialize. After the war the trade unions resumed their old form. The Trade Union Center was a comparatively large body only for a short period; later only the class-conscious workers, chiefly the Communists, remained in it. This body could not unite the majority of the workers — it was an artificial body,

formed without regard for reality and for the traditional influence of the old trade union centers.

Had the Communists continued their Leninist trade union policy during the Nazi occupation they would have been able, together with the United Trade Unions, to safeguard the lower organizations against the penetration of traitors and would have made big headway along the road to unity. But the Communists isolated themselves by setting up their own Trade Union Center, while the United Trade Unions, dominated by the Right-wing leaders, was left to the mercy of the collaborators.

After the war the Communist Party again pursued the Leninist line and suggested a merger of their Trade Union Center with the United Trade Unions. Unity was hindered, however, not only by the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the United Trade Unions blinded by hatred of communism, but also by the Right opportunist group in the Communist Party and the Trade Union Center (Wagenaar, Brandsen, Gortzak) who adroitly played on the sectarian sentiment of some of the Communists.

The congress of the Trade Union Center, while recognizing the Communist line as correct, repeatedly proposed merging with the United Trade Unions on the ground that "the duplicated activity of the two organizations acting separately was sapping the strength of the working class." But the Right opportunist group agreed with the congress decisions only in words. In practice it sabotaged the Party line, maintaining its sectarian attitude to the trade unions; it spread among the union members the idea that unity could not be achieved which, as the 19th Party Congress noted, confirmed once again the Leninist thesis that Right opportunism and sectarianism are two sides of one and the same medal.

Disruptive activity and sectarianism have resulted in the opposing forces in the trade-union movement taking clear shape; the Left centers remained isolated from each other and from the majority of the workers, and this played into the hands of clerical reaction. With a twofold increase in the labor force during the past thirty years the membership of the United Trade Unions has risen from 322,000 to 490,000, while the Catholic and Protestant trade union centers have doubled their membership — from 300,000 to 625,000. Upwards of 50 per cent of the factory and office workers were unorganized. This was due to the split — the policy of "class peace" has resulted in lack of confidence in the unions.

An important task of the Party in recent years was, therefore, to get rid of this sectarian attitude towards the trade unions. The Party vigorously fought against the anti-Leninist line and the revisionist attempts to split its ranks and seize the

leadership of the Trade Union Center. True, with the aid of the police and the courts, the Brandsen-Wagenaar group seized the TUC property and tried to run the organization. But the bulk of the members, having driven out the disruptive elements, formed the new organization known as the Trade Union Center-58.

The 19th Party Congress held in December 1958 formulated a clear-cut attitude in relation to the reformist and clerical unions. "Our Party," the Central Committee's report stated, "should work in the United Trade Unions and in other trade union bodies in order to further the demands and aims of the working class." The Communist Party, the Congress noted, neither prescribes, nor issues orders; the trade unions should themselves decide on their activity. The task of the workers' party is to elucidate the questions which call for a solution in the interests of the working class.

Passing condemnation on the subversive activity of the expelled Brandsen-Wagenaar group which was opposed to any work in the reformist and clerical trade unions, the Congress stressed the need for the Communists to establish closer contact with their fellow workers and their organizations. "The Communist," said Paul de Groot at the Congress, "is he who is also a member of a mass organization, primarily of a trade union. The Communist should study in detail all questions pertaining to the immediate interests of the workers, he should spare no effort on behalf of his workmates and his organization. He is obliged to adhere firmly to his political views, while not forgetting that in our country the sole way to the emancipation of the working class lies through the unity and co-operation of all workers — Socialists, Communists and Christians."

The Congress called upon the Party resolutely to reject the sectarian and dogmatic views which had led to its isolation from the trade union masses, to change its attitude to the Catholic and Protestant unions whose members are displaying growing dissatisfaction with the "class peace" policy of their leaders, and to proceed from the fact that work in the United Trade Unions and in the two other trade union centers is the best way to unity between Communists, Socialists and democratic Christians.

It was recognized that the most pressing task, the key to the solution of the trade union problem, was to bring about the merger of two Left organizations — the Trade Union Center (TUC-58) and the United Trade Unions.

The Congress of the TUC-58 held at the beginning of 1960 called upon its members to join the United Trade Unions.

The timeliness of this step was evident. Co-operation between the members of the different unions

has become more frequent in recent times. The Communists enjoy the workers' confidence during elections to the production councils and the sick benefit bodies. At many enterprises, including large metal-working plants, they often poll from 20 to 50 per cent of the votes.

At an Amsterdam shipyard employing about 6,000 workers, 1,200 are members of the United Trade Unions, while 150 belong to the TUC-58. Thus over 70 per cent of the workers are unorganized. But during the election for shop stewards at this shipyard 1,058 (out of 2,957) voted for our candidate and 1,040 for the UTU candidate.

Last summer the TUC-58 members in the steel plant in Velsen decided to join the United Trade Unions. This example greatly influenced the other workers both union and non-union. The result was that many Catholics, Protestants and unorganized workers joined the UTU and within a year the membership of the trade union branch in the plant nearly doubled. There are many examples of this kind.

The workers—members of the socialist and religious organizations—are becoming more class conscious. Rank-and-file members of the clerical unions were active in the recent strikes. Anti-communism is not finding the same support as before. Members and officials of the UTU, for instance, rejected the appeal of their former chairman van Wingerden "hermetically to seal the doors against the TUC members and Communists," while the new chairman, Roemers, had to declare in an interview with a capitalist newspaper that unless the TUC members who join the UTU violate the Constitution of this organization "we shall take no measures against them." The officials say: "The door is open to you if you accept the Constitution and Rules of our organization."

The UTU members appreciate the fact that the influx of TUC workers will strengthen the trade union movement as a whole. Many factory branches of the UTU readily admit their comrades from the TUC-58. Non-unionists, i.e., workers who had kept aloof in the past because of the split, are now joining the UTU together with the TUC members. This, no doubt, will have its effect on the members of the clerical unions.

Unity will be furthered by "the center for unity and class struggle in the trade union movement" which has replaced the TUC-58. This is not a trade union body. The center will publish information on union matters, on questions of wages, collective agreements, the corporate state, etc., and will feature the trade union struggle for unity, disarm-

ament and peace. The center, now conducting propaganda among all workers, will cease its activity when all the members of the TUC-58 have joined the UTU.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the switching over to the UTU will be a long and difficult process. The reformist and clerical leaders are against admitting Left workers. Some of the UTU unions have instructed their local branches not to accept Communists. But the influence of the Right-wing leaders should not be over-rated; they themselves acknowledge that a deep gulf separates the bureaucratic machine from the branches; and the fact that these leaders yield to the pressure of the clerical trade unions adds to the discontent of the rank-and-file. The Catholic workers are also discontented with their leaders and with the directives issued by the Church which holds that the Catholic unions are called upon "to spread the true faith" rather than fight on behalf of the workers.

The Communist Party fully supports the decisions of the TUC-58 Congress and the switch to trade union unity. The Party has worked for unity down the years, holding that it is not only a matter of merging two union bodies but also of rallying the Left in the unions in order to open a new phase in the working-class movement.

The United Trade Unions can become a really mass militant organization embracing workers of differing views, including the hundreds of thousands belonging to the clerical unions. By combining in a single union center the working class will ward off the blows of the reactionaries and intensify the struggle for its vital interests, for peace, social progress and democracy.

We Communists are aware that great difficulties remain to be overcome on the road to unity. It is necessary to expose the machinations of the Right-wing Social Democratic and union leaders, expose their inimical policy on the issues affecting the working class, and rebuff their anti-communism. Much remains to be done in order to get rid of the sectarianism in our Party and among the workers.

By working patiently and painstakingly the Communists will win the support of the majority of the workers and overcome all obstacles. The political changes that have taken place in our country and throughout the world make it easier to overcome the weaknesses and divisions in the Dutch working class.

A. van TURNHOUT,
Member of the C.C.,
Netherlands Communist Party.

Unity Is Strength

ANTI-GOVERNMENT plots which threaten democratic gains and national sovereignty have become frequent in Venezuela. In these conditions the unity of all patriots, and united action by the working class in order to beat back the tide of reaction is most urgent. The Communist Party attaches particular importance to strengthening the trade union unity achieved by the democratic forces and which has played a big part in thwarting reactionary attempts to restore the military dictatorship.

The mass trade union movement, which first appeared in 1936, was one of the results of the weakening of the tyrannical regime which set in after the death of the dictator Gomez. Because the unions were formed by political parties the rise of several trade union centers was inevitable. This dispersal of the working-class forces facilitated the intrigues of U.S. imperialism and made it more difficult to safeguard the working people's interests.

After the overthrow in November 1948 of the democratic government headed by the outstanding writer, Romulo Gallegos, an anti-national military clique headed by Perez Jimenez installed a ruthless dictatorship. The government of national treachery attacked first of all the working class and especially the trade unions. All measures were employed in this onslaught — police raids, life sentences, the banning of unions and assassination of their leaders. The dictatorship stopped at nothing in the ruthless attempt to destroy the organized working-class movement.

The workers, being divided, were unable to fight back. In every enterprise and in every branch of industry there were three or four different unions. Forgetful about the main enemy, five trade union centers competed with one another — a rivalry which often led to conflicts between groups of workers. The Venezuelan working class paid dearly for this.

The discord among the unions made it easier for the dictatorship to strike both at the centers and factory branches.

But in our day it is not an easy matter to crush the trade unions. The government had to give the impression of observing at least the elementary rights of the workers; and so government unions were formed which registered with the International Labor Office. Actually only a few hundred workers joined these organizations. The workers spurned the appointed leaders of this sham trade union movement.

The dictatorship found itself in conflict with the majority of the people. Whereas the tyranny kow-

towed to the foreign oil and steel magnates, and with a lavish hand turned the national resources over to U.S. corporations, the people lived in misery: their fate was unemployment, meager wages, a high cost of living, an acute housing shortage and police persecution. The national bourgeoisie, too, suffered from the domination of foreign capital. The landowners fixed exorbitantly high rents thus forcing large numbers of peasants to abandon their plots. The outcome of this situation was that the objective and subjective conditions appeared for rallying the patriotic forces capable of overthrowing the tyranny.

In mid-1957 the movement that was developing underground took the shape of a Patriotic Junta. The latter included representatives of the outlawed political parties, the Student Federation, the Federation of Industrialists, tradesmen, etc. The few trade union leaders remaining at liberty or acting underground formed a strike committee which established contact with the workers in a number of factories in Caracas and other areas.

Having exhausted all the possibilities of finding a peaceful way out, the Patriotic Junta called for a general strike. On January 21, 1958, the working people of the country downed tools, and on January 23 they were joined by a large part of the army. This, the most powerful movement in the history of the country, led to the overthrow of the dictatorship.

In the new conditions the trade unions were led by a United National Committee, formed by agreement among their leaders. The program adopted by this committee provided for strict observance of trade union democracy, struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, defense of the provisional government, observance and extension of democratic rights, free elections etc.

Not a few obstacles had to be overcome before the union leaders and the workers became convinced of the need for unity. It was necessary to get rid of sectarianism, to reach an understanding that the different unions would be proportionally represented in the leading bodies, and to work out a new style of union activity which would exclude abuse and recrimination. After conducting broad mass work it became possible to meet and discuss the controversial issues, arrive at understanding and prevent the rebirth of splitting activities.

Proportional representation proved to be the most complex question. The United National Committee worked out an election procedure which is based on the principle of proportional representation and envisages that elections will be held according to lists, with voting by ballot-papers, each paper bearing a number corresponding to the list.

The election regulations make it possible to settle issues without establishing parallel trade unions. The role of the united trade unions in purging the army and administration of the stooges of the tyranny and in annulling the old labor agreements is increasing. Collective agreements are being revised in the rubber, textile, mining and other industries. Under pressure from the unions the provisional government has put 30,000 unemployed to work at improving the areas inhabited by the poorer sections of the people.

The united trade union movement is a powerful social force, a force hated and feared by the home reactionaries and foreign imperialists, but respected by all democrats. The unions are now taking part in all nationwide actions. There is not a single issue affecting the working people on which the union leaders are not consulted. The employers refrain from dismissing workers, from infringing their rights and lowering wages because the united trade union organization is vigilant and is strong enough to compel them to respect the workers' rights.

This can be seen, for instance, from the three conflicts with Orinoco Mining Co., from the two strikes fought at the Italian Innocenti enterprise, the strikes in the Caroni power station, in the rubber plants and the oil fields in Maracaibo and Oriente, in the Merchant Marine Board, from the strike of air-mail pilots, and the strikes on the sugar plantations. These strikes, in which over 30,000 people took part, ended in victory.

This experience has strengthened the confidence of the workers in their organizations and in unity, and it enables them to frustrate the designs of the reactionaries.

Although two years have passed since the overthrow of the Jimenez dictatorship, the reactionaries have not given up their activity. They still retain strong positions in the economy, in the administrative apparatus and in the army. Through the Defense Ministry, in which General Castro Leon was active, they prepared (six months after the overthrow of the dictatorship) a coup d'état. The aim was to smash the democratic forces, chiefly the Communist Party and the trade unions, and to prevent free elections. But the workers were now united, and when the union leaders called for a general strike, all of them stopped work and the conspirators had to abandon their adventure.

The second attempt at a coup d'état in September 1958 was also frustrated by the people who demonstrated on the streets, demanding punishment for the plotters; many of the demonstrators were killed and wounded when the reactionaries opened fire. The United National Committee replied by declaring a general strike and called on the people to build barricades in Caracas. The workers

and peasants formed groups for the defense of democracy. For forty-eight hours the country was virtually in the hands of the trade unions and the peasant leagues. No one could travel without the permission of these bodies; this applied also to the armed forces. The strike ended in victory — the provincial government used the radio and television networks to apologize publicly to the people and issued an order to apprehend the conspirators.

This victory further consolidated the trade union movement which had proved itself the mainstay of democracy. Free elections were scheduled for December 1958. The trade unions wanted to nominate a candidate for the presidency who would express the interests of the bulk of the people. But they were immediately confronted with the maneuvers of the reactionaries who nominated several candidates. This was the touchstone for the unions. There was danger that the union activists — members of one political party or another — would act on behalf of the candidate nominated by their particular party. It was necessary to explain that though the trade unions could not be indifferent to politics, political sympathies should not take the upper hand, since this would lead to a split and the loss of all gains. The matter was widely discussed in the unions; it was agreed not to favor any particular candidate but to support the nominee who would, if elected, guarantee the rights of the working people. It was also agreed that any union leader could allow his name to go forward as candidate for deputy or senator without involving the unions.

The trade unions successfully stood this test thanks to the wise actions of their leaders, to the explanatory work carried out during the discussion and, above all, to the fact that the advantages of unity had become clearer to the masses.

Unity is not merely an agreement between union leaders but joint action by the workers themselves. For proof of this we can turn to the third National Congress of Workers held in November 1959, which was preceded by a discussion in the unions; the delegates represented over a million working people. The Congress discussed problems facing the country and adopted a declaration containing such demands as agrarian reform, formation of a national company for oil extraction, building a tanker fleet, iron and steel development, building an oil-chemical industry, railway construction, heavier taxes for foreign companies, a new mining law to compel the steel companies to pay a fair price for ores, and an independent foreign trade policy.

The declaration defined the trade union movement as a class movement pursuing a policy independent of the government, political parties and philosophical schools, in other words, a working-class policy. The working people are not indif-

ferent to the future of the democratic system, and are ready to uphold the democratic institutions might and main.

The Congress overwhelmingly rejected a motion to restore the notorious "parallel unions" and declared for a united trade union in every enterprise and in every branch of industry, for a national trade union center and trade union unity on a Latin American and worldwide scale. In line with the Congress resolution a Confederation of Working People was set up — the most numerous, united and powerful organization the country has ever seen. The Central Council and the Executive Committee of this Confederation consist of representatives of the four parties: Democratic Action, Republican-Democratic Union, Social Christian and Communist.

The new Confederation is beset with serious difficulties. Reactionary elements, both inside the organization and without, are engaged in new intrigues and new plots. They are bent on undermining trade union unity. And now that reaction is trying once more to instal a dictatorship, the maintenance of unity and strengthening it are particularly important.

The Communists made a big contribution to the overthrow of the dictatorship and the winning of constitutional rights and freedoms. They have done much to awaken the masses and to consolidate their unity. The Communist Party, concerned about frequent acts of terrorism and plotting, calls upon all patriots to be more vigilant.

At its recent meetings the Central Committee reviewed the internal situation and charted a program of action for the democratic forces. It was noted that the standard of life had not improved compared with the period of military dictatorship. For a period of two years the people, anxious to ensure a broad political base for the government and to help it eliminate the hangovers of the Jimenez dictatorship, refrained from making claims on the government. The present bourgeois government, however, is wavering in its attitude to the landowners and the U.S. imperialists; it is lenient to the terrorists and plotters who are encroaching on the republic and the people's rights. The foreign imperialists and the reactionaries at home are impelling the government to the Right. Indecision in handling the national problems is resulting in the masses losing confidence in the government, and this, of course, is to the advantage of the conspirators.

The democratic forces should put an end to this vacillation, force the government to change its policy and to take the path of extending democracy and satisfying the needs of the country and the people. The Communist Party has advanced demands which are acceptable to all progressives. These demands represent a program of measures aimed at achieving economic independence and changing the structure of agriculture. On the whole, they coincide with the demands put forward by the third Congress of Working People. The Communist Party insists that the armed forces and the administration be purged of conspirators and other Jimenez supporters. It calls for support for the democratic officers and their promotion to leading posts; it calls for an independent foreign policy, resumption of relations with the socialist countries and solidarity with revolutionary Cuba.

The main task is to build a people's front capable of thwarting the designs of the enemies. It is clear that the outcome of a reactionary coup d'état would be civil war. The reactionaries can be blocked by further strengthening working-class unity.

We Communists are working for closer unity. We should overcome the sectarianism in our ranks and not make unrealistic demands. It is necessary to define from time to time the tasks which are ripe for solution and in support of which all the working people are ready to act jointly. We should get rid of the impatience which colors our attitude to the various groups of the working people. Some comrades think that the masses should be every bit as class conscious as our Party members. The maturing of consciousness, however, depends not so much on our wishes as on the experience acquired by the masses in their struggle under the leadership of the politically conscious vanguard of the revolutionary movement.

We are sure that unity of the working people will gain in strength, because they are becoming more active and all signs point to a rapid growth of the revolutionary movement capable, in close alliance with the other Latin American peoples and with the support of the camp of peace and socialism, of realizing our dreams and aspirations.

Eloy TORRES,

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the Working People of Venezuela.*

The Lessons of the Argentine Elections

IN the general election held last March the Frondizi supporters polled only 20 per cent of the votes. This was a serious setback for U.S. imperialist policy of which Frondizi and his military camarilla are docile exponents. When Eisenhower visited Argentina (at the height of the election campaign) he made speeches in support of Frondizi. Deputies belonging to the Civil Radical Union of the People, the opposition, protested against this meddling in internal affairs.

In a call adopted in February, the Communist Party showed the consequences of the economic policy imposed on the country by U.S. imperialism: the latifundia are becoming stronger whereas many peasants are forced to leave the land; the crop area and industrial output are shrinking and the volume of foreign and home trade is declining; export prices are falling, while prices for goods imported from the imperialist countries are rising; the foreign debt is growing rapidly, more and more small and medium-sized enterprises are threatened with ruin. The cost of living is incredibly high, unemployment is rising and the housing problem is becoming more acute.

The Communist Party is working for trade union unity and for a national-democratic front which would rally all forces opposing the imperialists and latifundists. This policy has made it possible to hold in recent years big strikes and mass campaigns. A United Workers' Movement (MOU) has been set up with a view to co-ordinating the activity of the Peronist trade unions with the unions affiliated to the Movement For Trade-Union Unity and Co-ordination (MUCS) and other trade union bodies.

The Frondizi government declared a state of siege and called up the strikers for military service; it arrested union leaders and banned the activity of the Communist Party. And yet during the elections held last year in some of the provinces the Communist vote rose considerably (more than fivefold in some cases).

After the fall of Peron, the provisional government prohibited his party from contesting elections. The Communist Party has always opposed this line. Its tactics have brought the Peronist and Communist workers closer and have won the support of nearly all political parties, trade unions and student organizations, which stand for restoration to the Communist and Peronist parties of their legal status and their right to contest elections.

For this reason the Frondizi government did not dare table an anti-communist motion in Parliament, fearing, even though it had a majority, that the

motion would be defeated. An application was made to the court. But the cogent arguments advanced by the Party met with mass support, and this compelled many judges to reject the government demand. It was then declared that the Communist Party would not be allowed to contest the elections even if judicial bodies confirmed its right to do so. The chairman of the Supreme Court thereupon resigned in protest against the anti-constitutional act of the government.

The Communists called upon all the opposition democratic parties to form an electoral bloc which would also include the Peronists. These parties, however, rejected this proposal and refused any other form of agreement in the hope of getting the Communist and Peronist votes. At the same time the government tried, through an agreement with Peron, to separate his supporters from the Communists. But this plan failed because some of the reactionary groups feared that his supporters would abandon him and join forces with the Communists. What is more, the army officers implicated in the execution of Peronists during the 1956 putsch feared reprisals. Frondizi again maneuvered, this time not without the aid of the U.S. government and Franco. It was this maneuvering apparently, that impelled Peron to leave the Dominican Republic for Spain where he concluded a compromise which promised him something. In exchange, he advised his followers to vote *passively*, i.e. to cast a blank ballot. He also urged them to refrain from economic and political strikes and from joint action with the Communists.

Most of the Peronist leaders, stuck fast in the old rut, tried to obstruct working-class action, but in the United Workers' Movement they had to align themselves with the Communists and called upon all forces to take action against the banning of the two parties and in defense of democratic rights.

While calling upon the electorate to vote blank, the Communist Party at the same time urged them to wage an *active* struggle, to use the election campaign for the purpose of advancing the political and economic demands of the workers and the people as a whole; it called for the setting up of widely representative committees to organize the vote blank campaign. These committees advocated support for the program on which Frondizi fought the 1958 general election and which he later betrayed. The Communist Party made it clear that it favored voting blank because the other democratic parties had turned down the idea of an electoral bloc; it explained that voting blank would help to unite the Communist and Peronist work-

ers. Voting blank was supported also by the young members of the Civil Radical Union of Intransigents (the ruling party), by the group dissatisfied with the Frondizi policy, by one of the provincial federations of the Socialist Party and by nationalist groups.

Bomb explosions, provoked, it is said, by the army, police agents and sometimes by Right-wing Peronists, and the appearance of small partisan groups, were seized upon by the army leaders as a pretext for reprisals against the working class and the people.

Two weeks before voting day, the top military leaders urged the government to introduce a state of emergency, to give officers the right to open fire on demonstrators, etc. Failing satisfaction of these demands Frondizi would have to go. Some demanded that he should resign right away. At one of the meetings between the military chiefs and Frondizi the latter was supported by U.S. Ambassador Beaulac who suggested that a semblance of legality should be preserved at the time of reprisals so that the U.S. leaders could not be accused of bolstering up the Latin American dictators. A state of emergency was introduced and Peron's fascist law applied.

In the course of a single night some two thousand workers' homes were raided. It was announced that anyone found chalking on the walls or putting up bills calling on the electors to vote blank would be shot on the spot. Yet the walls of the towns were covered with bills calling for blank voting and support for the Communist Party and the Communist Youth Federation.

Notwithstanding the reprisals 25 per cent of the electorate voted blank—a figure higher than the vote polled by any Party; in the working-class districts blank ballots were cast by the majority of voters.

The opposition Civil Radical Union of the People received the greatest number of votes, the Frondizi party occupying second place. In voting against Frondizi, many petty-bourgeois electors voted for the opposition parties.

Since only half of the House of Deputies was re-elected Frondizi was able to retain an insignificant majority in Parliament, but in some of the provincial legislative assemblies his party lost its majority.

The situation in the country is becoming more acute. The general election was preceded by a general strike at the meat-packing plants owned by U.S. and British monopolies. Protest strikes against redundancy are becoming more frequent. Industrial workers, office employees and teachers are striking for wage increases.

Military plots and discord in the armed forces are threatening to plunge the country into civil war. The Communists are exposing the conspirators and urging the masses to unite in order to ensure a peaceful democratic solution of their problems. After the general election the vote blank committees continued as committees for economic and political demands. The Communists, who do not recognize the results of the election, are campaigning for new elections to be held with the participation of all parties and on the principle of proportional representation. Unity of the workers is more essential than ever before. That is why the Communists are proposing that MUCS and the Peronist unions should be dissolved and MOU retained as a trade union center. The Communist Party stands for a broad front of all the democratic and patriotic forces, ranging from the working class to that part of the national bourgeoisie which is not linked with the imperialists and big latifundists. This front could be the basis for a coalition government which would ensure peace in the country and set about solving the national problems in a democratic way.

In a statement on the election results the Executive Committee of the Communist Party pointed out that the real victory had been won by those who voted blank. The people realized that progress along the path of democracy was impossible without unity and that one party, no matter how strong, could not achieve this. Nearly two-thirds of the electorate voted against any concessions to foreign capital and 82 per cent for a democratic path for the country, thereby protesting against prohibiting the Communist and Peronist parties from contesting the election and condemning the reprisals undertaken on the pretext of the struggle against terror.

The Executive Committee stressed that despite the grave defeat suffered in the election the government "will carry out changes only when the people force it to do so."

"Undoubtedly, our Party was responsible for the considerable number of blank ballots, and, had it not been unlawfully deprived of the right to contest the election it would have substantially increased its vote compared with the 1957 and 1958 elections."

Lastly, the Executive Committee called on the masses to continue the struggle until such time as the ban on Communist Party activity is lifted and freedom for all parties and political forces secured. This can be achieved "by maintaining, strengthening and extending the committees of struggle for unity; by preserving and developing unity with the Peronist workers, unity which was strengthened during the election campaign; by establishing contact with the other political and

social, democratic and patriotic forces; by strengthening and extending the United Workers' Movement as the center of trade union unity."

The international détente and such events as the Cuban revolution hardly favor the policy of strength which the U.S imperialists have been

applying to Argentina, relying on Frondizi and the military camarilla. In this situation the tireless efforts of the democrats, chiefly the Communists, to achieve working-class unity and the unity of all patriots will enable Argentina to overcome her difficulties.
P.G.A.

For Peace and Independence

ON the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Baling peace talks* the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party issued a manifesto summarizing the history of the talks on the termination of the war in Malaya and showing why they were wrecked. The fact that the talks were held, the manifesto says, demonstrated "the bankruptcy of the British imperialist designs to crush the revolutionary forces and was a further proof that the national-liberation movement in Malaya was growing."

The Central Committee points out that the talks brought no results, since the spokesmen of the Alliance Party (coalition of the three leading bourgeois parties which appeared in 1952) preferred "to compromise with the imperialists and persisted in the British colonial policy of forcing us to surrender." The Communist Party delegation to the talks declared that the Party stands firmly for "ending the war and restoring peace." It added that "a peaceful settlement could be achieved

only if the two sides to the talks were able to reach agreement on a just and reasonable basis."

The Alliance Party was able to wreck the talks because of the absence of a sufficiently broad patriotic and anti-imperialist united front based on a worker-peasant alliance.

The document exposes the attempts made by British imperialism and the Malayan reactionaries to drive a wedge between the Communist Party and the national-liberation movement. "All patriots and all parties to whom the interests of the people are dear," the manifesto goes on, "should clearly understand that any attempt to exclude the Communist Party from the national-liberation movement would be exceedingly advantageous to British imperialism and the handful of imperialist agents—the common enemy of the Malayan people—and most disadvantageous to the common cause of the people—that of winning complete independence for our country."

In conclusion, the Communist Party calls upon the people to rally under the banner of the patriotic and anti-imperialist united front of struggle for complete national independence, for full democratic rights and the reunification of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya.

*At the end of 1955 the Government of Malaya was compelled, under public pressure, to meet the Communist leaders. The talks held in Baling between Chief Minister Rahman and the Communist Party delegation led by general secretary Chen Ping ended in deadlock, since the government demanded unconditional surrender of the Communist Party and its armed units.

Among Our Contributors

ANDRE VIEUGUET: Alternate member, Central Committee, French Communist Party.

ALI YATA: General Secretary, Moroccan Communist Party.

HECTOR AGOSTI: Public figure, writer, Argentina.

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The Communist Party of Greece Demands Legality

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece has addressed a communication to the Government, Parliament and the political parties concerning the restoration of the Party's legal status. The communication refers to the big changes that have taken place in the country during the past twelve years.

"The people, who were in hostile camps during the civil war are now extending a hand to one another, having buried in oblivion all that separated them in the past, and insist that the parties and their political leadership should endeavor to restore constitutional order and normal democratic life to our country which in recent years has been subjected to severe trials."

A condition for restoring normalcy, as most leaders of political parties and other public figures have repeatedly stressed, is abrogation of the emergency laws and decrees and lifting the ban on the Communist Party. "Even the extreme Right elements, proclaiming 'forget the past', recognize the necessity for this."

Declaring that a number of political leaders as well as the broad masses of Greece and elsewhere stand firmly for international détente and peaceful coexistence, the Central Committee points out that though Greece is a small country it could make a substantial contribution to the cause of peace by taking initiative in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean. Greece could take full advantage of the favorable international situation for developing its economy and raising the standard of living. But for this it is necessary to remove everything that hinders the rallying of all the national forces. One very serious hindrance is the prohibition of the Communist Party.

The document stresses that the differences between the political parties and leaders with regard to the causes of the recent civil war should not be an obstacle to the unification of all patriotic forces for the solution of the problems facing Greece. It is necessary to repeal all the war-time prohibitions. The Party has always been guided by the national interests in the name of which many of its members and sympathizers gave up their lives.

"The Communist Party," the communication continues, "has repeatedly expressed its conviction that all changes, small or big, can and should be effected in a peaceful way, without civil war, with respect for the people's will and by ensuring that all Greeks can hold their views and propagate their ideas and not impose them forcibly on other people."

The attempts to vilify and abolish the Communist Party, to charge its members with engaging in espionage merely because they are Communists have brought harm to the nation. It is impossible to destroy the Party which expresses the vital interests of the working class and the working population as a whole. The communication pointed to the growing prestige of the Communist Party among the masses despite the anti-communist campaign.

In conclusion, the Central Committee expresses the hope that the Government and Parliament "would realize that the restoration to the Communist Party of its legal status is a vital national need, and take the necessary steps to remove the ban on the Party and eliminate all consequences of the abnormal period."

Reviews

The Economic Basis of Socialism in Rumania

IN AUGUST 1959 the people of Rumania celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of their revolution and their liberation from fascism.

The book, *The Economy of Rumania Between 1944-59*,* examines the progress made during these 15 years and shows the conditions under which the material and technical base of socialism was built in the country. It is based on a series of 29 investigations carried out by government officials in co-operation with the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences. This co-operation proved to be very fruitful. On the basis of rich factual material the authors illustrate the major aspects of socialist construction in Rumania and the achievements and weak points in her economic development.

The publication in 1959 of *The Statistical Year Book*** (the third in the postwar period) was another notable event. The book contains detailed statistics on the fulfilment of the first five-year plan (1951-55) and on the progress made during three years (1956-58) of the second five-year plan.

The two books contain convincing proof of the superiority of the socialist system, of the revolutionizing force of Marxist-Leninist ideas and demonstrate the scientific character of the economic policy of the Workers' Party.

The decisive link in establishing the material and technical base of socialism in Rumania, which inherited economic backwardness from the old regime, was industrialization. Many capitalist economists held that Rumania was a "purely agrarian" country which lacked the wherewithal for industrialization. But the progress recorded under people's democratic rule shows how shallow were these contentions.

After the nationalization and the economic rehabilitation the Leninist course of industrialization became the general line of Party policy. The predominance of socialist production relations and assistance from the other socialist countries enabled Rumania to make big investments in her economy. Between 1950-58 these exceeded 106,000 million lei, over half of which sum was earmarked for industry.

The growth of investment and efficient economic management have resulted in a rapid rate of industrial expansion. The enthusiasm of the people who have forever abolished capitalist exploitation and poverty has also contributed to this. Gross industrial output in 1958 was nearly four times the 1938 figure. Annual growth of industrial output during 1948-58 averaged somewhat more than 16 per cent, compared with 3.5 per cent during 1928-38. The output for a quarter of 1959 was greater than the total output for 1938.

The reason for this high rate of industrial growth is to be sought in the priority accorded to heavy industry. While overall industrial output showed a 4.6-fold increase during the 1948-58 decade, the figure for output of the means of production was 5.4, and for consumer-goods output 3.7. Compared with 1958, industrial output in 1959 was up 11.1 per cent, while output of the means of production rose by 14.6 per cent.

In Rumania, as in the other People's Democracies, industrialization is accompanied by specialization and co-ordination of production on the scale of the entire socialist camp. With the socialist international division of labor now taking shape, the country is concentrating on those branches of heavy industry most suited to her natural and economic resources. During the first five-year plan the oil, power, chemical, iron and steel, and machine-building industries developed rapidly. Between 1951-55 about 67 per cent of the industrial investment was made in these branches (including 34 per cent in the extractive industries). At present the emphasis is on fuel and power, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, machine-building and chemicals. Of the total industrial investment this year about 80 per cent is being channeled into these branches, with power and fuel taking 39 per cent, machine-building, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy about 19, and the chemical, cellulose and rubber industries 21 per cent.

Electric power, as Lenin constantly stressed, is the pivot of the material and technical base of socialism and communism. In keeping with this the Workers' Party drew up a Ten-Year Electrification Plan (1951-60). So far 22 power stations have been built, with the result that the overall capacity has risen from 740,000 kw in 1950 to 1,500,000 kw in 1958. Output of electric power has increased

**Economia României între anii 1944-1959*. Bucharest, Editura Academiei RPR, 1959, 648 pp.

***Anuarul statistic al RPR*. 1959. Bucharest, published by the Central Statistics Board, 1959, 375 pp.

nearly threefold. In 1960, the last year of the plan, the output will reach 7,700 million kwh—700 million kwh in excess of the target.

Rumania ranks second (after the USSR) in Europe and eleventh in the world for oil output; she accounts for 75 per cent of the oil extracted by the People's Democracies, and for 10 per cent of the total output of the socialist camp. Her output in 1958 was 1.7 times the 1938 level, while output of natural gas was 17 times greater. Overall output of the chemical industry in 1959 was 10 times the 1938 figure. Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Poland are helping Rumania to build a plant for processing the reeds which abound in the Danube delta.

Good progress has been made in other branches of heavy industry and also in the light and food industries. One of the chapters of *The Economy of Rumania* deals in detail with machine-building. Between 1951-58 investments in this branch totalled 4,300 million lei, or 7.3 per cent of all investments in industry. Rumanian machine-building specializes in the manufacture of oil and mining equipment, tractors and other agricultural machines, means of transport, etc. Specialization of this kind furthers the rapid growth of machine-building. In 1958 overall output of machine-building and metal-processing was 7.5 times the 1938 figure, and the share of these branches in the gross output of industry rose from 10.2 per cent in 1938 to 21.8 per cent in 1958. In 1959 the output of the two branches rose a further 14 per cent.

The machine-building industry also produces for export. Before the war Rumania imported 94 per cent of her industrial equipment; today the home industry covers most of her needs (82 per cent) in this respect. The share of machines in Rumania's exports increased from 0.8 per cent in 1948 to 15 per cent in 1959.

A further expansion of socialist industry is envisaged in the plan for 1960. As Gheorghiu-Dej reported at a Central Committee meeting last December, a 14 per cent increase is envisaged for gross industrial output; output of the means of production will rise 14.6 per cent, consumer goods 13 per cent; output of machine-building is expected to rise by 17 per cent, electric power 20 per cent, chemicals 22 per cent and ferrous metals 28 per cent.

The rapid industrial growth has brought with it a new economic structure. Socialist industry has become the leading branch of the national economy. Jointly with building, industry accounts for over 62 per cent of the national income compared with 34 per cent in 1938 and 50 per cent in 1950. The structure of industry has changed, too; new branches have appeared. The share of the means of

production in overall industrial output rose from 45.5 per cent in 1938 to 58.5 per cent in 1958. As the figures show, the backward agrarian Rumania of 15 years ago has developed into an industrial-agrarian socialist country.

In addition to reviewing the progress of industrialization, the authors devote six chapters to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture; they show how agriculture was rapidly equipped with up-to-date machinery, how the socialist sector expanded and gained in strength and how productivity rose. The data testify to the extension of all-round economic relations between industry and agriculture and to the closer co-operation between the working class and the peasantry.

The tractor park (in terms of 15 h.p. units) increased from 4,858 in 1938 to 45,144 in 1959; about 15,000 tractors will come off the conveyors during the current year. At the beginning of 1959 agriculture had 32,900 tractor-drawn ploughs, 16,800 seeders, 7,300 reaper-and-binders, over 9,000 harvester combines, 14,700 threshers and many other machines. Another 12,000 seeders and 5,000 combines will be made available in the current year.

During 1956-59 investment in agriculture totalled 8,700 million lei, in 1960 it will be in the neighborhood of 4,400 million, or 25 per cent more than in 1959.

The extensive political and organizational work carried out by the Party in the countryside since the March 1949 meeting of the Central Committee, which adopted the program for socialist reconstruction of agriculture, has promoted the growth of the socialist farms. Today, the socialist sector accounts for 76.6 per cent of the cultivated land.

Economic co-operation and the socialist international division of labor further the rapid growth of the productive forces in the socialist countries, including Rumania. As Khrushchov said in his report to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, "by itself no country could develop at the rapid pace at which it develops within the system of socialist countries."

Between 1948 and 1958 the trade with the other socialist countries rose 3.7 times. These countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, helped Rumania rehabilitate her economy and expand her industry. The Soviet Union, for instance, delivered and still delivers equipment for 60 big enterprises and for 23 factory departments. By way of scientific and technical co-operation Rumania has received from the socialist countries 2,459 specifications and blueprints.

Rumania in her turn is aiding the fraternal countries. Many of them import her oil products, timber, chemicals, industrial equipment, etc. They have also received from her, free of charge, a total of 1,686 specifications and blueprints.

Economic relations with the capitalist countries are improving. In 1958 the trade with them was 2.8 times the 1950 level. In 1950 Rumania traded with 22 capitalist countries and in 1958 the figure reached 60.

The rapid growth of socialist production has provided a firm base for a steady rise in living and cultural standards.

In 1958 the national income was more than double the 1950 figure: in the current year it is expected to rise by a further 12.5 per cent compared with 1959. This means, in addition to greater accumulation, a further rise in personal and public consumption. In recent years three-fourths of the national income has gone to consumption, this year the figure will reach four-fifths.

Wages in 1958 were 60 per cent higher than in 1950. The incomes of factory, office and professional workers, consisting of wages, family allowances and pensions, rose by 8,400 million lei between 1955-58. Peasant incomes, too, have grown substantially. Thanks to the measures outlined by the July (1959)

meeting of the Central Committee, the yearly income of the people has increased by a further 4,700 million lei.

The income growth and the extension of retail trade make for more consumption. In 1958, compared with 1948, a worker's family consumed 3.3 times as much fats, 2.4 times as much meat, 2.8 times as much sugar, 4.7 times as much butter and 2.1 times as many eggs. Peasant consumption, too, has risen.

During 1951-58 three million square meters of dwelling space, or 93,000 flats, were built by the Government. Another 31,000 flats will be made available in the current year. Much housing construction is underway also in the countryside.

Thus, Rumania is rapidly overcoming her former backwardness and catching up with the more developed socialist countries. This progress is clearly evident in the publications under review, which enable the Rumanian people and their friends abroad to become acquainted with the achievements in building the new socialist society.

I. OLEINIK

Socialism or Mysticism?

MR ASOKA Mehta, Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party of India and leading theoretician of his party, is an ardent champion of the ideology of social reformism. Indicative of this is his book *Studies in Asian Socialism**.

It would be unfair to Mr. Mehta to describe all the ideas in the book as a mere carbon copy of the reformist theories of the European Right-wing Social Democrats. True, he borrows heavily from his teachers—the dead and the living. For example, he can extract from the history of socialist thought nothing more than the ideas of Bernstein, Kautsky and the present-day Yugoslav revisionists, thus revealing very little originality. But in explaining these reformist ideas he also reveals himself as a mystic. So that if one were to pay any tribute to his contribution it would be recognition of his skill in blending reformism with mysticism, or to be precise, in transforming socialism into mysticism.

Here, for example, is what the author tells us about his method of study:

"Some years back, I sought to analyze socialism in terms of certain basic ingredients, and to explain its developments in terms of their changing combinations. . . . I now believe that a more fruitful source of analysis is to be found in

studying the saga of socialism in terms of certain impulses. . . . The different socialist thoughts are only partly shaped by their changing environment, they also respond to the nature and character of the thinkers" (p. 14).

At this stage one is prompted to ask: how can socialism be correctly analyzed and explained through the labyrinth of "certain impulses"? The question is a legitimate one, because Mr. Mehta's thinking, far from being an ode to "impulses," is devoted to an important problem—socialism. It is quite obvious that Mr. Mehta, having foresworn the scientific method, has adopted the "impulsive" one.

And it is this idealistic method which, in addition to laying bare his erroneous thinking, lands him, in his scrutiny of the history of socialism, into a hazy mysticism.

The utopian socialists are eulogized for their efforts to create a new system of human welfare, and their utopian methods of achieving this are extolled. But socialist theories are not sausage meat the variety of which enables the housewife to choose and buy the best. The fight for socialism is the reflection of the vital interests of the most advanced class in capitalist society—the working class. This being so, what it needs is not the discovery of new systems of socialism but knowledge

*A Mehta, *Studies in Asian Socialism*, Bombay, 1959, 271 pp.

and understanding of the law of development of society, of the class antagonisms engendered by capitalism, the reasons for these antagonisms and the ways and means of overcoming them.

The utopian socialists failed because, despite their good intentions, they did not base their systems on an understanding of the laws of social development. But Mr. Mehta, instead of explaining this failure and drawing the necessary conclusions from it, asserts that utopian socialism has much to teach the Asian countries. He is overjoyed at discovering in it "a streak of mysticism." And he talks about "the spark and the spirit thawing the hard crust in the heart of man," "man's freedom, warmth and wealth," etc., etc.

What does this mishmash mean to the Asian countries?

In his examination of revisionism Mr. Mehta frankly admits that it seeks to dampen the class struggle. And from this standpoint he preaches:

"The complex class configuration should be used to foster solidarity inside the classes. . . . Class war is a social weapon only within the folds of class peace" (p. 180).

As a reformist Mr. Mehta advocates class collaboration, condemning the working class to perpetual enslavement in capitalist society. But he goes even further and suggests that the underdeveloped countries striving to develop "democratically" are naturally attracted by revisionism. Why? Because revisionism, in his view, is the socialism of stabilization.

True, revisionism emerged in the European countries during the epoch of the relatively peaceful development of capitalism, finding its breeding ground in the labor aristocracy. And when Mr. Mehta talks about the underdeveloped countries being attracted to revisionism, he is actually dreaming of the old European pattern repeating itself in the Asian countries—that is, the capitalism of the epoch of its peaceful development. But the question is whether such a fantastic dream is realizable today when capitalism on the world scale is passing through one crisis after another, when socialism, because of its superiority, is making tremendous progress and especially when conditions in the Asian countries demand an immediate and radical economic reconstruction.

Mr. Mehta claims to be open-minded and impartial. In every school of socialism but one he discovers something useful and praiseworthy. The exception is Marxism-Leninism, under whose banner in the socialist countries millions of people are building the new life and in the capitalist countries fighting for a better future. Everything in scientific socialism horrifies Mr. Mehta. And this antipathy leads him to distort Marxism-

Leninism. The Marxian dialectic is equated with the Hegelian. Persistent class struggle on the part of the toiling masses for their complete emancipation is, in his view, the prelude to "tyranny and despotism." Marx is denounced for his indifference to "certain social and psychological questions," because he advised the working class to rid itself of the influence of bourgeois ideology. Mr. Mehta does not tell us what these particular questions are, nor does his "democratic" socialism take them into account. Instead, he reverts to abstract platitudes such as "inner moral checks," "charity," "ego," etc., etc.

The acid test of truth is practice. In the light of this axiom Mr. Mehta's *Studies in Asian Socialism* are very hollow indeed. For, when he propounds ideas concerning socialism in some of the Asian countries, their bankruptcy is revealed most clearly. Many of these ideas are of a negative character and are aimed at distorting the rich experience of building socialism in the socialist countries. Occasionally positive propositions are set forth but these, it seems, are designed for another world—at least not for this real world of ours. Mostly he poses question after question, making the issue of socialism in Asian countries a huge question mark.

Anyone interested in the problems facing the Asian countries which have not yet taken the socialist road should at least take into account the specific conditions in these countries. In many of them feudal and semi-feudal agrarian relations still exist. The vast majority of the peasants are deprived of land. Foreign monopolists and the sections of the bourgeoisie linked with them have a big grip on the economy, resulting in distorted economic development.

In some of these countries the people are deprived of elementary democratic rights. To talk about socialism without radically changing present conditions is meaningless. Mr. Mehta prefers not to touch on this aspect. Nor does he deal with such important points as which classes are interested in socialism, is there a basis for their alliance, what kind of state is needed in order to build socialism. In his socialism there is no room for these important matters.

How superficial Mr. Mehta is about socialism can be judged from his views on two key issues—nationalization and the peasantry under socialism in the Asian countries.

He believes that nationalization of industry has no economic validity. In defense of this view he uses the outworn argument of the bourgeois economists that nationalization causes chaos in economic life. The cure for this chaos is, we are told, *partial* nationalization. In practice this means keeping

intact the capitalist ownership in many economic units and allowing the blind and destructive laws of capitalism to operate freely.

In this respect our author makes an interesting statement: *complete* or *partial* nationalization is the dividing line between the Communists and the Socialists. It is true that in order to secure the victory of socialism Asian Communists advocate socialization of the basic industries, banks and wholesale trade. But this presupposes a definite period of time and discrimination. At first nationalization is confined usually to enterprises owned by foreign monopolists and by the reactionary bourgeoisie and to the enterprises essential to the country's economic development.

But Mr. Mehta is not clear about the branches to which the nationalization should be restricted or about when it should be extended to the basic branches. On the other hand, he tries to distort the Communist attitude to nationalization. Abstract talk and distortion are the wiles of the reformist ideologists.

One looks in vain for coherent views on such an important subject as agriculture under socialism, on matters directly connected with the interests of the peasantry, such as land distribution, the co-operative movement, mechanization, abolition of the exploitation of man by man in the countryside. One aspect, however, does claim the attention of Mr. Mehta — accumulation of capital. Capital, he writes, is accumulated not only under capitalism but also under socialism at the expense of the peasantry. Under both systems, he says, the peasants are exploited. He makes no distinction between the relations of the bourgeoisie and the peasantry under capitalism, and the working class and the peasantry under socialism. And he is bold enough to deny the progress made by the peasantry in the socialist countries.

From Mr. Mehta's arguments on capital accumulation one involuntarily draws this conclusion: he

is not interested in winning the peasants for socialism, rather he wants to frighten them with socialism. The conclusion is unavoidable, for Mr. Mehta does not offer any clearcut solution to the peasants. What he wants is simply to help the village to recover its "community solidarity" under which the "spirit is more important than the relations of production." Blithely, he continues, "The spirit is important, vital, and it has to be ethical, non-militant, essentially utopian, that is, idealistic-missionary." Once again the same hazy views emerge from the depths of mysticism.

The purpose of the book, evidently, is to distort and misrepresent Marxism-Leninism, to inject the poison of reformist ideology. But the result is just the contrary. The book shows how the reformists with their anti-communism end up by adopting the standpoint of the bourgeoisie and sinking into mysticism.

As to where reformist ideology has led Mr. Mehta's party this can be gleaned from the views expressed by an Indian capitalist paper:

"The PSP leadership should ask itself whether the party has any prospects of growing into a strong opposition party, of becoming an alternative to the Congress. . . . If the prospects are bleak, the question to be asked is whether there is any point in continuing an anaemic, if not farcical, existence. Would it not in that case be better . . . to dissolve the party either in the Congress or in the Swatantra Party?"*

The foregoing comment appeared on the occasion of the jubilee session of the Praja Socialist Party. That after twenty-five years of its existence even its well-wishers are sceptical about it is not accidental. For this is the logical result of its futile policy and practice flowing out of reformism and anti-communism, in all of which it does not differ greatly from the other bourgeois parties.

A. B. MIRZA

*Times of India, October 22, 1959.

A Remarkable Visit

(Letter from Paris)

KHRUSHCHOV'S visit to France and his talks with General de Gaulle are in line with the Soviet Union's persistent efforts for easing the tension, for disarmament, peaceful coexistence and competition between the two social systems.

The Soviet statesman, who symbolizes the USSR peace policy, raised high hopes among the people of France and elsewhere.

Thousands of French men and women gave Khrushchov and his party a rousing welcome—eloquent proof of their desire for peace and their belief that the guests would share this desire. The press and radio could not help using the words "triumph," "apotheosis," and these reflected the situation exactly. At the outset some reporters tried to give the impression that it was only the "communist commandos" who were enthusiastic. But they soon had to eat their words. In the first place, because this obvious travesty of the truth would only have angered readers and listeners who, though they were not Communists, had welcomed the Soviet guests and, second, because this would have meant there were vast numbers of Communists in France.

Among the people who acclaimed Khrushchov there were, it is true, many who had confidence in the Communist Party. How could it be otherwise in a country in which every fifth elector votes for the Communists? But there were numbers, too, who vote for Socialists (as for instance in Marseilles and Lille) or for Canon Kir (in Dijon) and who, despite Guy Mollet and the Bishop of Dijon, wanted to welcome a man whom they regarded as an envoy of peace.

Le Monde wrote in this connection that most of the people in Dijon condemned the action taken by the Bishop who on Vatican instructions forbade Canon Kir to receive the head of the Soviet Government. It is noteworthy that attempts to organize anti-Soviet sorties, which were a mere drop in the vast ocean of popular sympathy, proved a fiasco.

The reception accorded Khrushchov was an important political event which will influence developments in France and elsewhere. The desire for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, and the retreat of the anti-Sovietism of the cold-war period are objective facts with which the rulers of France and other countries cannot but reckon.

Another fact to be reckoned with is the interest industrialists and businessmen showed in the Soviet guests. These were men who, as Khrushchov told them, exerted no little influence on their country's policy. With an expanding industry and a home market tending to contract, with a wage freeze policy and low prices for agricultural produce, and with the risk of still keener competition both within the Common Market and between the Common Market and the Free Trade Area, many French industrialists are naturally anxious to find new markets in the socialist countries and especially in the Soviet Union.

Two agreements were signed at the close of the talks between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the French Republic. One provides for *scientific co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy* and the exchange of experience, information and visits by scientists. This is the first agreement of its kind to be concluded between the Soviet Union and a capitalist country. The second concerns cultural, scientific and technical co-operation. It provides for the exchange of scientists, specifications and information, for direct contacts between scientific institutions, and a program of scientific activities to be agreed upon in advance.

These agreements will bring both countries mutually beneficial results in the fields of scientific development and practical application. They are politically important, too, because they will help to dispel the mistrust which set in between our two countries during the cold war. How inspiring is the idea of friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and France, of finding means of curing cancer and leukemia, those scourges of mankind, of placing controlled thermo-nuclear fusion, that inexhaustible source of energy, at the service of mankind! Joint activity on the basis of the signed agreements, and for the good of the two peoples, will make it even more difficult for the French reactionaries to continue their efforts of the last 13 years to represent the socialist country as a future and inevitable enemy.

The steps for a considerable increase in the volume of trade between the two countries can be regarded as another concrete result of the visit. The communiqué issued after the talks between Khrushchov and de Gaulle said that experts would

meet this year to discuss trade turnover for the next five years. A long-term agreement would be signed which would be more advantageous than the present two-year agreement.

With regard to the purely political results of this first meeting between the two statesmen, it can be said that important joint obligations were undertaken. The communiqué states that the parties are of the opinion that "the development of relations between the USSR and France in a spirit of friendship and co-operation, and the establishment of better understanding between them will contribute to further relaxation of the international tension." It follows, then, that the professional anti-Sovietes, those who have been trying to poison Franco-Soviet relations and are even now continuing their efforts, are enemies of peace! Khrushchov and de Gaulle agreed that disarmament was "the most important and urgent problem of our times." They wished to see the talks at the 10-nation conference in Geneva produce agreed views on "general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

On the German problem, which includes the peace treaty and the question of Berlin, both leaders "recognize that the gradual settlement of these questions on an agreed basis through negotiations is of great importance for the preservation and strengthening of peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world." This is recognition of the existence and importance of these problems, of the need to discuss them. This is recognition of the possibility and of the usefulness of their gradual solution, and that, firstly, is reasonable and, secondly, is directed against the Bonn Government's desire to make a package of the problems and to solve them by swallowing the German Democratic Republic. The Paris communiqué holds out the prospect of a gradual solution of the German problem and implies that there can be a *partial* settlement of each problem.

The parties expressed the conviction that "the strengthening of European security is in accord with the vital interests of both countries and of the other European peoples." This important statement can, in default of a broader settlement, open the way to the solution of other European security problems such as disengagement, an atom-free zone, and bilateral and multi-lateral collective security pacts between the European countries, regardless of their social systems.

Khrushchov and de Gaulle noted the need for personal contacts and affirmed the principle "*that all outstanding international issues should be settled not by the use of force but by peaceful means, through negotiations*" (my italics — P.V.). That General de Gaulle has recognized this fundamental

principle of Soviet policy is of great significance, if we recall that it was only recently that he told the Military College that war was a law of the species. And that, as de Gaulle said during his visit to London, testifies to a "broad current which seems to be carrying the masses and the statesmen towards a relaxation of tension."

An analysis of the joint communiqué brings out its political value in the context of the present international situation. It, naturally, gives no guarantees that the principle affirmed or its orientation will be translated into reality. Those who cling grimly to the cold war and talk about "insignificant" results hope General de Gaulle will go back on his signature. Whether in fact a policy of détente, disarmament, European security and Franco-Soviet friendship will be pursued or not *depends, above all, on whether the French people take advantage of the decisions taken and see that they are carried out.*

Khrushchov's tour of the country created highly favorable conditions for the active participation of the French masses in the struggle for this policy.

Prime Minister Debré was right in saying that things have changed since Khrushchov's visit. And, indeed, in our country, where a considerable section of the people gets its news over the radio or on television—both of which are in the hands of anti-communist forces—millions of people who had previously only seen the Soviet Union, its people and leaders through a distorting mirror, unexpectedly found themselves in direct contact with reality. Millions have had an opportunity of hearing Khrushchov speak on one question or another. They heard him over the radio, saw him and those accompanying him on the TV screen or during his tour of the country.

Millions of French people now say: "He is a splendid chap. He really is for peace." They saw a simple and plain-spoken man. They found he came from a peasant family and was a former worker. That, they said, is the kind of man—a man of the people, and not of the "upper" classes—that one finds in the Soviet Government. A few words should be said about Nina Petrovna Khrushchova's contribution to changing people's opinions: wherever she appeared her graciousness and simplicity charmed all hearts.

Khrushchov's personality and candor, and his common-sense arguments opened the eyes of millions of French people. And they were struck by the possibility and the usefulness of re-establishing the traditional friendship between France and the Soviet Union, a friendship cemented in the past in many a battle against the common enemy.

No doubt many Frenchmen recalled during this visit General de Gaulle's broadcast from London in January 1942: "To the common misfortune only too often down the centuries have obstacles born of intrigue or misunderstanding stood in the way of a Franco-Russian alliance. Yet the need for such an alliance becomes apparent at every turn of history."

The menace of resurgent German militarism makes such an alliance even more imperative. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR told millions of French people about this danger and repeated his warnings. In Rheims, after visiting Verdun, the battlefield of the last two wars, Khrushchov stressed that the West German government did not want a peace treaty because it refused to recognize the existing frontiers fixed at Potsdam. Khrushchov recalled Adenauer's words in Rome to the effect that the Germans had been given the "divine" mission of "saving" Europe. This, he pointed out, was in effect a return to Hitler's "theory" of the superiority of the German race. Those who want to include West Germany in their game run the risk of once again becoming its victim. Khrushchov emphasized that the Soviet Union was strong enough to destroy an aggressor. It was not a matter of uniting in a war against the Germans, but of uniting to prevent the German militarists from unleashing a war.

These words took the blinkers off the eyes of Frenchmen who had been misled, and focused their attention on German militarism.

Thanks to Khrushchov the French people made another discovery. They found out that the USSR was a great and powerful country, with a high rate of development and a rising standard of living. This is important especially for the working class and the poor peasants who often wonder how socialism would benefit them. But it is even more important for the numerous middle sections who, as Servan-Schreiber, chief editor of the weekly *L'Express*, has already done, will inevitably come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union's challenge is not a military challenge, and that if the capitalist countries compete with the socialist nations in the arms race they will lose—what is most important of all—the competition for the highest standard of living. The impressive progress made by the Soviet Union in developing its economy and improving the well-being of the people has been achieved despite the fact that it is being compelled to spend

more on defense. And those of the middle sections who still fear communism and frequently confuse their interests with those of the monopoly bourgeoisie, will come to appreciate that it will pay to give up the arms race, take up the Soviet economic challenge and concentrate on economic competition.

Khrushchov's visit to France will have a positive effect on the struggle for peace, for the re-establishment and regeneration of democracy and for socialism. It will influence the attitude of the socialist workers and other democrats to the Communists, because when anti-Sovietism beats a retreat, anti-communism will have to do likewise. And this, naturally, will facilitate unity.

The Vatican's interference in the country's political life, when Canon Kir was forbidden to receive Khrushchov, evoked indignation among many Catholics too, and this circumstance can stimulate the joint struggle against obscurantist laws, for democracy and peace.

It is impossible to foretell the whole extent of the reverberations of Khrushchov's visit. But it can be said with certainty that thanks to his indefatigable efforts the question of what to choose was clearly placed before the people of France—peaceful coexistence or war, gradual elimination of the aftermath of the last war, or the maintenance of tensions fraught with the danger of a new and terrible war. Millions of Frenchmen who left the solution of important international issues to the government are now themselves becoming interested in these problems. They can be drawn into joint action with those already participating in the struggle.

The forces opposed to a détente are still active, doing their best to nullify the positive results of the visit. Government policy, despite the principles proclaimed in the joint communiqué, is not oriented clearly towards a détente; the explosion of the second atomic device and the agreement to allow the Bundeswehr to have bases on French territory are evidence of this.

But the French Communist Party and other democratic and peace-loving forces are now in an infinitely better position to fight for a relaxation of tensions and, on the basis of the joint communiqué and the existing agreements, for the fulfilment by France of her obligations.

Pierre VILLON

April, 1960

Apropos of a Falsification

ALTHOUGH history has long forgotten many of those who in their day claimed to have "debunked" Marxism-Leninism, their doubtful laurels still give some people no peace.

And the latest efforts, like the earliest, consist basically in juggling with the facts and distorting them. The essays of the latter-day critics of Marxism-Leninism would hardly merit attention were it not for the fact that they pursue a long-range policy. It has now become fashionable to search for contradictions in the principles of Soviet foreign policy and in their application at different times in the development of the Soviet State. One of the aims pursued by these "investigations," or rather, falsifications, is to prove that the principle of peaceful co-existence never originated with Lenin, that it appeared later for tactical considerations. Typical in this respect is the work by a certain Lazar M. Pistrak, published in the U.S. Quoting Lenin's words out of context, Pistrak tries to trap the unwary, to instil the idea that Lenin's counsel during World War I concerning the ways and means of bringing the war to an end testifies to the "conspiratorial" tactics of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin, we are told, sought to base relations with the capitalist countries not on peaceful coexistence but on "fomenting" revolution in these countries, on the principle of an "armed peace." Pistrak pretends to find confirmation for this in, of all things, Lenin's famous Decree on Peace. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. What are the facts?

The First World War, continuing year after year, was claiming hundreds of thousands of victims and plunging the peoples deeper into misery; the politicians of the belligerent countries found themselves entangled in growing contradictions. The long-suffering masses could no longer tolerate this situation and, seeing that it was futile to wait for aid from their rulers, began to take matters into their own hands with a view to ending the war as quickly as possible. This was a revolutionary way out. Lenin and his fellow-Bolsheviks, who were wholeheartedly opposed to the war, declared that this was the most effective way to win peace. The workers of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, were the first to take this path—they overthrew the reactionary government and took the country out of the war.

In the summer of 1917 in an article headed "Is there a Way to a Just Peace?" Lenin wrote: "Only when power is taken by the oppressed classes will Russia be able to address the oppressed classes of the other countries not with empty words or

bare appeals but with reference to her own example and with an immediate, precise *proposal* of clear terms for *universal peace*. 'Comrade workers and working people of all countries!' the proposal for an immediate peace would say. 'Enough blood has been shed. Peace is possible. A just peace is a peace without annexation, without indemnities. . . . The road to peace lies before us.' "

The appeal of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets "To the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!," written by Lenin, says: "The Soviet government will propose an immediate democratic peace to all the nations and an immediate armistice on all fronts."

The revolutionary wave rolled over many other countries. Under mass pressure the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed, in Germany the throne of the Hohenzollerns lay in the dust. The war and the policy of the ruling classes caused ferment in Italy, France and Britain. Many of the colonies became the scene of national-liberation struggles. And it was precisely this mass movement for ending the war, this unprecedented upsurge of popular activity that Lenin had in mind when he wrote in 1917 and 1918 about the rising wave of the revolution and its perspectives. The politically experienced ruling circles of Britain, France and other capitalist countries, fully aware of the danger, were forced to end the hostilities.

The falsifiers misrepresent Lenin's analysis and his prevision as "Bolshevik intrigues." The revolutionary upsurge in 1917-1918 is ascribed to the desire of the Bolsheviks to "organize" a world revolution.

In their defense of the monopoly bourgeoisie the falsifiers even now are reluctant to admit that the horrors of the war and the insane policy of the imperialist politicians were the factors that impelled the masses to turn their guns against their rulers who, having sown the wind were now reaping the whirlwind.

In October 1917 Lenin wrote: "The present imperialist war by its reactionary nature and the burden it places on the people is revolutionizing the masses and accelerating the revolution . . ." "The workers of all countries are tormented and exhausted to the extreme by the war," he wrote on the eve of the October revolution. "The explosions in Italy, Germany and in Austria are recurring more often." ". . . The peoples are exhausted, the peoples yearn for a respite from this bloody shambles . . ." Lenin referred time and again to this crucial international issue. He rightly pointed out that the question of one or another country withdrawing from the imper-

ialist war depended primarily on the upsurge of the popular movement in the particular country.

Of course, the October revolution in Russia stimulated the anti-war movement. The rise of the Soviet socialist state rescued millions of people in Russia from the slaughter, and this fact predetermined the end of the world war. But what has this to do with "export of revolution?"

The spokesmen of capitalism would like to see such concepts and phenomena as class struggle, revolution, socialism and communism disappear altogether. They would like the Communists to abandon their revolutionary theory and give up their struggle for the reconstruction of society. But the Communists will disappoint them, for they will do no such thing. They will continue to work to replace the moribund capitalist system with socialism. Their thesis is that the world has entered the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, that the ultimate triumph of socialism on a world scale is inevitable. But, true to Marxism-Leninism, the Communists have always maintained that the change from one socio-economic formation to another, a higher-type formation, occurs with the irrevocability of an objective historical process; they believe that the replacement of capitalism by socialism in any country will not be the result of foreign interference. Lenin always denounced as non-Marxist any attempt to "jog" revolutions from outside.

"Revolutions," he pointed out, "are not made to order. They are not timed to a certain moment but ripen in the process of history and erupt at moments conditioned by an entire complex of internal and external causes."

Early in 1918 Lenin mercilessly ridiculed those "Left Communists" who urged that the policy of the Soviet State be calculated on the premise of an "immediate revolution" in the West. The slogans of the "Lefts" about "international revolutionary propaganda in deeds" were, according to Lenin, soap bubbles.

Thus, one has only to follow Lenin's thoughts on these matters to see how grossly false are the attempts to depict him and his fellow Bolsheviks as "organizers" of "subversive activity" against the capitalist governments.

In this connection the attempts to distort Lenin's thesis on peaceful coexistence and to prove that the Bolsheviks refused to maintain any other relations with the capitalist countries than those of "an armed peace" are also exposed. The idea that peaceful coexistence between the socialist and the capitalist states is inevitable was Lenin's idea. It follows from Lenin's teaching on the possibility of the victory of revolution in a single country—the basis on which Lenin founded Soviet foreign

policy. The idea of peaceful coexistence was also expressed in Lenin's Decree on Peace—one of the first decrees of Soviet Government—in his call for a just democratic peace, in his recognition of the equality of all countries and peoples, big or small, and the need for co-operation between them.

"The workers' and peasants' government . . ." says the Decree on Peace, "Calls upon all belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace."

"By a just or democratic peace, for which the overwhelming majority of the working and toiling classes of all the belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war, are craving; . . . by such a peace the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without indemnities."

At the same time the Soviet Government in an effort to establish contact with the governments of the belligerent countries has stated its readiness to consider any other peace terms. This fact also speaks of the Soviet Government's desire for co-operation. Conscious of the fact that the ruling circles of the imperialist countries were reluctant to end the war, the Soviet Government appealed not only to the governments but also to the peoples of the belligerent powers. In his report on peace, delivered on the night of November 7, 1917, Lenin said: "Our appeal must be addressed both to the governments and the peoples. We cannot ignore the governments, for that would delay the possibility of concluding peace, and the people's government dare not do that; but we have no right not to appeal to the peoples at the same time. Everywhere there are differences between the governments and the peoples, and we must therefore help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace." Any unbiased person will readily agree that this was not interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It was an appeal to the governments and the peoples to end the war of extermination, to establish a democratic peace on earth on the basis of equality of the nations and their co-operation. Summing up, Lenin said: "We reject all clauses dealing with plunder and violence, but we shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighborly relations and economic agreements; those we cannot reject."

Well known, too, are Lenin's views on relations between Soviet Russia and the United States, Britain and France. Thus in respect to the USA he pointed out: "We are definitely in favor of an economic agreement with America, with all countries, but particularly with America." With reference to relations with Britain and France he said: "We

maintain that good, friendly relations with both powers are perfectly feasible and constitute our aim."

All of Lenin's writings on the relations between the Soviet State and the capitalist countries are imbued with these ideas.

Particularly important today are Lenin's views on peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries, views expressed at a time when the Soviet people, having defeated the imperialist intervention and the counter-revolution, began to rehabilitate the national economy. In advancing the plan for granting concessions (foreign) Lenin approached it not merely from the viewpoint of the economic interests of our country but also from the viewpoint of the need for extending economic contacts with other countries of the world. He said: "We are passing to the realm of economy and are proposing a positive constructive program to the whole world." Lenin pointed out that economic competition, a contest between the socialist State and the capitalist countries, was inevitable, and what was more, its significance would be enormous.

When the Civil War and the intervention ended Lenin asked at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets: "Generally speaking, is it possible to think in terms of the existence of a socialist republic in conditions of capitalist encirclement? It appeared unthinkable both politically and militarily. Yet it has been proved that both from the political and military standpoints it is possible. And commercially? How about economic exchange? Are contacts, aid and exchange of services between the backward devastated peasant Russia and the advanced and rich industrial group of capitalist powers possible?"

Lenin replied in the affirmative.

And he was gratified that "Russia has become, if it is at all possible to use the term, 'overgrown' with a series of relatively correct and regular trade contacts, missions, agreements, etc."

The facts show that it was not the Soviet Government that avoided co-operation with other countries, but the capitalist powers which were reluctant to co-operate (apart from those cases when their need impelled them to do so) and adopted a hostile policy towards the Soviet Government.

Lenin's theses on peaceful coexistence, on the need to establish co-operation with the capitalist countries have been the basis of Soviet foreign policy at every stage in its development.

And no attempts of the falsifiers can conceal the vital force and the truth of Lenin's teaching. It lives on and is making headway because it is in line with the interests of the masses, because it is constantly confirmed and developed in practice. Take, for example, the lessons learned by the masses as a result of the fact that the working

people of Russia put an end to the imperialist war in a revolutionary way. Subsequent events demonstrated the tremendous influence which this example exerted on the peoples. During the Second World War the peoples of a number of European countries, conscious that the reactionary rulers who had plunged them into the blood-bath were either unwilling or unable to find a way out, took things into their own hands and drove out these governments and established people's democracy.

The solving by the masses of such fundamental political problems as war and peace is of special importance today. The peoples are now displaying a growing tendency not to entrust the solution of these problems to the groups and politicians who base their policies on preparation for war. It is not fortuitous that the cold war, brinkmanship, etc., are anything but popular today. And capitalist statesmen cannot afford to disregard these sentiments. Those who go against the stream find themselves left high and dry.

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence is becoming increasingly popular. As Khrushchov put it, peaceful coexistence is an objective necessity born out of the present world situation, of the present stage of development.

It is definitely not transient tactical considerations that have determined, and continue to determine, the basic course of Soviet foreign policy and the unending efforts to ensure peace. This policy is determined by the very nature of the socialist system to which war is alien, which has no classes or social groups interested in expansion or aggression. Socialism and communism pave the way to excluding wars from the life of human society.

The peoples want peace and peaceful co-operation. And the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, based on Leninist principles, is dedicated to this noble cause.

At present when the idea of peaceful coexistence is becoming the most popular idea in the world, renewed attempts are being made to cast doubt on the sincerity of the USSR's peace policy and to thwart the détente.

It is not fortuitous that the attacks on the principle of peaceful coexistence are being launched simultaneously in a variety of forms, including scholarly falsifications, in many capitalist countries, particularly in the USA and West Germany.

The ideological onslaught against the basic principle of Soviet foreign policy—peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems—is a manifestation of the sharp ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. And a sign of the intensification of this struggle are the unscrupulous methods to which the opponents of peaceful coexistence resort in attacking this principle.

S.V.

What President Nasser Says And What He Holds Back

DURING his recent tour of Syria the President of the Arab Republic made some 50 speeches, mostly on what he termed national unity. And, strangely enough, they were mainly attacks on the Communists.

What are the charges that Nasser levels against the Communists? They, we are told, are unpatriotic and oppose national unity. Charges of this kind cannot but surprise people who know anything at all about the Communist parties, their programs and activities. In every Eastern country, whether it is India or Indonesia, Ceylon or Iraq, the UAR or Morocco, the Communists have been in the forefront of those working to establish and strengthen national, anti-imperialist unity, which they believe to be called for by the objective conditions and essential for the consolidation of political independence and achieving economic independence. Divided, the workers, peasants, the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic forces cannot successfully oppose the colonialists now thirsting for revenge, and they cannot solve the tasks of the national-liberation revolution. It is difficult to believe that the President of the UAR is ignorant of this principled attitude of the Communists, an attitude upon which the activities of the Communist parties are based.

In light of this, can the charge against the Communists that they are "foreign agents," "enemies of Arab nationalism," etc., be regarded as anything but downright slander? This just won't wash. For no one can tear out of the annals of the national-liberation struggle the many pages glorifying the patriotism of the Communists in the East who have always marched in the van of those fighting against colonialism. It is enough to recall the courage displayed by them in resisting Japanese imperialism during the Second World War, fighting the British, French, Dutch and other colonialists who, after the Japanese invaders had been driven out, sought to continue the enslavement of the peoples of the East. At this very moment the Algerian Communists are fighting with arms in hand. True to their convictions, and regardless of whether they are Europeans or Arabs, the Communists are heroically fighting for freedom, for Algeria, their country.

The peoples of Asia and Africa know that the Communists played an outstanding part in winning the political independence and statehood which most of the countries of the East now enjoy, a struggle in which tens of thousands of Communists

gave their lives.

And the Communists of the UAR, too, have proved themselves consistent and resolute fighters for freedom and independence. Their actions speak for themselves and require no justification. No wonder President Nasser is unable to substantiate his charges against the Communists. He cannot name a single measure taken by his government for the good of the country which did not have Communist support. During the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in the autumn of 1956, the Communists, despite the brutal repression against them, staunchly defended their country, shedding their blood in Port Said and Alexandria. In those grim days they worked to rally the people to support the Nasser government. In Syria it was the Communists who constituted the core of the volunteer detachments formed to help Egypt. It was they who roused the people against the imperialists' attempts on the independence of Syria. When later Nasser condemned the Anglo-American intervention in Lebanon and Jordan, the Communists again supported him. The President cannot deny this. All he can do is to make believe that the Communists have changed and have "renounced their Arab patriotism."

That, to put it mildly, is just not true. After the colonialists had been driven out the Communists continued to fulfil their duty to their country. Is not their consistent struggle to get rid of the imperialist monopolies and build a national economy proof of this? The aims of the national-democratic revolution, as experience has shown, are not confined to winning political independence. Colonialism will linger on and independence will be incomplete and ephemeral until imperialist monopoly domination ceases and a national economy is built, until the antagonism to imperialism ceases to be the *main* social antagonism.

It is absurd to accuse the Communists of being unpatriotic. Why does Nasser keep harping on this theme? Obviously this outworn anti-communist fiction is needed to cover up the real reasons for his attacks. He prefers to say nothing about them, and he has good grounds for doing so. After all it is a question of democracy, of the attitude to democracy. The President has said time and again that democracy has triumphed in the UAR. But that is a misstatement, because political parties have been outlawed in the UAR. The reason, Nasser explains, is that the colonialists used the party system for their own ends. But the Communist Parties in

Egypt and Syria, like all Communist parties, have never collaborated with the imperialists. What he says certainly does not square with the facts: why is it that the democratic forces are being persecuted, while the leaders of the "old" parties who, according to Nasser, served the imperialists have been rehabilitated by a presidential decree? The National Union leadership has announced that "nothing prevents" their joining the Union.

At the same time reprisals are taken against progressives. The unofficial press has been banned, and trade unions are under strict supervision. Not only the Communists, but representatives of other political trends, and, moreover, people who simply happen to hold different views, are subject to reprisals. Arrests are often made without regard for legal procedure. A year has passed since Farajallah Helou, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Lebanon, was seized in the streets of Damascus and flung into prison. But no charge has been preferred against him. The UAR authorities have ignored the protests of the world public and the demands for Helou's release. Hundreds more are detained without trial or investigation. The detainees, particularly the Communists, are maltreated and many have died in the torture chambers. The government has had to admit some of these facts.

There is a climate of fear in the country. The parties and other organizations of the working people have been driven deep underground. If we bear in mind that the people are not allowed to have any say whatsoever in forming the National Assembly (its members are appointed by Nasser who, as he says, will be helped by the National Union) then we get a more or less complete picture of what democracy is really like in the UAR.

The Communists refuse to defend "democracy" of this kind. And that is the reason for Nasser's anti-communist attacks.

They are working for the re-establishment of democratic freedoms in the UAR, are demanding respect for the people's rights. And no one will succeed in representing their efforts as a "betrayal" of national unity and of the interests of the Arab nation.

The national interests cannot be upheld unless democracy is safeguarded, and the problems facing the Eastern countries can be solved only along the path of social progress, by a consistent democratic policy. Only in this way can the people be rallied to complete the national emancipation and achieve regeneration. Whether the struggle for national freedom is successful or not depends on the popular will, on the spirit and determination of the people. Under the onslaught of the masses, the British colonialists had to retreat in India and

Egypt, Malaya and Burma, and the French colonialists from Vietnam and Morocco, Syria and the Lebanon, Tunisia and Guinea. The resolve displayed by the Egyptian workers and peasants was a serious obstacle to the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression. At the same time the imperialists and local reactionaries succeeded in overthrowing the Mosadeq national government in Iran, which was averse to relying on the people. The imperialists would like to do the same in other Eastern countries. The Communists hold that national unity should serve to rally and organize the masses and arouse them to political activity. For unless it does so it will not help the cause of national liberation. The Shah of Persia and King Hussein of Jordan, too, indulge in loud talk about "national unity." And the colonialists are not at all averse to making capital out of this slogan. That is precisely why the Communists do not champion just any kind of national unity. They support *anti-imperialist, patriotic unity, unity in the interests of the people*. This is a front of battle against imperialism, colonialism and reaction.

After political independence has been won the Eastern countries will still require the support and unity of the masses, and hence, genuine democracy. The universal proposition that the aims of a national revolution can be achieved only by relying on the masses is particularly appropriate in the economically underdeveloped countries which are under constant imperialist attack. This support can be won only by pursuing a policy that takes into account the interests of the people. The masses expect a triumphant national-liberation movement to help forward their material and spiritual emancipation, and to contribute to social progress. The activity of the masses and their determination to continue the anti-imperialist struggle to the end depend, in large measure, on the extent to which their hopes are realized.

The Communists have a clear-cut program. They are working for transfer of the land to the tillers; for higher wages and a shorter day for the workers; guaranteed democratic rights and liberties; conditions under which national culture can flourish; abolition of foreign monopoly domination, and planned national development.

Does the fact that the Communists express the interests and aspirations of the working class injure anti-imperialist unity? Quite the reverse. It is precisely because of its class stand that the proletariat refuses to become reconciled to any form of oppression or exploitation and acts as the consistent defender of the national interests, the avowed adversary of colonialism. The working class, moreover, co-operates with all the genuinely national forces. In the Eastern countries national

unity is consolidated by the fact that the participants in it—the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty and the national bourgeoisie, the intellectuals—support the basic aim of the national-liberation movement i.e., the aim of uprooting colonialism and its consequences. The class interests of the proletarians and other working people are completely in accord with this aim.

The fact that the working masses and particularly the proletariat are conscious of their class tasks strengthens the unity of the national liberation fighters. The growing class consciousness of the masses is no obstacle to the other patriotic forces, the national bourgeoisie for example, taking part in the anti-imperialist struggle. The patriotic tendencies of the bourgeoisie do not run counter to the aims pursued by the proletariat and its Party in the national-liberation movement. The Communists remember this when they urge the national bourgeoisie to join with the proletariat and the peasantry for the purpose of solving the anti-imperialist and national tasks.

Thus the Communists have not “changed” their line nor have they “renounced” anything. Their anti-imperialist attitude is not a transient thing. Would it not be more correct to assume that Nasser is being sucked down into the quagmire of anti-communism according as his own attitude changes? British and American newspapers have commented on his new line. The President’s recent attempts to flirt with King Hussein of Jordan, the same Hussein whom Nasser has repeatedly, and rightly, described as an imperialist puppet, have not escaped observers. The praise lavished on the President by certain circles in the West is putting the progressive public on its guard, and the flow of foreign capital into the UAR is also a source of alarm.

By defending democratic freedoms the Communists are safeguarding the unity of the nation’s patriotic forces, a unity that is essential if victory over the imperialists is to be ensured. The Communists express the interests of the people and for this reason enjoy their growing confidence. If further proof of this is needed, it is supplied by the President himself. Only a powerful party deeply entrenched among the people could cause so much worry to the President and his police. For when the Saad and other political parties were dissolved, the fact was barely noticed and caused the government little worry.

Nasser is trying to convince the people that the Communists have “gone back” on them. All to no purpose, his eloquence is lost on them. And it is simply a waste of time to tell the people to

“forget” the Communists. For despite the reprisals, the Communists have not retreated. They are carrying on the struggle, and neither police terror nor anti-communist slander can stop them.

The lessons of history should never be ignored. They teach that anti-communism is the favorite weapon of the colonialists. They use it to set ideological and political traps for some circles of the national bourgeoisie. With the help of these traps the colonialists try to set them against the democratic forces, to compel the national bourgeoisie to surrender to imperialism. All imperialist moves against the oppressed peoples are made under cover of the struggle against the “communist danger.” When in 1956-57 the imperialists were preparing to destroy Syria’s freedom they said the country was dominated by Communists (Nasser exposed this lie at the time). The President has probably not forgotten that he himself was accused of communism when he upheld Egypt’s independence and resolved to nationalize the Suez Canal.

The facts prove that anti-communism is a concomitant of modern colonialism. And it is not fortuitous that the colonialists and their puppets are persecuting the Communists. Is that not recognition of a kind of the Communists’ vanguard role in the national-liberation struggle? The prisons in which hundreds of Syrian and Egyptian Communists are languishing are not new to them, for they spent months and years in them during British and French rule, and under King Farouk and the dictator Shishekli.

Experience shows that anti-communism offers no perspectives, promises, no laurel wreaths. The worn-out nag of anti-communism will never become an Arab steed just because the President of the UAR has put a saddle on it. Anti-communism can only harm national independence and development, make it easier for the imperialists to intrigue, and to jeopardize anti-imperialist gains. Anti-communism injures the cause of national liberation, a cause to which Nasser always swears fidelity. The attacks on the Communists play into the hands of the imperialists who are making every effort to split and behead the national-liberation movement.

The Communists have proved that they are staunch fighters in the national-liberation movement. To fight against them means to fight against the people, to persecute the progressive and politically active part of the nation. It means aiming blows not against imperialism, but against the patriots and thereby weakening the anti-colonialist fight.

Karim HAFID

Iron Will

(A Letter from Madrid)

Dear Comrades:

As you know, a wave of savage reprisals has swept Spain in recent months with the object of bludgeoning the people into relinquishing their opposition to the economic stabilization plan, imposed on us by Franco's North American patrons. I shall say nothing here about the poverty and hardships that are the common lot of the working people, because that is something everyone knows.

What I want to tell you about is the heroic struggle being waged by the prisoners in the Madrid regional prison of Carabanchel. The conditions in the prison are terrible beyond belief and prisoners are treated worse than animals. They are not allowed any contact with the outside world, neither are they permitted to see their lawyers or correspond with their families. In bad weather they are kept all day in the prison yard. The prison doctor—who is not worthy of the name—says to the prisoners: "The sooner you die the better." He denies the sick even elementary treatment.

The prisoners look on Carabanchel as an annex of the Security Department, because when the cells in the latter are filled to overflowing the inmates are transferred to Carabanchel, where the notorious Colonel Eimar rules the roost. A special military judge, he, with the tacit agreement of the authorities, does not observe even elementary legal procedural standards. Only he and Franco know the exact number of political prisoners in Carabanchel.

On April 19, one hundred and twenty of these prisoners went on a hunger strike. Most of them had been arrested during the recent reprisals, while others have been in jail a year and a half, although there has been no court decision on their cases. Thick though the prison walls are, they cannot stop news of the struggle seeping through. Stifling the pangs of hunger, the patriots are showing the headsmen that the people cannot be kept down, nor the spirit be broken of those who are doing their duty to their country. Colonel Eimar and his henchmen resort to heinous methods in their efforts to bend the will of men who would rather die of hunger than have their human dignity trampled underfoot.

The duel between 120 men of iron will, 120 sons of the people, and the fiendish machinery of Franco violence has stirred patriots and angered people generally. The struggle has spread to the streets. Thirty members of the Madrid College of Lawyers

have signed a petition in support of the prisoners, and the solidarity of the detainees, among whom are Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Catholics, Democrats and Liberals, has stimulated joint action outside the prison for aid to the victims.

Our Party has called on all the opposition forces to help "organize a big national and international campaign in support of the Carabanchel hunger strikers, against the reprisals of the Franco government and for an amnesty for all political prisoners and political exiles."

It is not in the nature of the Communist Party to pursue a wait-and-see policy and it is doing its best to strengthen the unity of the democratic forces which will end the Franco regime.

The Communist Party's appeal to the opposition forces states in part: "No matter what political and ideological differences stand between the opposition parties, the situation calls for the mobilization of all our forces with the utmost speed. The common struggle being waged by our comrades in Carabanchel and the need to render them urgent help and to show our solidarity make it incumbent upon us to forget our differences and take joint and effective measures on a national and international scale."

The Party has not yet received an answer, but there can be no doubt that if a prompt and positive reply were forthcoming, the solidarity movement would gain in momentum.

I am writing this on April 27. The hunger strike is still on and the prisoners, united by their hatred for the Franco regime, are continuing their courageous fight. In the hope of breaking the strike Franco's butchers have resorted to forcible feeding. Some of the prisoners have been taken to hospital where they are in a critical state; others have been thrown into punishment cells where it is proposed to hold them 45 days.

This strike is another link in the chain of anti-Franco actions. The prisoners are undaunted; despite the terror they will not give up their efforts until the fascist regime collapses. In conclusion I would once again ask you to raise your voice in defense of the Spanish prisoners, because your support will infuse new strength into the Spanish patriots fighting for their country's future.

Pedro LAFUENTE

Madrid

SUPPLEMENT

Meeting of the Editorial Council of "Problems of Peace and Socialism"

THE Editorial Council of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (of which *World Marxist Review* is the English edition) met in Prague from April 13th to 16th. The meeting was attended by representatives of thirty-six Communist and Workers' parties.

The Council heard the report of the Editorial Board on the work of the journal, discussed the tasks of the journal and the proposals for improving it. It unanimously noted that the journal, guided by the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, had furthered the ideological unity and solidarity of the international communist movement, elaborating and elucidating problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, combating revisionism and dogmatism and exchanging views and experiences.

It was felt that continuous attention should be paid to the defense of peace as one of the main tasks, one of the noblest tasks now facing mankind, to rallying the people for the struggle against the policy of war prepara-

tions pursued by the aggressive imperialist groups and to publicizing the successes of socialist and communist construction in the countries of the socialist world. The journal will continue to elaborate questions of Marxist-Leninist theory by way of generalizing current international developments and the experience gained by the Communist and Workers' parties in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The journal should aim at helping the struggle for working-class unity in defense of the working people's interests in the capitalist countries, helping the fight against reaction and for democracy and social progress; it should systematically expose anti-communism and combat bourgeois and reformist ideology and revisionism — the main danger — as well as dogmatism and sectarianism. Problems of the national-liberation movement should be continuously elucidated.

The discussion took place in an atmosphere of unanimity.

CORRECTION

In the article by Eugene Dennis in the April, 1960, issue of *World Marxist Review*, lines 5-7 of paragraph 4, column 2 of page 24, should read: ". . . it constitutes in itself no reason why a relationship of peaceful coexistence should not prevail."

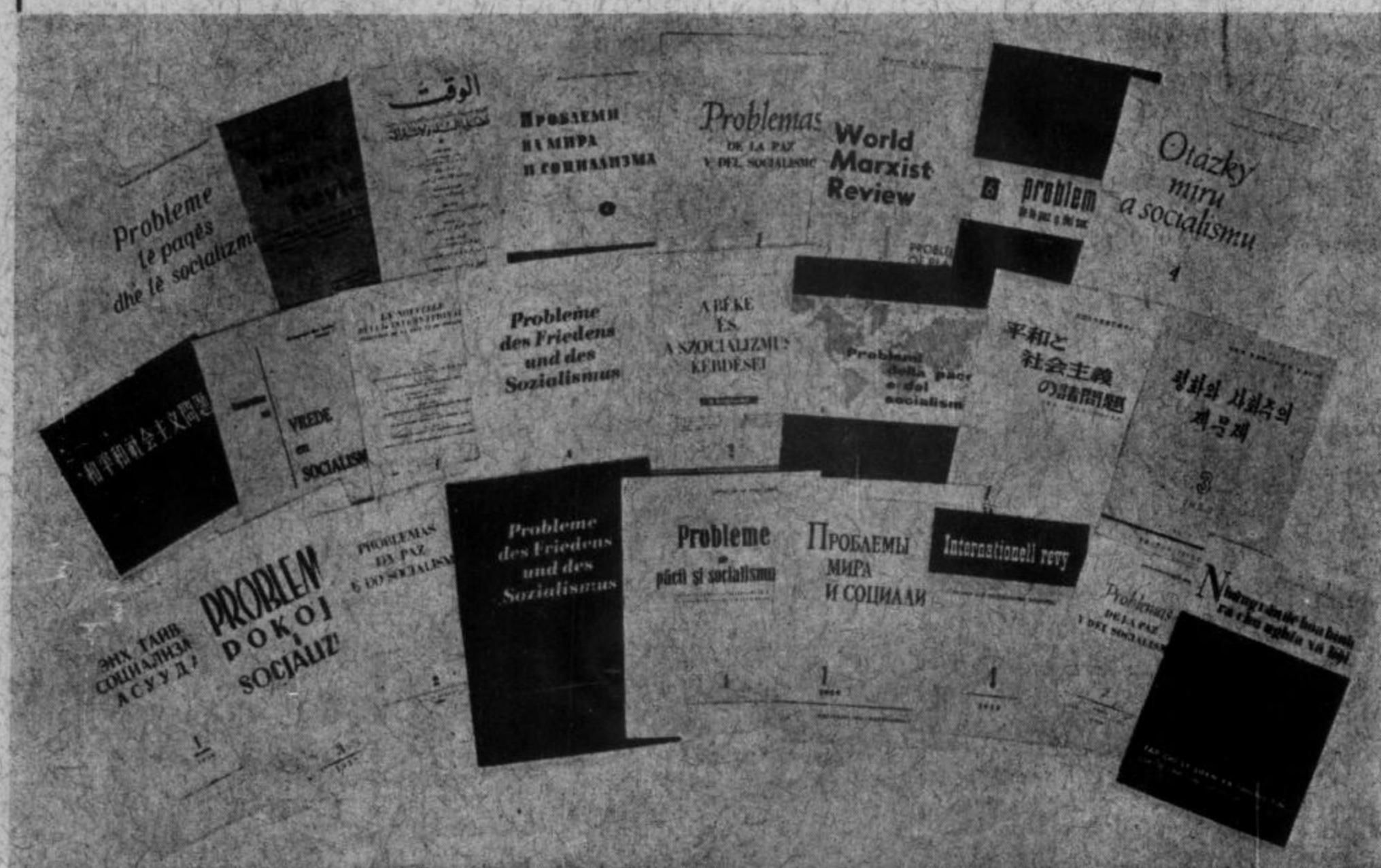
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(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
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- Ts. Stefanov. *Dictatorship in Bulgaria.* Sofia, The BCP Publishing House, 1960, 334 pp.
- B. Manzocchi. *Economic Policy in Italy (1945-1959).* Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1960, 212 pp.
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